

**THE GHADAR MOVEMENT AND ITS LEGACY:
INDIAN AND NON-INDIAN PERSPECTIVES**

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Chapter-1

Introduction

The Ghadar Movement was started in 1913. This movement had played an important political and ideological role in the Indian freedom struggle against the British rule in India. The aim of the Ghadar Movement was to set up a Republic rule in India through an armed revolution. It was a secular movement, religious or communal matters could not be raised in the meetings of the Ghadar Party and it had rejected caste system also. It started the publication of a weekly paper named *Ghadar* in *Urdu* and *Punjabi*. This paper became a powerful mobilize of Punjabi people in many countries of the world especially South East Asia. However, Ghadarites were not able to reorganize the Ghadar Party after their release from the British Indian jails. But they had again started playing an important role in the other political movements of Punjab for executing their schemes for the Indian freedom against the British regime.

As a result of this development, it had failed though it was not a total failure because this movement was a source of inspiration for the Akali Movement, Babbar Akali Movement, Kirti Kisan Organization and Indian National Army. Ghadarites did serve as a source of inspiration and in their process they had awakened the consciousness of their fellow beings. The ideas and aims of Ghadarites were the message of socialism, the idea of class struggle, advocacy of freedom of the press or journalism and the complete independence for India. However, the same ideas were propagated by the above-mentioned movements individually or collectively also. By their ideological transformation, Ghadarites had also given financial help to the Kirit-Kisan Lehar. It was their legacy which made Bhagat Singh as a socialist revolutionary. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha and the other movements in fact the whole socialist orientation of the national struggle in the Punjab was inspired by the ideals of the Ghadarites.

The study draws on the writings of Indian and Non-Indian writers in order to explore and understand the nature of Ghadar organization in U.S.A. and Canada and activities of Ghadarites in Punjab in their writings. All of them had worked upon the Ghadar Movement. And also, it will be an attempt to understand the legacy of Ghadar

Movement and the influenced it had had on the other movements in Punjab, particular, Akali movement, Babbar Akali movement, Kirti-Kisan movement, impact on Bhagat Singh and Indian National Army. An attempt shall be made to know the sources and techniques used by these writers to write about the history or achievements of Ghadar Movement

The study aims to analyse the works of prominent Indian and Non-Indian writers namely Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K. Puri, Ise Monger and J. Slattery and Harold A. Gould. They had a deep impact on their minds which kindled in their interest to study the Ghadar Movement. Jagjit Singh was born on 12th February, 1904 at village Dhotian in district Amritsar. His father's name was Sardar Arjan Singh and mother's name was Sardarni Ram Kaur. He died in 1997. After having received his higher education, he joined the profession of teaching as Lecturer in Chemistry at Sikh National College, Lahore. He had met Baba Wasakha Singh between 1930 and 1935. Obviously, he came under the influence of Baba Wasakha Singh. Ghadar Party had made a deep impact on his mind and finely he decided to write the history of Ghadar Party. Though Jagjit Singh had written many books on the Sikh history up to the twentieth Century yet his work *Ghadar Party Lehar* has great importance. His work on Ghadar Party was a landmark because it was a work on Ghadar history in the Punjabi language. He wrote on the issues such as the condition of peasant classes in Punjab, causes of emigration, beginning of the struggle and formation of the Party with its objectives, programmes and activities including the Ghadar newspaper, the *Komagata Maru* episode, phase of Ghadar in Hindustan, downfall and revolt at Singapore, failure factors and its character as a whole. This work has made him a prominent historian of Ghadar Movement. This research work has chosen his work titled *Ghadar Party Lehar* (Shokar Shah Road, Tarn Taran, 1955).

Gurdev Singh Deol was a Professor of Political Science. He was awarded with a master's degree in Economics and second Political Science. He received his Ph.D. Degree in December 1965 from the Panjab University, Chandigarh. Gurdev Singh Deol's research on Ghadar Movement started while he was doing his Ph.D. He had planned to conduct his interviews with the prominent members of the movement like Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna on 5th January, 1961, Baba Hari Singh Usman on 15th February, 1961 and Baba Harnam Singh Tundilat on 12th January, 1961. He wrote

about Ghadar Movement, its contribution and the impact of some of the more prominent organizers and leaders of the movement. Gurdev Singh Deol has written about the Ghadar Movement considering it a national movement because Ghadar Movement had raised the slogans such as Complete National Independence and a Republican Government in India. After the decline of the Ghadar Movement these slogans were adopted by the Indian National Congress. There were men also inspired by the Ghadarites and many a member of the Ghadar Movement had joined the Indian National Army and participated in the movement for the freedom of India. Deol's book entitled as *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement* (Sterling Publishers, Jullundur, First Edition 1969) is included in the present research project.

Harish K. Puri was born on 4 April 1938 at Nabha in the district of Patiala. His father's name was Babu Ram Puri and his mother's name was Brije Rani. He complete Masters Degree in Political Science in 1959 and in Public Administration in 1968 from Panjab University, Chandigarh and received his Ph.D. Degree in 1975 from Guru Nanak Dev University. He was Lecturer, Reader, Professor and Head of Department of Political Science from 1972 to 1998. Harish K. Puri had written extensively on political movements, Punjab politics, dalits, federalism, terrorism and politics of ethnicity, caste and religion of Punjab and he had more than once written on Ghadar Movement also. In fact his interest in the Ghadar Movement was aroused in 1968 when he had thrice met Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna (2 October, 1967, 26 November, 1968 and 20 December, 1968). It is a common fact that Sohan Singh Bhakna was a founder of Ghadar Movement. As a result, he made his efforts to write about the Ghadar Movement. Harish K. Puri's research on Ghadar Movement started while he was doing his Ph.D. from 1972 to 1975 at the Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. He also planned to conduct his interviews with Prithvi Singh Azad and Gujjar Singh Bhakna, Hanuwant Singh (26 September, 1969). Hanuwant was an old friend of Hardayal, Harnam Singh and Gurmukh Singh Lalton (5 November, 1969) and he was a passenger of the fateful ship *Komagata Maru*. He has presented various perspectives of the Ghadar Movement such as the brief history of the Ghadar Movement, its Ideology, Organisation, Strategy and its Legacy. He had written that the legacy of the deep patriotism and tremendous sacrifices by the Ghadarites proved to be a major source of change and transition in the political attitudes of the people, the level of political consciousness and the participation of people of India in the

struggle for freedom. Further, he had also written about the impact of Ghadar Movement on other movements in Punjab and upon Bhagat Singh as well. This research work has chosen the four writings of Puri :*Ghadar Movement : Ideology Organisation and Strategy* (1993), *Ghadar Movement : A Short History*(2011) , Article, *Bhagat Singh and Ghadar Movement*, from chosen, *Ghadar Movement to Bhagat Singh : A Collectiion of Essays*, (2012).

Ise Monger and J. Slattery were officers in Indian Police and they are contemporary writers of Ghadar Movement. Ise Monger F.C was born on 5 July, 1876 at Straits Settlements. He died on 11 December, 1960. Ise Monger and J. Slattery wrote on the Ghadar Movement and their work is an official report on Ghadar Movement and the work had been divided into three parts. The first part deals with the beginning and growth of the conspiracy, its formation, main leaders and their activities and the second and third parts deal with the Ghadarites' return to India and their revolutionaries activities in India and also their activities outside India. His work titled *An Account of Ghadr Conspiracy Report (1913-1915)* is chosen for the present research work.

Harold A. Gould is a visiting scholar in South Asian Studies, University of Virginia, and Charlottesville United States of America. He has been an Associate Director of the Center for `Asian Studies at the University of Illinois and was also a Professor of Anthropology at the same University. Harold A. Gould wrote about the original Indians who had migrated to America and Canada, organized the Ghadar Movement and also wrote about the Komagata Maru incident and the Intensification of Community awareness, the formation of Ghadar Movement, activities of Lala Hardayal, Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, Pandit Kanshi Ram and Taraknath Das. He also provided facts about the legacy of the Ghadar movement. One might say that its Cultural reach exceeded its military achievements. The research work conducts a historical analysis of his work *Sikhs, Swamis, Students, and Spies* (Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2006).

Review of Literature: Every researcher begins his research mission with a systematic review of what has been done in the past related to the field of his research proposal. It is well said that doing a research without in-depth review of current literature abandon the researcher with a ridiculous opinion of the research in his area. It can be

right to say that review of literature also benefits in reducing the possibilities of repetition. Thus, it is essential to do a rigorous analysis of the formerly researched work in the field of study. Therefore an exertion has been made here to review the literature as below:

Ghadar Lehar de Unfole Warke(1989) by Bhagat Singh Bilga¹ who has been one of the top accredited leaders of the Ghadar Party has explained in detail the role of the Ghadar Party and Kirti Party from 1908-1952. The original facts given by him need further analysis while adding the same through the sources which have not been tapped so far. More particularly, the ideological stance of the Kirti Party when it came into existence in 1926 needs analytical treatment. Also the placement of the Kirti Party in the Communist movement in the Punjab asks for specific treatment.

Hindustan Ghadar Party: A Short History(1977)²by Sohan Singh Josh discusses in detail the role of the Ghadar party which he writes as Hindustan Ghadar Party. He published its history in two volumes. The second volume deals with the Ghadar party after the First World War. He represents the official Communist view point which is at variance with the Ghadarite one For the most part; Indian scholars who have written about the Hindustani Ghadar Party have focused on the military invasion of India. The books are written with little to no analysis or historiography; rather they cover the events as a chronicle. They do not look at the political writing, the United States federal trial, or any of the American contributing factors to the Ghadar Party formation. As a group, not one Indian scholar of the Ghadar movement is a historian.

Ghadar 1915: India's First Armed Revolution in (1966) by Kushwant Singh and Satindra Singh, Khushwant Singh is a journalist and novelist who published His work focused on British India during a few key months in 1915. The brief 120-page work provides cursory coverage of the military failure in India: over half of the text is allotted to appendices and photographs. While supplying a basic timeline of the Ghadar Party milestones, *Ghadar 1915* focuses on the reasons for the Party's military failure in India. Singh argues that the Ghadar Party failed because of "the tension

¹ Bhagat Singh Bilga , *Ghadar Lehar de Unfole Warke*, Panj Aab Parkashan, Jalandhar,Third Edition, 2013.

² Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Ghadar Party : A Short History*, New Delhi, 1977.

between the Germans and the Ghadarites. And the efficiency of the British Intelligence Service which planted spies in the highest councils of the revolutionaries."³ Singh does not take into consideration other potential factors such as the Ghadarites 'lack of planning or their naive view of the realities of a military expedition. In Singh's work, the American influences on the Hindustani Ghadar Party go largely unnoticed. He does not refer to the federal trial or the deportations, nor does the work explore any aspect of the literature of the Hindustani Ghadar Party. *Ghadar 1915* emphasizes the military expedition and that Indians fought against their oppressors.

Ghadar Revolution in America in (1980) by Anil Baran Ganguly .His work places the Hindustani Ghadar Party within the framework of Indo-American relations starting with the American revolutionary war in the eighteenth century. Writing from a Marxist perspective, he argues that the rich, capitalist country of America could not be expected to assist the Ghadarites in their fight against Britain. However, like the other Indian authors, his work focuses on the Military expedition to India. He devotes only two paragraphs to the American federal trial of *United States v. Franz Bopp, et. al.*, and he curiously (!) justifies the murder Ram Chandra in the Courtroom.⁴ Additionally, Ganguly includes several appendices of the names and villages of those incarcerated from the many Indian-conspiracy cases. Unlike other Indian scholars, Ganguly devotes several pages of text covering events after the military expedition and conspiracy trials. For instance, he includes a letter from Tarak Nath Das to Harry Truman in 1950 asking for assistance to feed those displaced by an earthquake in Assam.⁵ His inclusion of this letter links the discrimination the early Indian immigrants felt with the Marxist interpretation of continued economic imperialism dominating Asia in the 1950's. In other words, Ganguly attempts to link the Ghadar Party to world events after 1919, something no other Indian author has done.

³ Khushwant Singh and Satindra Singh, *Ghadar 1915: India's First Armed Revolution*, R&K Publishing House: New Delhi, 1966), p.55.

⁴ Arun Baran Ganguly, *Ghadar Revolution in America*,: Metropolitan Publisher, New Delhi, 1970),p. 89.

⁵ Taraknath Das To Harry Truman, letter dated September 2, 1950 Reprinted in Ganguly, *Ghadar Revolution in America*, pp. 10- 11.

ANALYSIS OF THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THE PRESENT RESEARCH STUDY

A cursory glance at the aforementioned review of literature would suggest that they were not significantly and importantly related to the nature and scope of our research proposal. Nonetheless, it cannot be said that these works are completely lacking of importance for the present study. A few scholars particularly have focused on the Punjabi immigrants and Ghadarites activities. But there is no critical analysis with the help of primary sources. And there is no comparative analysis of the writings of selected writers. There is no attempt by any writers to do critical analysis of his writings on Ghadar movement. This is new and distinct from the previous research works. This research proposal is basically based on the writings of Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol, Harish K.Puri, Ise Monger, J.Slattery and Harold A.Gould.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES:

This research work is based upon the comparative historical analysis methodology. This methodology has a long and notable history in the social sciences. It is said that the founders of modern social science, from Adam Smith to Alexis de Tocqueville to Karl Marx all had used comparative historical analysis that sets out to investigate systematically two or more entities with respect to their similarities and differences, in order to arrive at understanding, explanation and further conclusions. Similarly, the historical writings of Indian writers Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol, Harish K.Puri and Non Indian writers Ise Monger, J.Slattery and Harold A.Gould. An attempt has also been made to evaluate and analyze the opinions and assumptions of the aforementioned historians with the help of primary or near contemporary sources.

It is well said that study of source alone does not make history, but without the study of sources there is no history. Thus this research work based on primary sources such as newspaper, *Akali te Pardesi*, *Kirti*, and also files related to Ghadar movement in Ganda Singh collection at Bhai Khan Singh Nabha Library at Punjabi University Patiala, contemporary writings. From the history of Emergence, Concern and Organization of Ghadar movement and activities of Ghadarites in Punjab and Legacy of the Ghadar Movement, this research based on, *Proceedings of Home Political* (B) June 1913, No.5., *Proceedings of Home Political* (B) July 1910, No,196-

97. *Proceedings of Home Political (A)* October, 1912, No 91, *Proceedings of Home Political (A)*, January 1914, No 42-43 *Proceedings of Home Political (B)* June, 1913, No, 5-17., *Proceedings of Home Political, (A)* June, 1914, No.43-45., *Proceedings of Home Political(B)* May 1917, No.1917 ,No.342, *Proceedings of Home Political* File No 268, 1922, *Proceedings of Home Political* 1924 File No 1/11, *Proceedings of Home Political* No.235,1926. *Sedition Committee*, (Rowland Justice), 1918, *The Ghadar Directory* Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, The Civil and Military Gazette, 10, June 1923, The Civil and Military Gazette, 5, October, 1923, The Beginning of Conspiracy and War Part-3 in The Revolutionists in America (A), The Return to India (B), The Revolutionists In India(C), War Against King Emperor Ghadr of 1914-15(A Verdict By Special Tribunal) edited by Malwinder Jit Singh and Harinder Singh, *Ghadar Movement Original Documents Judgments*, Ghadr Movement Vol.111, (edited by Malwinder Jit Singh Waraich and Harish Jain), *Lahore Conspiracy Case No.7, Lahore Conspiracy Case-2 (Supplementary)*, Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna's autobiography, *Meri Aap Biti* (Amarjit Chandan translated in Punjabi from Urdu), Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna's autobiography *Jiwan Sangram te Hor Likha* (edited by Malwinder Jit Singh, Waraich), Dairy Baba Hari Singh Usman,(edited by Malwinder Jit Singh), ,Shachindrarnath Sanyal, *Bandi Jiwan* (Punjabi) Sohan Singh Josh, ,My Meetings With Bhagat Singh and on other Early Revolutionary, Communist Party of India, Delhi, 1976, *Ghadari Yodha Bhai Santokh Singh* (Jeevani atte Lekhtan) Compiled by Desh Bhagat Yadgar Hall, Jalandhar, *Report of Komagata Maru Committee Of Inquiry And Some Further Documents*, (edited by Darshan Singh Tatla), *Voyage of Komagata Maru or India's Slavery Abroad* by Baba Gurdit Singh with an Introduction by Darshan Singh, *Zumli Katha (Do Bhag)*, *Komagat Maru di Dard Bhari Kahani ate Mukamal Biyan Baba Gurdit Singh Ji* (Punjabi) edited by Prithipal Singh Kapur and Darshan Singh Tatla, Gurcharn Singh Sanisara ,*Ghadr Party da Ithias*, Desh Bhagat Yaadghar Jullandhar,

CHAPTERIZATION: This research work is divided into six chapters. In the following lines, there in brief introduction about the chapter as:

FIRST CHAPTER- INTERODUCTION: in this chapter a brief introduction of the Ghadar movement. In this chapter, a brief outline of Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol, Harish K.Puri's and Non Indian writers Ise Monger, J.Slattery and Harold A.Gould's life is also given Instead of it research methodology has been used in this work is

discuss. Review of literature is also given, in order to understand what was done before this research proposal and how this is different from them. A brief introduction of all the chapters has also been given.

SECOND CHAPTER: LIFE, MOTIVES OF THE SELECTED WRITERS: This chapter is about the early life of Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol, Harish K.Puri and Non Indian writers Ise Monger, J.Slattery and Harold A.Gould. This is included the information of their birth, family, education and career. Instead of their life, an effort has been made to understand why did they write about Ghadar movement? What type of factors had influenced on them to write Ghadar movement?

THIRD CHAPTER: ON EMERGENCE, CONCERNS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE EARLY GHADAR MOVEMENT: The study is centered on the emergence, concerns and organization of the early Ghadar movement, in the writings of Indian writers Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K. Puri and Non-Indian writers Ise-Monger, J. Slattery and Harold A. Gould. An attempt has been made to draw attention to the role of important Indian writers and Non-Indian writers in the Ghadar movement from a historical perspective. Some vivid aspects and concerns of the Ghadar movement are systematically treated and presented in the chapter. A detailed account of the reasons behind the large scale emigration of Punjabis to Canada and America is provided in the works of the writers. Their writings take care of various factors that led to Punjabis and especially Sikhs to foreign lands. The writers highlight how political slavery and oppression awakened the convulsive spirit of political consciousness among people. The study of the works of these writers leads the reader to manners and methods employed in attaining freedom and changing the power-equations of the polity. An effort has been made by the writers to put in perspective the circumstances leading to the establishment of the Ghadar party in foreign lands. Apart from the problems of acculturation and assimilation, works of the selected writers make it evident that the newly immigrated Indians faced many problems related to slavery and exploitation. A new social and political awareness engulfed the immigrants of India to fight for freedom for India in order to attain equal rights and justice, and create better living conditions.

FOURTH CHAPTER- PLAN AND ACTIVITIES OF GHADARITES IN PUNJAB: This study provides a close examination of the Ghadar movement. It aims

at analysing the plans and actions of the Ghadar movement. The mandate and strategies of the Ghadar movement to achieve freedom from British occupation are distinctively presented and analysed in the writings of the selected Indian writers and Non-Indian writers with the help of other sources

Both then selected Indian writers and selected non-Indian writers suggest that the members of the party mainly organized themselves to start an armed struggle against British rule. However, many historical aspects are ignored by Non-Indian writer Harold A. Gould. The Indian writers and non Indian writers believed that the outbreak of the First World War was seen by the Ghadarites as an opportunity and launch into immediate action. During this time the British were distracted by the war. The leaders of the Ghadar movement proposed the idea that it was the perfect time to free their country from the British yoke. Taking a serious note of this event, Plans and pre-arrangements were made, activities were planned and the volunteers of the party were divided into squads. They started visiting various places, sending their members to seek training in military warfare, and motivating maximum people to get recruited themselves as members of the party. They felt that it was time to go back to India and make people aware of unjustified imperialist policies of the British Empire and encourage people to overthrow the British rule.

The Ghadarites decided to launch their massive propaganda and circulate their message all over the world through the newspaper. The role of Ghadri literature in enthusing Indians found an eloquent expression in the writings of all selected writers. The selected writers also bring a critical analysis of the *Komaghata Maru* episode and its ramifications. Their opinions regarding the incident reflect the view that the *Komaghata Maru* incident was not directly connected to the Ghadar movement. However, the *Komaghata Maru* incident significantly influenced the Sikhs and other South Asians in America and Canada. It added fuel to the prevailing anger of the people towards the British

The writers also offer an analysis that the outbreak of the First World War led to the voluntary return of Ghadarites to take part in the rebellion in India against the British. It has also been highlighted that the many Ghadarites were arrested as the government had already acquired information about the revolutionary plans of the Ghadar Party. They also brought out the fact that the British government received

timely information about the action of the Ghadarites and timely measures were taken by the government to restrict the movement. However, Harold A. Gould does not provide any information regarding this matter. Historians looked upon the view that meetings were held on a regular basis to discuss the political situation. These meetings were very significant in influencing and turning people into political activists. The fiery speeches and lectures motivated people to get rid of the imperial forces.

The Ghadarites attempted to plunder Britain's treasures, but they often failed. Writers also elaborate on the relations between the Ghadarites and the Bengali revolutionaries. The arrival of the Bengali revolutionary Rash Bihari Bose to Punjab and his role in the movement and in the organization has also been discussed in the selected writings. Under the circumstances that followed, the Ghadarites again started to commit numerous dacoities for the purchase of weapons. Funds were raised through dacoity. Dacoity was not merely a way of raising funds. dacoity is examined by the selected writers as an integral aspect of the party's ant colonial praxis. Underneath the dacoity, there was the discontent of exploited peasants and tenants in the hands of rural money-lenders.

The Ghadarites fixed 21 February 1915 for the uprisings that would erupt across India through Indian Troops. However, Kirpal Singh, an informant for the British police, passed the information on to the police and alerted the police about the upcoming uprising. The Ghadarites had to modify their plan and reschedule it. The historians provide a detailed account of the process under which the plans of the Ghadarites were foiled and their dream to liberate their country was shattered. It is evident that H.K Puri has dealt briefly with the failure of the conspiracy. However, Harold A. Gould does not comment on this matter.

FIFTH CHAPTER- THE LEGACY OF THE GHADAR MOVEMENT IN THE BRITISH INDIA: Through the writings of Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K. Puri and non-Indian writers Ise Monger, J. Slattery, and Harold A. Gould the proposed research work is an attempt to understand perspectives of the Indian writers and non-Indian writers about the Ghadar Movement and its legacy or results. The patriotic zeal of the Ghadarites initiated the strong sense of patriotism into the next generation. The Ghadar movement remained an inspirational force for Akali Dal

and Babbar Akali movements, Kirti- Kisan movement and for revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh. The present research project focuses on such movements as the Akali Dal and Babbar Akali movement, Kirti –Kisan party as well as the role of Bhagat Singh and the Indian –National Army. The Ghadar movement left a legacy of activism for these movements.

All Indian writer and Non-Indian writer Gould have identified the immediate and long-standing causes behind the failure of Ghadar movement. However, they wrote that, fact that the failure of the movement did not mark its demise. The Ghadarites continued the struggle against the British Empire. The selected writers, Jagjit Singh , Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K Puri presents the view that Ghadarits after being released from jails got involved in many other movements, demanding social justice and freedom. On the other hand, the legacy of the Ghadar movement did not catch much attention of the Non –Indian writers Ise-Monger and J. Slattery. However, Non-Indian writer Harold A.Gould explores certain facets linked with the legacy of this movement. Harold A. Gould wrote that Ghadar movement achieved many of its objectives with much success. It can be said that that the Ghadar movement was significant in influencing the future freedom fighters. The movement served as a prelude to the pulsating revolutionary movements in the history of India. The Ghadar movement inaugurated an anti-colonial resistance in India. It succeeded in achieving its aim of opening great prospects for the people of India to resist British control. The influence of Ghadar movement on Kirti-Kisan movement is observed by Jagjit Singh. He recorded that *Kirti* newspaper was launched by Bhai Santokh Singh after his release from jail. On the other hand, Harish K.Puri also presents a reflection of the Kirti –Kisan movement in his work. Harish K.Puri has delineated the revival of many ideologies of the Ghadar in various other movements. He explores the important role played by the Ghadar movement in the Akali and Babbar Akalis movements. One of the most important influences on Gurdwara Reform Movement which started in late 1920 and continued up to 1925 came from Ghadarites revolutionary ideology and beliefs. The movement initiated a radical endeavor as many Ghadarite leaders had become involved it. The government officials and the police officers were highly scared of the Babbar Akali movement. The historians expose the fact that strict measures were enforced to suppress the Babbar Akalis and hired agents to penetrate the party and watch their activities. Though the movement

lasted only for a few years from 1921 to 1925, its impacts and repercussions could be felt on the freedom struggle. Every ideology and belief of the movement proved to be of enduring value and could not easily wither away. Later, the legacy of activism and commitment of the Ghadar movement also energised the revolutionaries of Naujawan Bharat Sabha including Shaheed Bhagat Singh. A convulsive spirit of revolution awakened a spirit of patriotism into the hearts of youth of the country in which social and political issues became very important to them. Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri also emphasis the imprint left by Ghadraties on the Indian National Army in 1942. It was precisely the impact of the Ghadar movement that these movements were able to recruit volunteers from all over the world to liberate India from British rule. Hence, it can be said that the Ghadar movement left an extraordinary legacy. The movement aroused patriotic feelings among the people of India and created favorable circumstances for the upcoming revolutionary struggle. The legacy of the movement is diverse and wide-ranging which survives among the people of India through movements such as Akali Dal and Babbar Akali movements, Kiti- Kisan movement and revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh.

SIXTH CHAPTER- COMPARATIVE AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE INDIAN AND NON- INDIAN WRITINGS: In this chapter an attempt has been made to study the similarities and dissimilarities related to the issues of emergence, concerns, organization of the Ghadar movement, activities of Ghadarits in Punjab and the legacy of Ghadar movement in the varied account of the selected writes. For this chapter a comparison of their opinions with primary and contemporary sources has been made.

Conclusion- It can be said that the Indian writers have portrayed a vivid picture of the Ghadar movement because of their interest in and the consciousness of the importance of the freedom struggle. Varied issues and events portrayed in the writings of the Indian and non-Indian writers have several similarities and dissimilarities. There are conflicting versions about the establishment of the Ghadar movement and the major episodes that occurred during the uprising. In this research project, an attempt will be made to study the similarities and dissimilarities in the writings of the selected writers concerning the issues of emergence, concerns, organization of the Ghadar movement, activities of Ghadarits in Punjab and the legacy of Ghadar movement.

Chapter-2

Life and Motives of the selected writers

Indian writers:

Jagjit Singh was born on 12th February 1904 at Pindori Sidhuan near village Dhotian in district Amritsar. His father's name was Sardar Arjan Singh and mother's name was Sardarni Ram kaur. He received early education in Village School and at Khalsa School, Tarn Taran. In the formative years of his life his inclination was towards Philosophy. However, the ambiguities of philosophy left him confounded. Because of his doubts about the relevance of philosophy he did not pursue it further. Thereafter, he did his B.sc from Khalsa College Amritsar in 1925. He completed his M.Sc in Chemistry in 1927 from Panjab University Lahore. Later he also studied at the Bangalore institution of Chemistry. After completing his higher education, he adopted teaching as a profession and became a Lecturer in Chemistry at Sikh National College Lahore. The college was shifted to Qadian in Gurdaspur district after the partition of the country. He was so accomplished a teacher and his overall personality was so inspiring that his students considered themselves fortunate. Apparently at the overt level the students were getting instructions in chemistry of physical elements; however, but at the same time, at an invisible level he was also imparting lessons in the chemistry of the soul.¹ He took up teaching as career and taught Chemistry in both the Punjabs. The analytical scientific approach and love for objectivity remained his outstanding quality as a thinker and writer later on.² One could perceive a plethora of numerous saintly qualities in him. His thoughts were pure. He was soft and sweet in speech. He was convinced about the importance of uprightness and truth and would utter only the truth. He did not offend anyone –not even those who held views diametrically opposed to his own. In fact he was a noble and humble personality.³

In his younger days Jagjit Singh, laid greater stress on action and service of humanity, than on meditation or Naam Simran which had been emphasized in

¹ Interview with Sammera (who is granddaughter of Jagjit Singh) at Chandigarh date 19-12-2017 time 11.00 am to 12 pm.

² Gurtej Singh, *Sardar Jagjit Singh: A Salute*, in *Abstract of Sikh Studies October- December 1997*, p.11

³ Editorial, *A Real Saint*, in *Abstract of Sikh Studies April-June 1997*, p.1

Gurbani. However, in the company of the great saint, Baba Wasakha Singh, and through his own experience, he discovered the source of all values, truth or the spirit that pervades the universe. This spirit expresses and makes itself manifest in every aspect and facet of life. It binds the entire humanity into one brotherhood. Jagjit Singh had a realization that it was necessary to be one with this spirit through meditation. This realization came to him quite early in life. Very few people know that he would spend a large part of the early morning hours in *Naam Simarn*, beside the prescribed *Nit Nam*. Jagjit Singh lived during the period when India was engaged in a struggle for independence from the British rule. Principal Niranjan Singh of the Sikh National College, Lahore, who was sardar Jagjit Singh's mentor in his youth, was deeply involved in this struggle. Sardar Jagjit Singh stood by his side all the time.⁴

His interest in the Ghadar movement increased when he met Baba Wasakha Singh, who was a great revolutionary and an important ideologue of the Ghadar movement. Jagjit Singh was also closely acquainted with Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, who was the president of Ghadar movement in 1913. The result of this intimacy with Ghadar leaders was that Ghadar movement exercised a deep impact on his mind. It was owing to this that he decided to write the history of Ghadar movement.⁵ Because he wants to tell the history of Ghadar movement to the people.

Ghadar Party Lehar was a Punjabi work which was written by Jagjit Singh. This well – documented and comprehensive work written in Punjab titled *Ghadar Party Lehar* was published in 1956. This book comprises 23 chapters and 5 Appendices besides an introductory preface. As far as the subject matter of the book is concerned it gives a critical historical account of the origin and development of the Ghadar Party movement. This book was dedicated to Sant Wasakha Singh.⁶

Jagjit Singh's work *Ghadar Party Lehar* has been considered to be a landmark because this was the first work in Punjabi Language on the Ghadar history. Moreover

⁴ Editorial, *Saint-Soldier- Scholar Sardar Jagjit Singh*, in Abstract of Sikh Studies October-December, 1997, p.1.

⁵ Ibid, p.2

⁶ Inderjit Singh “ An Abstract of Ghadar Party Lehar” in Abstract of Sikh Studies October-December 1997, p.5

it was based upon an assortment of official records. In this book he produced one of the most authentic and concise account of the Ghadar movement.⁷

Ghadari Baba Wasakha Singh was so pleased with the Publication of *Ghadar Party Lehar*, that he went on to say that Jagjit Singh had recorded the truth about the Ghadar movement. This view amounted to saying that Jagjit Singh had written this book from a genuinely historical point of view.⁸ He also remarked, " *Bha ,tun sade vich jaan pa diti hai* (Brother you have imparted life to our movement).⁹ Ghadari Baba Bhagwand Singh also wrote a letter from California addressed to Jagjit Singh on June 18, 1956 in relation to the publication of the book *Ghadar Party Lehar* and said, "The book brought out the memories of events that took place when we were young"., Further commenting on the style of the historical narrative, he wrote that Jagjit Singh's style of writing in Punjabi language was very lucid and clear.¹⁰

As far as the approach of the selected writer Jagjit Singh towards Ghadar history was concerned it can be said Jagjit Singh had depended exclusively on selected sources like *Modern Review* , Newspaper *Akali te Pardesi*, *autobiography of Bhai Parmanand*, *autobiography of Sir Micheal O'Dwyer* and also used *Indian Sediton Committee 1918 report* . However, it is evident that Jagjit Singh did not make efforts for meetings with Ghadrates who lived during his time and were more or less his contemporaries. Thus, Ghadrates like Baba Harnam Singh Tundilat, Baba Hari Singh Usaman and Baba Harnam Singh, Baba Gopal Singh, Baba Kartar Singh, Baba Gurmukh Singh, Baba Prithivi Singh Azad, Kurpal Singh and Bhagwan Singh were contemporaries of Jagjit Singh but in the process of writing his book Jagjit Singh did not meet them. Jagjit Singh has also mentioned in his book, all the main the sources of information regarding the Ghadr movement which were very important from the historical point of view but which remained inaccessible to him. These records consisted of the trails the other records of the National Archives, New Delhi, the Ghadar Party records and complete files of Ghadar and Sansar, the record concerned with Archives and CID departments of USA, Canada and Britain governments, the records of the Malay government regarding the activities of the Ghadar movement in

⁷ Editorial, *A Real Saint*, p.1.

⁸ See about the author Portion of the hard bound book by its cover toward the end, Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, 2012.

⁹ Gurtej Singh, *Sardar Jagjit Singh: A SALUTE* in Abstract of Sikh Studies October- December 1997, p.11.

¹⁰ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, Second edition preface, p.9.

Singapore and the news items published in the newspapers of USA and Canada regarding the activities of the Ghadar party and Indian revolutionaries overseas.¹¹ It is important to note that apart from the book on Ghadar history Jagjit Singh wrote many books on Sikh history. The first book on Sikh history titled *Revolution* was published in 1981. Its Punjabi edition *Sikh Inqalab*, followed in quick succession in 1982. Both the books were very well received by the scholars as well as the lay readers. The books have enjoyed great popularity and have been printed a number of times. The second book on Sikh history by Jagjit Singh titled *Jat Pat te Sikh* was Published in Punjabi in 1986. It constitutes a thorough study of the Hindu caste system.¹² This book was followed by another book titled *Percussions of History: The Sikh revolution and the Caravan of Revolutions* in 1988 and its equally readable translation *Inqlabi Lehra de Parsang Vich Sikh Leharan* was published in Punjabi language in 1992.¹³ Immediately after the publication of the above mentioned works, Jagjit Singh conceived of another important book. He wanted to name it Dynamics of the Sikh Revolution; however he did not live to see it through its publication. Right from the beginning, he planned it as his last work. It was a time when age was catching up with him. More than that, in a tragic sequence of events both his lifelong friend and comrade in arms Sardar Daljeet Singh and his beloved eldest daughter Dr Parkashjit Kaur died in quick succession. This was a blow in his personal life and he never recovered from. He maintained a clam public exterior, but his immediate family reveals that he was taken seriously ill. A few others who were close to him also tell how he grieved in private. During this period, he was once taken very seriously ill, but fortunately, timely medical aid helped him to recover quickly. Jagjit Singh shunned the limelight and worked without fanfare or publicity. Words of praise often left him embarrassed. It was a sign of his modesty. In fact, he valued humility as the greatest virtue it is quite well known that it was after a great deal of persuasion that he consented to accept that Bhai Gurdas Award conferred upon him by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee for his work on Sikhism in 1993. Jagjit Singh died in 1997.¹⁴

¹¹ Jagjit Singh , *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.264.

¹² Gurtej Singh, *Sardar Jagjit Singh: A SALUTE*, p.11.

¹³ *Ibid*,p.11

¹⁴ *Ibid*,pp.11-12.

Gurdev Singh Deol: Gurdev Singh Deol was a professor of political Science. He had obtained Master degree in two streams one in Economics and the second in political Science. He received his Ph.D Degree in December 1965 from the Panjab University, Chandigarh under the guidance of Dr I.D.Sharma who was professor and Head of the Department of¹⁵ Political Science at Panjab University, Chandigarh. . Gurdev Singh Deol's research on Ghadar Movement started while he was doing his Ph.D.¹⁶ As part of his research he conducted interviews with the prominent members of the movement like Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna on 5 January and 3 October ,1962 at Village Bhakna District, Amritsar , Baba Harnam Singh Tundilat on 12 January ,1961 and 17 September ,1962 at Village and Post Office Kotla Naudh Singh, District Hoshiarpur(Punjab), Baba Hari Singh Usman on 15 February , 1961 and Baba Harman Singh Tundilat on 12 January ,1961,4 January 1962 at Village and post office Sohian District Ludhiana , Baba Gopal Singh on 19 February, 1961 at Village and post office Sohian , District Ludhiana, Baba Kartar Singh on 26 February 1961 at Village and post office Latala, District Ludhiana, Bhagwan Singh on 18 March, 1961 at Village and post office Wrang, District Amritsar, Baba Gurmukh Singh on 15 March 1961 at Village and post office Lalton, District Ludhiana, Baba Prithvi Singh Azad on 29 November , 1962 at Nabha, Shri Kurpal Singh, on 20 March 1961 at Village and Post office Bopa Rai Kalan, District Ludhiana, and other political leaders like Partap Singh Kairon , Former Chief Minister (Punjab) on 19 July , 1961, at Village and Post Office , Kairon District Amritsar(Punjab). He also obtained a statement of Dr. Radhakrishan on 9 April 1961 at, Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi.¹⁷Deol said that the Ghadar movement is a forgotten chapter of Indian political history . The knowledge about its organization, work, achievements and the role it played in the larger national movement in India is known to very few even among the intelligentsia, One of the reasons for this state of affairs may be that its activities were mostly confined to a particular region, yet another may be that the British power being well-established was able to deal with it with an iron hand. Even the historians have neglected to present this phase of the Indian struggle for freedom in its proper perspective. With a view to fill this gap in the history of the nationalism through this tributary that the Gurdev Singh Deol selected this subject for his research.

¹⁵ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, Jullundher, 1969, see in forward.p.6.

¹⁶ *Ibid*,pp.236-238.

¹⁷ *Ibid*,p.238

Gurdev Singh Deol's work is based on original sources, published and unpublished of the Ghadar movement, statements of the interviews with the prominent members, leaders and organizers of the movement, the above mentioned Ghadarites and several others. Judgments of various conspiracy cases, reports and records of the government of India and official records of the government of India and official records of the government of the United States of America bearing on political activities of Indians in the USA form an integral part of his study He was also in possession of micro-film copies which were placed at the disposal of the author through the courtesy of the Director of the National Archives of India, New Delhi.¹⁸ Thus, it is evident that Gurdev Singh Deol's work on the Ghadar Movement is noteworthy for the extensive research carried out as part of the study. It is also unique on account of the distinct perspective on the movement presented in Gurdev Singh Deol's works.

Harish K.Puri: Quite a lot of literature has been written already on the Ghadar movement as it is a subject which constitutes an important chapter in the independence struggle. Many different writers have contributed to this aspect of the freedom struggle and a whole body of literature is available on the subject. Among these historians a prominent name is the name of Harish K.Puri. He has written extensively about the Ghadar movement and today also continues to contribute to historical research through his writings. He has contributed extensively to research about the Ghadar movement. Harish K.Puri was born on 4 April 1938, at Nabha in district of Patiala. His father's name was Babu Ram Puri and mother's name was Brije Rani. He belongs to Hindu family. He had his masters in two streams one in Political Science completed in 1959 and second in Public Administration completed in 1968 from Panjab University, Chandigarh. He received his Ph.D degree in 1975 from Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. He was Lecturer in Political Science at B.U.C College Amritsar. Later, he was Lecturer, Reader, Professor and Head of Department of Political Science in Guru Nanak Dev University from 1972 to 1998. He was also the Dean of Social Sciences from 1994 to 1996 and Professor and Head of B.R Ambedkar chair from 1997 to 2003 at the same University in Amritsar. During his prolific career as an academician and historian, he earned many fellowships

¹⁸ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, Jullundher, 1969, see in preface p.6.

including Fulbright Hays Senior Fellowship from the University of California and Senior Fellowship at University of British Columbia, Canada from 1995 to 1996. He also acted as the editor of Punjab journal of Politics from 1977 to 1997. Harish K. Puri participated and presented papers at over 150 National seminars and conferences at places such as Berkeley, Wisconsin and Missouri in United State America, Vancouver in Canada, Seoul in Korea, Colombia in Sri Lanka and India. He was a regular counselor, Alternative Resolution of Marital Disputes from August 2006 to 2014. Alternative Resolution of Marital Disputes was a branch of the Ludhiana Police that dealt with crime against women and children. Dr. Puri was also a member of Lok Adalat of Ludhiana.¹⁹

Harish K.Puri has written extensively on the political movements in Punjab. His subjects deal with the political developments of Punjab politics, the problems of lower castes and dalits, federalism, terrorism and politics of ethnicity and the dynamics of caste and religion in the ground level realities of Punjab. The Ghadar movement has fascinated him and this is evident from the fact that he has written books and articles on the Ghadar movement.²⁰ Actually his interest in the Ghadar movement was aroused in 1968 when he had met Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna thrice in 2 October, 1967, 26 November, 1968 and 20 December, 1968.²¹ As a result of these meeting he felt inspired and he made serious efforts to write about the Ghadar movement. He also planned to conduct his interviews with Prithvi Singh Azad and Gujjar Singh Bhakna, Hanuwant Singh (who was old friend of Lala Hardayal), Harnam Singh and Gurmukh Singh Lalton in order to obtain authentic and intimate information about the movement.²²

Harish K. Puri explained his motives behind writing on the Ghadar movement in his book *Ghadar Movement Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*. He said that the Ghadar movement despite its brief history played an important role in India's struggle for independence. Harish K. Puri wrote that though the movement is yet to get its due recognition in the historiography of Indian nationalism it cannot be said to have remained an unsung chapter of that struggle. Harish K. Puri expressed his opinion that

¹⁹ This information was send to me by Harish K.Puri as such as date 10 January, 2015.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 10 January, 2015.

²¹ Harish K.Puri ,*Ghadar Movement, Ideology, OrganisationandStrategy*, Guru Nanak University , Amritsar,1993, p.12.

²² *Ibid.*p.11.

there is no doubt that more than one published account of the movement is already available and some of its major landmarks and characteristics have been briefly covered in a number of biographies and autobiographies which form a part several other books relating to India's freedom struggle. In one of his prefaces Harish K.Puri argued that even though literature on the Ghadar Movement is available a new book on Ghadar movement may still have great relevance for us today. This is so because history has to be constantly retold and reviewed in every age as this may help in elucidating some lesser known and unexplored aspects of the Ghadar movement.²³

Harish K.Puri being an educationist and intellectual retained his focus mainly on Indian revolutionary intellectuals abroad. He had a consciousness that the Ghadar movement is normally understood to be a phenomenon that was founded, controlled and directed by the traditional intellectuals who were able to woo the illiterate and common Punjabi laborers as a part of their fabled international schemes. Harish K. Puri argued that due to this perspective the role and activities of the vast number of Punjabi Ghadarites remained in obscurity.²⁴

Harish K.Puri wrote that several such accounts that focus on the intellectual side of the Ghadar movement and which depend on the trials of the student revolutionaries seem to lay a misplaced emphasis on the share of the Ghadarites in the Hindu-German Conspiracy. This can also be attributed to the fact that successive Governments of India have been obsessed with the Ghadar's German connection. Moreover, documentation of all kinds of activities of Indian revolutionaries aboard has been linked with Ghadar activities. Scholars have found abundant material in the proceedings of Home Department's political branch and in the records of the conspiracy trial to prove this. It is also important to note that most works in this category were written by scholars from Bengal. In other words work on Ghadar movement largely became a Bengali enterprise.²⁵

Harish K.Puri contended that the second category of literature on the Ghadar movement consists of those works in which the focus is centered on the vast number of Punjabis who played a major role in the movement. In contrast to the work of Bengali writers and scholars, Sikh intellectual and writer, Khushwant Singh presented

²³ *Ibid*,pp. 1-2.

²⁴ *Ibid*,p.4

²⁵ *Ibid*,p.5

it more saliently as a movement of the Pacific Coast Sikhs which emerged out of the struggles waged by Khalsa Diwan leadership. Khushwant Singh presented the fact that in this movement the Gurdwaras in the Pacific Coast acted as the epicenters of political activity. Their involvement was a result of the influence of the radical views of Lala Hardyal. According to Kushwant Singh since the immigrants needed to deal with lawyers and government department they required spokesmen like Hardyal who could speak English. This was one of the reasons for the pervasive influence of Lala Hardyal on the Sikhship. However, friction between Hindu intelligentsia and Sikh workers was inevitable because the Sikhs looked down upon the Hindus as English speaking babus who did not have courage of their convictions. On the other hand, the Hindus treated the Sikhs with same the contempt with which educated people generally treat their rustic counterparts. Thus, it has been brought out by Khushwant Singh that the Ghadar Movement was beset with many contradictions and it had to overcome these contradictions to cast itself in a populist mould. The self image of the Indian community had to be readjusted and a whole set of questions related to the archetype of contemporary socio- political character of the community was sidelined.²⁶

Harish K. Puri observes that a very notable aspect of these accounts of the movement is a marked fascination for heroic deeds and sacrifices of the Punjabi patriots. In other words, the movement is presented as yet another evidence of Punjabi heroic tradition. According to Harish Puri's perspective such a view very conveniently ignores the role played by Punjab during the first War period as sword – arm of the empire. Apart from this approach precludes an analysis of the movement's ideology, organization and strategy for revolution. Thus, the reasons for the failure of the movement rather than being explained in terms of the inner contradictions are simplistically explained in the form of the conventional answer that *Mukhbar maar gaya* (the spy wrecked it).²⁷

Hairsh K. Puri takes a comprehensive view to say that all these diverse trends were reflected within the ideological hold of the Ghadar revolutionaries. However, whereas on the one hand the revolutionary nationalists in India and abroad operated in the orbit of the elite class, the Ghadar movement became more or less a mass

²⁶ *Ibid*,pp.4-5.

²⁷ *Ibid*,p 5.

movement in which the elite ideologues of the movement were able to bridge the gap between the petite bourgeois revolutionaries and masses from a peasant class. This made the Ghadar Movement a unique kind of revolutionary movement. Such a movement was a dream of revolutionary nationalists, but was never possible in India. An in-depth study of this movement reveals that the movement was full of new possibilities and hitherto unforeseen hopes.²⁸

Harish K. Puri's statements make it clear that the Ghadar Movement can be seen as an instance of political violence and revolutionary change. At the same time it is also relevant for understanding what it was which made a revolutionary movement successful or unsuccessful. The manner in which this movement developed and the character it acquired in practice, raises several important issues about the interrelationships and contradictions on ideology and organization, heroism and strategy. A study of these issues may be helpful in both the understanding and serious reflection on the organic problems of mass revolutionary movements. However, according to Harish K. Puri the fact remains that the future generations in India are greatly fascinated by the stories of individual heroism and sacrifice as the key factor in this revolutionary struggle. Therefore, Harish K. Puri acknowledges the significance of the movement in the history of freedom struggle and a comprehensive analysis of the various aspects like the revolutionary character, the elitist credentials, the ideological contradictions and the varied historical narratives of Punjabi and Bengali historians makes such an analysis particularly relevant to the students of social science.²⁹

Harish K. Puri said that "I have chosen to study the ideology, organization and strategy of the Ghadar movement and to place the movement in the context of the evolution of Indian nationalism." He wrote that ideology is taken here as a framework of consciousness in the form of an integrated set of ideas and beliefs which provide to the leaders and followers the explanation of their problems. The ideological framework according to Puri can also be interpreted as a conception of the desired social and political order and stimulation for the action required for bringing about that change. However, at the same time the presence of an ideology and an integrated

²⁸ *Ibid*,p,6-7

²⁹ *ibid*,p,7.

set of ideas do not mean that the movement was characterized by the existence of heterogeneous beliefs.³⁰

Harish K.Puri wrote that a probe into the nature of organization of this movement leads one into a miasma of diverse views regarding the structural arrangements, the various levels of authority and leadership and the patterns of leadership and channels of communication that constituted the framework of the movement. The study related to strategy of the Ghadar leadership offers a glimpse into the methods and the manner in which the Ghadarites went about their actual operation. The main aim of the Ghadarites was to accomplish a coup with the support of disaffected Indian soldiers of the British army. Harish K. Puri's works also marks an effort to place in the right perspective the nature of inter-relationship between the different groups of revolutionaries, particularly between those belonging to the Indian Independence Committee of Berlin and the Ghadar establishment in California.³¹

It is noteworthy that Harish K. Puri was a avid scholar and he regularly visited big and old libraries and Archives such as the National Archives of India New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Museum and library Delhi, Punjab State Archives Patiala, Desh Bhagat Yadgar Library Jalandhar, Sikh History Research Center, Khalsa College Amritsar, Motilal Nehru Library in India and the Libraries in Punjab. He relied on these repositories of knowledge for his Ph.D work. In order to carry out his research for his historical works, he had long meetings with Ghadarites Babe. He often used to record his conversations with the tape recorder. Harish K. Puri travelled throughout India in search of material for the Ghadar movement; he also went to various other countries such as London and Canada in the process of research. His contribution to the legacy of Ghadar movement is really great due to his analytical work and objective approach.³²

In 1979 he received an invitation from the centre for south and south East Asia studies university of California Berkeley to consult records at various Libraries abroad. During these visits he obtained records of the Hindu German conspiracy trial from both the Central and at the District court in San Francisco, He also obtained some important tracts published by the Ghadar press which were not available in

³⁰ *Ibid*,p.7.

³¹ *Ibid*,p8.

³² Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movemeent Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, see in preface, pp.11-12.

India but they were preserved at the Ghadar memorial at San Francisco. In the course of his visits he was also able to lay hands on a rare research material in the form of a micro film.³³

In 1990 Harish K. Puri received sponsorship by the University Grants commission and award of Fulbright Hays Fellowship. It was an opportunity which was given to him in recognition of his work on Ghadar movement. During this course of his fellowship he worked at the Centre for south Asia Studies, Universities of California and Berkeley. Moreover, during this period while collecting material on Ghadar movement he developed good relations with famous scholars as like Emily Brown, Harald Jacoby , Karen Leohard Bruce, Labrak , Stephen , Janice Mackinnon Van Dusenbery and Hugh Johnston.³⁴

Harish K.Puri's writing style has been interrogative and his analytical approach tends to engage the reader in broader issues of social and political transformation. His contribution lies in the fact that has offered a critique of certain tendencies among our historians and intellectuals writing on the subject of Punjab's contribution to India's freedom struggle. As stated above, Puri has brought out in his works that historical research on Punjab people has emphasized the chivalry and readiness of the people of Punjab to sacrifice their lives for the common cause. Such examples as of Jallianwala Bagh massacre are often cited to corroborate the view. However, according to him such a view is a distorting factor as it reflected a tendency to bypass the difficult task of comprehensive analysis or politics and hisroty.

Harish K.Puri has examined practically all the material available from whatever Sources he could to bring out the salient features of India's freedom struggle. He has posed a number of serious questions and tried to explain how the leaders grappled with conflicting ideas and impulses in them. All this has been placed in the social and political context.³⁵ Harish K.Puri's work is based on primary sources, published and unpublished sources of Ghadar movement, and also based on interviews with the prominent Ghadarites. His work also depends on various reports

³³ *Ibid*,pp.11-12

³⁴ *Ibid*,pp.12.

³⁵ Harish K.Puri,*Ghadar Movement to Bhagat Singh: A Collection of Essays*, Unistar Chandigarh, 2012, see in foreward,p.5

and records of the government of India and official records of the government of the United States of America.

Non-Indian Writers:

Ise Monger and J.Slattery: Ise Monger and James. Slattery was officers in Indian Police. Their importance lies in the fact that they are contemporary writers of Ghadar Movement. Ise Monger F.C was born on 5 July, 1876 at Straits Settlements. He died on 11 December, 1960. Ise Monger and J. Slattery wrote on the Ghadar Movement and their work forms an official report on Ghadar Movement. The work of Ise Monger and James Slattery has been divided into three parts. The first part deals with the beginning and growth of the conspiracy, its formation, main leaders and their activities and the second and third parts deal with the return of the Ghadarites to India and their revolutionaries activities in India and also their activities outside India, Burma from Siam and the Singapore Mutiny. This research work has been chosen due to it high historical relevance. Thus the following writing: *An Account of Ghadr Conspiracy (1913-1915)* (published by Superintendent Punjab Government, Lahore, 1919), pp. 224. Ise Monger and J. Slattery form an important part of the literature on the Ghadar Movement written by non-Indian writers.

Harold A.Gould: Harold A. Gould was visiting scholar in South Asian Studies, Center for South Asian Studies, University of Virginia, and Charlottesville, USA. He has been Associate Director and Director of the Center for Asian Studies, University of Illinois, and also professor of anthropology at the same university. He has also held various positions at the Ohio State University, Washington University of St. Louis, University of Kansas, and University of Pittsburgh. He has received several grants and fellowships to conduct research in India throughout his distinguished career. He was also a Fulbright Scholarship to Lucknow University and received the special research grants from The National Institutes of Mental Health, and the Smithsonian Institution. He also served in the US Navy during World War 2, first as a medical corpsman and then as a meteorologist.³⁶ Harold A. Gould has written extensively on India on subjects such as the Hindu caste system, peasant society, social history, elections and Indian politics. He has authored four books on Indian society and

³⁶ Harold A.Gould, *Sikhs, Swami, Students And Spies*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2006, see in Hard binding page.

politics: *The Hindu caste system: The Sacralization of a Social Order, Vol.1* (1987); *Caste Adaptation in Modernizing Indian Society, Vol.2* (1988); *Caste and Politics Vol.3* published in 1991 and *Grass-Roots Politics in India: A Century of Political Evolution in Faizabad District* in published 1994. His co-edited publications include *The Hope and the Reality: US –Indian Relations from Roosevelt to Reagan* Published in 1992; *India Votes: Alliance Politics: Coalition Government in the 9th and 10th General Election* published in 1993 and *India and the United States in a Changing World* published in 2001.³⁷ He has to his credit an article on 1857 which he had denominated as “The Utopian Side of the Indian Uprising of 1857.” This article was published in 1994. In his work on Faizabad district he has dealt with the grassroots realities of Indian Politics in Faizabad district of U.P. Before his two important articles he had written a book on foreign policy of U.S.A. towards India and South East Asia from Roosevelt to Reagan in 1992. His work brings out the fact that whereas Roosevelt stood for the Second World War and the origin of cold war policy; Reagan represented the post cold war phase of American policy.³⁸ This concern of his becomes visible when he starts his book by reminding us as to how the relationship between India and U.S.A. had entered a new friendly phase in 2005 that witnessed the Indian Prime Minister’s visit to U.S.A. This visit was highly appreciated by the American press and by the higher authorities in Washington. His deep interest in India led Harold A. Gould to write something on the Ghadar of 1913.³⁹ Harold himself discloses his intellectual reliance upon a number of Western and Indian but westernized scholars to complete his work entitled *Sikhs, Swamis, and Students and Spies*. Harold A. Gould says that as far as his work was concerned spies referred to “the agents whom the British authorities employed to try and stifle the growth of nationalism and anti colonialism among South Asian immigrants.” Secondly the terms also stand for the influx of original Indians who had migrated to America and organized the Ghadar movement.⁴⁰ Harold A. Gould’s sources of information about Ghadar and other anti-colonial movements were not confined to the Indian public figures like Lala Hardyal and Saint Nihal Singh’s writings or the activities of Professor Teja Singh in both Canada and the United States. He has also been

³⁷ Nazer Singh, *The Ghadar Lehar-National and International Aspects*, publication Punjabi University Patiala, p.1

³⁸ *Ibid*, p 1.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p.1

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.2.

dependent upon Indian writers like Khuswant Singh and Satinder Singh.⁴¹ Harold A.Gould's bibliography refers to Sohan Singh Josh and his book on Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna as the founder of the Ghadar Party published in 1970.⁴²

In the end it can be said that both Indian writers and contemporary Western writers have done extensive research on the various aspects of the Ghadar movement. It has been brought out above that the approach of the Indian writers is markedly different from approach different from each other. They have approached the phenomenon of the Ghadar movement from varied positions related to its ideological background, the elitist credentials, the German-Hindu angle as well as the fervent participation of the Punjabis. Moreover, these writers have explored different aspects of the movement in relation to the activities on the Pacific Coast and in India. On the other hand the work of non-Indian writers like Ise Monger and J. Slattery works are based on oral tradition method. They rely on established sources to a lesser extent and use many other sources like eye witness accounts and personal observations to give shape to their works. Second Non-Indian writer Harold A Gould also depends on a blend of Western and Indian sources to give his perspective about the Ghadar movement. However, Harish K.Puri, Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol represent a class of Indian writers who adopted a very comprehensive approach in their study of the Ghadar movement. Not only are these writers highly prolific but they have built their accounts through a deep understanding of the socio-political dynamics of the Punjabi Diaspora and the rural Punjab and their ideological and social credentials.

⁴¹ *Ibid*,p.5

⁴² *Ibid*,p.8.

Chapter-4

Plan and Activities of Ghadarites in Punjab

This chapter is devoted to the discussion about Ghadar movement. The plan and action of the Ghadar movement and the strategies and activities adopted by them in Punjab as presented in the writings of the selected Indian writers and Non- Indian writers are analysed in this chapter. Jagjit Singh quoted from the first conspiracy case, “...Ghadar has described the meaning of the Swaraj of the revolutionaries very clearly...” The Motive of this movement is that people of Hindustan should revolt and root out the British Government. Under the British rule India is like a pest infected tree. It is important to destroy the British rule and establish a national government. Jagjit Singh also quotes the statement of Baba Sohan Singh. According to his account Baba Sohan Singh told the jailer in Montgomery, “The basic principle of the party was to achieve swaraj by any means.”¹ Jagjit Singh wrote that Ghadar party movement was secular and a Revolutionary movement, whose main aim was to establish the republican rule in Hindustan.²

Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri have also written that in one of the meetings Lala Hardyal clearly declared that the main plan of the Ghadar party was to liberate India through armed rebellion.³ Deol also corroborates the fact that the plans of the Ghadar Party were laid down in the resolution passed at the conferences held at Astoria and Sacramento. Their plan was first to liberate India from the British rule through an armed insurrection. Secondly their plan was to establish and maintain a system of self government in India based on the principle of liberty, equality and fraternity. Thirdly, their aim was to work for a social order which would guarantee the greatest good of the greatest number. Deol quoted from the report of the Senate Fact Finding committee on Un-American activities that the the objectives of this organization were, “to encourage the establishment of a system of a government in India which shall be free from all foreigner control and which shall have as its aim the

¹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, (Punjabi), Navyug Publisher, New Delhi, Third Edition, 2000,p 140.

² *Ibid*,p.139.

³ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement* ,Sterling Publishers, Jullundur,1969,p.57,Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, Guru Nanak University Press .Amritsar,1993,p. 70.

greatest good of the greatest number, and which shall guarantee freedom of thought, speech, press and organization and ensure the minimum necessities of life to all, to publish a periodical review of political, economic, social and intellectual conditions in India by voluntary contribution and without sale.”⁴

Now writers observe their idea, it can be said that the selected Indian writers and Non- Indian writers like Ise Monger and J.Slattery and Harold A.Gould clearly concur in their view that the main motive of the Ghadar party was to take advantage of the international situation. As the British government was deeply occupied in the war the Ghadarites aimed to deal one last blow to the British imperial power. In this way, they aimed to take the best strategic advantage of the situation. Their second goal was to seek help and cooperation of other international anti-British force. The writers reveal that on 31 December 1913 a meeting was held at Sacramento, “Lala Hardayal said that Germany is preparing for a war with England and now is the time to go to India for the revolution to be started.” It is significant that as early as in December 1913 Lala Haradyal was aware of “the contemplated designs of Germany” He was also able to perceive a clear connection between his efforts to raise a rebellion and the anti-British credentials of Germany.⁵

Selected Indian writers reveal that the main aim of the party was to instigate the British Indian troops so that they join that movement and start a revolt. Jagjit Singh wrote that the most significant part and central agenda of the Ghadar program of holding a revolt in India, was to prepare the native troops of the Indian army for a mutiny, although the involvement of common masses, especially youth and rural people in it was included.⁶ Gurdev Singh Deol also wrote that the Ghadarites depended extensively on the Indian army it was easier for them to influence the troops. It is important to note that 75% of the members of the party were ex soldiers.⁷ Harish K.Puri holds the view that Ghadarites wanted that the Indian population should prepare for an armed revolution. Their plan was to proceed to Indian in large numbers

⁴ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.66.

⁵ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.149-150,Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.78, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*,p.70, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915* p.22, *Harold A.Gould,Sikhs,Swamis,Students, and Spies* Sage publications, New Delhi,2006,p.175 ,p.206.

⁶ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*,p 152.

⁷ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.77.

and uproot the enemy through a wide spread armed struggle.⁸ However, the Non-Indian writers remain silent about these aspects of the historical developments.

In last chapter the role and significance of the *Ghadar* newspaper was discussed. It was brought out that the *Ghadar* newspaper played a big role in this movement. Jagjit Singh and Ise Monger and J.Slattery express the view that the *Ghadar* paper was not only the first practical step of the Ghadar party but it became the fulcrum of all activities of the party in the beginning also. Later also *Ghadar* paper was responsible for propagation of the aims and objectives of the party and for making to Ghadar movement a forceful revolutionary power. Because of the outreach of the newspaper there was no need of personal contact with the people in countries other than America for organizing the base of the party. It is noteworthy that wherever the paper was circulated Indian people assembled every week to read or listen to contents of the paper. In places outside America *Ghadar* paper became the centre of activities. All those who adhered to the agenda and ideology of this paper congregated in one place. Eventually, they became closely associated with the ideology and ultimately became part and parcel of the movement and the party.⁹

For this state of affairs there were two causes. In locations outside India where the Indians had migrated especially in the East different political and cultural conditions were having their effect on the Indians. However, after the migration to other countries, Indians had more or less lost the sense of common identity or history. Moreover, as a result of a feeling of alienation in foreign cultures bitterness had arisen in the minds of many. Many of them had sold their land, hearth and home in their effort to go to Canada. The ban of 1911 had resulted in the refusal to enter Canada and they were forced to pass their days in the countries of distant East. However, there was some political awakening as well as a restoration of their sense of belonging owing to contact with people of other countries. The *Ghadar* newspaper also reminded them of the state of slavery of their motherland. The other major reason for the relevance of the *Ghadar* paper was that the newspaper was openly defiant of foreign political rule and propagated armed revolt against English people. Ghadar ideology was characterized by an open revolt and did not conceal anything and its

⁸ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.70.

⁹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.169-170, Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.100 .

objectives. This approach was freely embraced by those Punjabi people who immigrated to foreign land. Obviously such a situation suited the natural temperament of Punjabi farmers who possessed a martial character. It can be said that the revolutionary ideas struck a cord with the Punjabis and left them over whelmed. So much so, when different groups from America marched for the independence of India while passing through Japan, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila and Singapore they left a trail of Punjabis eager to join the movement.¹⁰

Other selected writers Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri also explain same views on this. Deol said that according to the trial court of the first Lahore Conspiracy Case the *Ghadar* was a frankly revolutionary paper. The chief aim of the paper was to prepare the Indians in the USA and other countries for a revolutionary insurrection in India. The poems published in the *Ghadar* from time to time bore testimony to this objective. The following extracts from the poems was placed as evidence to corroborate the revolutionary credentials of the paper:

“The time to draw the sword has come-- the time has come to the wage war-- the time has come to set up rebellion, let us jump into the battle-field.”

“Make rapid preparations for mutiny, so that the every trace of this iron rule maybe obliterated.”

“Deputations have ended in smoke-- take up the sword and shield in your hands.”

“Fight for the country kill the whites.”¹¹

Harish K.Puri writes that in an article of the inaugural issue entitled ‘Our Name and Our Work’ Hardayal described the beginning of *Ghadar* as ‘a new epoch in the history of India, because today there begins in the foreign lands but in the language of the country a war against English rule.A cannonade with the strength of the pen’. The mast-head of the paper carried a declaration as to its character, *Angreji*

¹⁰ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*,pp.169-170, Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915* p.100 . The starting of Gadar Newspaper was a big event in the history of freedom struggle in India. It was a clarion call for revolution. See in details, *Proceedings Home Political*,(A), January 1914, No.42-43. (N.A.I).

¹¹ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.72, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*,p.70.

Raj ka Dushman , and an exhortations’ mainly young man of India take to weapons quick’. *The Gurmukhi* edition carried a religious postulate

Je chit prem khelan Ka Chao

*Sir tar tali gali meri aao*¹²

The objectives in starting the paper was made clear at the outset: ‘Our name and our work are identical’. An armed revolution was to be started in India, because the people could no longer bear the tyranny and oppression under the English Rule. As to when it was to be launched Hardayal answer was: in a few years.¹³

Indian writers Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri and selected Non- Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery wrote that one of the regular features of the weekly was *Angreji Raj ka Kachcha Chittha* consisting of 14 points. In other words it was a raw truth of the British rule which was always printed on the front page. The last point was that ‘56 years have passed since the ‘Ghadar’ of 1857, now there is urgent need of the second one’.¹⁴ The *Ghadar* paper highlighted the exploitative rule of the British ruin of Indian industries and it called itself the enemy of the British Raj.¹⁵

Selected writers wrote about the next step choosing by Ghadarites after Lala Hardayal was arrested by the US authorities on 25 March 1914 on grounds of his anarchist activities. However, his supporters could clearly decipher the role of the British government in his arrest. Hardayal condemned the ‘despicable Pro British subservience of the United State government at present which is responsible for my arrest’ The *Ghadar* of 31 March reported the event with a sensational headline:

Congratulations! Congratulations! Congratulations

Beyond the alert enemies first blow

¹² Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy* ,p.77.

¹³ *Ibid*,p.78.

¹⁴ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.75, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*,p.78-79., Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915* p.22., Harold A.Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students ,and Spies*,p.175.

¹⁵ *Home Political* A No. January, 1914. Quoted in Sukhdev Singh Sohal, “ Shipping and Shaping the Ghadar: The Komagata Maru Re-Voyaged” , *Past and Present*, Vol. XXXXV, April, 2014, Serial No. 89. p.16.

The way his comrades felt was depicted in the last poem in Ghadar the Goonj:

*When he broke the news of the warrant set your hearts ablaze oil on the
burning fire They already burning were fanned all the more¹⁶*

This section devoted to Jagjit Singh wrote that Lala Hardayal used to deliver speeches in their meetings in which he openly denounced the atrocities committed by the Russian Tzar. American officials were on the lookout of an opportunity and they issued warrants against Hardayal. However, the Ghadar party arranged for release of Lala Hardayal on bail. Since there was apprehension that the American government may hand him over to British government it was decided that the bail should be got cancelled. At this point Ghadar party arranged for shifting for Lala Hardayal to some safer place. Thus, arrangements were made and Lala moved to Switzerland leaving America for good.¹⁷ Puri also confirms that Hardayal was arrested by the US authorities on the charge of anarchist activities. Another account states that the supporters and acolytes of for Lala Hardayal suspected the influence of British Government behind the arrest of Lala. Leaders of Hindi Association began to gather in *Yugantar Ashram* and there was apprehension that for Lala Hardayal would be deported by the US Government. At this stage Hardayal published an article in *Ghadar* and issued a statement that he had completed his 3 years stay in the United States. However, it is apparent from the historical accounts that when he was released on bail, he voluntarily slipped out of the United States on 14 April.¹⁸ Ise Monger and J.Slaterry also write that at the end of the March 1914 the American Government arrested Hardayal at San Francisco on suspicion of being concerned in anarchical authorities. He was released on a bond but secretly left America shortly afterwards.¹⁹ On the hand Indian writer Gurdev Singh Deol and Non Indian writer Harold A. Gould remains silent about this.

¹⁶ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p 175, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, pp.87-88. Ise Monger and J.Slaterry, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.22.

¹⁷ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.150.

¹⁸ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, pp.87-88. Harnam Singh Kotla's *Statement*, quoted in Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*, p.181.

¹⁹ Ise Monger and J.Slaterry, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy 1913-1915* p.43 see also, *Hindustani*- April, 1914, Edition 1, Paper No,4,p.2; quoted in Gurcharan Singh Sainsara, *Gadar Party Da Itithas*, p.104. In March 1914, Hardayal was arrested in San Francisco on the charge of being an anarchist. He was released on bail, but fearing that he might be convicted or handed over to the British, he fled to Switzerland. In, Kushwant Singh and Satindera Singh, *Ghadar 1915, India's First Armed Revolution*, R and K Publishing House, New Delhi, 1966, p. 36.

Indian Writers Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol and Non- Indian write Ise Monger and J.Slattery narrate the fact that at a meeting held at San Francisco on 25 March 1914 Hardayal declared that he would go to Germany and would prepare for the revolt to be organized in that country. They also wrote that in the *Ghadar* newspaper of 15 November 1913 it was declared that, “For our freedom movement Germans has a great sympathy because the British are there and our common enemies.”²⁰ Puri also said that Hardayal and Virender Nath Chattopadhyaya wrote in their writings in *Talwar* and *Bande Mataram* years earlier, looked upon a war between Germany and England as a golden opportunity for a coup in India.²¹ Gould also wrote that at the time *Ghadar* came into existence some party leaders had contemplated the potential significance of German connection. *Ghadar* declared on November 1913 that the Germans have great sympathy with our movement of liberty.²²

Thus, the various historical accounts highlight that the Ghadarites established contacts with the German counsel at San Francisco. At the meeting held at Sacramento on 31 December 1913 the German council was special invitee. Evidently they wanted to organize an armed rebellion at a time when Britain was to be engaged in war so that the British would be at a huge disadvantage in dealing with insurrection in India. More over there plan included seeking help from Germany in their efforts to achieve independence.²³

Jagjit Singh and Deol have quoted the statement of Harnam Singh Tundilat who revealed that Bhai Santokh Singh who was elected general secretary of the Ghadar party and a member of the Secret Commission after the departure of Lala Hardayal from America made a plan about the strategy to be adopted by the Ghadar party in their campaign against the British during the time of war. According to this plan finalized at San Francisco in a meeting with the German council it was decided on the onset of war that the Turkish force would capture Suez Canal with the help of

²⁰ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.150, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.78., Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915* p.43.

²¹ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.102.

²² Harold A. Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students, and Spies*, p.206.

²³ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.151, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.78 Malwinder Jit Singh and Harinder Singh, (Edited by) *War Against King Emperor Ghadr of 1914-1915, A Verdict By Special Tribunal*, Bhai Sahib Randhir Singh Trust, Ludhiana, November, 2001, p.118.

Germans. The Suez Canal would be blocked with the help of a sunken ship. By this time the Ghadar party would have started a revolt in India and would use this opportunity to launch an attack on the British. This part of the strategy was also confirmed by a press report citing the speech of the Turkish leader, Enver Pasha, published in a Turkish paper, "Jahan-i-islam" dated the 20 November 1914. "This is the time that the Ghadar should be declared in India, the magazines of the English should be plundered, their weapons looted and they should be killed therewith. The Indians number 32 cores and at best the English are only 2 Lacs. They should be murdered. They have no army. The Suez Canal will shortly be closed by the Turks, but he who will die and liberate the country and his native land will live forever."²⁴ Harish K.Puri and Selected Non Indian writers have not written about this.

Giving a very important detail linked with the Ghadar movement against the British, Jagjit Singh and Non- Indian Writers Ise Monger and J. Slattery note that just after the beginning of First World War a German ship was seized in Italy. This ship contained 5 lac revolvers, one lac guns, two lac boxes of ammunition, 4 aero plane wireless sets and other material consisting of thousand airplane bombs, fourteen cannons, hundreds of tons of cement and two complete wireless stations. Important military documents were also found concealed in this ship. The reports of the Punjab police officers hinted at the fact that this material was not meant for a regular military campaign. Rather, it appeared that these arms were meant for the reinforcement of some revolutionary movement. This account confirms the international plot to destabilize the British government in India in the backdrop of the war²⁵ Harish K.Puri also mentions this ship in his account.²⁶ Puri has also written about and mentioned other ships. He has written that the German authorities in San Francisco arranged with Ram Chandra to send five Indians with suitcases full of *Ghadar* literature on a ship called *S.S. Maverick* which sailed from San Pedro near Los Angeles on 23 April 1915 for Socorro islands off the west coast of Mexico. According to Puri the ship was to receive a consignment of arms from a waiting schooner *Annie Larsen*, and then sail to Batavia where it was to receive further instructions from the German Consul. However, according to Puri the rendezvous planned at Socorro islands did not

²⁴ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.151, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.79.

²⁵ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.191-192, Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report, 1913-1915* p.44.

²⁶ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.109.

materialize as the two missed the connection. Puri also notes that during the period of war the Ghadar Party printed anti-British and Pro German Propaganda material for the use in Germany. Pamphlets were distributed or air dropped among Indian soldiers fighting German forces on various fronts.²⁷ Gurdev Singh Deol and Non Indian writer Gould remains silent about this ship.

This section of the study is devoted to the discussion about the military training which was imparted to Ghadarites or otherwise arranged by the Ghadarites. Jagjit Singh expresses the view that Hardayal had forbidden imparting of any open training of arms in America because according to him the American government would not tolerate it. As a result of any negative impression about the Ghadar party in the American minds the publicity and propaganda would also stop. According to the writers for the purpose of training of arms an arrangement made in the German islands near China. Jagjit Singh also holds the view that before the starting of the First World War Ghadar party paid attention to the need of arranging military training to the Ghadarites revolutionaries.²⁸ Gurdev Singh Deol wrote that the students were called upon to join military course and learn the art and strategies of war. It is also clearly brought out that the president of California University was Pro British in his orientation and did not allow Indian students to join military training classes. Accordingly Jatinder Nath Lehri went to Chicago University and learnt the use of explosives, bomb making and military warfare.²⁹ However Harish K.Puri tries to affirm that Lehri was Graduate in Chemistry from Calcutta University and was reportedly sent to USA by the terrorist party of Bengal for the purpose of the learning the manufacture of explosives.³⁰

Jagjit Singh reports that a German company made an arrangement for the training of Kartar Singh Sarabha in airplane functioning.³¹ In this context Gurdev Singh quoted from Dr. Khankhoje's autobiography, "I was eager and in hurry to gather as much military training as I could. It was my fancy than that the more I learned in cavalry and infantry maneuvers, strategy and tactics, it would be better."

²⁷ *Ibid*,110.

²⁸ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*,p.194.

²⁹ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.80.

³⁰ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*,p.150.

³¹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*,p.194.

He also stated that Kartar Singh Sarabha got training civil aviation (aeronautics).³² Both writers also wrote that under the leadership of Udham Singh Kasel a group was sent to the farm of Jawala Singh Thathian to take military training secretly. They also wrote that Harnam Singh Tundilat, Kartar Singh and Pirthi Singh learnt the methods of bomb making secretly. It is also reported that one arm of Harnam Singh was severed from his body as a result of a blast while trying to detonate a bomb. It was and after that this incident that he came to be known as Tundilat.³³ It is important to note that the Indian writer H.K.Puri and Selected Non Indian writers remain silent about this.

Writers have written extensively about the *Komagata Maru* incident and as well as the ways in which this incident affected the Ghadar movement. Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol state that the voyage of the *Komagata maru* was not sponsored by the Ghadar party. However, at the same time it was true that this incident influenced the Ghadar movement and deeply aroused anti-British feelings among Indians in the U.S.A and Canada and also in Punjab.³⁴ Harish K.Puri and Selected Non- Indian writers also expressed same view on this.³⁵

Jagjit Singh and Ise Monger and J.Slattery wrote that Gurdit Singh of village Sarhali worked in Singapore and Malaya as a contractor. He returned to India on 1909. While he went to Singapore he planned to charter a ship to transport Punjabis to Canada. It is believed that it was Balwant Singh Granthi who lived in Vancouver who gave this idea to Gurdit Singh. One day he met Gurdit Singh and told him to charter a ship and take it to Canada.³⁶ Deol has also written about the same sequence of events. He also notes that the Indians in Canada felt the need of making shipping arrangement for meeting the condition of continuous journey to Canada in the absence of which Indians were being forbidden entry in Canada. In those days Indians passengers while returning from U.S.A and Canada regularly discussed the possibility of such a scheme

³² Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.80.

³³ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.80, Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.194.

³⁴ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.196., Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.83.

³⁵ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.103., Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915* p.49, Harold A.Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students, and Spies*, p.115.

³⁶ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.196., Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915* p.49.

with the people at Singapore, Malaya, Shanghai and Manila. According to one account some of them discussed this plan with Gurdit Singh and he decided to charter a Ship.³⁷ Harish K.Puri, Ise Monger, J.Slaterry and Harold A.Gould have clearly stated that Gurdit Singh was aware that there were hundreds of Punjabis who had left their home with the object of going to Canada and America. They had adequate funds for the passage but due to the new policy of immigration in Canada they were spread across Hong-Kong and other port towns. There was a collective sentiment that some way of bypassing the Canadian law should be found. It was at this time that Gurdit Singh decided to charter a Ship.³⁸

Jagjit Singh holds the view that Gurdit Singh wanted to hire a ship from Calcutta but he could not get a ship from Calcutta.³⁹ On the other hand Gurdev Singh Deol has presented the opinion that a Sabha was held at Hong Kong in December 1913. In this meeting a proposal for chartering a steamship was discussed. According to this version, on the 29th January 1914, the Gurdwara Sabha, Hong Kong, sent a telegram to Gurdit Singh. Subsequently the Guru Nanak Steamship Co. was formed, and Gurdit Singh was put in charge. He came to Calcutta and issued a poster under the orders of the managing director of the Guru Nanak Steamship Co. According to this order a ship was to take a direct voyage to Canada. However, the government of India did not permit him to take passengers from Calcutta and he returned to Hong Kong.⁴⁰ Jagjit Singh, Puri and Non-Indian writers maintain silence about the origin of the Ship.

Selected Indian writer and Non-Indian writers seem to believe that on the 24th March 1914, a Japanese vessel name the *Komagata Maru*, was chartered by Gurdit Singh through a German agent, A.Bonne, at Hong Kong.⁴¹ Jagjit Singh wrote that *Komagata Maru* made its departure from Hong Kong on 4th April 1914 and going through Shanghai and Nagasaki reached Vancouver on 23 May 1914 with 351 Sikhs

³⁷ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.84-87.

³⁸ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.88, Ise Monger and J.Slaterry, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915* p.49, Harold A.Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students, and Spies*, pp.116-118,

³⁹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.196.

⁴⁰ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp. 87-88.

⁴¹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.197, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.88, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.89., Ise Monger and J.Slaterry *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915* p.50., Harold A.Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students and Spies*, pp.118-119. , see also , Gurdit Singh, *Zulmi Katha Kamagata Maru di Dard Bhari Kahani ate Mukamal Biyan Baba Gurdit Singh* (Punjabi), Edited by Pritihpal Singh and Darshan Singh Tatla, Punjabi University, Patiala, p.113.

and 21 Punjabi Muslims.⁴² Gurdev Singh Deol also mentions the same date for the departure of that Ship. Further this account also mentions that Gurdit Singh had an expectation that he would be able to collect 500 passengers but on the 25th March 1914 he was arrested by the Hong Kong police and custody of his office was taken over by the Hong Kong authorities. Later he was released on bail. In this way, however, the authorities were successful in discouraging a large number of passengers to abandon the idea of their impending voyage. Consequently only 165 passengers enlisted from Hong Kong and the ship picked up more passengers from Shanghai, Moji and Yokohama. Finally, 376 passengers reached Vancouver on the night of 22nd May 1914.⁴³ Harish K.Puri writes in his account that Ship reached Vancouver on 23rd May 1914.⁴⁴ Ise Monger and J.Slattery hold the view that the Ship picked up 300 passengers from Manila, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Moji and Yokohama and reached Vancouver on 24th May.⁴⁵ Harold A. Gould wrote that ship set sail from Calcutta with 165 passengers and a group of 14 passengers who had been left behind at Hong Kong caught up at Yokohama, making the final total 376. In many versions *Komagata Maru* was carrying 340 Sikhs, 24 Muslims, and 12 Hindus, all of whom were Punjabis. He wrote that ship reached at Vancouver on 2 May 1914.⁴⁶ From the official report of the *Komagata Maru* it can be affirmed that there were 376 passengers on board allow being Punjabis, excepting 25 Muslims.⁴⁷ From other sources such as the report of the *Komagata Maru* committee and the accounts of Sohan Singh Bhakna and Gurcharan Singh Sainsara it was found that the ship reached Vancouver on 23 May 1914.⁴⁸

Jagjit Singh quoted the statement of Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna that Secretly the *Ghadar* Newspaper was sent to the passengers of the *Komagata Maru*.⁴⁹ Gurdev Singh Deol, Harish K Puri and Ise Monger and J.Slattery in their account report that on the way during the voyage of the *Komagata Maru* the passengers were supplied with the copies of the *Ghadar* at various ports. At Yokohama Balwant Singh,

⁴² Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.197.

⁴³ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p. 88.

⁴⁴ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.90.

⁴⁵ Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, pp.51-52.

⁴⁶ Harold A.Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students, and Spies*, pp.118-119.

⁴⁷ Darshan Singh Tatla, *of the Komagata Maru Committee and inquiry and Some Further Documents*, Unistar Books Chandigarh, 2007, p.50.

⁴⁸ Darshan Singh Tatla, *Report of the Komagata Maru Committee and inquiry and Some Further Documents*, p. 59. Sohan Singh Bhakna, *Jiwan Sangram ate Hor Likhata*, (Edited by Malwinder jit Singh Warriach), Tarkbharti Parkashan, Barnala, 2015, See also, *The Sailum Maru: Members of House File No. 561*, p.16, See also *Indian Sedition Committee 1918*, Report Calcutta 1918, p.147.

⁴⁹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.200.

Bhagwan Singh and Maulvi Barkat Ullah, Indian revolutionary in Japan, all active members of the Ghadar party, met the passengers.⁵⁰ Gould also wrote that British believed that the Ghadarites had infiltrated the passengers. At Shanghai and Moji, Gurdit Singh and his lieutenant had brought aboard bundles of *Ghadar* and other revolutionary literature.⁵¹ Confirm other sources on 19 April, the ship stopped at Moji where 85 more Sikhs boarded the ship at Shanghai and Moji, Gurdit Singh and his lieutenants brought aboard *Ghadar*, *Ghadar di Goonj* and such other revolutionary literature. At Yokohama, 11 more passengers boarded the ship bringing the total strength of the passengers to 376. Here, Bhagwan Singh, who later became the president of the Ghadar party, and Maulvi Barkatmullah militant pan-Islamist from Bhopal State, visited the *Komagata Maru*. The two of them visited the *Komagata Maru*, bringing the latest copies of the Ghadar with them, and Bhagwan Singh gave a fiery address.⁵² It showed that Ghadar party members were in direct touch with the passengers.

Jagjit Singh has reported that as per the order of immigration department the ship was not allowed to enter the port and was forced to anchor in the high seas away from the port.⁵³ Gurdev Singh Deol wrote that before the ship arrived at Vancouver the Canadian Government had made up its mind not to allow the passengers of the *Komagata Maru* to land. Gurdit Singh had to unload and load cargo but this also was not permitted. He asked for permission to seek legal advice, but it was likewise denied. The passengers were not allowed even to see their fellow countrymen at Vancouver.⁵⁴ Harish K. Puri and Non-Indian writer also expresses same views on this.⁵⁵ Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri and Non- Indian writer Ise Monger and J.Slaterry and Gould said that leading Indians in Vancouver formed a Shore committee with Hussain Rahim, Sohanlal Pathak and Balwant Singh as leaders. Funds were raised and protest meetings held both in Canada and USA. At one of the

⁵⁰ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.89, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.90, Ise Monger and J.Slaterry, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.51.

⁵¹ Harold A.Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students and Spies*, pp.120-121 .

⁵² Hugh Johnston, *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1979, p. 25.

⁵³ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.198-199.

⁵⁴ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.88.

⁵⁵ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.89, Ise Monger and J.Slaterry, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.121, Harold A.Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students and Spies*, p.52.

meetings held at Dominion hall in Vancouver it was resolved that if the passengers of the ship were not allowed to land they should follow them to India and start the rebellion with their help.⁵⁶ Meanwhile in the USA a series of meetings were organized in which Bhagwan Singh, Barkatullah, Ramchandra and Sohan Singh Bhakna informed their countrymen of the developments connected with *Komagata Maru* and advised them to get ready for rebellion.⁵⁷

Indian writer Deol and Puri as well as selected Non- Indian writers have written that the Shore Committee paid \$22000 as installment of the charter money for the ship. Apart from this they prepared a case in the name of one of the passengers named Munshi Singh and filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court hoping to get another favorable verdict. They also engaged a legal counsel Mr.J.Edward Bird to fight the case. As their legal counsel was not allowed to interview the passengers he had to fight the case without relevant facts and instruction from his clients. Thus deficient and inaccurate representation resulted in the deportation of all the passengers.⁵⁸ Jagjit Singh mentions the case but he is largely silent about the Shore Committee.⁵⁹

Selected Indian writers and Non -Indian writers express the view that when the case was decided against the passengers of *Komagata Maru* they expressed a desire to sail back. However, they just asked for some food and water for the return voyage. Immigration officers denied any ration to them and tried to force the captain to move the ship. In the course of these events, they were kept anchored in the high Seas for about 6 weeks and at the end of this period they were forced to restart a long voyage without any ration. This enraged the self respecting and brave Sikhs and they asked the captain not to obey this orders. Water showers were thrown upon them with the

⁵⁶ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,pp.89-90, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*,p.91, Ise Monger and J.Slattry *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915* p.52, Harold A.Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students, and Spies*, pp.120-121.

⁵⁷ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.91.shore committee was formed by the Indian immigrants in Canada on Shore Known as the 'shore committee'. The ship 's charter was transferred to two of its members. The last instilment of the charter- money of the ship mounting to 22000 dollars was also paid by them, in *Proceedings Home Political*, (B) May 1917, No. 342,p 149. N.A.I., See also, *The Vancouver*, San, June 1, 1914, Quoted in Kushwant Singh and Satindra Singh, *Ghadar 1915 , India 's First Armed Revolution*,p.22.

⁵⁸ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.90, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.91, Ise Monger and J.Slattry, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915* p.53, Harold A.Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students ,and Spies* ,p.126.

⁵⁹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.198.

fire extinguishing engines by 135 policemen. This further infuriated the passengers. They retaliated against the action of the police force with the help of pebbles, brickbats and coal. In a show of its power Canada ordered its warship *rainbow* to go near *Komagata Maru* to force it to obey the orders. However, finally the inhuman efforts to send starved human beings across the Pacific was abandoned and the authorities offered to deliver ration. However, it was a little too late and the martial Sikhs had a strong sense of wrong. They were burning with rage at the feeling that the Canadian government had treated them in the most inhuman manner. Thus, they decided that they should not believe in any promises that fight and die fighting in case of need.⁶⁰ First Police was used to force the ship to sail off.⁶¹

Deol mentions that Indians in Canada could not remain unmoved at this sad news. They assembled in the Gurdwara at Vancouver on the evening of 21st July 1914 passed a resolution and took a solemn vow that if the ship was fired at they would set fire to the city of Vancouver, "Duties were allotted to each man so that as soon as the *Komagata Maru* is on fire, so will be city of Vancouver and all in it. This intention of the Indians residing at Vancouver leaked out of the Government and the official changed their mind accordingly on the 22nd of July 1914, the steamer was fully provisioned."⁶² Other selected writers remain silent about this. The selected writers agree in saying that the ship left Vancouver on 23rd July 1914.⁶³ This date also confirm other sources⁶⁴

Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol wrote that the *Ghadar* newspaper was sent to the passengers of *Komagata Maru* through secret channels and especially in ration bags. When it became clear that the passengers had no option but to return back from Canada a meeting of the secret Commission of Ghadar party was convened. Secret Commission decided that the President of the Ghadar party Baba Sohan Singh

⁶⁰ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.198-199, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp.90-91, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.91, Ise Monger and J.Slaterry *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.54, Harold A.Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students and Spies*, pp.124-128.

⁶¹ Michael O' Dwyer, *India As I Knew it*, constable and Company itd, London, Thrid Edition, 1926, p.193.

⁶² Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp.92-93.

⁶³ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.201, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.93, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.91, Ise Monger and J.Slaterry, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915* p.54, *Harold A.Gould, Sikhs, Swamis, Students and Spies*, p.127.

⁶⁴ File No. 561, p. 17.

Bhakna should be immediately sent to India through Yokohama with the object of supplying arms and ammunition to the passengers and urging them to prepare the ground for the implementation of the party program in India. Accordingly Sohan Singh Bhakna left San Francisco on 21st July 1914 that is two days before the departure of the ship with hundred revolvers along with bundles of ammunition which were to be delivered to the passengers at the Yokohama.⁶⁵ Puri also makes a mention of this episode according to which Sohan Singh Bhakna followed the ship and delivered a box full of 200 pistols and several hundred cartridges when the ship docked for a short time at Yokoyama.⁶⁶ Selected Non Indian writer Ise Monger and J.Slaterry also mentioned above incident.⁶⁷ But Harold A. Gould remains silent about this.

Jagjit Singh writes that when *Komagata Maru* reached Yokohama a member of the Ghadar party met Gurdit Singh and his secretary Rai Singh aboard the ship. First, Harnam Singh accompanied by another passenger came to meet Sohan Singh Bhakna in a hotel at Yokohama. Next day Sohan Singh Bhakna himself went to the ship and met Gurdit Singh and the Ship committee and delivered the message of Ghadar party. Arms and the literature of the Ghadar Party were also delivered aboard the *Komagata Maru*. The writers also highlight the fact that during those days a German cruiser Ambon was sinking the trading ships of the allies in the oceans of the East. Japan was also a supporter of allies so *Komagata Maru* being a Japanese ship was in danger. The German Council in Yokohama was under surveillance but due to the astuteness of the Ghadar party member of Japan Sardar Sohan Singh Bhakna succeeded in meeting the German council. German council owned the responsibility that *Komagata maru* will not be harmed in any way. In fact the German Council even

⁶⁵ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.200-201, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.95.

⁶⁶ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.93.

⁶⁷ Ise Monger and J.Slaterry, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915* p.54, Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna Singh, I was deputed to deliver 100 pistols to the passengers of Komagata Maru', Baba Sohan Singh, *Jiwan Sangram ate hor Likhta* (edited by) Malwinder Jit Singh Waraich, p.53. Gurdit Singh, it seems had perceived the hostile attitude of the British Government in his talks with the British consul's officers at Yokohama and Kobe. He warned his passengers not have anything objectionable on them. He urged upon them to throw overboard any revolutionary literature or weapon they were carrying with them because searches were likely to be made in Calcutta and they should be prepared. Some ammunition with waterproof sheets and hid them in the water tank of the ship. Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*, Desh Bhagat Yadgar Committee, Jalandhar, second Edition, 2007, p.165. also see, Interview of Baba Sohan Singh with Principal Prem Bajaj in 1967, in quoted Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, *Meri Ram Kahani*, (Edited by) Rajwinder Singh Rahi, *Gadar Lehar Di Asli Gatha-1*, Sangam Publications, Samana, 2013, p 209.

made offer that Amdon ship could supply arms to the passengers of *Komagata Maru* in mid ocean. It is said that Amdon cruiser met *Komagata Maru* in the ocean but when Indian sailors disclosed their identity the ship disappeared.⁶⁸

Gurdev Singh Deol, Puri and Non-Indian writers report in their historical accounts that the *Komagata Maru* reached on Budge -Budge on 29th September 1914. Ten European officers came on board with Twenty Punjabi policeman clad in mufti clothes. They carried out a thorough search of the ship and the belongings of the passengers'.⁶⁹ By the time the government had fully armed itself with two legislative measures i.e. the foreigner's ordinance and the Ingress ordinance. This ordinance empowered the government to restrict the liberty of any person's entry into India after the 5th September 1914. Special train was arranged to take the incoming passengers to the Punjab and they were ordered to enter the train but only six passengers actually embarked the train the others nearly three hundred refused. They tried to march to Calcutta in a procession with the *Granth Sahib* in their midst singing hymns. The police party and strong military force with Sir William Duke the Home Member of Bengal government wanted the passengers to return. However, the passenger refused to return and fire was opened on them by the police. A riot broke out and there was general discharge of firearms from both sides. The passenger used American revolvers. 18 passengers and three policemen were killed and some of the British officers were wounded. Consequently, most of the passengers were rounded up in a few days. However, 30 passengers including Gurdit Singh escaped.⁷⁰ Harish k. Puri and Ise Monger has also included the Budge- Budge incident in his account.⁷¹ Jagjit Singh remains silent about this.

Deol highlights the fact that the treatment of the passengers of *Komagata Maru* at Budge Budge gave a new impetus to the other movements taking place abroad. According to Sir Michael O'Dwyer also the Budge Budge incident it gave a

⁶⁸ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.201-202.

⁶⁹ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp.94-95., Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organization and Strategy*, p.93. Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.75. Harold A.Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students, and Spies*, pp.129-130.

⁷⁰ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp.94-95. Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p .54. Harold A.Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students and Spies*, p129-130.

⁷¹ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.93, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915* p.78. File No. 561, p.17.

powerful boost to the Ghadar propaganda. Indian Seditious Committee in its reports pointed out with reference to the Budge Budge and *Komagata Maru* incident, "it is fired some Sikhs of the Punjab with the idea that the government was biased against them. It strengthened the hands of the Ghadar revolutionaries who were urging Sikhs abroad to return to India and join the mutiny which they asserted was about to begin. Numbers of emigrants listened to such calls and went back to India from Canada, the United States, Philippines, Hong Kong and China."⁷² Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh noted that the *Komagata Maru* affair affected not only the Ghadarites but all the Indian immigrants residing in Canada. According to the findings of the trial court of the third Lahore Conspiracy case, a large meeting was held in Dominion Hall Vancouver, in which it was declared that if the ship was returned, the Indians should go to India and expel the British from India. In this connection Indian writers point out that if the *Komagata Maru* incident had not occurred there would not have been such an awakening among the Indians in Canada and the United States⁷³ Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh wrote that the *Komagata Maru* helped the movement in yet another way. The incident gave a powerful boost to the Ghadar movement as some of the passengers of the ship turned Ghadarites after the incident. A special mention can be made of Baba Gurmukh Singh who worked in Ghadar party movement in India in later years.⁷⁴ Harish K. Puri said that it was not a mere coincidence that the first *jatha* of Ghadarites come from Shanghai and reached Calcutta almost on the heels of the *Komagata Maru*.⁷⁵ Harold A. Gould has written *Komagata Maru* was an incidental creation for the social consciousness and political ferment among the Indians and this incident gave a boost to the emergence of the this movement.⁷⁶

Three Indian writers take note of the fact that immediately after the departure of the *Komagata Maru* the clouds of the First World War began to hover. *Komagata Maru* departed from Vancouver on 23rd July 1914 and the First World War broke out on the 28th July 1914. According to some versions it is wrong to assume this that the *Komagata Maru* incident made the Indians returns to India with the intention of starting an insurrection. The war also acted as one of the important factors behind the

⁷² Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp.94-95.

⁷³ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.202, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.96.

⁷⁴ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.202, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.96.

⁷⁵ Harish K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.92.

⁷⁶ Harold A. Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students, and Spies*, p 146.

return of Ghadarites. However, it was important to concede that the incident of *Komagata Maru* precipitated the return of the flood of revolutionaries to go India.⁷⁷ Selected Non Indian writer's remains silent about this.

Both Indian writers Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Non- Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery have mentioned in their accounts that there was no proposal of Indians of taking *Komagata Maru* or any other ship to Canada even at that time on December 1913 in a public meeting held at Sacramento Lala Hardayal openly declared in a lecture that Germany was preparing for a war with Britain and it is the time to go to India for revolution to be carried out.⁷⁸ Similarly Jagjit Singh also observes that even before the departure of *Komagata Maru* from Hong Kong to Canada in March 1914 Indians in the Austria took vows that they were going back to India to ignite the revolution.⁷⁹ These facts show that the war was the chief reason cause of the Ghadarites 'return home. Harish K.Puri and Non Indian writer Gould remains silent about this. Confirm from other sources, above mentioned information is accurate.⁸⁰

Non- Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery was in agreement with Indian writers that in April 1914 an Englishman from Canada wrote a letter to his brother in Bengal that revolutionary party is confident to carry out a revolution in India and they were only waiting for opportunity when the English would get involved in war.⁸¹ Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh have clearly stated that the Ghadarites had come to know from American newspapers that a large part of British troops were being dispatched from India to the battlefield in France and elsewhere. So both writers are of the opinion that the Ghadar party leaders were only waiting for such an opportunity. When the opportunity came they decided to seize it. The writers have also stated that just after the start of the First World War many meetings were held by

⁷⁷ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*,(Punjabi),p205 ,Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.97, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*,p.93.

⁷⁸ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp 205-206 ,Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.97, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.43.

⁷⁹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.206, Lahore Conspiracy Case No , 1 Judgment dated the 13th September, 1913 Part -3 A(1) The beginning the Conspiracy and War, page 5 quoted by Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.97. *Indian Sedition Committee*, 1918 Report Calcutta, 1918, p.146.

⁸⁰ Sohan Singh Josh,*Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*, Desh Bhagat Yadgar Committee, Jalandhar,June2007, p.205.

⁸¹ Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.35.

Ghadarites on 26th July 1914. In a public meeting at Oxnard while delivering a lecture Barkatullah and Bhagwan Singh declared that the war had started in Europe so the time to oust the English from India through revolutionary means had arrived. In another meeting held at Fresno and Sacramento on the 9 and 11 August 1914 respectively Indians were appealed to leave for India and join the revolution. At the meetings funds were raised to buy passages and arms.⁸² Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slaterry have also made a mention about the meetings of 9 and 11 August 1914.⁸³ Jagjit Singh wrote that two more meetings were held in Stockton in which Barkatullah and Ramchand delivered lectures and it was propagated the Indian should return to India and participate in the revolution to liberate the country from Europeans. A meeting was held in Portland on 7 August 1914 in which the gathering pledged to return to India and initiate a Ghadar.⁸⁴ Harish K.Puri and Non-Indian writer Gould remains silent about this.

Jagjit Singh said that the Kartar Singh Sarabha reached Colombo by *Niman Maru* ship on 15 or 16 September 1914. This was prior to the arrival of the main group of Ghadarites.⁸⁵ Deol wrote that hundreds of Ghadarites like Kartar Singh Sarabha, V.G.Pingle, Pandit Jagat Ram, Kanshi Ram Prithvi Singh and Jagat Singh managed to either slip through unobserved ports.⁸⁶ Harish K.Puri and Ise Monger and J.Slaterry also confirm that the Kartar Singh Sarabha and Raghveer Dayal Gupta and a few others had left earlier.⁸⁷ Gould remains silent about arriving of Ghadarites. Support by others sources find it, “ we do know ,however , that Kartar Singh left America by the *Nippon Maru*, and arrived in Colombo on the 15th or 16th September (with his own statement,p.480), that is nearly a month before the main bodies began to arrive.⁸⁸

⁸² Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p. 214.,Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.99.

⁸³ Ise Monger and J.Slaterry, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.57, First Case,The Beginning of the Conspiracy and War,p.9 Two Meetings were announced in the Ghadr of the 4th August, One at Fresno for the 9th August and one at Sacramento for the 11th 1914. The war in Europe is mentioned and the audiences were to hear of the proposed mutiny in India.

⁸⁴ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p215. The meetings were held on the Pacific Coast side of the USA addressed by Barakatullah, Gyani Bhagwan Singh, and Ram Chandra. The most important meetings were those held at Fresno and Sacramento. Proceedings Home Political, (B), December, 1914, No.218-22, N.A.I., See also, Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*,p.205.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p.218.

⁸⁶ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.106.

⁸⁷ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, OrganiSation and Strategy*,pp.94-95, Ise Monger and J.Slaterry *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.60.

⁸⁸ Malwinder Jit Singh and Harinder Singh, *War Against King Emperor Ghadr of 1914-15*, p. 141.

Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri and Non- Indian writer Ise Monger and J.Slattery said that the first and the main group of revolutionaries from America moved from San Francisco on 29th August 1914 on the ship *Korea*.⁸⁹ Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Ise Monger and J.Slattery mentioned in their writings that before the ship *Korea* set out Barkatullah, Ramchandra and Bhagawan Singh came on the ship and preached their message in the following words,"Your duty is very clear. Go to the country and instigate Ghadar in every corner of it. Plunder the rich and show sympathy towards the poor. On reaching India you would be supplied weapons if success could not be achieved in it then you loot rifles from the police station. Obey the orders of your leaders without any if and buts."⁹⁰ They also informed the revolutionaries that two of the Ghadarites were at Yokohama and were making efforts to obtain arms. Jagjit Singh also mentions their names as Ramrakha and Amar Singh. Both Indian writers state that Parmanand came and joined the revolutionary from Yokohama⁹¹. Jagjit Singh and Ise Monger and J.Slattery also report that the groups of revolutionaries moved in the ships named *Siberia*, *Maxico Maru* and *Canada Maru* and several other ships from Canada and America.⁹² Gurdev Singh Deol has also mentioned the names of the above mentioned ships in his writings.⁹³ Harish K.Puri also mentions that Indians coming from Victoria, Vancouver and San Francisco and a number of areas in the Far East followed in small ships but he does not give name of ships in his writings.⁹⁴ Harold A Gould remains silent about

⁸⁹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.218-219 ,Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.102, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*,p.95 Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.61.

⁹⁰ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.218-219 ,Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.102, Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.61.

⁹¹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar* ,pp.219-220 ,Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,pp.102-103, Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.61. The most important vessel to leave San Francisco was the S.S Korea, which left for Hong Kong on the 29th August 1914. Malwinder Jit Singh and Harinder Singh, *War Against King Emperor Ghadr of 1914-15*, p. 141.

⁹² Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p 220,Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.63.

⁹³ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.103.

⁹⁴ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*,p.96 'we have now traced to Hong Kong passengers by the 'Korea', the 'Mashima Maru', the 'Siberi'a and the 'Mexico Maru', Malwinder Jit Singh and Harinder Singh, *War Against King Emperor Ghadr of 1914-15*, p. 145. Malwinder Jit Singh Waraich and Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement Original Documents Judgments*, Vol-3, Unistar Book , Chandigarh, 2012, p.47.

this. *The Portland Telegram* of Oregon had the following report in its issue of August 7, 1914, "Hindus Go Home to Fight in Revolution".⁹⁵

The revolutionaries assembled at Hong Kong because there were several obstacles in the onward journey from Hong Kong. Ghadarites had to stay for several days at Hong Kong because due to the start of the First World War, ships were scarcely available and police had prohibited the sail of more than 20 Indians in one ship. During their stay in Hong Kong the revolutionaries held many public meetings in the Gurdwara of Hong Kong in which the message of the Ghadar party were preached openly. They also tried to instigate the Punjabi armies deputed in Hong Kong. The revolutionaries met the Superintendent Police Hong Kong and requested that they all wanted to travel together. Police officer in his reply said that he would ask some ship to take them jointly and if the ship officers agreed then he would not object to it. Apart from America and Canada some groups of Ghadarites of Shanghai and Manila had also gathered in Hong Kong before the final journey to India. Therefore a new committee of the revolutionaries was formed whose members were Kesar Singh Tahthgarh, Jawala Singh Thathiya, Pandit Jagat Ram, Roor Singh Churchak, Nadhan Singh Chuga, Pirthi Singh, Sajjan Singh and Nawab Khan.⁹⁶ Deol also said that from Hong Kong and Shanghai Ghadarites came to India by various ships.⁹⁷ Jagjit Singh Gurdev Singh Deol and Non Indian writer Ise Monger and J.Slattery wrote that all the revolutionaries were distributed in groups for travel to India and work there and each of the members of above Central committee were specified as a leader of each group. It was also decided that after reaching India they would assemble at Ladowal village near Ludhiana on 17th November.⁹⁸ Puri wrote that more Indians coming from Victoria, Vancouver and San Francisco and number of areas in the Far East followed in small batches in other ships.⁹⁹ In the meantime the various leaders had assembled at Ladowal on the 17th November as arranged at Hong Kong, on the *Tosha Maru* and at Calcutta.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Kushwant Singh and Satindera Singh, *Ghadar 1915, India's First Armed Revolution*, p.35.

⁹⁶ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.220-221.

⁹⁷ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.103.

⁹⁸ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p 222., Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.103, Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.67.

⁹⁹ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.96.

¹⁰⁰ Malwinder Jit Singh and Harinder Singh, *War Against King Emperor Ghadr of 1914-15*, p. 154.

Finally the dialogue with the police officers of Hong Kong bore fruit. *Masima Maru* was already booked for going direct to Colombo from Shanghai apart from the passengers of *Mashima Maru* the rest of the revolutionaries assembled at Hong Kong. These revolutionaries and several others who joined them at this place boarded the Japanese ship *Tosha Maru*. *Tosha Maru* and *Mashima Maru* sailed off from Hong Kong almost simultaneously and both reached Singapore and Pinang at the same time. From Pinang *Mashima Maru* went to Colombo where it reached on 21st October and *Tosha Maru* reached Calcutta via Rangoon on 29 October 1914.¹⁰¹ Gurdev Singh Deol and H.K.Puri and Selected Non Indian writer, however, are silent about the arrival of these ships or the exact date of their arrival.

Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri hold the opinion that according to the findings of *Indian Sedition Committee* of October, November and December it was believed that the large groups of returning immigrants in *Tosha Maru* composed the most dangerous contingent of Indian revolutionaries.¹⁰² Jagjit Singh and selected Non- Indian writer's remains silent about this. Further Jagjit Singh expresses the view that there was a very big network of intelligence spread far and wide and the British Government was aware of the activities of the Ghadar party in America and Canada. Rather they were propagating revolutionary ideology all along on way in the public meetings at Hong Kong and Pinang. Before the arrival of the ship the Indian Government had received advance information through the reliable source from Hong Kong and Rangoon that the passengers were openly proclaiming that they would have carry out an armed insurrection or Ghadar on reaching India. Thus, the writers clearly state that the Indian Government was alert and ready to deal with the revolutionaries.¹⁰³ Gurdev Singh Deol has put on record that the British Government received the news of the arrival Ghadarites as early as on the 13 August 1914, when the Governor General of Canada sent the following telegram dated (13.8.1914) to the secretary of the state for the colonies, "received information that *Yugantar Ashram* arranging return to India of as many Hindus as possible by next boat from San Francisco. Present crises considered favorable opportunity to cause trouble in India". The Government of India sent a telegram on the 18 August, 1914, to

¹⁰¹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp 223-224.

¹⁰² Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.103, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.97.

¹⁰³ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.224.

the Governor, of Hong Kong, requesting him to keep an eye on the Indians returning from the Far East and inform the Government of India about their departure.¹⁰⁴ Harish K.Puri makes a pointed mention about the above information. According to his version the British Government also contacted the British Ambassador in Tokyo.¹⁰⁵ Ise Monger and J.Slattery on the other hand go further to claim that a list of passengers was sent by the authorities of the Hong Kong through which a warning was issued that the impression given by the passengers was unfavorable. This information was supplemented by telegrams from Rangoon reporting the passengers are openly and uninhibitedly anti-British in their demean our. It was further stated that the passengers were freely about their intention to foment trouble on arrival at Calcutta.¹⁰⁶ Thus, it is clear that most writers both Indian and Non Indian concur in the view that there was ample evidence, secret reports and warnings to suggest that the ships were carrying anti-British revolutionaries who would challenge the imperial Government on reaching India.

Selected Indian writers and non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery record that in order to deal with the impending situation government of India brought out the foreigner ordinance which aimed to prevent the entry of undesirable elements into India. Police was arranged at the dock and with its help arrangements were made to transport passengers to Punjab in special trains.¹⁰⁷

Gurdev Singh records that according to the findings of the Indian Seditious Committee, from October 1914 to 1917, under the Ingress into India Ordinance 331 persons were interned and 2576 were restricted to their villages. Jagjit Singh and Deol said that according to estimate of the Sir Michael O'Dwyer, "out of eight thousand who returned in the first two years of the war some four hundred were interned in jail, two thousand five hundred restricted to their villages."¹⁰⁸ Puri said that according to the Lieutenant Governor Punjab, out of 3125 emigrants who had passed through hands of the police at Calcutta and Ludhiana up to the end of February 1915, 189 had

¹⁰⁴ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.104.

¹⁰⁵ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*,p.96.

¹⁰⁶ Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.67.

¹⁰⁷ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.224, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.104.,Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*,p.96., Ise Monger and J.Slattery ,*An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.67.

¹⁰⁸ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.226, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.106, O, Dwyer ,Michael, *India as I Knew it*, London,1925,p.196.

been interned and 704 restricted to their villages.¹⁰⁹ According to the estimate presented by Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery between 1914 and 1918, 370 were emigrants were interned and 2212 restricted to their villages.¹¹⁰ Deol also believes that the patrons and leading figures of the Ghadar movement were arrested immediately after landing on the Indian soil. Most of the important leaders like Sohan Singh Bhakna president, Kesar Singh and Jawala Singh Vice president of the party were apprehended and interned. This translated into a huge setback for the Ghadar movement.¹¹¹ On other hand Jagjit Singh only mentioned the arresting of Sohan Singh Bhakna.¹¹² Puri said that numbers of prominent Leaders were interned. He does not mention the the name of any Leaders.¹¹³ Selected Indian writers and Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery said that in spite of the strict screening by the Government however hundreds of Ghadarties managed to either slip through unobserved ports or failed to report at the appropriate inquiry office or escaped with the help of wrong reports. Prominent among them were Kartar Singh Sarabha, V.G.Pingle, Pandit Jagat Ram, Kanshi Ram, Pirthi Singh and Jagat Singh.¹¹⁴ On the other hand Gould silent about it. The exact number of the Ghadarites who returned to India, there were different of opinions and even Government records are not complete in this regard. Because up to October 1914, the Government had no check on the entry of Indians via Ceylon. But according to the trail court of the Second Lahore

¹⁰⁹ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organszation and Strategy*,p.96.

¹¹⁰ Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915* p.147.

¹¹¹ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.106.

¹¹² Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.224.

¹¹³ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*,p.97, The method of dealing with these under the Ingres Ordinance was to watch them from the port of landing and warn them to report themselves at a Central Enquiry office in Ludhiana. There the antecedents of each man were investigated by our capable police officers and magistrates , who collected in a dossier all the information available as to his movement abroad, on the result of this enquiry it was decided whether he should be A. Interned in jail, if really dangerous, pending prosecution, or a change in his mentality, (B) If less dangerous, restricted to his native village, (C) Or discharged with a warning ,if believed to be comparatively free from the Ghadar views, the local authorities being told to keep a watch on him. See further details, O, Dwyer, Sir Michael , *India as I Knew it*, p.196.

¹¹⁴ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.233, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar party in the National Movement*,p.106, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*,p.97, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.66, Despite the best efforts of the Government ,their security measures were nor always successful and one thousand of these by the end of December 1914 manged to reach the Punjab undetected. They were like Kartar Singh Sarabha, Nidhan Singh Chugha, Harnam Singh Tundilat, Arur Singh, Jagat Singh, Gajjan Singh Bhikhiwind, Jewan Singh Daulesinghwala, Jawand Singh, Bir Singh Bahowa, Pandit Kanshi Ram and V.G.Pingle, Master Hari Singh, *Punjab Peaseants in Freedom Struggle Vol-2* People's Publishers, New Delhi, 1984,p. 52.

Conspiracy case since the *Komagata Maru* incident till 1915, not less than 6000 Indians returned to India¹¹⁵

Gurdev Singh writes that the arrest of the leaders could not decrease the enthusiasm and commitment of the Ghadarites. In their reckless pursuit of success they decided to go proceed with their mission irrespective of the disadvantages. As per their plan, prominent workers of the party took charge of different districts. Kartar Singh Sarabha, Nawab Khan and Pandit Kanshi Ram were to work in Ludhiana and Nidhan Singh was sent to Ferozpur District. He was responsible for the Malwa region in general. Pandit Jagat Ram Haryana was assigned the *Doaba* Area. Gujjar Singh Bhakna and Dr. Mathura Singh were given the responsibility of the Majha region.¹¹⁶ Jagjit Singh, H.K.Puri and selected Non- Indian writers have not wrote about this. Jagjit Singh and Deol have dwelt in their writings quite extensively on the activities of the Ghadarites on arrival in India. According to their account the first meeting was held on the 13 October 1914 under the guidance of Gujjar Singh Bhakna. However, this meeting was poorly attendant. Consequently it was resolved that another meeting should be held at Amritsar on *Diwali* day when a large gathering was expected. But prior to the gathering on *Diwali*, some Ghadarites assemble at Nanak Singh's house at Amritsar and decided to carry on Ghadar propoganda and recruit new comrades till the arrival of all the Ghadarites from America.¹¹⁷ The meeting at Diwali time was also held at Nanak Singh's place on the 17 October 1914. This meeting was attended by Gujjar Singh Bhakna and his companies. Dr Mathura Singh, Piyara Singh Langheri and Harman Singh of Sialkot were also part of the meeting. It was resolved that the Ghadarites should remain dormant for some time and any revolutionary action would be premature.¹¹⁸ However, Puri has claimed that even during this passive period Ghadarites congregated at a public fairs organized on the occasions of *Diwali* and *Amavas* at Sikh religious places like Amritsar, Nankana Sahib, Tarn Tarn and

¹¹⁵ *Lahore Conspiracy Case No, Second Judgment*, dated 30th March, 1916, page 27.

¹¹⁶ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.108. After reaching the Punjab, they set themselves to act. In the beginning a committee was formed. Kartar Singh Sarabha, Bhai Nidhan Singh Chugha, Pandit Jagat Ram Bhai Prithvi Singh. *Proceedings Home Political*, No.345-68 N..A.I.

¹¹⁷ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.233-234, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp,108-109, see also, Gurcharn Singh Sainsara, *Ghadar Party Da Ithias*, p.190.

¹¹⁸ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.233-234, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp,108-109, Ise Monger and J.Slattey, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.66.

Muktsar. During these meetings people were and openly mobilized to rise against the British.¹¹⁹

Jagjit Singh, Deol and Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery in their version maintain that meetings were held at the annual fair at Nankana Sahib and at Khasa. The Khasa meeting was attended by Kartar Singh Sarabha from Ludhiana and Amar Singh from Nawanshehar who were the leaders of Ludhiana and Jalandhar district. There it was decided that a general outbreak should take place on 15th November 1914. Arms were expected to arrive from abroad. As these did not arrive when expected so the outbreak was postponed. After the failure of the proposed general rising on 15th November 1914 the Ghadarites diverted their attention to the Majha region. It was decided that the Ghadarites would congregate at the *Amawas* fair at Tarntaran on 17th of November. However another disturbing factor intervened. Gujjar Singh Bhakna was arrested at the fair. The Ghadarites dispersed themselves in different directions with the intention of meeting again after some time. They met again at a small Sikh temple known as the Jhar Sahib situated in the jungle near village Bhure in Amritsar district. At the meeting at Jhar Sahib it was planned that the leaders in Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ferozpur and Ludhiana district should be contacted for fixing a date for general rising. The 23rd of November 1914 was fixed as the tentative date. However, as another meeting was to be held at Badowal on the same date Nidhan Singh groups could not join. Gurdev Singh Deol expresses the view that eventually 26th 1914 November was fixed as the final date for the general uprising. Jagjit Singh cites 27th November as the date for the general uprising.¹²⁰ H.K. Puri and Harold A. Gould remain silent about this.

The writers further record the fact that during those days' 23rd cavalry was stationed at Lahore cantonment. It was a regiment recruited mainly from the Majha region. The Ghadarites who had come earlier than the passengers of *Tosha Maru* passengers had established contact with several swars of horsemint of this cavalry. The narrative of the *Komagata Maru* episode had weakened the loyalty of a large number of men in the 23rd cavalry. Towards the end of October 1914 a reservist

¹¹⁹ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*,p.98.

¹²⁰ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.234-236, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,pp,109-112, Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, pp.102-104. At the meetings at Nankana on 2 Novmber 1914 and second meeting at Khasa (Amritsar) . It was decided to attack two cantonments, Mianmir and Ferozepur, in Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*,p.222.

sawar Sucha Singh of Chola kalan returning from leave conveyed the news of his fellow swars that a large number of revolutionaries who had come from abroad to fight the British had a plan to raid Lahore and capture the fort. He also told them that these revolutionaries or Ghadarites had sought their assistance. He further informed them that the emigrant were in possession of arms like guns, pistols and bombs. He confided in Lance Daffadar Lachman Singh who decided to assist the emigrants in their enterprise. Similarly Prem Singh Surang also worked in the cavalry won over several sawars to help the Ghadarites. As a result of this the pro Ghadar swars organized a meeting on 23rd November 1914. It was a clandestine meeting in which the cavalymen of Lahore took a pledge to show solidarity with the Ghadarites.¹²¹

On the other hand at a meeting of the Ghadarites held on 23rd November at Jhar Sahib it was decided that the uprising would take place on the night of 26th November 1914. On the same date another meeting of the swars of the 23rd Calvary was held in which the proposed plan was adopted. The plan was that the swars of the 23rd cavalry having mutinied would ride out and join the Ghadarites with arms. Thereafter after looting the arsenal killing all the white soldiers and officials they would launch the revolution at Lahore. It was also decided that some of the swars would proceed to Taran Taran to launch the revolution. On the night of 26th November 1914 however the lance ordered the swars to wait. He issued the injunction that nothing was to be done and the cavalymen were to wait until the next day. He wanted his men to wait so that they could ascertain that the revolution had broken out before committing themselves to the venture. According sixty Ghadarites assembled at Jhar Sahib that night waiting for the Sawars of the Calvary but no swars appeared.¹²² Faced with this unexpected delay they decided to launch the scheme on the night of 27th November 1914. A message was accordingly sent to the Swars. A decision was taken to assemble at Kairon on the following night. From Kairon the Ghadarites planned to attack Sarhali and Patti police station for procuring arms and

¹²¹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.234-236, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp.109-112, Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, pp.102-104.

¹²² Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.235-236, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.112, Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, pp.102-104.

then loot the Tarn Taran treasury.¹²³ Puri also holds that another plan was made subsequently after the failure of the first plan.¹²⁴

According to the version given by Jagjit Singh, Deol and Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery the first meeting in the Malwa region was held at Ladhawal Railway station near Ludhiana on the 17 November 1914. This meeting was convened in accordance with the original plan conceived by the leaders on board the *Tosha Maru*. It was attended by some important Ghadarites. At this meeting Pandit Kanshi Ram one of the most prominent Leader of the Ghadarites spoke in favour of immediate action. According to him there was shortage of funds. He even proposed that they should loot treasures. To consider this proposal further it was decided to get together at Moga two days later.¹²⁵ Confirm other sources the meeting at Moga duly took place on the 19th November,” Amar Singh tells us(p.67) , Kanshi Ram, Nidhan Singh, Kartar Singh , Nawab Khan , Jaggat Singh and Pirthi Singh were present. The collection of money the starting of the rising, dacoities, seduction of troops and looting of the magazine at Mian Mir (Lahore).

Jagjit Singh and Non Indian writer Ise Monger and J.Slattery wrote that meeting took place on 19 November. Deol wrote that according to plan on 19 October 1914 another meeting took place at Moga. A proposal to loot three treasures simultaneously at Moga, Jagraon, Amritsar or Lahore was mooted by the leaders. At the same time it was realized that arms should be procured¹²⁶ Harish K. Puri also said that a plan was made to attack the military arsenal at Miameer Lahore with the help of

¹²³ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.235-236, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.112, Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, pp.102-104.

¹²⁴ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.99.

¹²⁵ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.235-236, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.110, Ise Monger and J.Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.98 , In the meantime the various leaders had assembled at Ladawal on the 17 November as arranged at Hong Kong on the *Tosha Maru* and at Culcutta. “The Revolutionists In India outline of Proceeding of India” Part- C, quoted in Malwinder Jit Singh and Harish Jain (edited by) , *War Against King Emperor Ghadr of 1914-15*, Bhai Sahib Randhir Singh Trust, Ludhiana, Novmber, 2001, p. 154.

¹²⁶ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.235-236, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp.110-111 Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, pp.98-99.

a few soldiers leading to a general rising thereafter on 15 November 1914.¹²⁷ Non Indian writer remains silent about this.

Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Ise Monger and J.Slattery report that a meeting was held at Ferozepur on the 26th November 1914. At that meeting an attack was planned to be launched on the Ferozepur cantonment regimental magazine. Nidhan Singh had arranged to secure the help of some Pathans in the regiment. However, this attack was also postponed and Nidhan Singh told his accomplices that the attack could not be launched and instructed them to come again on the 30th November 1914. The other members of the group however decided to loot the Moga treasury in order first to fill in the time gap and secondly to procure money. On the 27th November 1914 some of them left by the evening train for Moga while a band of 15 started by road in three hackney carriages. Close to village Mishriwala village, Bashrat Ali sub inspector of the police station, Zaildar Fateh Singh Sarbara Zaildar, Ghulam Qadir Sufad Posh and some other people were staying in a house waiting for the district Superintendent of Police. When they noticed the first of the hackney carriages approach them, Zaildar Jawala Singh grew suspicious. The sub inspector ordered the carriage to stop. However, the carriage instead of stopping increased its speed and the sub inspector pursued them on horseback. Overtaking them he insisted on searching them and sent for his attended lade to fetch pen and ink. This enraged the revolutionaries. Meanwhile the sub inspector abused them and even slapped Rehmat Ali Shah of Patiala state. Reacting to the situation Jagat Singh lost his temper and shot at the sub inspector killing him on the spot. Zaildar Jawala Singh was also killed while the others fled. After the incident, six of the Ghadarites were able to escape but the remaining nine took refuge in the nearby reeds running along the canal Bank. In the meantime the villagers of Mishriwala rushed to the spot and a police party reached there from police station. The Ghadarites hiding in the reeds were surrounded and there was an exchange of fire which continued for some time. Ultimately, the police set the reeds on fire. When the Ghadarites tried to escape they were overpowered by the mob and captured. Two Ghadarites who remained in the

¹²⁷ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.99.

reed and continued firing were killed by the police.¹²⁸ H.K.Puri and Harold A. Gould remains silent about this.

The Ferozshah incident proved to be a setback for the Ghadar movement. As a result of the arrest of the Ghadarites the government gained full knowledge of the plans of the Ghadarites. This incident seriously impaired the strength of the Nidhan Singh group and resulted in the loss of invaluable workers like Kanshiram and Rehmat Ali .The party was faced with a crisis as there was dearth of good leaders. Taking advantage of the situation the investigation of the Ferozshah incident by the police was successful in extracting vital information about the Ghadar party. This resulted in the arrest of Nawab Khan, Jagat Ram, and Prithvi Singh. This debacle led to the failure of the scheme of looting the regimental armory at Ferozepur. The accounts presented by the selected writers reveal that at this point the revolutionaries realized that their organization was poor in finances. After a string of failures the members of the Ghadar returned to their homes in disgust. Kartar Singh Sarabha went to Hari Singh an emigrant of Herian near Jalandhar cant. He entreated him to get his men together. However, Hari Singh told him that the lack of organization had become despondent and tired of remaining idle had returned to their homes.¹²⁹ H.K.Puri and Harold A. Gould remains silent about this.

Jagjit Singh said that the real credit of organizing the Ghadar activities under a comprehensive and unified strategy and leadership goes to the Bengali patriot Rash Behari Bose and Maratha patriot Vishnu Ganesh Pingle. The Ghadarites groups after coming to India from America began to make enquiries about the revolutionary groups of Bengal in search of ideological affinities. During those days Sardar Kartar Singh Sarabha came to Kolkata with a letter of Bhai Parmanand and 2000 rupees to procure weapons from a revolutionary. However, he was under to obtain weapons because nobody knew him. He was even suspected to be an undercover agent of intelligence agencies. However, Kartar Singh Sarabha was able to find out that the head of the revolutionary party in Bengal had links with the Kapurthala party of revolutionaries in Punjab. Historians have brought on record that the most important

¹²⁸ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.240-241, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar party in the National Movement*,pp.113-114, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, pp.100-102 Sohan Singh Joah, *Hindustan A Gadar Party: A Short History*,pp. 255-256.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*,p.256.

role of forging contacts between Ghadrite revolutionaries and Bengali revolutionaries was played by Sanyal. Sanyal received the news of the preparation of mutiny in Punjab. It was a time when the name of Rash Behari the absconder of Delhi conspiracy was famous even in America. Jagjit Singh maintains that the Ghadar leaders had heard his name in America itself.¹³⁰ But other writers like Gurdev Singh and Ise Monger and J.Slaterry hold the view that Ghadarites contacted Rash Bihari probably through some links at Jhansi. However, it is clear that Rash Bihari did not consider it necessary to come to the Punjab at that stage. Instead he sent Sachindra Nath Sanyal his principal lieutenant to obtain information about the ground level realities of the land.¹³¹ H.K.Puri said that after the failure of many schemes of Ghadarites efforts were afoot to make contact with the Bengali revolutionaries. According to Puri British authorities credit V.G.Pingle who returned from USA in November, for making collaboration between the Ghadar men and the Bengal revolutionary's leaders. But Sanyal already was in contact with Ghadarites.¹³² Harold A. Gould remains silent about this.

Jagjit Singh, Deol and Ise Monger and J.Slaterry maintain that Sanyal arrived at Jalandhar at the end of November 1914. He met Kartar Singh Sarabha, Amar Singh of Nawashehar, Prithvi Singh and Ram Saran Das of Kapurthala and visited Amritsar and Lahore. He made enquiries about the organization and number of workers. He advised them to obtain money for preparing bombs and to have a central headquarters for efficient control and regular assembly. It was decided to send Prithvi Singh with Sanyal to bring Rash Behari Bose to Punjab. However, Prithvi Singh could not embark on the mission because Prithvi Singh was arrested on the 6th December 1914. So Sanyal had to go alone. He returned to Banaras in the first week of December 1914.¹³³ H.K.Puri and Harold A. Gould remains silent about this.

The writers also bring out that this was the time when V.G.Pingle a Maratha Brahman from Pune returned from America. He had contacts with the Ghadar party in

¹³⁰ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.244-245, Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*, p. 225, Gurcharn Singh Sainsara, *Ghadar Party da Itias*, p.192.

¹³¹ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.116, Ise Monger and J.Slaterry *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.106.

¹³² Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.99.

¹³³ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.246-249, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.116, Ise Monger and J.Slaterry *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, pp.106-107.

America. On arrival in India he met the Bengali revolutionaries particularly Bose and persuaded them to contact the Ghadarites in Punjab. In 1914, he came to the Punjab in the third week of December. At Kapurthala he met Nidhan Singh, Kartar Singh Sarabha and Parmanand of Jhansi through Ram Saran Das and held consultations with them. The revolutionaries discussed the procedure of making bombs. The earlier decision of inviting Rash Behari Bose was further strengthened after these meetings. So Pingle returned to Banaras for the purpose. Consequently Sanyal came to the Punjab with Pingle to make the necessary arrangements for the stay of Bose at Amritsar.¹³⁴ H.K.Puri and Harold A. Gould remains silent about this.

Jagjit Singh writes Sanyal satisfied himself about the revolutionary condition of Punjab. Around 12 January 1915 Sanyal went back to Banaras and Pingle also followed him.¹³⁵ On other hand Deol writes Sanyal returned to Banaras with Pingle on 12 January 1915. On the 25th January 1915 Pingle brought Bose at Amritsar.¹³⁶ Jagjit Singh also maintains Rash Bihari Bose and Pingle reached Amritsar around mid January. In the words of Sir Michael O'Dyer, "Bose came to Punjab to take over the command of the revolutionaries activities. He brought with himself the sharp witted but brave Maratha Brahman V.G Pingle as his lieutenant. After the arrest of a large number of people who had come on *Tosha Maru* these two became the chief architects of conspiracy. As per the statements written in the Rowlt Report and the report of Punjab police officers the overall control of the Ghadarite revolutionary activities in Punjab come in the hands of Bose."¹³⁷ On other hand H K Puri also mentions the coming of Bose to Punjab.He said that Bose came down to Amritsar in Mid January 1915.¹³⁸

According to historical accounts Bose stayed in Amritsar for 15 or 16 days. After this Bose shifted his base to Lahore where four houses were hired for his stay. One house was located outside the Mochi gate and another one in Gwal Mandi. One of these four houses was in Wachhowali and one in Gumti bazar. The house of Wachhowali and Gumti bazar were hired for printing of the Ghadar literature and the

¹³⁴ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.250-251, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp.116-117, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.118.

¹³⁵ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.256 .

¹³⁶ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.117.

¹³⁷ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.258.

¹³⁸ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.100.

house of Mochi gate was meant for the meetings of the Ghadarites and for their mutual contact. Shifting from Amritsar to Lahore Bose began living in the house of Gwal Mandi. The location of this house was known to very few revolutionaries. Letter one more house was hired in Gwal Mandi. As lots of people visited Bose he wanted an alternative arrangement also. The main reason for Bose to shift from Amritsar to Lahore was that it was easier in Lahore to carry out the printing work of Ghadar literature.¹³⁹ Deol also said that Bose stayed for over a week and survey the party work. He felt lots of disturbion here, therefore on the 6th February he moved from Amritsar to Lahore.¹⁴⁰ H.K.Puri and Harold A. Gould remains silent on this.

Jagjit Singh described that it is quite evident that Ghadarites revolutionaries faced shortage of money. In America they had already contributed substantial amounts of money to the Ghadar Party at the time of its establishment as well for its organization and activities. Later they had spent a lot of money on travel expenses. As a result of this the Ghadar leader had very little money left with them. The large sums of money collected after reaching India was also very limited. It is clear from historical accounts that resources were not sufficient for purchasing weapons, making bombs and other expenses of the revolutionaries. In these circumstances the Ghadrte revolutionaries were forced to commit the *dacoities*.¹⁴¹ Harish K. Puri and Ise Monger and J.Slattery have written that the primary objective of committing *dacoities* was the dire need of raising fund to purchase arms.¹⁴²

Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol opine that committing of *dacoities* was not a part of the agenda of the Ghadar party at the time of its inception. The statements of approvers in the first Lahore Conspiracy case such as Nawab Khan, Mulla Singh, Nand Singh and others corroborate the fact that the proposal to commit *dacoities* was discussed during the voyage to India. According to the statement of another approver Jawala Singh the Ghadarites did not come to India to commit robberies. They had come to expel the British out and *dacoities* were only incidental.

¹³⁹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.258, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.151, Rash Behari Bose moved his headquarters at that time to Lahore, taking with him Amar Singh and others. Five houses in all were secured there no purpose connected with the revolution. The Revolutionists in India outline of *Proceedings in India*, p.161.

¹⁴⁰ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.117.

¹⁴¹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.258.

¹⁴² Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.100, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.143.

The revolutionaries also tried to raise fund through appeals and donation. This also became one of the factors that drove them to take resource to *dacoities*. Attempts were made to loot government treasuries. As they failed in these attempts they were forced commit *dacoities* in the villages.¹⁴³ Jagjit Singh said that the Bengali revolutionaries were commit *dacoities* to collect money. It can also be said that the Ghadrute revolutionaries committed *dacoities* after they had established contact with the Bengal revolutionaries. There is an evidence to suggest that Kartar Singh Saraba who took major part in the *dacoities*.¹⁴⁴ Historians reveal that after holding consultation with Bose he went to Ludhiana from Amritsar on 21st January 1915 with the intention to commit more *dacoities*. A major part of the plundering that was received from the *dacoity* was handed over to the Bengali revolutionaries.¹⁴⁵

Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Non Indian writer Ise Monger and J.Slattery concur in the opinion that the first *dacoity* was carried out at Sahnewal on 23rd January 1915 in the house of a shopkeeper.¹⁴⁶ The second *dacoity* was committed at Mansura village on 17th January 1915. The location of the *dacoity* was selected by Gurmukh Singh Lalton. It was the house of Hamirchand a wealthy money lender.¹⁴⁷ Another *dacoity* was carried out at Jhaner on 29th January. This place was identified by Sundar Singh of Patiala.¹⁴⁸ H.K.Puri and Harold A. Gould remains silent about this.

On the night of the 2nd February 1915 another *dacoity* was committed at Chabba. Writers opine that this *dacoity* turned into the immediate cause of the failure of the plans of the revolutionaries. Vasava Singh Gilwali who was to repay the loan of Beliram selected the house of the Beliram who was a money lender. Apart from the revolutionaries some local people also joined the *dacoity*. These people were also

¹⁴³ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.280, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.131.

¹⁴⁴ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.280.

¹⁴⁵ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.258, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.282 Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, *Jiwan Sangram te Hor Likhta*, p. 48.

¹⁴⁶ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.282-283, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.132 Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, pp.143-144.

¹⁴⁷ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.283, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.132, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, pp.144-145.

¹⁴⁸ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.283-284, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.132, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, pp.146-147.

inimical to Beliram. The group of Harnam Singh Sialkot, Ramrakha, Jawanda Singh, Bir Singh, Amla, Arjun Singh and Jagat Singh left from Amritsar with bombs and pistols. The local people involved in the loot first assembled at Surrain Singh the mansion from there they moved to the specified place fixed for meeting. The party from Amritsar also joined them. From there all went together to the house of Beliram which was closed from inside. The door was opened by a neighbor but the window was also opened with gunfire. Prem Singh, Bakshi Singh and Surrain Singh thrashed Beliram to force him to hand over the keys. Beliram fell unconscious and he died afterwards. The safe of Beliram was also broken and jewellery of gold and silver was taken away. However, after receiving the cue that the revolutionaries were to come out from Beliram's house the villagers had already gathered there. Arjan Singh threw a bomb upon the villagers but it fell in the mire. Ramrakha threw another bomb in the same direction but it exploded after hitting a wall. Both the hands of Ram Rakha were dismembered as a result of the explosion. Arjun Singh threw a third bomb upon the villages and under the cover of the smoke of that bomb the revolutionaries escaped from the village.¹⁴⁹H.K.Puri also wrote about this *dacoity*.¹⁵⁰

On 3rd February another *dacoity* was committed at Rahon village in Ludhiana district in the house of a woman.¹⁵¹ Gurdev Singh and Ise Monger and J.Slattery report that on the 24th and 25th December 1914 *dacoities* were committed at Pharala and Karan. Similarly *dacoities* were carried out on 27th December in Hoshiarpur and Jalandhar district on the 1st and 4th January 1915 in the house of the canal Sub-Overseer of Montgomery district at Shri Gobindapur. Besides these some minor *dacoities* were also committed. With regard to the *dacoities* the trial court of the first Lahore Conspiracy case states, "These were committed to purchase arms and make bombs for launching an insurrection against the government and we are convinced that most of the loot was actually used for this purpose".¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.284-285, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.132, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, pp.147-149.

¹⁵⁰ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.101, Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party :A Short History*, p.220.

¹⁵¹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.284-285, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.132

¹⁵² Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp.132-133, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.123.

The seduction of Indian troops was perhaps the most essential part of the Ghadar movement. According to the trial court of the First Lahore Conspiracy case the most essential and vital step adopted for the achievements of the object was the seduction of troops or attempts to seduce the troops.¹⁵³ Jagjit Singh has also written that the most important reason for shifting the base of Bose from Amritsar to Lahore was the objective of instigating the troops. In February Bose took up the responsibility of instigating the troops of Eastern Punjab and Mulla Singh was given the responsibility of Western and Northern Punjab. Harish K.Puri also wrote that converting troops at Lahore and Ferozpur cantonments was among the first of the serious engagements of the Ghadar activities and Non-Indian writers Ise Monger, J.Slaterry also wrote that ‘ the audacity with which they went about this work of seduction, is astounding.’¹⁵⁴ Confirm others sources, Mula Singh says that when Rash Behari Bose came to Amritsar and he started discussing the subject of seducing troops in the Eastern Punjab, while he Mula Singh was to arrange for similar action in the West and North.¹⁵⁵

Kartar Singh Sarabha and Nidhan Singh contacted the troops at Ferozpur. Hira Singh of Charar went to Jacobabad and various other cantonments where he preached the Ghadar doctrine and endeavored to seduce troops. Bose took on himself the seduction of troops in united province and elsewhere. One of the agents of Bose was Sucha Singh at Ludhiana. Sucha Singh and Kartar Singh Sarabha went to Meerut where Pingle joined them. Together, they met a sepoy named Fulla Singh of the 128 pioneers and won him over. Then they visited the 12 cavalry regiment and met a few sawars and brought them under their influence. After, achieving results in Meerut they went to Agra but finding no Sikh regiment there they proceeded to Kanpur and preached their seditious doctrine to infantry regiments. From Kanpur they went to Allahabad. In the infantry lines they secured the cooperation of a havildar. From there they went to Banaras where they were met by Vinayak Rao and an unnamed Bengali and on their advice they visited Dinapur cantt where they won over a Rajput and sent him to deliver their message to the regiment at Agra. From Banaras Sucha Singh

¹⁵³ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp.132-133 .

¹⁵⁴ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.288, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.187. , Ise Monger and J.Slaterry *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.105.

¹⁵⁵ Malwinder Singh and Harinder (Edited by), *War Against King Emperor*, (Ghadar 1914-15), Bhai Sahib Randhir Singh Trust, Ludhiana, November, 2014, p.209.

went to Faizabad where a havaldar agreed to join and then to Lucknow where he met Kartar Singh and Pingle again. They returned to Lahore on 11th February 1915. Dr. Mathura Singh and Amar Singh were sent to stir up the Afridi tribes on the frontier. Nidhan Singh was sent to Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Hoti Mardan. The Indian sedition committee reports that Indian soldiers were approached at Meerut, Kanpur, Allahabad, Banaras, Faizabad and Lucknow and in the united province. However, the success achieved by them was extremely small and limited.¹⁵⁶ Puri also said that Kartar Singh Sarabha frequently visited troops in their barracks, dressed as *sadhu*, a sweeper or a *fakir*. In short periods small groups of Ghadarites had approached in a number of Regiment stations at Bannu in the North-West to Lucknow and Faizabad in United Province.¹⁵⁷

Jagjit Singh, Deol and H.K.Puri hold the opinion that Ghadarites tried to instigate almost all the troops of the cantonments of the Northern India and they were sure that on the start of the Ghadar the Indian troops would co-operate with them. After getting the assurance of the troops Ghadarite revolutionaries made a plan that they would execute a sudden attack.¹⁵⁸ Selected Indian writers and Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery also said that a meeting of the Ghadar workers was held on the 12 February 1915 at Lahore, when the 21 February 1915 was fixed as the date for the general uprising.¹⁵⁹ Selected Non Indian writer Harold A.Gould did not write about that.

Jagjit Singh, Deol and Non Indian writer Ise Monger and J.Slattery further report that after fixing the date of the Ghadar the revolutionaries were sent to different cantonments to pass on the information. Since the start of the movement the efforts to instigate the troops were being made by personal contacts as well as through the Ghadar literature. However, in view of the impending assault after 12th February men were sent to some cantonment areas to inform their accomplices about the Ghadar to

¹⁵⁶ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.288, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.187, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.105.

¹⁵⁷ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy* pp.187-188.

¹⁵⁸ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.300-301., Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.137, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.188

¹⁵⁹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.391. Gurdev Singh Deol. *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p. 138. Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p. 101 Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy 1913-1915*, p.106. *Proceedings Home Political (A)*, October, 1915, New Delhi, No.91. N.A.I.

be held on 21st February. After receiving the news of the Ghadar planned in the entire country by the troops an arrangement was also made to assemble and involve groups of villagers at Lahore. Nidhan Singh and Mathura Singh were sent on 15th February to Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Provincial border to inform and prepare the troops. On the same day Gurmukh Singh and Harnam Singh were sent to Pindi, Jhelum and Hoti Mardan to prepare the troops. Mulla Singh was deputed to bring prisoners from Lahore and Amritsar district to carry out an attack on the Lahore contentment. A declaration was prepared and tricolors representing the national flags were also made. These flags were given to the Ghadar workers who were to lead the groups in and outside the Punjab. Pandit Parmanand was sent off with one flag to Peshawar and Kartar Singh Sarabha was sent to Ferozpur. Sucha Singh was given the responsibility of Ambala and Meerut and Mani Lal Trivedi was sent to Multan to coordinate with Rajput troops. Others were sent to rural assembly places. The slogan of the Ghadarites 'Maro firangi ko' was also decided upon.¹⁶⁰ H.K.Puri and Gould remain silent on this.

Historians reveal that the Government agencies were completely not in the dark about the entire issue. They had their spies planted in the organization. The Chabba *dacoity* of the 2nd February 1915 had provided vital clues to the Government. KB Liaquat Hayat Khan Deputy Superintendent of police Amritsar came to know that Mulla Singh was involved in that *dacoity* and it was the work of the revolutionaries. However, the police did not find Mulla Singh at Amritsar and followed him to Lahore. At Lahore they met Amar Singh who told them that Mulla Singh had gone back to Amritsar. The police accompanied Balwant Singh and Kirpal Singh to Amritsar where they learnt Mulla Singh had been arrested. Kirpal Singh an immigrant from Shanghai had a role in the arrest of Mulla Singh as he acted as the agent of the police. However he had been able to the Ghadarites about his bonafides as a revolutionary. The revolutionaries trusted him and took him to a meeting place at Rasulpuriya Haveli where Nidhan Singh, Kehar Singh and Harnam Singh of Kotla Naund Singh, were staying. Nidhan Singh had also known Kirpal Singh in Shanghai and vouched for his reliability. Then at Nidhan Singh the proposal they elected him to

¹⁶⁰ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.319-320, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp.139-140, Ise Monger and J.Slaterry *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.155.

succeed Mulla Singh as leader of his group. Thus, it is an instance among many where an agent of the government managed to enter the inner circle of the party.¹⁶¹

The date of Ghadar was fixed on 12st February. Kirpal Singh the informer and spy of the police also came to know about the date as he was part of the internal circle. Kirpal Singh informed the police about the fixed date of the Ghadar and the preparation on 14th February. On 15th February Kirpal Singh went to Lahore where he met Kartar Singh Sarabha, Nidhan Singh, Mathura Singh, Ramkumar, Harnam Singh Tondilaat, Parmanand, Sajjan Singh, Pingale and Bose. Almost all the important leaders of the revolutionaries were present in the house at Lahore. Kirpal Singh informed the Amritsar police through a telegraphic message about the presence of the leaders at Lahore. However, the telegram got delayed and by the time the Amritsar police reached Lahore the meeting of the revolutionaries had already dispersed. Meeting the Amritsar police in advance at the Lahore station he told them that the opportunity has been missed.¹⁶² H.K.Puri also wrote about this in brief.¹⁶³

As stated above, Nidhan Singh had recommended the name of Kirpal Singh to enter revolutionaries. Kirpal Singh was deputed to go to Miameer cantt but Nidhan Singh found him wandering at Lahore railway station and grew suspicious about him. Secondly Kirpal Singh was in the habit of asking too many questions. Thus, Nidhan Singh had become doubtful about Kirpal Singh. As a result of this the leaders decided that he should be kept under surveillance. The result of it was that the every visit of Kirpal Singh to the police authorities was exposed. And on the other side only a few days were left to unfurl the flag of Ghadar. Thus, it was the collective view of their leaders that if they assassinated Kirpal Singh at this stage it would lead to a scandal

¹⁶¹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.321-322, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.141, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*,p.101, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.156 , It was the Chabba dacoity that was really the beginning of the end .Some of the local men were soon arrested and information was obtained that Mula Singh was involved in the arrangements. The Beginning of the Conspiracy War,p.161,*Proceedings Home Political (A)*, October 1915, N0.93. N.A.I.

¹⁶² Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.322-323, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.141, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.157.

¹⁶³ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy pp.100-101*.

and may create serious hurdles in the achievement of our ultimate object. Thus, nothing was done to him.¹⁶⁴ . H.K.Puri also wrote about this in brief.¹⁶⁵

After the confirmation that Kirpal Singh was an informer the revolutionaries decided on 16 February and advance the date of Ghadar from 21st February to 19th February 1915 and men were sent to different cantonments and other places to inform everyone about the change in date. But the events have started turning against the revolutionaries very very quickly. Kirpal Singh had perhaps already told Liaquat Hayat Khan on 16th February 1915 itself the meeting of the revolutionaries would take place in the house of Mochi Darwaza at Lahore. Around 18th February but the police had already made arrangements to raid that house. Significantly before getting suspicious about Kirpal Singh the revolutionaries had deputed Kirpal Singh to deliver a message to the revolutionaries of village Dadhehar to reach Lahore. Kirpal Singh had fixed the plan with the police that after coming back from there. According to the plan he would reach Lahore on 18th February 1915 but he was delayed in reaching Lahore and he came to Lahore on 19th February morning instead of 18 February. After meeting the police on 19th February 1915 morning Kirpal Singh went to the house at Mochi darwaza. The police stationed themselves near the house secretly. Police had fixed it with Kirpal Singh that when the leaders of the revolutionaries would assemble in the House Kirpal Singh would give an indication and police would come and arrest the revolutionaries. When Kirpal Singh went to the house of Mochi darwaza the revolutionaries kept him under a strict to watch. The revolutionaries were of the view that since Kirpal Singh did not know about the change date of the Ghadar so the Government would also not come to know it either. However incidentally Kirpal Singh and through him the police and the government also came to know of the change in the plan. This happened because when the revolutionaries assembled at the Mochi Darwaza a revolutionary came there and unknowingly reported in the presence of Kirpal Singh that the date for revolutionary action had been fixed on 19th February. Thus like this Kirpal Singh also came to know about the new date of 19th

¹⁶⁴ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.322-323, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.141, Ise Monger and J.Slaterry *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.157.

¹⁶⁵ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy* pp.100-101.

February.¹⁶⁶ H.K.Puri also wrote about the activities of Kirpal Singh in brief. He said that through Kirpal Singh police also knows the new Date of Uprising.¹⁶⁷

At noon when all the revolutionaries dispersed for lunch Kirpal Singh wanted to slip away from the house. The man who was deputed to keep a watch on Kirpal Singh was also moving along him every moment. However, Kirpal Singh went out of the house and a CID man met him and Kirpal Singh promptly informed him about the change in date of 19 February. After returning to the house he went to the rooftop with an excuse to urinate. At that time no main leaders of the Ghadarites were in the house. Kirpal Singh had also indicated to the Police to raid the house and after the raid on the house police arrested the revolutionaries who were there at that time. As such the centre of the Ghadarites was disintegrated and the Government gained knowledge of plan of 19th February. The government also made advanced arrangements and the revolutionary's plan of Ghadarites in India failed completely.¹⁶⁸The police raided the house of Mochi Darwaza at 4:30 in the evening. All the material was seized. It took one or two hours to analyses that at 6:30 in the evening police informed the cantonments by telegrams where the Ghadar were expected to be carried out. At this time also the Government came to know that the groups of revolutionaries had started converging in different centers but because the army officers had got the information telegraphically so they had also made advance arrangements.

The troops at Miameer were restricted at 7 p.m. in the evening itself. However, despite the arrest of Mulla Singh and the advancement of the date of Ghadar two groups of revolutionaries from Amritsar and Lahore had already reached

¹⁶⁶ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, pp.323-324, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.142, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy* ,pp.100-101Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, p.159. Kirpal Singh was a success to to enter the inner circle of the Ghadarits. He learnt that the rising had been fixed for the 21 February. *Proceedings Home Political A* October, 1915, No.93, N.A.I.

¹⁶⁷ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy* pp.100,Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan A Gadar Party: A Short History*, pp234-234.

¹⁶⁸ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*,pp.324-325, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,pp.142-143, Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy* pp. 100-101, Ise Monger and J.Slattery *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Report 1913-1915*, pp.159-160 .Ghadarits decided to ante-date the rising to the night of 19th February and sent emissaries to various selected centers to inform the change, but information about this date was conveyed to the authorities by a spy Kirpal Singh,For details see, Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party ;A Short History*, p.235. Gurcharn Singh Sainsara, *Ghadar Party Da Ithias*,p. 207.

near Miameer Cantt but when they came to know that the officers have come to know about the Ghadar to be carried out they dispersed away. Similarly a sufficient number of revolutionaries had assembled near the shooting range of Ferozepur cantt. A group of about 60 men had come there under the leadership of Sant Randhir Singh. The soldiers who were to hand over the keys of magazines and were supposed to guide the revolutionaries were expelled from the army on that very morning. However, on the advice of Kartar Singh the soldiers came and met the revolutionaries in the evening. The revolutionaries sent the soldiers to cantonment to prepare the troops and bring information about them but those soldiers were captured. After a long wait Kartar Singh and two more revolutionaries went to the army lines. The white soldiers were on guard on magazines and because of the information being received by the officers they had also made advanced arrangement. But in spite of such a vigil in the barracks Kartar Singh came and met a Havaldar of the native troops. Havaldar expressed helplessness and inability to do anything except wait for a few days. Kartar Singh understood that there was no hope. He tried uselessly to make the soldiers understand that if nothing is done at this moment then there is no hope of it later on because it was their first and last chance. However, pointing towards the white soldiers the soldier said that any efforts at this stage would be useless. On that day Kartar Singh had to return back helplessly. The villagers also returned to their respective villages.¹⁶⁹ Harold A.Gould remains silent about above information

CONCLUSION: - Selected Indian writers and selected Non-Indian writers have maintained that the main motive of the Ghadar movement was to begin an armed revolution in India against British rule. According to the Indian writers and non India writers the main strategy of the Ghadarites was to take the benefit from International situation. It was a time when the British were entangled in the war. The leaders of the Ghadar movement felt that the time was right that they should go to India and instigate the Indian troops and raise awareness among the people about the problems associated with the foreign rule. It is apparent from the historical accounts. In implementing their strategy the leaders of the Ghadar movement tried to spread their message through *Ghadar* newspaper to all the Indians. All selected writers have

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* The Seven Gadrites who were arrested from office were, Amar Singh, Hirda Singh, Ram Mandi, Balwant Singh Sathiala, Kharak Singh Boparai, and Kala Singh Jawand Singh, and Gurdit Singh, See for details, Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Ghadar Party: A Short History* ,p.244-245., Gurcharn Singh Sainsara, *Ghadar Party Da Itias*, pp. 209-210.

written about the importance of the revolutionary literature. The ramifications of the *Komagata Maru* incident and the role of Ghadarites form an important section of the history of the Ghadar movement. The selected writers hold the view that the voyage of *Komagata Maru* was not sponsored by the Ghadar party but it was undeniably this incident that influenced the Ghadar movement deeply and aroused anti-British feelings among Indians in the United States and Canada. The writers also opine that when First World War broke out the Ghadarites also started to come back to India on many ships and revolted against the British. On the other Gould assumed that *Komagata Maru* boost's Ghadar movement. But confirm other sources selected Indian writers and non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery gave right information that First World War also acted as one of the important factors behind the return of Ghadarites, however ,it was important to concede that the incident of *Komagata Maru* precipitated the return of the flood of revolutionaries to go India. It is also brought out that the British Government received timely information about the action of the Ghadarites and took precautionary measures. However, Harold A.Gould maintains silence about such information about this. Writers concur in the view that Ghadarites held many meetings in Punjab. These meetings were very significant as the entire plan to launch a struggle were discussed and chalked out in these meeting. Ghadarites tried to loot British treasures but they failed many time. The writers also dwell at length on the relations of the Ghadarites with the Bengali revolutionaries. The arrival of the Bengali revolutionary Rash Bihari Bose to Punjab and his role in the movement and in the organization has also been discussed. In the ensuing circumstances the Ghadarites resorted to committing many *dacoities* for purchasing arms. The Ghadarites also made a plan that a revolt would start on 21 February 1915 at all India level through Indian Troops. However, Kirpal Singh an informer of British police leaked the information to police. Ghadarites had to alter their plan and change the date of revolt. The writers document the process under which the police received information about the new date and it foiled the plan. Harold A.Gould has not written anything about it.

Chapter 5

The Legacy of the Ghadar Movement in the British India

Meaning of Legacy: Meaning of Legacy in Cambridge Dictionary is a situation that has developed as a result of past actions and decisions. It also means according to law money or property that a person or organization receives from someone who has died.¹ But in the present research legacy has been used to mean the long term fall out of an event or period of history. Legacy is something which is the direct result of this period or event in history and which continues to exist after it is over.² According to Ganda Singh, “the waves of the Ghadar movement have suppressed many times but their seed would not end.”³

The last chapter had brought out how the British government foiled the Ghadar movement. However, the Ghadar Party filled the people of India with a new vigour. It was an inspiration in the future struggles in the country. It has been shown that the attempt at armed revolutionary struggle of the Ghadar movement to liberate India did not did not bear fruit. The Ghadar revolt failed, but the Ghadar movement continued with its long term agenda of freedom from injustice. The movements organized by the masses are generally adjudged what they leave for the later generations. As has been said the Ghadar movement did not only inspire the revolutionaries of 1920 but acted as a great source of inspiration for Akali Dal and Babbar Akali movements, Kirti- Kisan movement and for revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh.⁴ In this chapter the focus will be on such movements as the Akali Dal and Babbar Akali movement, Kirti –Kisan party as well as the role of Bhagat Singh and the Indian –National Army. These movements can be seen as the legacy of the Ghadar movement.⁵ All these movements have been discussed in the writings of the selected writers as well as various other sources. However, before we discuss the presentation of these movements in the writings of selected Indian writers Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol, Harish.K.Puri and Non Indian Writers Ise Monger, J.Slattery and Harold

¹ Dictionairy.cambridge.org

² www.collinsdictionary.com

³ Vasdev Singh Parhaar “Ghadar Lehar da Akali Lehar te Parbhav” (Edited by) Jaiteg Singh Anant *Ghadar Lahar di Kahani*, Hardarshan Memorial International Trust, 2014 Canada p.226.

⁴ Amandeep, “Left Legacy of the Ghadar Movment: Kirti Kisan Mobilisation”, (Edited by) Joginder Singh, *Reflections on Ghadar Movement*, Guru Nanak Dev University .Amritsar, 2014,p.14.

A.Gould it is important to understand the role and contribution of the Ghadar movement in Punjab and the reasons for the failure of this cause. Only after this can the legacy of the Ghadar movement be properly understood.

As discussed in the previous chapter there were several factors behind the failure of the Ghadar Movement. Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol draw attention to the fact that the war broke out in July 1914 when the party had hardly completed the preliminary formalities of its organization. About one year had passed since its inception only. Even lesser time had passed since its secret commission when it had to issue the call of action.⁶ Puri has also expressed the opinion that the Ghadarties planned to launch the Ghadar at a time when the British Government would be engaged in the impending war with Germany. Bhagwan Singh records that the Ghadar leaders had planned to start rebellion in 1917. Tondilat has gone on record to say that Hardayal used to tell them, that the war for freedom from imperialism would begin near around 1920. Thus, according to them at the time when the Ghadar party was launched there was no immediate plan for making preparations for an onslaught against the British.⁷

Jagjit Singh and Deol have identified the lack of good leadership as a very important factor which was responsible for the failure of the movement.⁸ Deol believes that the party had very few leaders who possessed the ability of organizing a revolutionary movement. Lala Hardyal was a towering figure and imparted some hope of success but he left America after his arrest warrant was issued by American Government. Another reason and evidence of the poor organization was that the Ghadarites returned to India in a very erratic manner. After the war broke out, the party took a decision that all Indians in the foreign lands should return to India. In response to this all the Ghadarites began to leave for India. However, there was no well conceived program about the work to be done in India. Besides, most of the leaders who were to steer the movement towards a well defined goal were arrested immediately on landing on the Indian soil as there was prior knowledge about their

⁶ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar party Lehar*, Navyug publishers, New Delhi, Third Edition, 2000, p.399., Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, Sterling Publishers, Jullandhar First Edition, 1969, p.168.

⁷ Harish K.Puri, *The Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1993, p.172.

⁸ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.391, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.169.

revolutionary credentials.⁹ Puri also observes that the *Ghadar* Newspaper of 4 August made the appeal to “Go to India and incite the native troops. Preach mutiny openly. Take arms from the troops of the native states and wherever you see the British, Kill them. If you do your work quickly and intelligently, there is hope that Germany will help you. Get help from Nepal and Afghanistan. Start the war quick. Don’t delay.” These instructions hint at lack of planning. Many writers have eulogized spirit of the Ghadar by writing about the mood at the Sacramento gatherings. Prithvi Singh wrote that everyone in those gatherings was full of valour and a burning fire of freedom yet no one had any clear notion in his mind of the framework of our revolutionary program.¹⁰ It was the general perception that they were to follow their leaders yet there was very little clarity on the hierarchy of leadership within the organization. As stated above in a major setback the prominent members were arrested on their landing on Calcutta. Selected Indian writers have also identified the inability to maintain secrecy as another factor behind the failure of the Ghadar movement.¹¹ Jagjit Singh observes they had no notion of keeping their plans secret and conceived rebellion as a heroic act of uninhibited rebelliousness.¹² Deol said that strict secrecy and discipline approach were indispensable for the success of an armed insurrection. However, the Ghadarites gave the widest publicity of their aims and openly proclaimed their plans and aspirations. It is apparent that the Ghadarites lacked the requisite imagination and skill.¹³ Puri also expresses the opinion that on their voyage to India the Ghadarites laid the leading figures among the Ghadarites went out on every port and appealed to their fellow countrymen to accompany them in the name of the patriotism. In the process before they reached India the reports of their activities reached the British through various channels giving strategic advantage to the forces in India that got ready to charge first. Soon after their arrival in Punjab also they also preached widely about their aims. Thus, it can be said that the absence of discretion was another problem that led to the failure of the movement.¹⁴

⁹ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp.169-170.

¹⁰ Harish K.Puri, *The Ghadar Movement Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.176.

¹¹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.391., Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.173. Harish K.Puri, *The Ghadar Movement Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p. 177

¹² Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.391.

¹³ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.173.

¹⁴ Harish K.Puri, *The Ghadar Movement Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, pp.183-184.

Selected Indian writers identify lack of mass following as another factor behind the failure of the Ghadar Movement.¹⁵ Jagjit Singh observes that the country was not entirely ready at that time to carry out such type of revolt at the scale envisaged by the leaders. Thus, there was the inability of the leaders to mobilize sufficient number of countrymen for a revolutionary attack. If they had been able to arouse public sentiment and mobilize sufficient number of people the Ghadar would have taken place.¹⁶ According to Deol masses play an important role in any movement of a reformist or rebellious nature. The Ghadarites however lacked a mass base to work as the strength of the movement. They worked in the villages to mobilize public support but they could not get the desired magnitude of public response. The commissioner of the Jullundur District has said on record that, "I don't think there is any chance of disaffected Canadian emigrants receiving any measure of popular support; at least, I shall be surprised if they do so."¹⁷ Harish K.Puri has also included this perspective in his works. He opines that on reaching India Ghadarites find that the people were all set in upholding the British with all earnestness. This situation of the country appeared distressing to the Ghadarites.¹⁸

Selected Indian writers express the opinion that the religious organization in the Punjab also did not play a helpful role to further the national cause.¹⁹ Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol in their analysis of the situation hold that that religious and communal institution which was largely opposed to one another and every community was trying to assert its own claim to the largest role in the emerging scenario of national independence. Moreover, some religious organizations exhibited a sympathetic attitude towards the British Government. Jagjit Singh and Deol go so far as to claim that in March 1915 many leaders of the Sikhs pressurized the government to take strict action against the Ghadarites. It is said that a verdict from the Akal Takhat was issued that Sikh revolutionaries of the Ghadar party were non- Sikhs.²⁰

¹⁵ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.391, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.174, Harish K.Puri, *The Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.185.

¹⁶ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.391.

¹⁷ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.174.

¹⁸ Harish K.Puri, *The Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.185.

¹⁹ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p.397, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.176, Harish K.Puri, *The Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.193.

²⁰ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*, p. 397, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.176.

Puri has even written that in the prevailing political situation in the Punjab the leading priests were making overtures of support to the British and spoke in favor of the suppression of the Ghadarites.²¹ Deol said that the Darbars of the native states were also opposed to the Ghadar Movement. Kapurthala State and its police were particularly active against the revolutionaries.²²

Jagjit Singh and Deol gives voice to the opinion that the attitude of the Indian leaders of those days proved to be another factor against the militant movement at that time. Congressmen and leaders like Mahatma Gandhi had a moderate approach. They were openly against any radical action. Moreover, in the emerging situation they were providing help to the British in the war effort and recruiting troops to fight on the side of the British. The same attitude is to be found in the case of Mr. Gokhale.²³ Both the writers acknowledge the fact that the Ghadarites efforts to instigate the troops at a number of cantonments met with some success. The troops were prepared to revolt, but they needed some co-operation from other agencies of government, like the police. It proved to be a handicap that revolutionaries did not try to take care of the local police.²⁴ Deol asserts that another factor for the failure of the Ghadar movement was the efficiency of the British security system. It proved to be big impediment in the way of the Ghadar movement. The British Government had deputed its secret agents in the U.S, Canada, Hong Kong, and at other places, to pass on information regarding the activities of the Indian emigrants.²⁵ On the other hand Harish K.Puri silent about that.

Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol are of the opinion that the Punjabis have a peculiar way of doing things which is characterized by a reckless haste. The actions of the Ghadar leaders were also characterized by more valour and less discretion. Their movement from America after proclaiming the desire for revolution lacked astuteness. Moreover, Kirpal Singh was imprudently included in the party without the mandatory reassurances of his credentials. According to Deol, the inability to maintain secrecy

²¹ Harish K.Puri, *The Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.193.

²² Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.178.

²³ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar* ,p.393, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.178.

²⁴ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar* ,p.396, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.179.

²⁵ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.180.

and other similar failings are all in the intrinsic to Punjabi character.²⁶ Puri also takes note of this aspect and says that the general behavior of the simple American Punjabis was such that either they were captured on the way. If they reached Punjab then they talked so openly and freely about their plans that the *Zaildars* and *Nambardars* helped the British to trap them²⁷

Harold A. Gould states that the view Ghadar failed due to the eventual defeat of Germany in 1918. Lack of arms, lack of experience, bad leader ship, the notorious inability of the revolutionaries to keep secrets, the efficiency of the British intelligence, the tensions between the Germans and Ghadarites, the stern measures taken by the Government of India , the brutal methods adopted by the Punjab police. All these were the major reasons behind the failure of Ghadar movement. But Harold A.Gould wrote in brief about's failure Ghadar movement²⁸

Re- Organization of Ghadar Movement: It is apparent from the above discussion that the Indian revolutionaries had struggled hard. They had put in every effort to overthrow the British rule in India. By the year 1915 success was eluding them. However, they kept making steadfast efforts. The Russian Revolution had acted as a source of motivation and they had planned to model their struggle on the historically important mass movement.²⁹

Indian writers Gurdev Singh, Harish K.Puri at the time of America's entry into the First World War in April 1917 in favor of Britain, the British government had been exerting inordinate pressure on America to suppress the activities of the Ghadar movement. This intervention of the British government hampered the work of the Ghadarites in America. Members of the Ghadar party at *Yugantar Ashram* came under the direct watch of the American police. It has already been brought out that the U.S.A. was the centre and headquarters of the Ghadar movement. As a corollary of this development all the important leaders working in *Yugantar Ashram*, including the editor of the *Ghadar* newspaper Ram Chandra were arrested. In a major crackdown on the *Yugantar Asharam* the police apprehended seventeen prominent members of

²⁶ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar* ,p.400, Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.182.

²⁷ Harish K.Puri, *The Ghadar Movement: Ideology ,Organisation and Strategy*,p.178.

²⁸ Harold A.Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students and Spies*,Sage publications,New Delhi,2006,p.226.

²⁹ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.223.

the Ghadar party in San Francisco on 7 April 1917.³⁰ On the other hand Jagjit Singh silent about the above mentioned information. The Ghadarites were accused of violating and disturbing the neutrality of America by supplying arms against a country friendly to America.³¹ Sohan Singh Josh also agrees with Indian writer Harish K. Puri in his understanding of the American government's role in placing curbs on the activities of the Ghadar leaders. Josh notes that on April 13, 1918 the court delivered its judgment. All the prominent Ghadarites were sentenced to 21 months imprisonment. Ram Chandra was shot dead on the premises of the Court by a member of Ghadar Party. Historians note that during this time the activities of the Ghadar members in America came to a standstill.³² Months before their release Santokh Singh and Bhagwan Singh were notified in the Jail in June 1919 that the Government was going to deport them. Gopal Singh had also been arrested earlier in February 1919.

It has been brought out by the selected writer that Jagat Singh, Kesar Singh and Santa Singh had assumed the role of caretakers of the party during the imprisonment of the main leaders following their conviction in the Hindu-German Conspiracy trial. After their release from jail, Ghadarites came out of American prisons and made efforts to revive their activities. Santokh Singh and Rattan Singh occupied *Yugantar Ashram* and made efforts to make the Ghadar Party a fully functional organization. The intelligence reports of this period also confirm the re-organization of the party. According to one of the reports, "In March 1920 Santokh Singh was residing in Ghadar Ashram and occupied himself in re-organising the Ghadar Party".³³ Harjap Singh was elected President and Santokh Singh its General Secretary.³⁴ The first thing after reorganizing which Santokh Singh, Rattan Singh their compatriots decided was to bring out an English paper entitled *Independent Hindustan*. Edward Gammons worked as an assistant editor with the Chief Editor

³⁰ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.147. Harish K.Puri, *The Ghadar Movement :Ideology ,Organisation and Strategy*,p.224.

³¹ Jasbir Kaur Gill. *Ghadar Movement: A Study of Revolution Politics*, Unpublished Thesis ,Department Political Science, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2015,p.68.

³² Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Ghadar Party: A Short History*, Desh Bhagat Yadgar Committee, Jalandher, Second Edition, June 2007, p. 505.

³³ Home Political File.235/28.

³⁴ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.226.

Surendranath Karr. The first issue came out in September 1920.³⁵ On the other hand another selected writer's silent about that.

As part of their discussion on the Ghadar movement the historians have also focused on Akali, Babbar Akali, Kirti Kisan, Shaheed Bhagat Singh and Indian National Army in their respective writings. Jagjit Singh wrote that the Ghadarite revolutionaries had dedicated their entire lives for the achievement of the ideals of freedom and equality. Most of the revolutionaries taking part in the Ghadar movement during this period acted as epitomes of self sacrifice. Further he wrote that after the failure of the movement these revolutionaries did not abandon their ideology. A large number of those who had spent long terms in jails after their release continued to adhere to revolutionary devotion and commitments. Jagjit Singh quotes from Sir Micheal O' Dwyer's autobiography titled *India as I knew it*. He wrote that after the failure of the movement the enthusiasm of the leaders did not disappear or fizzle away. They continued to work in consonance with their ideology.³⁶ Amandeep also wrote that "Ghadar revolt failed but the Ghadar Party continued with its works. In the practical sense of the word the movement had failed. Yet; it would be in understatement to say that the movement had been a failure as the movements are generally adjudged what they leave for the later generations".³⁷

Harish K.Puri has expressed the opinion that the impact the Ghadar struggle engendered a deep sense of insecurity in the minds of the British administrators. This fear and insecurity linked with the rise of the Ghadar which later got manifested in the massacre at Amritsar and the enactment of martial laws leading to atrocities in several districts of the Punjab.³⁸ He has also stated the Ghadar starting on 1st November 1913 with the declaration that its mission was mutiny that it was the "the enemy of the British Rule" and its purpose was the ouster of the British from India. This had had created panic in the minds of the British. Even though the British officers like O,

³⁵ *Ibid*, p.238. For this purpose , Santokh Singh ,Rattan Singh , Harjap Singh , Gopal Singh and others plunged themselves heart and soul into the Job. The Ghadar Party had earned worldwide renown. See in Sohan Singh Josh, Voll 2,p.198. AS a President of Ghadar Party, Harjap Singh along with Jagat Singh, Bhai Santokh Signh , Gopal Singh met irsish Leader Dr. Velara . On their request Dr .Velara advised his colleague Adgaman to take over the editorship of Ghadar (English Edition) Party's official organ .See in O.P Ralhan, *Flame of Freedom and Hoshiarpur District, Vol,1*, New Delhi , 1992. p.65.

³⁶ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*,p.413.

³⁷ Amandeep, *Left Legacy of the Ghadar Movement Kirti-Kisan Mobilization*, p.14.

³⁸ Harish K.Puri,*Ghadar Movement:..A Short History*,p.152.

Dwyer celebrated the crushing defeat of the uprising and approved of the highly retributive punishment delivered to the revolutionaries, yet it can be said that the temerity and commitment of the Ghadar patriots engendered a dread of another armed rebellion. The symptoms of this fear were apparent in the report and recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee (1918).³⁹ He also notes the widespread protests and demonstrations against the Rowlatt Act. Puri remarks that one can logically line the memory of panic stricken white women hugging their children to the completely insane and atrocious act of General Dyer and Sir Michael Francis O'Dwyer when they ordered the shooting down of thousands of innocent people at Jallianwala Bagh Amritsar. It was an act of demonstrating the might of imperial power to the natives who had been emboldened by the acts of the Ghadar revolutionaries. During those days the British even issued crawling orders in a street of Amritsar and people were subjected to whipping in various parts of Punjab under the Martial law regime. In this context a few years later, Sir James , a long time secretary in the Government of India's Home Department, told Gobind Behari Lal in USA that "The Amritsar massacre could be traced to the Ghadar movement." According to Lal, "Duboulay said that the British fired because they had been frightened by our propaganda written in San Francisco."⁴⁰ The period after the War. India had rendered great services to the empire in the hour of its peril. However, it was quite incongruous that instead of rewarding the people of this country the government of India passed the Rowlatt act. This draconian act was aimed at the forfeiture of basic right and liberties of the people. The executive and the police were given unlimited powers and the ordinary citizens had to suffer the worst excesses. It is clear that the Rowlatt bills sought to curtail the liberty of the people. It provided for speedy trial of offences by special court and take into consideration evidence not admissible under the Indian evidence Act. There was room for lawful representation against arbitrary legal provisions more ever. There was a wave of anger and indignation and Mahatma Gandhi started an agitation against the law. He resolved to observe *Satyagrah* on March 20, 1919, but it was changed to 6 April 1919.⁴¹

Doctor Kitchlew and Satyapal took a leading part in the organization of protests in which people belonging to different classes took part. In the light of the

³⁹ *Ibid*,p.153.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*,p.153.

⁴¹ *Ibid*,p.153.

widespread protests Saffuddin Kitchlew and Satyapal who had also acted as the embodiment of Hindu Mohammedan unity were arrested and taken away to *Dharmasala*. According to reports as news of their deportation spread in the city and a crowd of citizens proceeded to the deputy commissioner's bungalow to register their protest. As the turmoil escalated police stopped the procession and tried to disperse the crowd. In the ensuing clash half a dozen people were killed and more than 30 were wounded.⁴²

Brigadier General E.H.Dyer arrived with his troops. The next afternoon when he marched his troops through the bazaars he was greeted with slogans of Hindu Mussalman ki jai and Mahatma Gandhi ki jai which were a proclamation and affirmation of Hindu- Muslim unity and the desire for freedom. In the evening Dyer received information the telegraph wires had been cut and fishplates on the railway track had been vandalized. The general proclaimed that all meetings were to be considered illegal. However, the congress had already announced a meeting at Jallianwala Bagh on 13 April 1919. The scheduled programme was neither cancelled not with postponed in the light of Dyer's proclamation.⁴³ Mohinder Singh has also mentioned that apart from the people who had gone to attend the meeting some people had gone to Golden Temple to celebrate *Baisakhi* and were unaware of the proclamation also hence they reached Jallianwala Bagh.⁴⁴

The selected writers have recorded the fact that the General received the news of the meeting at Jallianwala Bagh and marched with the contingent of infantry to prevent further rebellious acts. Thus as pointed out the historians in their interpretation of the Jallianwala Bagh episode link it with the Britishers' experience of the Ghadar and see the seeds of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre in the fear engendered in their minds by the threat of the Ghadar. Harish K.Puri however, differs from some other historians and does not dwell on the Jallianwala Bagh in great detail. He has merely described in terms of the frenzy of General Dyer and Sir Michael Francis O'Dwyer. It was the combined role of General Dyer and Sir Michael Francis O'Dwyer that resulted in the inhuman act of shooting down of thousands of trapped

⁴² Khushwant Singh, *Sikh Itihaas*, Vol-2 (Punjabi, Translation by Gurcharan Singh Aulakh), Lohare Book Shop, Ludhiana, Second Edition 2013, pp.167-168.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p.168.

⁴⁴ Mohinder Singh, *The Akali Movement*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2015, pp.14-15.

innocent people at Jallianwala Bagh Amritsar until all the ammunition was exhausted.⁴⁵ Mohinder Singh⁴⁶ and Kushwant Singh⁴⁷ agree with Harish .Puri that the forces blocked the entrance and exit to the Bagh and without issuing any warning opened fire on the congregation. 379 people were killed and over 2000 persons were wounded. In the aftermath of the massacre a curfew was imposed in the city. This further reduced the possibility of taking any help to the injured and maimed.

Harish K. Puri has written that the news of the brutal massacre at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar reached the Punjabis and sent shock wave in the community.⁴⁸ Harish K. Puri further argued that the perhaps even more savage were the cruelties of the crawling order in a street of Amritsar under the Martial law regime.⁴⁹ Confirm other sources like Kushwant Singh also notes that that Martial law was imposed in Amritsar and subsequently extended to other districts like Lahore, Gujranwala, Lyallpur and Gujarat.⁵⁰

Harish K.Puri also notes that according to Nigel Collett, biographer of General O' Dwyer, he was given the almost rare honor of being anointed honorary Sikh and was presented with the symbol of Sikh faith, including the *turban* and the *kirpan* and a *siropa*. The incident caused a massive but silent resentment in the community. The resentment was mainly against the degenerate and corrupt leadership of the community as also against the foreign rule. In the altered circumstances in the immediate aftermath of Jallianwalla Bagh incident, the ideas and the sentiments spread by the Ghadar patriots that were earlier considered too radical but began to be seen in a new light. It was a time when their sacrifice and the suffering of their families came to be remembered in the villages. It signaled the beginnings of the end of the proverbial loyalty.⁵¹

In another very important historical incident dealt with by the selected historians, in 1914 the outer wall of Gurdwara Rkab Ganj Sahib was demolished. This resulted in enraging the Sikhs. As a response to incident a Sikh education conference

⁴⁵ Harish.k.puri, *Ghadar Movement: A Short History*,p.153.

⁴⁶ Mohinder Singh, *The Akali Movement* ,p.15.

⁴⁷ Khushwant Singh, *Sikh Itihaas*, p.169.

⁴⁸ Harish.K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement; Ideology, Organization and Strategy*,p.242.

⁴⁹ Harish.K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement A Short History*,p.153.

⁵⁰ Khushwant Singh, *Sikh Itihaas*,p.170.

⁵¹ Harish.K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement A Short History*,p.155.

was held in Jalandhar . Teja Singh Samundri and Chand Singh Layalpuri organized this conference as they wanted to pass a resolution related to the Gurdwara Rkabganj wall. However, Majithia and Jodh Singh, who were the leaders of Chief Khalsa Diwan sidelined them and did not allow their plans to get materialized. Thereafter Chand Singh Layalpuri started a crusade for their demand. The British promised to call Harcharan Singh and others and also gave the commitment that the wall would be built after the war. The war came to an end in November 1918 however; the wall matter was not solved. In an important development the Luck now act was passed as a result of the agreement between the Muslims and Sikhs of the Congress. The Sikh leadership on the other hand felt that it was important for them to carry out political work by coming together under one organization. Thus, the Sikhs met in Lahore Bradley hall on 8 December 1919 and decided to form the Central Sikh League. The first sitting of Central Sikh League was held on 27th December 1919 in Bande Matram Hall Amritsar. The Sikh League supported the Non-Cooperation movement. This led to a change in leadership as a result of which many Sikhs left the league. Second sitting of this League was held on 1920 at Lohare. Baba Kharak Singh was selected as the head of the league. On the special call given by the league many prominent non-Sikh leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Kitchlew, Maulana Abul Kalam, and many more took part in this sitting. After this sitting on November 1920 Shromani Gurdwara Parbhandak Committee was formed and in December 1920 Akali Dal was launched as the principle political body representing the Sikhs.⁵² Thus, the historical episodes given above which led to large scale changes in the political atmosphere of Punjab have both direct and indirect links with the Ghadar movement. It can be said that the Ghadar movement was one of the most major historical developments which may not have had immediate results but it changed the narrative of the political life of Punjab.

Akali Movement: Harish k Puri has stated that, the attempt of the overthrow of the British in 1915 may be termed as a “Heroic failure”. The prominent Ghadar Leaders, however, did not think that the Ghadar movement failed in its objective. It is more appropriate to say that their sacrifices and sufferings ignited a flame that finally

⁵² Harjinder Singh Dilgir ,*Shromani Akali Dal* , punjab Book Company,Jullundhar1978,pp.48-50.

shaped the freedom struggle in Punjab.⁵³ Non-Indian writer Harold Gould is of the opinion that evidently the Ghadar movement failed and many of the pioneers and leading revolutionaries were arrested, imprisoned and sentenced to death. Yet, the Ghadar cannot be termed as a complete failure because of its long term attainments. “One might say that its cultural impact exceeded its military achievements”.⁵⁴ Gurdev Singh Deol also wrote that the Akali movement was, in particular benefited greatly by the example and participation of the remnants of the Ghadar party and the spirit born of its patriotic activities.⁵⁵

One of the main achievements of the Ghadar movement was that it provided an organizational structure against the imperial regime and created a possibility of challenging imperialism. Harish K .Puri notes that the legacy of the commitment to patriotism and sacrifices by the Ghadarites ushered in winds of change. In its own ways the Ghadar led to a new political consciousness among the people of Punjab and also began the tradition of active participation in the struggle for freedom. ⁵⁶ On the other hand Raghbir Singh also agrees with Harish K.Puri , he wrote that in his writings , “In the end of 1919, British Government introduced the reform scheme and some political prisoners were released from British Indian jails. All the prisoners of Punjab who had been caught under martial law were released and also the Ghadarites, caught under Lahore conspiracy case were released.” After the Ghadarites who were held in detention villages were freed, they did not simply abandon their revolutionary orientation. The thinking and ideology of the Ghadarites was revolutionary. They could not brook slavery. However Ghadarites were not able to reorganize the Ghadar party after their release from British Indian jails. However, they had again started playing an important role in the other political movements of Punjab for executing various schemes for the Indian freedom against the British regime. They had not only inspired the revolutionary programme of 1920, they also played big role in Akali movement. In one of the important fall outs of the altered circumstances, Vatan Singh Kahri a renowned Ghadarites who was serving life imprisonment in the third Lahore

⁵³ Harish K.Puri,“Making of the Ghadar Movement”,J.S Grewal, Harish K. Puri. Indu Banga (Edited by) *The Ghadar Movement Background, Ideology ,Action and Legacies* Publication Bureau, Punjabi University,Patiala,2013 p.175.

⁵⁴ Harold A.Gould , *Sikhs, Swamis, Students and Spies* Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2006, pp.203-4.

⁵⁵ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.192.

⁵⁶ Harish K.Puri, *Making of the Ghadar Movement*, p.175.

conspiracy case, became the main leaders of Akali Dal formed in 1920.⁵⁷ Raghbir Singh has also recorded that lot of Ghadarites like Piara Singh Langeri, Karam Singh Chima, Bhag Singh Canadian, Isher Singh Marhana, Mit Singh Pandori and many more became a part of the newly launched Akali movement.⁵⁸

The former Ghadarites were assumed the role of Jathedars and gave direction to different morchas. Pyara Singh langeri was the head of *doaba jatha*. During a movement called *Kunjia da Morcha* the head of Shromani Akali Dal had go to jail. At this time Pyara Singh Langeri became the temporary president of Shromani Akali Dal. He was also elected the candidate for the position of M.L.A representing Akali Dal. At the same time Ghadri Baba Madan Singh Gagga also joined the Akali movement and became the president of Dera Sahib Gurdwara of Lahore. Baba Isher Singh Marhana who was the president of Harmandir Sahib also joined Akali movement.⁵⁹ This goes on to show that the Akali Movement in Punjab drew a large part of its leadership from the Ghadar movement

When the British secretary of state asked for information from the British Indian Government about the people's movements taking place in Punjab, the home member of British Indian government responded by saying that, "We are really not in the position to answer it without consulting Punjab... there are many members of the Ghadar party in Punjab who have only kept quiet due to the strict measure when sir Michael O'Dwyer was lieutenant governor and they are showing their hands now, since the administration of the Punjab has been more lenient."⁶⁰

An informal note written by the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab on the same issue question mentioned that, "The Sikhs, speaking generally are a brave people and constitute a sturdy peasantry, but they are impulsive and prone to violence. These tendencies have shown themselves into direction which may be classified roughly as the political and the religious....on the political side the agricultural Sikh contain members who have radical leaning ... and there are a number of Sikhs who have returned from the colonies and these more especially those who have returned from

⁵⁷ Raghbir Singh,"Ghadar Party and Akali Lehar",see in Sarabjit Singh (Edited by) *Ghadar Lehar: Itehas,Rajniti Ate Sahit* ,Deepak Publishers, Jalandhar,2008,p.94.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*,p.94.

⁵⁹ Bhagat Singh Bilga, *Ghadar Lehar de Anfole Varke*, Panj, Aab Parkashan, Jalandhar, Third Edition 2013, p.178.

⁶⁰ Home political poll-dec.1-deposit.

the pacific slope. They have been infected with revolutionary and even anarchic ideas. An attempt at revolution by these men and extremist Sikh who look openly for the removal of the present governmentAfter the suppression of so called Ghadar conspiracies in 1915 there had been a lull in Sikh political activities but with the close of the war and the discussion of the reform schemes these activities have revived.”⁶¹

A high level officer named D.Petrie belonging to the intelligence police wrote that, “There are many Sikh in Punjab who came from foreign country and they hated the British rule and they can join any movement which may cause loss of state”⁶². A conference of Sikh league was held on 1920. The Punjab British government sent a report of this conference to Indian British Government stating that “sad news of the proceeding conference is attendance of Ghadarites on the stage and a meeting has to be addressed by them.” In addition to this the Intelligence department of Punjab government prepared a report on Sikh Agitation (1911-23). In this report the Superintendent of Police, Amritsar wrote that, “The *Akali Jathas*, consist of Sikh society people from other classes and people from abroad are also included.”⁶³The Sikh conspiracy case 1921 was also mentioned in a note prepared by Punjab government stating that the establishment of Akali Dal in Amritsar was linked with people who came from abroad.⁶⁴

The Lieutenant Governor of Punjab sir Michael O’Dwer said that, ‘In the royal pardon of 1919 the rebels were released and many of Ghadarites began raising heads again and these people are giving birth to a Sikh revolution by Akali movement and the movement of Babbar Akalis.”⁶⁵

Thus, as stated above, the Ghadar movement had far reaching consequences and fall out. It can also be understood as the reason for the genesis of the Akali movement. The Ghadarites not only participated in Akali movement in Punjab but the Ghadarites who were residing in foreign countries were very enthusiastic about the Akali movement and helped them by giving funds. The secretary of Ghadar party Bhai Santokh Singh maintained rapport with the Akalis from San Francisco. On April

⁶¹ Note on Sikh Question in Punjab 1919-22. E.D Maclagan Governer Punjab 7.5.1922.

⁶² Gurdev Singh Sidhu ”impact of Ghadar Movement on Akali Movement” see in Jaiteg Singh Anant (Ed). *Ghadar Lehar di Kahani (Punjabi Prose) Hardarshan Memorial International Trust, Canada March 2014,p.175.*

⁶³ *Ibid*,p.175.

⁶⁴ *Home Department 1922, File No. 268 .*

⁶⁵ Sir Michael O’Dwyer *India as I Knew it-1885-1925, Constable and Company,Londan,1925,p.209.*

1921 Bhai Santokh Singh received a letter jointly addressed by Harchand Singh Lyalpur, Master Tara Singh, and Master Sunder Singh who were all Akali leaders. In this letter they stated that the people of Punjab have been awakened by a strong sense of their political rights and that a large number of men had been mobilized to start anything at any time mainly for the betterment of the people.⁶⁶ The Ghadarites also participated in Morchas started by Akali Dal. Harish K.Puri makes a mention of a Jatha from Canada that came in India specially to attend Jaito Da Morcha in 1924.⁶⁷ This group was headed by Bhagwan Singh Dosanjh. Bhagwan Singh was the son of Dewa Singh of Dosanjh; Kalan village in Jullundhar Bhagwan Singh was the treasurer of the Canadian American press society of Doaba and was elected secretary of the Society in 1923. He became a subscriber to the *Desh Sewak* of Jullundahr and collected money for the *Pardesi Khalsa* and other *Akali* Newspapers of India. He left Vancouver in 1924 owing to his enthusiasm about the Akali movement. He became a *Jathedar* of the Canadian *Shaheedi Jatha* of the Sikh that arrived at Amritsar in 1924.⁶⁸ The religious zeal and spirit of freedom behind the *Jatha* is quite evident from news published in Canada in a famous paper called the Vancouver Morning Sun. The news printed in newspaper read, “Eleven people left Vancouver for India. They leave Canada in the role of crusaders having chosen to renounce all their earthly possession in dominion in order that they may be in India to direct an attack against alleged misrule.”⁶⁹ Maharaja Ripudhman Singh of Nabha took interest in matters related to religion and British government was aware of his sympathy for Akali movements. The government appointed Allahabad High Court Judge named Stewart into the alleged role of the Maharaja in Akali politics but that investigation was clearly opposed to Maharaja Nabha.⁷⁰ Thus, it is clear that the political agitation and opposition that began with the Ghadar movement took many different forms in the late year. The widespread influence of the Akali movement can also be linked with the rise of Punjabi consciousness about the importance of freedom under the Ghadar movement.

⁶⁶ Note on Santokh Singh, *Home Political File*, No.262/11,1923.

⁶⁷ Harish K.Puri *Ghadar Movement: Ideology Organisation and Strategy* p.244.

⁶⁸ *The Ghadar Directory*, (Compiled by) The Director, Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India, p.38.

⁶⁹ *Home Political*, File No 1/11, 1924.

⁷⁰ Khuswant Singh, *Sikh Itihaas* , p. 210.

In their early political intervention the Akalis were making efforts to free the Gurdwaras from the *mahants*. This brought them in direct collision with the colonial British government who used the Gurdwaras for their interests and used the *mahant* for various misdeeds in being carried out in the Gurdwaras. Akalis resorted to peaceful movement and were able to attract a large section of the Sikh community to the Akali movement. Evidently the British government was afraid of it. The British government regarded Akali movement as the consequence of Ghadar party and was fully aware that the seeds sown by the Ghadar movement were sprouting in such political currents.

Babbar Akali Movement: In the writings of the Harish K. Puri the Babbar Akalis Movement has been discussed in relation to Ghadarites and Babbar Akalis. Puri gives reasons for the rise and emergence of the Babbar Akali movement. On the other hand Indian writers like Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol and Non-Indian writers Ise Monger and J. Slattery and Harold A. Gould remain silent regarding that above mentioned episode in history. Puri observes that that the influence of the Ghadar movement was more evident in the militant Babar Akali struggle of the dissident section of the Akalis.⁷¹ In terms of its composition and character, the Babbar Akali Movement was anti-imperialist. It aspired to bring Swaraj in India. It emerged as a militant and radical organization against the multifaceted exploitation of India by the British. It can be said that the Babbar Akali movement provided a fresh boost to the militant nationalism in the Punjab. The movement professed a commitment and belief in armed revolution. However, as discussed above the Ghadarites Rebellion in 1914-1915 was the single most important formative influence on the Babbar Akali movement.⁷²

Puri wrote that, “The savage killing of Akalis at Nankana Sahib by the goons of the British government and the support to Mahant Narain Das had caused tremendous outrage. But the most revolting were the violent beatings of the singularly non violent, prayerful and steadfast of Akali Satyagrahis of Guru Ka Bagh.”⁷³ There was resentment among the Sikhs against the non-violent and passive submission of the Akalis to the atrocious and merciless repression by the Police. As stated above the

⁷¹ Harish K Puri , *Ghadar Movement: A Short History*, p.156.

⁷² Kamlesh Mohan,*Militant Nationalism In Punjab 1919-1935*, Manohar Publication, New Delh,i 1985,p.41.

⁷³ Harish K Puri , *Ghadar Movement; A Short History*, p.156.

Babbar Akalis professed a belief in the redemptive power of violence. They upheld the need to deal with the British tyrants in the language of violent retaliation.⁷⁴ He doesn't mention in detail about the tragedy of Nankana sahib and Guru Ka Bagh Morcha. On other hand the other sources claim that the main reason for the rise of Babbar Akali movement was the massacre of Nankana sahib and Guru Ka Bagh Morcha. Massacre of Nankana Sahib took place on 20 February 1921. This historically important incident took place when the mahants of Gurdwara Nankana Sahib, Narain Das, organized a violent attack on the Sikhs. As mentioned above Narain Das was supported by the British government. He is said to have been involved in an illicit relation with a Muhammadan drummer's wife. He was involved in the desecration of the holy Gurdwara as he used to invite dancing girls to Nankana sahib. Other obnoxious activities were also carried out at the Janam Asthan. This behavior of *mahant* was widely condemned by many Akali Leaders. Sikhs appealed to the government to take steps to prevent profane activities as it outraged the pious feelings of the Sikhs. Sikhs passed many resolutions but they failed to deter the *mahant*. All profane practices in the Gurdwara continued. Akalis planned to liberate the Gurdawara from the *mahant*. Thus, on the pretext of 'self defense' and 'fortification' of the shrine against the onslaught of the Akalis, Mahant Narain Das collected about 400 armed them with swords, *lathis*, *chhavis*, and other weapons. A Sikh Jatha led by Bhai Lachman Singh entered in Nanakana Sahib, but failed to redeem the possession of the Gurdwara from the mahant in Nankana Sahib. Narain Das's goons attacked them and burnt them alive. This incident created a lot of fury in Sikhs mind. The lots of Sikhs were not satisfied with the peacefully movement of Akali Dal. After the massacre of Nanakana Sahib these Sikhs started the inqilabi wave, named Babbar Akali movement.⁷⁵ An official statement read "The Akali terrorists known as the Babbars were largely recruited from the rank of Ghadar Party."

The Akali leadership came to know about the plan of the Babbar Akalis to murder those responsible for the Nankana massacre. The Akali leadership appealed to the Sikhs not to associate themselves with the Babbar Akalis. It was their perception that the activities of the Babbars were not in consonance with the policy of non-

⁷⁴ *Ibid*,p.157.

⁷⁵ Kushwant Singh, *Sikh Itihaas*, pp.203-204.

violence adopted by the S.G.P.C.⁷⁶In the wake of the tragedy at Nankana the official involvement in the affair related to Narain Das became clear. In view of the policy of repression practiced by the British the influence of the moderates among the Akali leadership began to decrease. At a meeting held on 20 March 1921, the S.G.P.C. demanded the passage of suitable legislation to secure the redemption of all Gurdwaras and release of all the prisoners convicted in connection with the reform movement failing which the community was to take recourse to non-cooperation.⁷⁷

However, Harish K.Puri does not mention in his writings that the Babbar Akalis held conferences nor does he throw light on their programme. The Sikhs who were against peaceful movement, made a formal appearance during the Sikh educational conference held at Hoshiarpur on 19-21 March 1921. Later they organized a separate meeting on 21 May 1921. The meeting was attended by Master Mota Singh, Kishan Singh, Amar Singh, Tota Singh Peshawari, Gurbachan Singh and Buttan Singh and a number of Sikhs who had returned from Canada. According to a C.I.D. report the following definite programme was agreed upon:

1. To create a rising in the Patiala State.
2. To endeavor to get into touch with the Bolsheviks across the frontier and to arrange an outbreak and the frontier which should synchronise with the outbreak in Patiala.
3. To foment trouble in Central Panjab.
4. To collect men, arms and ammunition; and
5. To eliminate certain officials and non-officials condemned as enemies of the Khalsa Panth⁷⁸

The emergence of the militant group among the Akalis was a reminder of the revolutionary spirit of the Ghadarites. Like the Ghadrates, the sphere of the Babbar Akalis activities was also confined mainly to the two districts of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur. Thus the Babbar Akali movement can be seen an important legacy of the Ghadar Movement. Like the Ghadarites, the Babbars Akalis also had channels of liaison and communication with the revolutionary movements outside the country. Official echelons of Punjab believed that 'they received large sums of money for

⁷⁶ Babbar Leaflet Reproduced in The Civil and Military Gazette, 5 October 1923.

⁷⁷ *Home Political* File 492/1922, N.A.I

⁷⁸ C.I.D. Report in File 268/1922, *Home-Political*, N.A.I

revolutionary propaganda from their counterparts still in America and Canada”. This new group of revolutionary terrorists was similar to the Ghadar movement on account of their itinerant behavior. They kept moving from place to place to spread their message and explain their viewpoint to the people in the province. After invoking the martial instincts of the Sikhs and after talking about the ineffectiveness of Akali leadership’s peaceful approach, the *Babbar* urged the people to resort to arms.⁷⁹

According to Ganda Singh “the waves have suppressed many times but their seed would not end”. This statement about the Babbar Akali movement which arose after the decline of the Ghadar movement proves that this movement sprung from the seed of Ghadar movement. A large section of the members of the Babbar Akali movement emerged from the Ghadar movement and were Punjabis. This is why the new wave of Babbar Akali movement did not arise all over India.⁸⁰ Karam Singh Dolatpuri, Daram Dingh Chinger and Baba Hari Singh Soond were the Ghadrates who had come from Canada.⁸¹ The Viceroy of India in his telegram no. 467 dated 13 June 1923 to the British government said that a lot of people participating in the Babbar Akali movement came from foreign countries. In this telegram he wrote “In the Akali conspiracy case of 1921 the culprit declared Master Mota Singh and Kishan Singh escaped from arrest. They raised an inqilabi gang of Sikhs consisting of former Army men and migrants from abroad in the district of Jullandhar and Hoshiarpur.”⁸² Apart from instilling revulsion for foreign rule, the Ghadarite activities also created a spirit of defiance of authority among the disgruntled citizens of Punjab which later found expression in the form of Babbar Akali jathas during the Akali struggle for Gurdwara reform.⁸³

Kishan Singh was an important figure in the Babbar Akali movement. He propagated the ideology of the Babbar Akalis and delivered speeches in various parts of the province and exhorted the people to give up non-violence. He also won over Sant Kartar Singh, Baba Santa Singh, Master Mota Singh, Sunder Singh and other important leaders into the movement. He played an important role in strengthening the Babbar organization. Some former Ghadarites and emigrants such as Karma Singh

⁷⁹ Mohinder Singh, *The Akalis Movement*, p.132.

⁸⁰ Vasdev Singh Parhaar, *Ghadar Lehar da Akali Lehar te Parbhav*, p.226.

⁸¹ Bhagat Singh Bilga, *Ghadar Lehar de Anfole Varke*, p.178.

⁸² Gurdev Singh Sidhu Akali, “Akali Lehar Utte Ghadar Lehar da Parbhav” (Edited by) Jaiteg Singh Anant, *Ghadar Lehar di Kahani* p.179.

⁸³ Mohinder Singh *The Akali Movement*, p.12.

and Asa Singh also joined the Babbar Akali movement. Kishan Singh is also performed significant political work among the Sikh soldiers at Jullundur cantonment and made efforts to acquire arms and ammunition. Having thus strengthened the Babbar organization .Kishan Singh intensified revolutionary propaganda among the Sikh peasantry .Some Important Babbar leaders were given the charge of various *Jathas* and were also given the responsibility of organizing conferences in different parts of the Punjab and the Sikh States.⁸⁴ On the other hand Puri doesn't mention in his writings the various important names of Babbar Ghadarites.

Thus, it can be said that Kishan Singh, was the main leader of Babbar Akali movement. He was in the army during Nankana massacre. Nankana massacre had great effect on his mind and he left the army job. He was greatly impressed by the propaganda of the Ghadarites in 1914-15 while still in the army⁸⁵. He said in his written statement that "Ghadar movement and many others who suffered punishment in Lahore central jail and were hanged and massacred in Jallian Wala Bagh by Murderer Dyer who from got *siropa* Akal Takhat sahib, this entire thing shook me."⁸⁶

Master Mota Singh was also one of the main leaders of Babbar Akali movement. On 11 April 1919 he delivered a lecture at the Badshahi mosque of Lahore against the Rowlat Act. Chaudry Ram Bhaj and Dr. Kitchlew were also present on there. Due to this lecture he was sentenced to life imprisonment, which was later truncated by the royal pardon.⁸⁷ Actually he was greatly impressed by the Ghadar movement and the *Komagata Maru* massacre. His religious ideology was given a fresh impetus by episode related to the decimation of the wall of Gurdwara Rakab Ganj on 1912. ⁸⁸According to Akali Dal and SGPC (1921-22) "A Confidential Memorandum was prepared with enclosures which stated that Sikh propaganda cannot be ignored in the description of the Akali movement as well as their contact with revolutionaries across border." He (Master Mota Singh) brought together up a group of aggressive Akali and migrants from abroad for his purpose of revolt. He expected to get arms from Bolshevik Afghanistan. He himself also crossed the frontier

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, pp.134-135.

⁸⁵ Chirangi Lal Kangniwal Babar "Akali Lehar Dia Bunyaada te Paeda", *Virsa* Desh Bhagat Yaadgar Committee Jullundhar, 2008 p.89.

⁸⁶ Milkha Singh Nijjar, *Babbar Akali Lehar da Itihaas (Edited BY)* Gurbachan Singh Bhullar, Navyug, publishers, Delhi 1986 p.410.

⁸⁷ Chirangi Lal Kangniwal Babar "Akali Lehar dia Bunyaada te Paeda" *Virsa* , p.81.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*. p.81.

to negotiate for all the possible help from across the frontier. This conspiracy clearly shows that Akali Dal was divided between parties and groups having moderate approach and the revolutionaries propagating extremist Sikh propaganda.⁸⁹ Ghadarites were associated with the violent group in the Akali movement. Later on, when the Akali movement was divided into those in non-cooperation group the influence of Ghadarites on the Akali wave and Gurdwara Reform Scheme had been largely recognized by the leadership. Two of the most important faces of Ghadar movement Baba Gurmukh Singh and Baba Udham Singh Kasel who were living in Kabul usually came to India during Akali programmes and met with Master Tara Singh and Mangal Singh. They repeatedly exhorted them to eschew peaceful resistance and resort to inqilabi ways.⁹⁰

The Ghadarites residing in America observed the activities and the sacrifices of Babbar Akali with great admiration and sent funds for their trials and cases. They also sent help for the families of those Babbar Akalis who were arrested. Karam Singh Cheema, Bhag Singh Canadian and Piara Singh Langeri represented the Babbar Akalis in the court.⁹¹

One of the important influences of Ghadar movement on Babbar Akali movement was publishing newspaper for propagation of the revolutionary message. The propagation of *Ghadar* newspaper had a profound effect on the stability of the British government. Following the same method many students of Ludhiana used to share the poems published in the *Ghadar Goonj*. Babbar Akalis also decided to publish the newspaper. As there was not donor to donate money they had to plan robberies for buying duplicator. They robbed a sum of amount rupees 575 from a lambaddar of village Bichori and purchased a duplicator. On 22 August 1922 they published a newspaper named *Babbar Akali Doaba*.⁹² The *Babbar Akali Doaba Akhbaar* which began appearing as a monthly from September 1922 regularly highlighted the desperate economic condition of the people and their exploitation at the hands of a foreign Government. It also drew the attention of the masses, particularly that of the Sikh peasantry, to the Akali movement and pointed out the

⁸⁹ Gurdev Singh Sidhu, "Akali Lehar Utte Ghadar Lehar da Parbhav", Jaiteg Singh Anant (Edited by,) *Ghadar Lahar Di Kahani*, p.179.

⁹⁰ Rughbeer Singh, "Ghadar Party ate Akali Lehar" see in Sarabjeet Singh (Edited by) *Ghadar Lehar: Itehas, Rajneeti ate Sahit*, 2008, p.98

⁹¹ Rughbeer Singh, "Ghdar Party ate Akali Lehar" ,p.99.

⁹² Vasdev Singh Parhaar "Ghadar lehar da Akali Lehar te Parbhav" ,p.227.

futility of the Akali programme of passive suffering. According to an official report the paper “exhorted the Akalis to abandon the non-violent doctrines of the S.G.P.C and called upon them to revolt, to kill the foreigners and to establish a free government...” the report further states that the Babbar leaflet also ‘incited the soldiers to murder their European Officers’.⁹³ Puri remained silent regards this.

The section below contains a discussion on the views of selected Indian writer’s on the ways in which Ghadarites had been inspired from Russian October revolution. It is revealed that some of them had gone to Moscow for study about the Russian October Revolution. First of all Jagjit Singh describes in his writings that after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia the Ghadar movement established links with the international communist bodies. This continued in terms of a renewed hope for the Ghadarites revolutionaries who were being released from the imprisonments awarded to them. The Russian revolution reinvigorated these Ghadarites who had suffered setbacks to once again reenter the movement.⁹⁴ Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri also agree with Jagjit Singh. However, they focus in their writings on the impact of the revolution on Santokh Singh. Deol wrote that Santokh was kept in San Quentin where he came into contact with a Russian revolutionary who persuaded him to align the party with international communism.⁹⁵ Puri also links this with the fact that Santokh Singh was sentenced to imprisonment and he spent this period at McNeil Island jail. He also notes that Santokh Singh during the period of imprisonment at McNeil island jail came under the influence of Marxist ideas as he studied some Marxist literature and books on Marxism.⁹⁶ Baba Bhagat Singh Bilga’s book, *Mera Wattan* (Punjabi), D.B.Y. Committee, Jalandhar 2000, p.152 mentions that “In the San Francisco Conspiracy Case four leaders of the Ghadar movement, Tarak Nath Das, Santokh Singh ,Bhagwan Singh and Gopal Singh were ordered to be put in MaNail ‘s island jail, the jail where American and Russian immigrant communists, anarchists and IWW leaders were already undergoing imprisonment for anti –war and other revolutionary activities in America. This provided the Ghadarites a good opportunity to know and understand the views of American radicals and of discussing and exchanging revolutionary experience with them.” Harish K. Puri has quoted a

⁹³ The Civil and Military Gazette. 10 June, 1923.

⁹⁴ Jagjit Singh ,*Ghadar Party Lehar in Punjabi*, p.416.

⁹⁵ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role Of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, pp. 147-148.

⁹⁶ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movemetr. Ideology , Organisation and Strategy* ,p.240.

statement of Santokh Singh, “Writing to a friend in October 1920 he had expressed, ‘My frank opinion is that India needs a revolution, political, social and industrial, an independent India with social and economic problems unresolved does not appeal to my reason. But I am sentimental enough to say that I, in the hope of the solution of social and industrial problems a little later, would prefer a Hindustani slave driver to an Englishman. Self determination is impossible so long as the union Jack waves in India.’”⁹⁷ Based on the evidence provided by historical accounts it is clear that Santokh Singh was arguably the first amongst the Indian immigrants to turn into a communist. He also persuaded and inspired others to acquire knowledge of Marxism in order to become communist. In the words of Gail Omvedt, “The Ghadar Movement was revived after 1920, and its second phase was predominantly a Communist one.”⁹⁸

Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K. Puri take note of the fact that Santokh Singh had gone to Moscow with Rattan Singh.⁹⁹ Rattan Singh a co-Ghadarite and a prisoner at Macnail Island were released in November 1919.¹⁰⁰ After their release Santokh Singh and Rattan Singh showed eagerness to go to the Soviet Union. They wanted to study the Soviets after the revolution as well as the nature of their revolutionary program. Their intention was to learn from the leaders of the Bolshevik the tactics and ideology by which they could achieve their own revolution in India.¹⁰¹ Further Harish K.Puri wrote that Santokh Singh got opportunity in November 1922 as in this year he participated in the second congress of the Red International of Labour Unions and Fourth Congress of the Third International (November-December 1922).¹⁰² Harish K. Puri wrote that they had meetings with Communist Secretary Zinoviev and some other leaders. He argues that this was the beginning of a paradigm shift in the outlook of a section of Ghadarites.¹⁰³ It was a time when their revolutionary programme received a concrete direction and became grounded in an ideology. Later the Fourth Congress of the Comintern must have helped Santokh Singh and Rattan Singh to reorient them under the ideological framework of Marxism –Leninism. It is

⁹⁷ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement, Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p. 241. see also , Government of India , Home Department , File No,626/11.1923.

⁹⁸ Gail Omvedt , *Armed Struggle in India The Ghadar Party –I, Heritage* No. 7, D.B.Y.C. Jalandhar , 1998,p.47.

⁹⁹ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p. 148. Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.246.

¹⁰⁰ Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role Of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p. 148.

¹⁰¹ Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History* ,p.504.

¹⁰² Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.246.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, p.246.

obvious that their young minds were deeply influenced by the decisions taken by the Fourth –Congress and the new spirit and activity of revolution that they saw surging in Soviet Russia. All these steeled their minds to work for the Indian revolution with a new heightened spirit and with greater vigour devotion and dedication. ¹⁰⁴

Further Jagjit Singh discusses some more aspects of the influence of the communists in his book. In an important development narrated by Jagjit Singh, it is revealed that Bhai Santokh Singh who was the member of Ghadar movement was arrested on the border while coming back to India from Russia. ¹⁰⁵ Gurdev Singh Deol also maintains that from Moscow Bhai Santokh Singh travelled to India through Kabul. At Kabul they met Teja Singh Swatantar. Teja Singh Swatantar also agreed to work for the new alignment. After this Santokh Singh returned to India. ¹⁰⁶ Harish K. Puri wrote that Santokh Singh never became an American and he came to Punjab. ¹⁰⁷ It is also believed that Santokh Singh and Rattan Singh stayed for a few days in Berlin and later they went to Afghanistan via Persia. Their journey was very risky. Jagjit Singh also holds the view that Gurmukh Singh Lalton and Udham Singh succeeded in running away from Indian jails after coming from Andaman. They went to Afghanistan and continued to work from there. They had made Kabul their base. Further he wrote that putting their lives at risk they crossed the borders to come to India for the revolutionary purposes. Harish K.Puri wrote that Santokh Singh and Rattan Singh reached Kabul and met Gurmukh Singh (who was a Ghadari leader) and Udham Singh Kasel. ¹⁰⁸ Deol and Jagjit Singh are silent regarding this. Harish K.Puri also argued that Kabul where Gurmukh Singh Lalton and Udham Singh Kasel had stationed themselves after escaping from an Indian Jail had turned into an important location of the members of the Ghadar party. According to writers, Gurmukh Singh knew safe routes through Afghanistan leading to Punjab. Santokh Singh also made an endeavor to return through Afghanistan and was arrested on borders before entering India. He was interned in his village for two years. He was arrested in Independent

¹⁰⁴ Sohan Singh Josh, , *Hindustan Gadar Party : A Short History* pp.509-510.

¹⁰⁵ Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar* ,p. 416.

¹⁰⁶ Gurdev Singh Deol,*The Role Of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.148.

¹⁰⁷ Harish K.Puri,*Ghadar Movement: Ideology ,Organstion and Strategy*,p.248.

¹⁰⁸ Gurmukh Singh and Udham Singh had fled from British imprisonment and were running the Gadar Party centre there. The national aspirations of the Sikhs have met with sympathy from Afghan officials. Before going to Moscow they had taken a decision in San Francisco that after their visit to Moscow they would go straight to India.

territory at Shahkadar and was taken to Punjab.¹⁰⁹ He was refused bail by the Punjab government. Later he was granted bail on furnishing a bond of 10,000 . He was interned in his village Dhardeo in Amritsar, for two years.¹¹⁰ But Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K. Puri do not provide the details related to this arduous journey. Thus, such incidents are a proof that Moscow became an active centre of political indoctrination for the Ghadarites .They acquired revolutionary ideas and maintained their contacts with Kirtis in Punjab and operated from the Kabul Centre. It is evident that the social transformation which transpired in Russia was experienced by Ghadarites and left a profound impression in their minds.¹¹¹

Jagjit Singh also notes that Santokh Singh published *Kirti* newspaper. Harish K. Puri wrote that Santokh Singh published *Kirti** newspaper in February 1926 in Punjabi language.¹¹² Gurdev Singh Deol remained silent on the issue. It is brought out by the historians that the decision to start the paper was taken after the end of Bhai Santokh Singh's internment in May 1925. He secretly started attending the meetings of the Ghadarites. According to records it were Bhai Santokh Singh, Bhag Singh Canadian and Karam Singh Cheema who had started this newspaper.¹¹³, "A *Gurmukhi* newspaper under the name of *Kirti* ought to be published . It may be issued daily or weekly, I settle with my companions at the time of my departure that the business could only be successful if the *Kirti* was successful."¹¹⁴ Bhai Santokh Singh started writing to the Ghadarites in America for arranging the money. As a result of his efforts funds started coming. A big amount of ten thousand came from Kabul.¹¹⁵ In the words of Baba Bhag Singh Canadian:

"In the end of 1923 , Bhai Santokh Singh arrived in Punjab from Kabul, after learning about the Russian Revolution. He was interned in his village Dhardeo. I met him there. He told me his intention of publishing his own paper for workers and

¹⁰⁹ Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*, p.513.

¹¹⁰ Amandeep, " Left Legacy of the Ghadar Movement: Kirti- Kisan Mobilisation" p.18.

¹¹¹ Bhagwan Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab (1926-47)*, Anupama Publication, Delhi, 1979, p.64.

¹¹² Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Party Lehar*,p. Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, p.248.

¹¹³ Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*, p.516.

¹¹⁴ D.Petrie, *Ghadar Party (1923-27)*, Heritage No. 4,p.51.

¹¹⁵ Comrade Vasdev Singh writes how he, Udaham Singh Kasel and Baba Gurmukh Singh used to visit Punjab to give money for the party. In 1925, He came to Punjab with the help of Himmat Singh to give money. He gave 50,000and two hundred gold coins to Bhai Santokh Singh which they had collected in Kabul see in Comrade Vasdev Singh, *Sangrami Gatha –Jiwan Yada*, p.43.

peasants. Santokh Singh was an educated, wise, sincere and hard-core revolutionary after Hardayal. He had been the general secretary of the Ghadar Party. Now many men were sent to Russia to learn from Russian Revolution with an objective of the revolution in India. Santokh Singh himself went to Russia. At last, a monthly paper *Kirti* was published when Master Udham Singh informed about the directions from the Ghadar Party.”¹¹⁶

As stated above Santokh Singh with the help of two of his Ghadarites companions Bhag Singh Canadian and Karam Singh Cheema started making preparations to launch the monthly magazine “*Kirti*” in Punjabi.¹¹⁷ A notification was published in several newspapers in January 1926 as:

“A monthly Journal called the *Kirti* will shortly start Publication from Amritsar .The journal will be the voice of Indian workers living in Amritsar and Canada and will be Dedicated to the sacred memory of those heroes and martyrs Who awakened India at the time when the value of the service Was far higher than it is now, and whose ideal was regarded by our own People as well as by outsiders, in absolutely vague dream, The journal Will sympathize with all the workers throughout the world, the entire Female sex and the subjugated the weak and oppressed nations and Subjugated India.”¹¹⁸

The words printed at the top of the front page were, “Dedicated to those martyrs who came forward for service when it was too costlier than it is today.” Evidently, it referred to the sacrifices of the Ghadar Party martyrs of 1914-1915 rebellion.¹¹⁹

It was decided that Bhai Hardit Singh would be the editor of the newspaper and Bhai Bhag Singh Canadian and Santokh Singh American will be its joint editors.¹²⁰ In February the first issue of this journal ‘*Kirti*’ bearing on its title page the picture of a dead labourer lying on a funeral pyre amidst factories and fields was published. The scenes of his labours when alive and with tools, such as the hammer and pick axe, with which he worked when alive were also carried by the paper. The

¹¹⁶ Statement of Bhai Bhag Singh Canadian in Chain Singh Chain, *Ghadari Babyan Di Kahani Ghadari Babyan di Zubani*, Desh Bhagat Yaadgar Committee, Jalandhar, 2002, p.134.

¹¹⁷ Bhagwan Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab (1926-47)*, p.66.

¹¹⁸ Proceedings Home Political No.235/1926.(N.A.I).

¹¹⁹ Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*, Vol.2 p.516.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, p.516.

pictures communicated the idea that either the deceased had succumbed to the hard work he had to carry out for the paymasters during his life time or killed by bullets of the imperialist police while on strike for higher wages. The hand of *Kirti* was shown placing a garland on his dead body.¹²¹

In its ideological framework the *Kirti* highlighted the importance of organized labour. Moreover the paper was quite unequivocal in the commitment to revolutionary aims. So far, it had consistently acted as a mouthpiece of the Indian Ghadarites of 1914-1915. It had also glorified the ideology of the Babbar Akails as martyrs and heroes. Moreover, it had striven for the relief and rehabilitation of the dependents of the imprisoned Babbar Akalis. It also revisited such important incidents in the history of revolution as the Budge-Budge riots, the Guru ka Bagh and Jaito incidents.¹²² The first issue reached America, where it was welcomed by the body known as “Hindustan Ghadar”. This body issued an appeal for subscriptions for the *Kirti*. Rattan Singh, while in Russia, sent the management of the paper a list of Indians abroad to whom the copies of the paper were to be sent. Petrie, the Intelligence Officer described the *Kirti* a strongly revolutionary and communist paper.¹²³ The British official in San Francisco Gerald Campbell wrote to British Government on 19 February 1926 a confidential letter saying: “About a year ago the Ghadar Party of California was in such low water that it was only a question of time before it would close its doors. Today it is alive and prosperous and daily gaining new adherents and although I have no positive proof of this, the information which has reached me is to the effect that it is being subsidized by the Soviet Government, probably at the instance of such men as Rattan Singh.”¹²⁴ On the other hand Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri remain silent regarding this information.

¹²¹ *Ibid*,p.225.

¹²² Bhagat Singh Bilga, *Gadar Lehar De Unfole Varke*,p.149.

¹²³ *Heritage No.4*. Desh Bhagat Yadgar Committee, November 1996,p.52.

¹²⁴ Rattan Singh, alias Santa Singh, Alias Hari singh, alias Isher singh alias Ghulam Muhammad, son of Nihal singh, of Raipur Doaba, P.S Banga ,District Jullundhar. Immigrated to Fiji in 1904, whence to Vancouver in 1907. Visited hong Kong in 1913 in an attempt to secure entry into Canada for a large number of Indians. Was a trusted friend of Mit Singh of Pandori, district Ludhiana and Bhagwan Singh of Viring, district Amritsar and acted as Secretary of the latter party in 1917.

Harish K.Puri wrote about the establishment Kirti- Kisan Party in 1928.¹²⁵ Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol do not mention the establishment of the Kirti Kisan Party in their writings. In its issue of April 1927, the Kirti group made an assertion of the need for an organization of the working class. This could be ensured through the formation of Kirti Kisan Party. Accordingly a Kirti Conference was held in Hoshiarpur on 6 and 7 October in 1927 under the presidentship of Sohan Singh Josh. Another peasant Conference was held in District Lyallpur on October 17, 1927. At the beginning of the year 1928, an important announcement was made according to which the *Kirti* would start the work of organizing the poor workers.¹²⁶ On the invitation of Sohan Singh Josh and Bhag Singh Canadian, a meeting was called on April 12, 1928 in the Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar with the aim of organizing the workers and peasants. More than sixty persons participated in this conference. These included Dr. Satyapal Gopal Singh Quami , M.A . Majid, Raizada Hans Raj , Kedar Nath Sehgal , Ferozeddin Mansoor , Master Kabul Singh and Lala Ram Chand . It was unanimously resolved that a party named Kirti Kisan Party may be established in order to organize the workers and peasants. ¹²⁷

Those who attended the meeting were considered to be its members. Sohan Singh Josh and M.A, Majid were elected President and Secretary respectively. A five member committee comprising Kedar Nath Sehgal, M.A. Majid, Sohan Singh Josh, Gopal Singh Quami and Hira Singh Dard was given the responsibility of formulating the the rules of the party.¹²⁸ The Punjab Kirti-Kisan Party's aim was to obtain sovereignty and independence from the British Imperialism. The Party also aspired to liberate workers and peasants from every sort of political and social slavery and to establish the United Socialist Republic¹²⁹. The Kirti –Kisan Party had a well –defined ideology .it was anti-imperialistic, anti-capitalistic and professed Marxist learnings. It would be more appropriate to understand it as a blend of Leftist-nationalism and democratic revolutionary tendencies.¹³⁰ The main agenda was to emancipate laborers and peasants from all forms of political, economic and social bondage. It also aimed

¹²⁵ Harish K.Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*.p.248.

¹²⁶ “ Kirti –Kisan Party di Lor “(Punjabi) *Kirti* , April 1927, p. 3-4.

¹²⁷ Bhagwan Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab 1926-47*, pp.92.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*,p. 93.

¹²⁹ . Meerut Conspiracy Case Papers , Sr.No .167. Exhibit No. P.344 (t) ,p.771. Aims , objects and Rules and Regulations of the Punajb Kirti- Kisan Party.

¹³⁰ Kamlesh Mohan, *Punjab De Hathiarband Sangarsh Di RashtriSutantarta Andolan Nu Den,Lokgeet ParKashan,2008,p.109.*

at organizing laborers and peasants to attain independence from British imperialism. The political goal of the Kirti Party was to form a government by workers and peasants on the Bolshevik model which would nationalize land, factories, banks, railways and would cancel all debts.¹³¹ The Kirit –Kisan Party comprised activists and communists. They tirelessly worked among the peasants. It can be said that the Kirti Kisan Party has been understood as another important legacy of the Ghadarites. They made serious efforts to organize peasants and participated both in the national and the communist movement.

SHAEED BHAGAT SINGH:- Dwelling on another important legacy of the Ghadar movement Harish K. Puri asserts the view that it is well known that at a very young age Bhagat Singh was deeply impressed by the Ghadar movement and that he regarded Kartar Singh Sarabha as his hero. Further he highlights the fact that Bandi Jeewan by Sachindrnath Sanyal which can be described as the first historical account of the movement by an insider was the basic text book which Bhagat Singh and his comrades used to deliberate on. It is well known that Bhagat Singh had personally met some of the leaders of the Ghadar party such as Bhai Santokh Singh, the founder and editor of the *Kirti* monthly, Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, whom he met in Lahore jail, Lala Ram Saran Das and Bhai Randhir Singh.¹³² Harish K. Puri does not provide much information in their writings about the early life of Bhagat Singh. On the other hand Gurdev Singh Deol wrote about the early life of Bhagat Singh. He wrote that Bhagat Singh was born on 28 September 1908 in Banga village, Chak No. 105, Distt. Layalpur (Pakistan). His father's name was Sardar Kishan Singh. Bhagat Singh was the second son of Sardar Kishan Singh¹³³. S.Kishan Singh was the supporter of Ghadar party. Sardar kartar Singh Sarabha who was a Ghadarite, said in his statement that, "He collected a fund of rupees thousand from the Brother of Ajit Singh (uncle of Bhagat Singh)".¹³⁴ After consulting other sources like Malwinder jit Singh Wariach, it is found that Bhagat Singh's family had close links with Ghadarites. Kishan Singh

¹³¹ Jasbir Kaur Gill, Ghadar Movement: A Study of Revolutionary Politics, unpublished Thesis ,p.129.

¹³² Harish K.Puri ,” Situating Bhagat Singh in the Ghadar Movement”, Harish K.Puri (Edited by) *Ghadar Movement to Bhagat Singh : A Collection of Essays*, Unistar Books , Chandigarh , 2012,p. 156.

¹³³ Gurdev Singh Deol, *Shaheed Bhagat Singh ek Jiwani* (Punjabi) Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala 2016(Third Edition) p.5.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*,p.2.

had donated rupees thousand to the party in 1914.¹³⁵ Bhagat Singh's Uncle, S. Ajit Singh was also a revolutionary leader. S. Ajit Singh had posed a major challenge to British rulers. He had been the initiator of the militant movement against them.¹³⁶

Jagmohan Singh also wrote that in 1914-1915 the Ghadarites of the Ghadar Party and Kartar Singh Sarabha used to visit Bhagat Singh's house and otherwise. Gurdev Singh Deol also wrote that Ghadarites like Kartar Singh Sarabha and Ras Bihari Bose usually came to Bhagat Singh's house.¹³⁷ Bhagat Singh used to listen to conversations about the Ghadar Party. In this way Bhagat Singh had the opportunity of a direct experience of the Ghadar Party.¹³⁸ Further Harish K. Puri wrote that Bhagat Singh was deeply impressed by Kartar Singh Sarabha's heroism and sacrifice. He carried a photograph of Sarabha in his pocket and was carrying one when he was arrested in 1929. His favorite song was one that Sarabha had been fond of singing;

“Seva Desh di jindriay bari aukhi

Gallan Karnian Dher sukhalian ne

Jinhan desh seva wich pair paya

Unhan Lakh Musibtan jhellian ne”

(It is very easy to talk, but to serve the motherland is very difficult. Those who enter the path of serving the motherland have to go through immense pain and agony).

Harish K. Puri argued that Bhagat Singh and his comrades regarded the Ghadar struggle as the first genuinely revolutionary struggle for the freedom of India. Some specimens consisting of the ideas of the Ghadar patriots in the form of simple poetical compositions are important testimony to their heroism.

¹³⁵ Malwinderjit Singh Wariach “The Martyr of martyrs”, see in J.S. Grewal, *Bhagat Singh And His Legend*, World Punjabi Centre, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2008, p.116.

¹³⁶ Swarn Singh, *Path Of Revolution A Biography Of Shaheed Bhagat Singh*, Wellwish Publishers, New Delhi 1998, p.16.

¹³⁷ Gurdev Singh Deol, *Shaheed Bhagat Singh ek Jiwani*, p.7.

¹³⁸ Jagmohan Singh, *Collected works of Shaheed Bhagat Singh and his Comrades* (Punjabi), Dipawali Printers Adda Hoshiarpur Jalandhar, p.14.

Sade paise naal sada sir kuttade

*Kar lao tayari pehlan ghadar machaun di.*¹³⁹

These simple verses contain the intimations of a revolutionary struggle in an highly oppressive situation. Further Harish K.Puri wrote that the Ghadar spirit of secularism was to Bhagat Singh, a distinctly valuable trait, compared to the religious and mystical orientation of the other groups of revolutionaries of India at that time;

Sanoon lor na Pandaatan Kazian di ;

*Nahin shauq hai bera dubawney da,*¹⁴⁰

Harish K.Puri also explains that, a major section of Ghadarites was enamored of secular and modern ideas. They were votaries of pluralist ethos and believed in multicultural unity of India. They believed in the creation of new social order of equality and social justice. It was that in dream of complete political transformation which instilled Bhagat Singh with hope. From long drawn resistance against the British atrocities in the jails to the open political struggles of peasants and workers even after independence of India, the Ghadari Babas remained models of personal integrity and of deep commitment to secularism and social justice.¹⁴¹

Further Harish K.Puri points to the fact that there were a total of 54 articles on the martyrs published in the *Phansi Ank* (Executions Special Edition)of the Hindi magazine *Chaand*(February 1928): 27 of these were on the Ghadar martyrs . There is evidence to suggest that Bhagat Singh and Shiv Verma took very keen interest in the publication of this issue .Many of these articles was believed to have been written by Bhagat Singh himself. These provide a glimpse into the makeup of his mind. Further Harish K.Puri wrote that one of these articles which Bhagat Singh wrote was on Kartar Singh Sarabha .Harish K.Puri wrote that Bhagat Singh described in his article how like most other Punjabi immigrants on the Pacific coast of the USA and Canada, the young 17 year old Kartar Singh became a revolutionary .He arrived at San Francisco in 1912 for the purpose of study, however, he was deeply perturbed by the racism of white men. He could no more think of studying or making a career.

¹³⁹ Harish K.Puri , *Situating Bhagat Singh in the Ghadar Movement* ,pp.158-160.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.160.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.114.

Gradually an organization of immigrant Indian laborers was formed and a passion for India's freedom was roused. The Indian workers pledged to sacrifice everything to liberate their country. The *Ghadar* newspaper was started and Kartar Singh worked very hard in its editorial staff. It is said that when he was tired while working at the hand-operated printing machine, he would start reciting his favorite poem;

Jinha des sewa vich pair paya

Ohnan lakh musivataan jhallian ne.

(Those who stepped into service of the country faced a hundred thousand pangs.)¹⁴²

As Bhagat Singh wrote that as more meetings were organized and cash donations poured in. *josh vad gea*(the zeal went increasing). The Ghadar party was composed of those who “offered their heads” at the altar of the “goddess of freedom”. Bhagat Singh also noted that the way in which the Ghadarites arrived in India in hordes and worked passionately to launch an armed rebellion with the help of Indian soldiers of the British army was amazing. “Like a hurricane they came from somewhere, stoked the fire of rebellion and were ultimately themselves consumed by it”.¹⁴³

In his account of Bhagat Singh Harish K.Puri wrote that as a young man Bhagat Singh seemed inspired by stories of the courage, dedication and organizational abilities of Kartar Singh Sarabha whom he lovingly described as his guru, a friend and comrade. As Bhagat Singh stated that:

*One is amazed to think of what he, at the age of 19, was able to do ...Such Courage! Such self –confidence! So much of self –denial and passionate Commitment has been rarely seen earlier. There have not been many people born In India who could be in real terms, described as baghi. But among those few Leaders Kartar Singh 's name is on top of the list.*¹⁴⁴

In his appraisal of the movement Bhagat Singh recognized the fact that there was deficiency of organization in the Ghadar movement. However, he appreciated

¹⁴² *Ibid*,p.160.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*,p.160.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*,pp.160-161.

that an attempt was made to overcome that deficiency. More significant to him, however, was their self-sacrificing passion. He seemed to be fond of mentioning that when Kartar Singh was told he would be awarded death sentence- ‘ *Phansi*’ over life imprisonment he was happy because by dying for his country and by taking birth again he could offer himself for death sentence again, “ Taking birth again I will be executed again until India gains freedom .That is my last wish.” And it was further mentioned, that Kartar Singh’s bravery impressed the judges very much.¹⁴⁵

Further Harish K.Puri mentions another quality of Kartar Singh Sarabha that impressed Bhagat Singh. It was Kartar Singh’s deep sensitivity to the suffering and pain of the people and his sense of compassion .He relates the story of a *dacoity*. It is said that the old lady of the house placed the jewellery which was the entire dowry she had made for the marriage of her daughter in front of Kartar Singh. She bade them to take whatever they required for their cause .Kartar Singh explained to her their lofty cause. He also expressed regret that they had to adopt such a method of collecting money. However, he offered some of the ornaments back to lady for her daughter’s wedding. Bhagat Singh was deeply impressed that even while participating in a *dacoity* “how sensitive and emotional was heart of Kartar Singh: How sublime! How great!”¹⁴⁶

Writing in a similar vein in another article on Shaheed Dr.Mathura Singh, Bhagat Singh concluded with a couplet

Hon farishtey bhi fida jin pey

*Yeh woh insaan hain*¹⁴⁷

(For whom even angels would love to sacrifice, such human beings are these)
Harish K. Puri argued that Bhagat Singh met Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna in central jail.¹⁴⁸ But he doesn’t mention in his writing anything about the conversation of Bhagat Singh with Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna. On the other hand the autobiography of Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, contains the following statement about Bhagat Singh:

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*,p.162.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*,p,162.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*,p.163.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*,p.156..

When Bhagat Singh and his associates were brought from Borstal Jail to Lahore Jail for trial, I and Kesar Singh Thathgarh had already been brought there. By some means,

I and Bhagat Singh would definitely meet every three days and Deliberate over the issues openly. One day. I jokingly asked Bhagat Singh that he was a young man educated and his was The time to enjoy life, then how did he get involved in these kinds of activities.

Bhagat Singh laughingly replied, “It is not my fault. It is yours and that of yours Comrades.” I asked how our fault is.” Bhagat Singh replied, “If Kartar Singh Sarabha and comrades would not have happily accepted martyrdom and You along with your comrades could not have come alive out of a jail like Andaman .Perhaps I would not have come to this side.” Whenever I met Bhagat Singh, I would feel that Kartar Singh Sarabha and Bhagat Singh were two Separate physical entitles only. Otherwise their traits, merits, thinking were

Exactly similar, “Two forms but one spirit” was applicable to them .One day I asked him why they killed Saunders. He replied that they did not want to spread terrorism. They just wanted to liberate India from the Britishers. As in 1914-1915, the Ghadarites had launched the struggle for India’s independence, their party’s aim was similar. If they killed Saunders and threw bomb in the Assembly, their objective was to make it clear to the Britishers that now the Indian youths are not going to tolerate the British rule.¹⁴⁹

Bhagat Singh would go to a local library in the morning for reading revolutionary material. Later in the day he used to share with his colleagues the knowledge he collected from the books. Jasbir Kaur Gill narrates an incident from the life of Bhagat Singh in which one day he admitted despite his best efforts, he could not find any revolutionary party that had clear ideas about what it was fighting for. According to him the only exception was the Ghadar Party. There was great clarity in their ideology. Their objective was to replace the existing system by a republication form of government. Thus, it is clear that the Ghadar Party was his inspiration .It was the first militant group .which had tried to liberate India by force. The party was

¹⁴⁹ Baba Sohan Singh Bhkana, *Jiwan Sangram te Hor Likhtan*,(Edited by) Malwinder jit Warriach and Sita Ram Bansal ,pp 73-74.

constituted by Indians living in Canada and US in 1913 to wage war against the British Raj.¹⁵⁰ The revolutionary terrorist cult of the Ghadar Party and the Babbar Akalis held a special appeal for the youth in Punjab which manifested itself strongly. A predominant section of the educated young men had lost faith in the policy of non-violent methods of struggle.¹⁵¹

Harish K.Puri argued that the beginnings of a new way of looking at things may be traced from Bhagat Singh's contact with the *Kirti* and the revival of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha in April 1928 with efforts of Sohan Singh Josh. That provided Bhagat Singh a closer association with the former Ghadrates.¹⁵² Further Harish K.Puri quoted's statement of Sohan Singh Josh, "The *Kirti*, as Josh observed, "Represented the continuation of the Ghadar movement in a new way."¹⁵³ He had lively and constructive partnership with *Kirti*. Bhagat Singh was influenced by the October Revolution.¹⁵⁴ "Price of India's Independence martyrdoms" was a series of article written by Bhagat Singh for *Kirti* from March 1928 to October 1928. In these articles he introduced the martyrs of India to the people of Punjab. He devotedly worked in the Editorial Board of *Kirti* these months.¹⁵⁵

The valour and the sacrifices of the Ghadarites left a deep imprint on the people of the Punjab, especially the rural youth for whom the Ghadarites became legendary heroes. Sardar Bhagat Singh organized the Naujawan Bharat Sabha in 1926 to instill revolutionary ideas among the Punjabi youth and to prepare them for the coming struggle.¹⁵⁶ The Punjab figured prominently for its revolutionary activities. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha undertook the unfulfilled mission of the Ghadar Party and the Hindustan Republic Association. Its first branch was formed in Lahore in March 1926.¹⁵⁷ Historians have acknowledged that Naujawan Bharat Sabha owes its inception to Bhagat Singh. ¹⁵⁸The programme of the Sabha mainly involved debates on moral literary and social subjects. They also dwelt on the need of popularizing

¹⁵⁰ Kuldip Nayar, *The Martyr Bhagat Singh- Experiments in Revolution*, Har-Anand publications , 2006,p.51.

¹⁵¹ Sukhwinder Kaur,"Kirti Kisan Party in Punjab 1926-1943", Unpublished M.Phil. Dissertation, GNDU, Amritsar, 1986, p.19.

¹⁵² Harish K.Puri, *Situating Bhagat Singh in the Ghadar Movement*,p156.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*,p.165

¹⁵⁴ Gurbax Singh Banuana (Editor) *Virsa*, No.11, Desh Bhagat Yaadgar,p.60.

¹⁵⁵ Jasbir Kaur Gill, *Ghadar Movement: A Study of Revolutionary Politics* ,p. 144

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*,p.144.

¹⁵⁷ Sukhwinder Kaur,"Kirti Kisan Party in Punjab 1926-1943",Unpublished M.Phil.Dissertation,p.19

¹⁵⁸ Home Department Political File No.130,p.5.

Swadeshi goods. They also worked for promoting a sense of brotherhood and a belonging to Indian languages and civilization. In the hierarchy of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Ram Kishan was President . Bhagat Singh was Secretary, Bhagwati Charan Vohra was cashier and M. A Majid and Kedar Nath Sehgal were among the members.¹⁵⁹ The aims and objects of the Sabha were:

1. To establish a completely independent Republic of workers and peasants of the whole of India.
2. To infuse the spirit of patriotism into the hearts of the youth of the country in order to establish a United Indian nation.
3. To organize laborers and peasants.¹⁶⁰

The Sabha became immensely popular with the passage of time. Branches were established not all over Punjab. Affiliations were developed with the Youth Sabhas in Bombay, Bengal Central Provinces and Rajputana. In the Punjab, the Sabha had its branches at Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Montgomery, Multan and Sialkot. After some time, more branches were opened at Karachi and Peshawar. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha Peshawar made an attempt at collaborating with its counterpart in the Punjab.¹⁶¹

Apart from youth who espoused revolutionary ideals, the members included a few notable personalities like Safiuddin Kitchlew, Pindi Das, the poet Lal Chand Falak, Dr Satya Pal and Lala Ram Saran Dass-a Ghadarite.¹⁶² All of them were well established political figures. The Kakori case was a major blow to the Hindustan Republican Association. However, after this setback the members began to reorganize themselves under the leadership of Chandrashekhar Azad . Finally the major leaders from U.P. and Punjab met at Delhi at the Ferozeshah Kotla grounds on 9 and 10 September 1928. It was the new leadership and gave their party a new name The Hindustan Army. This new organization was responsible for acting as the armed of HSRA. The HSRA was led by very competent and dedicated young men. These were Chandra Shekar Azad Bhagwati Charan Vohra, Sukhdev, Shiv Verma and Jaidev Kapoor. However, it can be said that Bhagat Singh was the tallest and the most

¹⁵⁹ Bhagwan Josh, *Communist Movement in Punjab 1926-47*, pp.82.

¹⁶⁰ Master Hari Singh , *Punjab Peasant in Freedom Struggle Vol.2*, p.167.

¹⁶¹ Home Department ,Political File No.130 and K.W.11.1930.P.110.

¹⁶² *Heritage No.7*.Desh Bhagat Yadgar Hall, April 1998,p.2.

representative leader and ideologue.¹⁶³ Bhagat Singh maintained regular contact with the Kirti Kisan Party and contributed several articles on revolutionaries and Indian Politics in its Journal *Kirti*. In June 1928, Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev organized the Lahore Students Union as an auxiliary of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha. This body also functioned as the recruiting wing for the HSRA.¹⁶⁴ Under the guidance and leadership of Bhagat Singh, several meetings were held, statements were issued and leaflets were published to inculcate and propagate revolutionary ideology.¹⁶⁵ With a view to integrating nationalistic and socialistic goals, Bhagat Singh persuaded his associates to rename the Association as the Hindustan Socialistic Republican Association.¹⁶⁶ The immediate purpose of the HSRA was to awaken and motivate Indians. The final objective was to establish the Indian Socialist Republic. Bhagat Singh's ideological conviction and his role in the organization of the Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha and the HSRA acted as a testimony to his socialist ideals. In fact his foremost contribution was that of an ideologue. His ideas about the nature of freedom struggle and his vision of social, political and economic order in Independent India were characterized by a lot of clarity. The Ghadar Party identified itself with socialism. Bhagat Singh and his companions also nurtured the dream of emancipating India through an armed revolution and transforming the Indian society through mass awakening and movement. It was Bhagat Singh who coined a most popular slogan for revolutionaries "Inqilab Zindabad or "Long Live Revolution".¹⁶⁷ According to Baba Bhakna "In the Central Jail, I also joined Bhagat Singh in his hunger strike and remained with him till the end meaning thereby that we considered that movement as ours which contributed to the freedom struggle. Even now our understanding is the same and we work for the unity of all these movements."¹⁶⁸

Indian National Army Gurdev Singh Deol wrote that Indian National Army was also inspired by the Ghadrities.¹⁶⁹ Puri also wrote that the organization of Indian National Army by Subash Chandre Base was almost a replication of the Ghadar methods. Both the movements were aimed at the liberation of India through armed

¹⁶³ Ravi Dyal, *We Fought Together for Freedom*, Delhi, 1995, p.139.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p.142.

¹⁶⁵ Manmath Nath Gupta, *Bhagat Singh and his Times*, Delhi, 1977, p.101.

¹⁶⁶ Punjab Conspiracy Case Papers, 1930-33, Exhibit No.18, P.I. Constitution of the HSRA.

¹⁶⁷ Lahore Conspiracy Case Tribunal Judgment, 7, October, 1930, p.1

¹⁶⁸ Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna *Jiwan Sangram te Likhta* p.78.

¹⁶⁹ Gurdev Singh Deol *The Role of Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, p.194

attack with the help of Germany and Japan.¹⁷⁰ Gurdev Singh Deol holds the opinion that Subash Chandre Bose as one of the organizers of INA, was the leading figure in 1923 when he organized a demonstration at Calcutta on the visit of the then Prince of Wales to India. Further Gurdev Singh Deol expresses the view that he didn't like Gandhi's ideology and method. Subash Chandre Bose met V.D.Savarkar in June 1940 at Bombay and revealed intention of starting an all India movement beginning with the agitation for removing British memorials from India. V.D. Savarkar advised Subash Chandre Bose that removing the British statues would be futile. During this conversation, Savarkar told Subash Chandre Bose about the organization of the Ghadar movement from outside India and their work within the country during the First World War and advised him to leave India for organizing a moment from outside for armed revolution with the help of the foreign powers hostile to the British. V.D.Savarkar said: "And then I narrated to him the First World War time story of alliances with Germany and other nations and the creating of the revolutionary army, of the Indian soldiers fallen into German hands as prisoners of war. I showed him the latest declaration of Rash Bihari Bose and said: 'this is a sure indication that Japan will jump into the war before this year end. If this really happens, imagine what a gold chance would be offered to you to invade India for her liberation and attack the British defenses with your own trained soldiers at present scattered in the eastern sector of war. Supported by the mighty strength of German and Japanese machine at your back, you should also dupe the British. Mobilize the Indian war prisoners and give correct lead to them. Make a proclamation of Indian Independence; as soon as Japan joins the war, manage to invade India either through the Bay of Bangal or from the Indo Burmah border.'"¹⁷¹ Harish K.Puri has also written about this meeting. He notes that Savarkar's inspiring talk changed the mind of the Subash Bose. He also said that the escape of the Bose from India to Europe via Afghanistan was arranged by the Ghadarites.¹⁷² Further Gurdev Singh Deol wrote that Baba Hari Singh Usman Badowal who was responsible for smuggling arms and ammunitions brought to India had settled in Java after his trial. Twenty years later he fled to Japan before the outbreak of the Second World War to avail a second chance for winning freedom.¹⁷³ He also wrote that Japan attacked Pearl Harbour, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies on

¹⁷⁰ Harish.k.Puri, *Ghadar Movement; A Short History* p.161

¹⁷¹ Gurdev Singh Deol *The Role of Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,pp.195-196

¹⁷² Harish.k.Puri, *Ghadar Movement; A Short History* p.161

¹⁷³ Gurdev Singh Deol *The Role of Ghadar Party in the National Movement*,p.196

the 7 December 1941. On the 15 February, 1942 Singapore fell. With the fall of Singapore 32000 Indian soldiers became prisoners of war .On the 17 February 1942 Major Fujiwara, Commander of the Japanese victorious forces, invited the prominent Indians citizens at Singapore. He told them that England's power was dwindling and that it was an opportunity for India to strike for Independence. Japan was prepared to give all assistance to Indians to attain independence for India. He further told them to form an Independent league. However, no final decision could be made. Similarly Mr. Tochio Japanese War Minister also exhorted the Indians to fight for their freedom.¹⁷⁴

Gurdev Singh Deol wrote that it was decided that a conference would be held and invite 18 Indians as representatives of Rash Behari's Party and half the Indians in Shanghai and Hong-Kong. In this conference which was held in Tokyo from the 28 to the 30 March 1942, the Japanese wanted Rash Behari Bose to be the leader of the movement However, Baba Hari Singh Usman one of the delegates and an old Ghadarite objected to this. Further Gurdev Singh Deol said that no final decision could therefore be reached. A second conference was held on the 14 June 1942 at Bangkok. This conference was attended by 150 Indians, 75 civilians and 75 army personnel. At this meeting it was resolved to form the India Independence League and the Azad Hind Fauj. In the meantime, Rash Behari Bose was authorized to work as leader and Mohan Singh was appointed as General officer commanding of the Indian National Army. He continued in that capacity up to the 22 December 1942 when the first I.N.A was dissolved .On the 2 July, 1943 Subhash Chandra Bose reached Singapore civil airport and took charge of the movement and the reorganization of the I.N.A which came to be known as the second I.N.A¹⁷⁵.

Subhash Chandra Bose proclaimed and formed a provisional Government of Free India on 21st October, 1943. It was recognized by the government of Japan on the 23rd October 1943 and by the German Government on the 29th October 1943. The free Government of Burma, the Philippines, Korea, Italy, China and Manchuke and the Irish Republic also gave recognition to the Government of Free India. On the 30th December, 1943 the I.N.A hoisted the flag of the Free Government of India on the Andaman and Nicobar islands. On the 4th February 1944 the I.N.A reached the Indo-Burmese Border and attacked the British forces. On the 18th March, 1944 the I.N.A

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 196-197.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*,p. 197.

detachments, with the collaboration of the Japanese detachments, broke the British defenses and entered in Manipur State. They captured Ramu, Kohima, Palel and Tiddim and besieged Imphal, capital of the Manipur State. They hoisted the National Flag. In the meantime, Germany opened the second front in the East by attacking Russia, but was defeated. With the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the 27th May 1945 and the devastation caused by it, Japan surrendered unconditionally. The Surrender of Japan sounded the death-knell of The I.N.A. ¹⁷⁶

Thus it is clear that it was the Ghadar Party that set an example for the future revolutionaries. It was the unprecedented leadership and example established by the Ghadar movement which was followed by the organizers of the I.N.A. movement. This is endorsed by Col. Gurbakhsh Singh Dhillon of the I.N.A. who holds that idea of raising the Indian National Army for the liberation of India was not a new one and had been taken from the Revolutionaries (Ghadarites) who fought for Indian Independence with the help of powers hostile to the British during the First World War I. ¹⁷⁷

With the victory of the British, the army personnel of I.N.A freedom fighters were termed rebels they were captured, brought to India and tried for treason. This treatment was resented by the public and the army personnel. The army men began to hate British rulers for the persecution of the members of the I.N.A. There were strikes in the Air force on 20th January 1946, at Karachi, on the 9th, 11th and 15th February at Bombay, Lahore and Delhi respectively. 5200 Airmen participated in this strike. In the wake of the Air Force the Navy also joined the protest. On the 19th February 1946, 5000 Naval personnel attacked the English officers and soldiers in the city of Bombay. They wore badges of the Azad Hind Fauj on their chests. In short, the Indian soldiers registered their protest against the British in India. The British had realized that it was not possible to check the rebellion in the Indian Defense Forces. This fact, in conjunction with, the international factors like the end of the Second World War were responsible for the transfer of power to India. But the rebellion in the Indian army was one of the most powerful factors to influence the decision of the British to India. This view is supported by the statement of the British Prime Minister. In the debate in the house of common prior to the passing of the Independence of India

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*,p.198.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*,p.198.

Act1947, in reply of the question of Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister, Mr. Atlee sought to clarify doubts in the following words:

“British is transferring power due to the fact that-

1. The Indian Mercenary army is no longer loyal to Britain
2. Britain cannot afford to have a large British army to hold down India.”¹⁷⁸

Thus, on the basis of the facts discussed above it can be said that Ghadar Party contributed immensely to the National movement like other parties and groups. It challenged the claim of the Britishers from outside the country. The *Ghadar* played a vital role in influencing the minds of the people in the foreign countries. The *Ghadar* Literature gave a stimulus to the patriotic aspirations of Indians in India and abroad. It would not have been impossible to wage war against British rule if the Ghadar movement had not taken place. This contribution of the Ghadar party has been admitted even by former President of the Indian Republic, Dr.S. Radhakrishnan. He says that “the movement was successful in spreading knowledge of India’s struggle for freedom in outside countries.”¹⁷⁹

Conclusion: In the end we can say that, All Indian writers and Non-Indian writers have discussed the reasons for failure of Ghadar movement. However, they acknowledge the fact that even in the face of failure the Ghadarites did not stop their activities. The selected writers, Jagjit Singh , Gurdev Singh and Harish K Puri concur in the opinion that Ghadarits came out from the from Jails and then began to take part of others movements. On the other hand Non –Indian writers Ise-Monger and J. Slattery do not give sufficient coverage in their writings to the legacy of the Ghadar party. However, Non-Indian writer Harold A.Gould make mention of the legacy of this movement. He wrote that Ghadar movement had many positive achievements credit. We can say that the cultural influence of Ghadar was as its military achievements. The Ghadar movement began a culture of resistance and opened up the possibility of opposition to the British rule. Jagjit Singh only mentions about Kirti-Kisan movement as the legacy of the Ghadar. He wrote that Bhai Santokh Singh after his release from jail and started the *Kirti* newspaper. However, Jagjit Singh has presented a brief account of the Kirti-Kisan movement. On the other hand Harish

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*,pp.198-199.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*,p.199

K.Puri also presents a short account of the Kirti –Kisan movement in his work. Harish K.Puri has acknowledged the impact of the Ghadar movement's on the many other movement. According to him some important Ghadarites played an important role in the Akali and Babbar Akalis movements. The Gurdwara Reform Movement which started in late 1920 and continued up to 1925 had the flavor of Ghadarites revolutionary politics. The movement was radicalized right in beginning because many Ghadarite leaders had become involved it. The Babbar Akali movement also terrified the loyalists of the Government and also the elements sympathetic to the government. The writers bring out how the government took stringent measures to suppress the Babbar Akalis. Though the movement lasted for a few years, it became a glorious chapter of the history of India's Independence struggle. The movement also brought home the fact that the influence of the Ghadarites was enduring in nature and would not easily die. However, Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol do not make a mention about this part of the revolutionary history. Later, Naujawan Bharat Sabha which was organized by Shaheed Bhagat Singh and his associates with the aim of establishing a completely independent republic of the labourers and peasants and for infusing a spirit of patriotism into the hearts of youth of the country bore a strong imprint of the Ghadarites ideology. Before coming to organize the Sabha, Bhagat Singh was deeply involved in the affairs of the Kirti –Kisan Party and its official organ Kirti. Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri also wrote that Indian National Army in 1942 was also inspired partly by Ghadarites. When we read other sources regarding Ghadar legacy we find that the Ghadar movement made a huge impact on other movements. So we can say that no organization or platform remained untouched by the revolutionary politics and revolutionary ideology of the Ghadar movement.

Chapter-7

Conclusion

In terms of the conclusion of the study some broad generalizations about the life and motives of the writers take precedence over other facts related to their works. In the context of all the writers selected for the study namely the Indian writers, Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol, Harish K. Puri and Non Indian writers Ise Monger, J. Slattery and Harold A. Gould, it can be said that the details related to their personal lives and formative motivations had a bearing on their works and their writings. Jagjit Singh was a man of rural background and roots and his personality were marked by his academic credentials, his scientific and objective approach to life and his commitment to humanist values. His interest in the Ghadar movement was ignited as a result of his personal meeting with important figures related with the Ghadar like Baba Wasakha Singh. His most notable works include Ghadar Party Lehar; his works have been hailed as a truthful and genuinely historical account of the Ghadar Movement. Moreover, this work was based on important sources and autobiographies.

The second writer Harish K. Puri has also written extensively on the Ghadar Movement. He is similar in his background to Jagjit Singh as he is a writer of Punjabi origin with very strong academic credentials. He had a prolific career as an academician and historian. The history of the Ghadar Movement fascinated him greatly. This is evident from the large number of books and articles written by him on the subject. Just as in the case of Jagjit Singh his interest in the movement was also inspired by his meeting with Sohan Singh Bhakna. His major works include Ghadar Movement Ideology, Organization and Strategy. It is important to note that in terms of the overall orientation of his works he tried to retain his focus on the role of Indian revolutionary intellectual abroad. Apart from this, according to Harish K. Puri the movement has been studied as a part of the saga of Punjabi heroic tradition ignoring such important aspects as ideology and organization. According to him the movement bridged the gap between the elite ideologues as the common masses and was full of possibilities that had never been foreseen earlier. Harish K. Puri's analysis takes a view that the Ghadar movement was a major promise of revolutionary change. It is important to note that Harish K. Puri's work is based on archives stored in the most

important libraries and institutes of advanced studies such as National Archives of India, Nehru Memorial Museum and Punjab State Archives

The third selected writer Gurdev Singh Deol developed during the course of his academic life he conducted extensive interviews with major Ghadar leaders like Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, Baba Harnam Singh Tundilat, Baba Hari Singh Usman, Baba Kartar Singh and Baba Prithvi Singh Azad etc. These interviews helped his in forming his ideas about the movement. Gurdev Singh Deol's work is based on original sources both published and unpublished related to the Ghadar movement. He also made the judgments delivered in various conspiracy cases, reports and records of the Governments of India and the United States an integral part of his study.

As far as the Non-Indian writers Ise Monger and J. Slattery are concerned they were officers in the Indian police. In this sense they were contemporary to the historical period covered in the study and their work exists in the form of official report on the Ghadar movement. Their work is quite systematic in nature as it deals with the beginning and growth of the Ghadar movement, the rise of the movement and the return of the Ghadar leaders to India. Their work titled *An Account of Ghadar Conspiracy Report (1913- 1915)* has been valued due to its great historical importance.

The last among the selected authors, Harold A. Gould is an established name in the field of historical research. He has written extensively on India and its social and historical past. His deep interest in India led him to write on the Ghadar of 1913. Notably, the sources used by Harold A. Gould in writing about the anti-colonial movements and the Ghadar movement were not confined to the works of Indian public figures directly related to the movement. Rather, he has also made use of the material produced by established Indian historians like Khushwant Singh and Satindra Singh.

By way of conclusion it can be said that the emergence, concerns and organization of the early Ghadar movement is dealt with in the writings of all the selected writers. The question related to the reasons for the migration of Punjabis destinations overseas is quite prominent in the works of these writers. It goes without saying that the migration of Punjabi migrants to Canada and America was the main factor that later on took the form of a nationalist movement outside India. Both Jagjit

Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol attribute the general prosperity, social stability, overall progress, growth of population, building of canals, fragmentation of land holdings as the main reasons for the rise of the trend among Punjabis to migrate to destinations like Canada and America. Harish K. Puri describes this in terms of a shift from feudal economy to capitalist economy. Rather than looking at the process of migration as a result of the overall prosperity as a result of the development of canals and modern means of agriculture, Harish K. Puri understands the development as part and parcel of the largely exploitative economic regime set in place by the imperial masters. It is important to note that Harish K. Puri links the transformation of the agricultural sector more to the commercialization of agriculture that had multifarious implications for the social and agrarian conditions of Punjab. Thus, it can be said that Harish K. Puri offers an analysis where in he traces the interrelationship of capitalist system and the colonial and imperial rule. These were mainly responsible for the structural changes in the field of agriculture. As part of this shift whereas there was a superficial impression of agrarian prosperity but underneath this general perception of prosperity there were serious problems such as the transfer of land from tillers to big landowners and non-cultivators, successive famines as well as outbreak of epidemics.

As far as the views of the Non-Indian writers Harold A. Gould is concerned they look at the migration of the Punjabis to other countries as a process of search for better opportunities and the desire for better prospects. It is clear that the non-Indian writers fail to perceive the complexities of the situation. The complex reality of the farmers of Punjab are more clearly presented by Indian writers as they link the emigration to a combination of factors like the structural shifts in agriculture and the increased problems of the small farmers as a result of the transformation of the social and agrarian realities after the expansion of colonial rule in Punjab. On the other hand non Indian writer Ise Monger and J.Slattery are silent in regard this. Harold A Gould seems to be wrong in his assumption.

As far as the issue of large scale migrations to Canada and America are concerned the both Indian and Non-Indian writers discuss the issue. Indian writers demonstrate a lot of clarity on the issue. According to Selected Indian writers, Indians were already engaged in petty jobs in places such as Hong Kong, Malaya, Shanghai, Philippines, Australia and Fiji. Deol and Puri wrote that, In fact because of the role played by the Sikh soldiers in the suppression of the revolt of 1857, the British

government had also recruited them in large numbers in the Indian army and posted them in places like Malaya, Singapore, and Penang. The Indians received reports of the prosperity of the West from sailors from America and Canada. The Indian writers also acknowledge that the Sikh soldiers who had served in British Military units in East Asia, Singapore, Hong Kong and Shanghai were among the first to reach the West Coast as immigrants. Thus, it is clear that exposure to destinations in South East Asia coupled with the lure of high wages in America and Canada gave the Indians impetus to migrate there. The Indian writers Deol also show awareness of the fact that in the prevailing trade rivalry between America and Britain was also the reason that there were attempts to attract Indians to America. The efforts of groups of entrepreneurs in Chicago and New York not only explored trade opportunities with India but also brought cultural closeness among Americans and Indians which got further strengthened in the support for Indian nationalism in America. It can be said that under the prevailing conditions there was sympathy for demand for self rule from the British by the Indian nationalist. A combination of all these factors drew prominent figures like Swami Ram Tirath and Swami Vivekananda to the American World. Thus, on the issue of the emigration of Indians to America and Canada, the selected Indian and non-Indian writers show some differences in their understanding in the fact that while the non-Indian Gould writers look at the process of search for better opportunities, the Indian writers show a better understanding of the complexities determining the process of migration. These reasons identified by the selected Indian writers range from the structural changes in the rural and agrarian realities as a result of the conquest of Punjab by the British, the exposure to the life overseas as a result of the migration of the Punjabis to various destinations in South East Asia and the lure of better income in America and Canada apart from the sympathetic tendencies in the American society towards the Indian nationalist movement. In a nutshell it can be said that while the selected Indian writers agree on the point that it was due to economic depression that Punjabis started migrating abroad. Unlike them the non-Indian writer Harold a Gould disagrees with this and contends that that main reason behind the migration of Punjabis was economic advantage not economic disadvantage. Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery do not mention in their writings condition of Punjab.

The next issue that finds a detailed mention in the works of the historians is the beginning of the consciousness of slavery and bondage and the beginning of the desire for political independence. It is clearly brought out by the Indian writers like Jagjit Singh that the influence of the Singh Sabha Movement on the Sikhs who migrated to America and Canada was quite marked. Quite early in the period after migrations to Canada the Sikhs set up Gurudwaras in Canada in places like Port Moody and Vancouver. Harish K.Puri agrees with Jagjit Singh that predominant majority of the migrants comprised the Sikhs. So the objects set forth by the Singh Sabha movement in Punjab converged in the institution of the Gurdwara. Non Indian writers Harold A.Gould also reveal that this society established branches in Victoria, Abbotsford and Frazer mills. Sikh societies were also formed at different places in Canada and America. Thus, the selected Indian and non Indian writers are in agreement on the point that religion acted as the galvanizing force as well as the ideological bulwark whereas the Gurudwaras became the centers of political activities. In other words, the political consciousness of the Punjabi Sikhs could never be detached from their religious ideology. Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery this was viewed as a threat for British government.

All the selected Indian writers and non Indian Harold A.Gould writers attest to the fact that the Punjabi community attained economic stability and success as they were physically strong and hard working. However, the Non-Indian Ise Monger and J.Slattery writers are largely silent about this aspect of history.

Selected Indian writers give a detailed account of the fear and insecurity aroused in the labour unions because of the economic success of the Punjabi Sikhs. They also take note of the manipulations of the British government which created some opposition of the dominion Canadian establishment towards the migrants. This culminated in the restrictions on landing of the immigrants in Canada unless they arrived through a continuous journey. All the three Indian writers concur that these provisions affected the Indians adversely and this amounted to a ban on the entry of Indians to Canada. According to Ise Monger and J. Slattery and Harold A Gould also these provisions caused considerable disappointment among Indians. The present study clearly brings out that the Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery do not investigate the reasons for the Canadian government to implement laws that would virtually debar the Indians from entering Canada. Indian writers on the other hand

clearly state that these rules and laws were being enacted to deal with the problem of immigrants and to evict Indians. Indian writers Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh and Harish K. Puri and non Indian writer Gould present a clear picture that Indians were facing discrimination. On the hand Ise Monger and J.Slattery do not mention the issues related to racial discrimination. Selected Indian writers and non Indian writer Gould writers have also given detailed accounts on the efforts of the Canadian authorities to deport the Indians to the British Honduras. This makes it evident that the historical accounts of the selected Indian and non Indian writers Harold A.Gould present a more intimate account of the problems faced by the Punjabi immigrants. On the other hand Ise Monger and J.Slattery does not give a detail why Canadian Government make scheme of Honduras. The selected Indian and non-Indian Harold A.Gould writers have acknowledged that the migration of Punjabi migrants to the U.S.A increased as a result of the restrictions imposed on their entry to Canada. Jagjit Singh, Harish K. Puri, Gurdev Singh Deol and non Indian writer Harold A.Gould have highlighted that Punjabi migrants had to face racism, persecution, attacks and anti-oriental feeling in the U.S.A particularly because of the perceived threat by the American workers. The Indian writers clearly hold the view that the primary reasons for these anti-Indian feelings were not racism but economic factors. Ise Monger and J.Slattery remain silent about it.

On the positive side, Indian writers particularly Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri take note of the fact that later America became the breeding ground for Indian nationalism. American ideals of individual liberty coupled with the history of the American War of Independence acted as an important inspiration for the Punjabi migrants. The early developments towards the formation of anti-British organization took place in America. This was also because unlike Canada, America was not a colony of England. According to selected Indian writers and non Indian writers Harold A.Gould, the discriminatory behavior of the Americans also led to the rise of patriotism and a sense of common identity among the Indians. However, the non-Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery do not carry out a comprehensive examination of the adversities faced by Punjabi migrants in America.

The selected writers have written about the activities of the educated Indian in foreign lands and this constitutes an important subject in the writings of the selected writers. All selected writers, figures like the Bengali revolutionary Taraknath Das had

started their activities related to emergence of the nationalist programme by publishing revolutionary material and establishing associations of Indians. The non-Indian writers show their awareness of the activities of these early revolutionaries. On the other hand, Indian authors like Harish K. Puri go into very minute details related to the work of such figures as Taraknath Das, Ramnath Puri and P.S. Khankhoje and their contribution to the rise and emergence of revolutionary nationalism. Harish K. Puri and Jagjit Singh detailed account about the establishment of the Khalsa Diwan Society and United Indian League. Gurdev Singh also wrote but in brief account about this. Selected Indian writers and non Indian Gould, Ise Monger and J.Slattery record the efforts made by Khalsa Diwan Society and the United League to provide representation to the Sikhs against the restrictions on entry. They also aimed at the unification of the families of those who were already residents in Canada. They take note of the fact that in the face of discriminatory practices, the Indians in Canada came together under the leadership of Khalsa Diwan Society and United Indian League. First delegation sends to Ottawa. Harish K.Puri and Jagjit Singh identify the representatives as Teja Singh, Raja Singh and Sunder Singh. On the other hand Deol gave a wrong name in his writings. Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery only mentioned deputation of Sikhs went to Ottawa. Gould only mentions that delegates to Ottawa led by Teja Singh. Without any result deputation came back. Jagjit Singh and Harish K.Puri gave an accurate information about's name of delegation. The deputation came back without any result. Selected Indian writers and non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery they also record their role in representing the cause of the Sikhs by taking a second delegation to England and India. These were very important developments in the evolution of the revolutionary movement overseas. On the other hand Ise Monger and J. Slattery tried to link these organizations and their members with radical politics. Confirm from other sources, non Indian writers try to distort history by linking these men with radical politics. It was a time the *Ghadar* paper and Ghadar party had not come into existence at all. On the other hand non Indian writers Gould does not make any mention of England and India delegation.

In the face of increasing oppression and apathy the situation was ripe now to take the next logical step. As far as the formation and organization of the Ghadar Party is concerned the selected Indian writers as well as and non Indian writers closely trace the circumstances leading to the arrival of Lala Hardayal to San

Francisco. They also record the establishment of the Indian Association of the Pacific Coast in the second decade of the twentieth century. He was at the helm of affairs in organizing meetings and the publication of the *Ghadar* paper in various Indian languages. Gurdev Singh Deol has extensively covered the meetings related to the establishment of the Ghadar Party. All major writers do not agree on the date and time of the establishment of the Ghadar Party.

As far as issues related to the emergence, concerns and the organization of the early Ghadar movement is concerned it can be said the writers Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K. Puri and Non- Indian writers Ise Monger and J. Slattery and Harold A. Gould express varied and diverse views. Indians writers agree that Indian had come to destination overseas under economic distress. However, when we compare the writings of non- Indian historians with the Indian authors it is clear that they do not comprehensively consider the conditions of Punjab and policies of British government in Punjab. Indian writers and non Indian Harold A. Gould acknowledge the fact that when immigrants reached abroad they had to face many problems. However, on the other hand Ise Monger and J. Slattery do not mention Canadian policies and the discriminatory attitude against Indians. The works of the selected Indian writers and Harold A.Gould make it clear that when Indian immigrants reached abroad they faced many problems which were directly linked with the slave status of the Indian population. The awareness of this disadvantage was directly responsible for the evolution and the rise of the collective sentiment the freedom of India from British rule was important for the self determination and equality of Indians all over the world. According to selected Indian writers and Non-Indian writer Harold A. Gould Ghadar movement was a freedom movement against British India. On the other hand Ise-Monger and J. Slattery do not view Ghadar movement as a freedom movement. They describe the Ghadar movment as a conspiracy. The main reason behind this is that they were British officers and their concern for British government is reflected in their chronicles.

As far as the rise of the Ghadar Party and the Ghadar movement is concerned all the selected Indian have described it as a secular and revolutionary movement aimed at liberating India from foreign rule. Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri have alluded to several statements of Lala Hardayal clearly declaring that the main plan of the Ghadar party was to liberate India through armed rebellion.

In this sense, it can be said that the credentials of the Ghadar as an armed struggle are generally accepted by all the Indian writers. The historian clearly bring out that the plans of the Ghadar Party were laid down in the resolution passed at the conferences held at Astoria and Sacramento and that the members avowed the basic principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. Secondly the selected Indian writers and Non Indian writers like Ise Monger and J. Slattery and Gould clearly concur in their view that the main motive of the Ghadar party was to take advantage of the international situation since the British Government was deeply occupied in the war. There is also a clear understanding in all the three Indian writers and non Indian writers about the attempts by the leaders of the Ghadar like Lala Hardayal to use the hostility between the British and the Germans to their advantage. All the three Indian writers also concur in their view that the main aim of the party was to instigate the British Indian troops so that they join that movement and start a revolt.

Jagjit Singh, Deol, Puri and Ise Monger and J.Slattery have dwelt on the role of the *Ghadar* paper. According to them it became the fulcrum of all activities of the party. All the selected Indian writers agree that the *Ghadar* paper was responsible for propagation of the aims and objectives of the party and for making to Ghadar movement a forceful revolutionary power. Because of the outreach of the newspaper in countries other than America, the paper played a very important role in spreading the message of the Ghadar party in places outside America *Ghadar* paper became the centre of activities. Apart from this the paper was successful in exposing the inequities of the imperial rule as well as the in igniting a desire for self rule and freedom. Gould remains silent about it.

All the selected writers have written extensively about the *Komagata Maru* incident and the ways in which the incident affected the Ghadar movement. Indian writers Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K. Puri maintain that the voyage was not sponsored by the Ghadar party but the incident aroused anti-British sentiments among the Indians in the U.S.A and Canada as well as in Punjab. All the selected Indian writers identify the need to fulfill the condition of a continuous journey to Canada and the new policy of immigration as the main reason for setting out on the journey. There is a general consensus among all the writers about the date of the beginning of the journey. They do not agree the date of the arrival at Vancouver. All the Indian writers carefully note the repercussions both in Canada and

the U.S.A of the refusal of the Canadian Government to allow the passenger of *Komagata Maru* to disembark. The selected Indian writers and non Indian writers also offers details related to the long drawn conflict between the Canadian authorities and the passengers on *Komagata Maru*. The writers also trace the connection between the resentment among the Indians about the *Komagata Maru* incident and the vigorous momentum in the actions of the Ghadar party particularly the efforts smuggle arms on board the ship. Deol and Puri and selected non Indian writers give a detailed account of the Budge-Budge incident. Jagjit Singh does not mention in their writings about Budge-Budge incident. The historians trace a direct relationship between the persecution of the passengers of *Komagata Maru* and the Budge-Budge incident and immediate increase in the activities of the Ghadar Party particularly the influx of Indians from Canada to India. The writers go to the extent of contending that if the *Komagata Maru* incident had not occurred there would not have been an awakening among the Indians in Canada and the United States. Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh take note of the fact that some of the passengers of the ship tuned Ghadarites. On the other hand non-Indian writers play down this connection. Ise Monger and J.Slattery try to link the rise of the Ghadar movement with the World War I. On the other hand Gould silent about it. Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh and Puri also bring out the fact that there was a rise in the activities of the Ghadar after the start of the World War I. Thus, it can be concluded on the basis of the writings of both the Indian and non-Indian writers that the *Komagata Maru* incident and the World War I gave a boost to the Ghadar movement. Meetings were held, funds were collected and people left America and Canada for India.

All the selected writers provide a comprehensive account of the journey of the revolutionaries to India. They also present a detailed account of their stay and their activities in Hong Kong. Jagjit Singh, Deol and Puri in particular has given details of the intelligence network that was tracking the Ghadarities at various locations on their way to India as a result of which according to the historians; the Indian government was alert and ready to deal with the revolutionaries. Ise Monger and Slattery even go to the extent to stating that list of passengers was sent by the authorities of Hong Kong along with unfavorable report about the passenger of various ships. However, the historians differ about the exact number of Ghadarites arriving in India, the number of Ghadarites arrested immediately on arrival and the number of Ghadarites

who were restricted to their villages. Harold A.Gould does not mention in his writings.

The Indian writers like Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol and non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery have dwelt quite extensively in their writings on the activities of Ghadar members on their arrival in India. Their knowledge of their activities in Indian is apparently more detailed and precise as compared to the Indian writers Harish K.Puri. However, Indian writers Jagjit Singh and Deol and the non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery provide a detailed account of the various meeting of the Ghadarites towards the end of 1914. Harish K.Puri gave a brief account about this .Non Indian writer Harold A.Gould does not mention about this in his writings.

The plan to attack the Miameer arsenal in the Lahore cantonment and the role played by Kartar Singh Sarabha and Nidhan Singh finds a prominent mention in the works of all the writers. All the major writers including Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Ise Monger and J. Slattery give reasons for the failure of the scheme of the Ghadarites to carry out the attack on the Miameer Arsenal as well as the plan to attack the Ferozepur cantonment and the Moga treasury. The historians further dwell on the fact that the Ferozepur incident proved to be a major setback for the Ghadar movement. Several Ghadarites were arrested and the party was faced with a crisis. On the other hand Gould remains silent about it.

The writers have also dealt with the links between the Ghadar leaders and Bengali revolutionaries. Selected Indian writers and non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery highlights the way in which Bose organized the work of the Ghadar Party and brought it under centralized control from Lahore. The selected Indian writers have given details of the various *dacoities* committed by the members of the Ghadar. According to Harish K. Puri and Ise Monger and J.Slattery the ,primary objective of committing *dacoities* was the need for raising funds whereas Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh take note of the fact that *dacoities* were not part of the core agenda of the Ghadar and it can be seen as an expedient means of tiding over financial crisis. According to one opinion the *dacoities* were committed under the influence of Bengali revolutionaries. Writers also note that most of the *dacoities* were committed during the early 1915.

All the selected writers give detailed accounts of the efforts to seduce the Indian troops under the British at various locations such as Lahore, Ferozepur and Meerut. The role played by Kartar Singh Sarabha, Nidhan Singh and Rash Bihari Bose is also highlighted by both the Indian and Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery. Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol, Harish K.Puri and non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery in particular have expressed the opinion that the Ghadarites tried to instigate almost all the troops of the cantonments of northern India as they had planned simultaneous and orchestrated attacks at Lahore, Ferozepur and Rawalpindi. On the other hand Gould silent about it.

As far as the activities of the Ghadarites are concerned it can be said that selected Indian writers and selected Non-Indian writers have maintained that the main motive of the Ghadar movement was to begin an armed revolution in India against British rule. According to the Indian writers the main strategy of the Ghadarites was to take advantage of the international situation. It was a time when the British were entangled in the war. The leaders of the Ghadar movement felt that the time was right for going to India and instigate the Indian troops and raise awareness among the people about the problems associated with the foreign rule. In implementing their strategy the leaders of the Ghadar movement tried to spread their message through *Ghadar* newspaper. The newspaper had an important role in spreading the Ghadar ideology. All selected writers have written about the importance of the revolutionary literature. The ramifications of the *Komagata Maru* incident and the role of Ghadarites form an important section of the history of the Ghadar movement. The selected Indian writers hold the view that the voyage of *Komagata Maru* was not sponsored by the Ghadar party but was undeniably this incident that influenced the Ghadar movement deeply and aroused anti-British feelings among Indians in the United States and Canada. The Selected Indian writers and Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery also opine that when First World War broke out the Ghadarites also began coming to India on many ships and revolted against the British. It is also brought out that the British government received timely information about the action of the Ghadarites and took precautionary measures. Historians concur in the view that Ghadarites held many meetings in Punjab. These meetings were very significant as the entire plan to launch a struggle were discussed and chalked out in these meeting. Ghadarites tried to loot British treasures but they failed many time. The historians also

dwell at length on the relations of the Ghadarites with Bengali revolutionaries. The arrival of the Bengali revolutionary Rash Bihari Bose to Punjab and his role in the movement and in the organization has also been discussed. In the ensuing circumstances the Ghadarites resorted to committing many *dacoities* for purchasing arms. The Ghadarites made a plan that a revolt would start on 21 February 1915 at all India level through Indian Troops. However, Kirpal Singh an informer of British police leaked the information to police. Ghadarites had to alter their plan and change the date of revolt. The historians document the process under which the police received information about the new date foiled the plan. On the other Harold A. Gould remains silent about above mentioned information.

As far as the legacy of the Ghadar movement is concerned, historians bring out that the Ghadar movement did not only inspire the revolutionaries of the 1920 but it was a source of inspiration for Akali movement, Babbar Akali movement, Kirti Kisan movement and great revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh. Historians project all these movements as the legacy of the Ghadar movement. Among the reasons for the failure of the movement Jagjit Singh and Deol identifies lack of good leadership and poor organization as very important factors responsible for the failure of the movement. Other Indian writers like Harish K. Puri and Jagjit Singh attribute such factors and the inability to maintain secrecy as one of the reasons for the failure as the British Government had braced itself against the challenge before the Ghadarites came to India. Selected Indian writers also hold lack of mass following as the reason for the failure of the movement. The leader lacked the ability to mobilize the masses. Apart from this according to Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol, the religious and communal institutions did not support the movement and many of them were sympathetic towards the British. Moreover, the Congress and the leading figures in the Indian freedom movement were moderate in their approach and did not believe in an armed insurrection. On the other hand non Indian writer Harold A. Gould links the failure of the movement to the defeat of Germany in 1918. They also link it with America's entry into the First World War in favour of the British and the subsequent suppression of the Ghadar leaders in America under British pressure. Thus, it can be said that selected Indian writers and Non-Indian writer have discussed the reasons for the failure of Ghadar movement. However, they acknowledge the fact that even in the face of failure the Ghadarites did not stop their activities. The selected writers, Jagjit

Singh , Gurdev Singh and Harish K Puri concur in the opinion that Ghadarites came out from the jails and then began to take part of others movements. It is at the same time noteworthy that Non –Indian writers Ise Monger and J. Slattery do not give adequate importance in their writings to the legacy of the Ghadar party. However, Non-Indian writer Harold A.Gould make mention of the legacy of this movement. Harold A. Gould wrote that Ghadar movement had many positive achievements to its credit. The Ghadar movement inaugurated a culture of resistance and opened up the possibility of opposition to the British rule

Ise Monger and J.Slattery are silent about the importance of the above mentioned episodes. Harish K.Puri has acknowledged the impact of the Ghadar movement on the many other movements. According to him some important Ghadarites played an important role in the Akali and Babbar Akalis movements.. The Gurdwara Reform Movement which started in late 1920 and continued up to 1925 had the flavor of Ghadarites revolutionary politics. The movement was radicalized right in beginning because many Ghadarite leaders had become involved in it. Gurdev Singh Deol also wrote that the Akali movement was, in particular benefited greatly by the example and participation of the remnants of Ghadar party and the spirit born of its patriotic activities. In the writings of Harish K.Puri the Babbar Akalis movement has been discussed in relation to Ghadarites and Babbar Akalis. Puri gives reasons for the rise and emergence of the Babbar Akali movement. The Babbar Akali movement also terrified the loyalists of the Government and also the elements sympathetic to the Government. The writers bring out how the government took stringent measures to suppress the Babbar Akalis. Though the movement lasted for a few years, it became a glorious chapter of the history of India's Independence struggle According to Harish K. Puri the Babbar Akali movement was significant to two reasons. In terms of its composition and character it was anti imperialist and it provided a fresh boost to the militant nationalism in Punjab. The section below contains a discussion on the view of selected Indian writers on the ways in which Ghadarites had been inspired from Russian October revolution. It is revealed that some of them like Rattan Singh and Santokh Singh had gone to Moscow for study about the Russian October revolution. They said that Santokh Singh came back to Punjab from Moscow. Here he published *Kirti* Newspaper. From other sources, it was decided to start the paper after the end of Bhai Santokh Singh's interment in May 1925. Puri also wrote that about

the establishment of Kirti Kisan party 1928. Other sources confirm Kirti group had constantly emphasized the need for an organization of the working class expressed the view that there was need for the formation of Kirti Kisan party.

Dwelling on another important legacy of the Ghadar movement Harish K. Puri has asserted that that at a very young age Bhagat Singh was deeply impressed by the Ghadar movement and that he regarded Kartar Singh Sarabha as his hero. It is well known that Bhagat Singh had personally met some of the leaders of the Ghadar party such as Bhai Santokh Singh, the founder and editor of the *Kirti* monthly, Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, whom he met in Lahore jail, Lala Ram Saran Das and Bhai Randhir Singh. Harish K.Puri has argued in his works that Bhagat Singh and his comrades regarded the Ghadar struggle as the first genuinely revolutionary struggle for the freedom of India. Thus, it is adequately brought out by selected Indian writers that the Ghadar movement had a great formative influence on Bhagat Singh. It can be said that the valour and the sacrifices of the Ghadarites left a deep imprint on the people of the Punjab, especially the rural youth for whom the Ghadarites became legendary heroes. Bhagat Singh organized the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and the HSRA to instill revolutionary ideas among the Punjabi youth and to prepare them for the coming struggle. This can be seen as a very important example of the legacy and continuation of the Ghadar movement. Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri also wrote that Indian National Army in 1942 was also the Ghadar movement made a huge impact on other movements. So we can say that no organization or platform remained untouched by the revolutionary politics and revolutionary ideology of the Ghadar movements. When we read other sources regarding Ghadar legacy we find that the Ghadar movement made a huge impact on other movements, so we can say that no organization or platform remained untouched by the revolutionary politics and revolutionary ideology of the Ghadar movement.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to study the similarities and dissimilarities related to the issue of emergence, concerns, organization of the Ghadar movement, and activities of Ghadarites in Punjab and legacy of Ghadar movement. The accounts presented by the selected writers contain similarities and dissimilarities related to the issues of emergence, concerns, organization of the Ghadar movement, and activities of Ghadarites in Punjab. Selected Indian writers agree to the point that it was due to economic depression that Punjabis started migrating abroad. Unlike them

Non Indian writer Harold A.Gould mention that the migration of Punjabis was economic advantage no economic disadvantage. But main reason for migration was economic distress. Ise Monger and J.Slattery are silent in this regard. Selected Indian writers and Non Indian writer Gould record the fact that when the population of Indians in Canada increased Canadian began looking at them as a threat. Confirm from other sources with the increasing number of Indian people entering Canada the local labour began to demand restrictions on their entry. On the other hand Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery do not mention the issues. All the selected Indian and also discuss about the Canadian government to prohibited the entry of Indian in Canada. So this purpose Mr. King to Britain to talk about the curtailment of Indians entry into Canada. Jagjit Singh said that Mr King never came to England. Gurdev Singh Deol and H.K.Puri has recorded that King went to England. Consulting other sources it has been found that Mr.King went to England. Thus Jagjit Singh's assumption is wrong. Selected non Indian writers have also not written about that incident. Harish K.Puri wrote that Lala Hardayal formed *Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast* on May 1913. Deol wrote that this association was formed 21 April. Ise Monger and J.Slattery wrote that 2 June 1913. Gould wrote that this association 8 May 1913. On the other Jagjit Singh does not mention a bout's date of formation. From traced other sources, 21 April 1913 date is accurate. Jagjit Singh and Deol assumed that *Ghadar* paper in *Gurmukhi* published on January 1914. Puri, Ise Monger and J.Slattery wrote that paper was published in *Punjabi* on December 1913. We found other sources *Gurmukhi* paper published in 9 December 1913. On the other hand Gould assumed paper was published in *Gurmukhi* 1 November 1913. All selected Indian writers and Ise Monger and J.Slattery has discussed the events related to the warrants issued by the American Government in the name of Lala Hardayal. At this time the Ghadar party made arrangements for release of Lala Hardayal. Jagjit Singh wrote that after this the Ghadar party members and Lala Hardayal decided that he should move to Switzerland. Deol and Ise Monger and J.Slattery said that Lala Hardayal decided to go German. Puri said that Lala Hardyal left America secretly but he did not mention new location. On other hand Gould remains silent. Consulted from other sources Jagjit Singh gave right information about this. Jagjit Singh wrote that Kartar Singh Sarabha played a momentous role in establishing contact with Bengali revolutionaries. But Deol and Ise Monger and J.Slattery wrote that the contact with Bengali revolutionaries was made by Parmanand. Puri said that V.G. Pingle

played a great role to establish a link between Ghadarites and Bengalis. From traced other sources Jagjit Singh gave accurate information. On the other hand Gould silent about this. As far as the long terms fall out and the legacy of the Ghadar movement is concerned, Harish K.Puri and Gurdev Singh Deol assumed that the Akali movement was also influenced by Ghadar movement. However they does not mention in writings name of Ghadarites who participated in Akali movement. Piara Singh Langeri, Karam Singh Chima, Bhag Singh Canadian and Isher Singh Marhana and many more Ghadarites late became part of the Akali movement. Harish K.Puri believes that influence of the Ghadar movement was more evident in the militant Babbar Akali struggle. Puri however does not give any names of the Ghadarites who joined the Babbar Akali movement. From other sources it is found that Master Mota Singh, Karam Singh Chinger, Karam Singh Dolatpuri and Baba Hari Singh Soond were the Ghadarites who joined the Babbar Akali movement. There are several important figures that became part of the Babbar Akali movement after the failure of the Ghadar movement. Other selected writers have not written about it. All selected Indian writers accept the fact that Ghadarites were inspired by the Russian revolution. However the non- Indian writers have not dealt with the issue comprehensively. Both the Indian writers agree that when Santokh Singh was sentenced to imprisonment he came under the influence of Marxist idea and studied some Marxist literature and books. Jagjit Singh is silent in this regards. Sohan Singh quoted from file no 262/11 of 1923, NAI, "A secret report dated November 1920 says that Santokh Singh was advising the people to study the Marxian theory and learn Russian". All Selected Indian writers agree that Santokh Singh was very enthusiastic about the new alignment with Russian. Gurdev Singh Deol and H. K Puri wrote that along with Rattan Singh he was deputed to go to Moscow. But Jagjit Singh has not written about this aspect of history.

Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K. Puri confirm that Rattan Singh returned to California. Jagjit Singh notes that when Santokh Singh was coming back to India from Russia he was arrested on the border. On the other hand Deol and Puri do not give any information about this in their writings. Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri only mention that Santokh Singh returned to India. On consulting other sources it was found that he was interned in his village for two years. All selected Indian writers do not mention this fact in their writings. Jagjit Singh and Harish K.

Puri agreed that Santokh Singh published *Kirti* newspaper. Gurdev Singh does not mention this in his writings. On the other hand confirm from other, that it was decided to start the paper after the end of Bhai Santokh Singh's interment in may 1925. He secretly started attending the meetings of the Ghadarites in Dhardeo village. It was Bhai Santokh Singh, Bhai Bhag Singh Canadian and Karam Singh Cheema, Udham Singh Kasel and Inder Singh and Sur Singh who started this newspaper. It was first meeting of Kirti board and in this meeting it was decided that Bhai Santokh Singh would be editor, Bhai Bhag Singh Secretary and Karam Singh Assistant Secretary. All selected Indian writers remain silent and do not throw light on the meetings and on those who participated in this meeting. We assumed that there is much dissimilarity in the writings of selected writers.

As far as the accounts presented by Indian and non Indian writers are concerned they have major differences mainly owing to the fact that the accounts of non Indian writers form a part of the official history related with the interests of the political establishment whereas the works of the Indian writers are more intimate records of the efforts of the people to liberate themselves foreign rule. Every writer has his own approach which is influenced by his social and religious life that's why we also get difference about their Ghadar history.

**THE GHADAR MOVEMENT AND ITS LEGACY:
INDIAN AND NON-INDIAN PERSPECTIVES**

A

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Chapter-7

Conclusion

In terms of the conclusion of the study some broad generalizations about the life and motives of the writers take precedence over other facts related to their works. In the context of all the writers selected for the study namely the Indian writers, Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol, Harish K. Puri and Non Indian writers Ise Monger, J. Slattery and Harold A. Gould, it can be said that the details related to their personal lives and formative motivations had a bearing on their works and their writings. Jagjit Singh was a man of rural background and roots and his personality were marked by his academic credentials, his scientific and objective approach to life and his commitment to humanist values. His interest in the Ghadar movement was ignited as a result of his personal meeting with important figures related with the Ghadar like Baba Wasakha Singh. His most notable works include Ghadar Party Lehar; his works have been hailed as a truthful and genuinely historical account of the Ghadar Movement. Moreover, this work was based on important sources and autobiographies.

The second writer Harish K. Puri has also written extensively on the Ghadar Movement. He is similar in his background to Jagjit Singh as he is a writer of Punjabi origin with very strong academic credentials. He had a prolific career as an academician and historian. The history of the Ghadar Movement fascinated him greatly. This is evident from the large number of books and articles written by him on the subject. Just as in the case of Jagjit Singh his interest in the movement was also inspired by his meeting with Sohan Singh Bhakna. His major works include Ghadar Movement Ideology, Organization and Strategy. It is important to note that in terms of the overall orientation of his works he tried to retain his focus on the role of Indian revolutionary intellectual abroad. Apart from this, according to Harish K. Puri the movement has been studied as a part of the saga of Punjabi heroic tradition ignoring such important aspects as ideology and organization. According to him the movement bridged the gap between the elite ideologues as the common masses and was full of possibilities that had never been foreseen earlier. Harish K. Puri's analysis takes a view that the Ghadar movement was a major promise of revolutionary change. It is important to note that Harish K. Puri's work is based on archives stored in the most

important libraries and institutes of advanced studies such as National Archives of India, Nehru Memorial Museum and Punjab State Archives

The third selected writer Gurdev Singh Deol developed during the course of his academic life he conducted extensive interviews with major Ghadar leaders like Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, Baba Harnam Singh Tundilat, Baba Hari Singh Usman, Baba Kartar Singh and Baba Prithvi Singh Azad etc. These interviews helped his in forming his ideas about the movement. Gurdev Singh Deol's work is based on original sources both published and unpublished related to the Ghadar movement. He also made the judgments delivered in various conspiracy cases, reports and records of the Governments of India and the United States an integral part of his study.

As far as the Non-Indian writers Ise Monger and J. Slattery are concerned they were officers in the Indian police. In this sense they were contemporary to the historical period covered in the study and their work exists in the form of official report on the Ghadar movement. Their work is quite systematic in nature as it deals with the beginning and growth of the Ghadar movement, the rise of the movement and the return of the Ghadar leaders to India. Their work titled *An Account of Ghadar Conspiracy Report (1913- 1915)* has been valued due to its great historical importance.

The last among the selected authors, Harold A. Gould is an established name in the field of historical research. He has written extensively on India and its social and historical past. His deep interest in India led him to write on the Ghadar of 1913. Notably, the sources used by Harold A. Gould in writing about the anti-colonial movements and the Ghadar movement were not confined to the works of Indian public figures directly related to the movement. Rather, he has also made use of the material produced by established Indian historians like Khushwant Singh and Satindra Singh.

By way of conclusion it can be said that the emergence, concerns and organization of the early Ghadar movement is dealt with in the writings of all the selected writers. The question related to the reasons for the migration of Punjabis destinations overseas is quite prominent in the works of these writers. It goes without saying that the migration of Punjabi migrants to Canada and America was the main factor that later on took the form of a nationalist movement outside India. Both Jagjit

Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol attribute the general prosperity, social stability, overall progress, growth of population, building of canals, fragmentation of land holdings as the main reasons for the rise of the trend among Punjabis to migrate to destinations like Canada and America. Harish K. Puri describes this in terms of a shift from feudal economy to capitalist economy. Rather than looking at the process of migration as a result of the overall prosperity as a result of the development of canals and modern means of agriculture, Harish K. Puri understands the development as part and parcel of the largely exploitative economic regime set in place by the imperial masters. It is important to note that Harish K. Puri links the transformation of the agricultural sector more to the commercialization of agriculture that had multifarious implications for the social and agrarian conditions of Punjab. Thus, it can be said that Harish K. Puri offers an analysis where in he traces the interrelationship of capitalist system and the colonial and imperial rule. These were mainly responsible for the structural changes in the field of agriculture. As part of this shift whereas there was a superficial impression of agrarian prosperity but underneath this general perception of prosperity there were serious problems such as the transfer of land from tillers to big landowners and non-cultivators, successive famines as well as outbreak of epidemics.

As far as the views of the Non-Indian writers Harold A. Gould is concerned they look at the migration of the Punjabis to other countries as a process of search for better opportunities and the desire for better prospects. It is clear that the non- Indian writers fail to perceive the complexities of the situation. The complex reality of the farmers of Punjab are more clearly presented by Indian writers as they link the emigration to a combination of factors like the structural shifts in agriculture and the increased problems of the small farmers as a result of the transformation of the social and agrarian realities after the expansion of colonial rule in Punjab. On the other hand non Indian writer Ise Monger and J.Slattery are silent in regard this. Harold A Gould seems to be wrong in his assumption.

As far as the issue of large scale migrations to Canada and America are concerned the both Indian and Non-Indian writers discuss the issue. Indian writers demonstrate a lot of clarity on the issue. According to Selected Indian writers, Indians were already engaged in petty jobs in places such as Hong Kong, Malaya, Shanghai, Philippines, Australia and Fiji. Deol and Puri worte that, In fact because of the role played by the Sikh soldiers in the suppression of the revolt of 1857, the British

government had also recruited them in large numbers in the Indian army and posted them in places like Malaya, Singapore, and Penang. The Indians received reports of the prosperity of the West from sailors from America and Canada. The Indian writers also acknowledge that the Sikh soldiers who had served in British Military units in East Asia, Singapore, Hong Kong and Shanghai were among the first to reach the West Coast as immigrants. Thus, it is clear that exposure to destinations in South East Asia coupled with the lure of high wages in America and Canada gave the Indians impetus to migrate there. The Indian writers Deol also show awareness of the fact that in the prevailing trade rivalry between America and Britain was also the reason that there were attempts to attract Indians to America. The efforts of groups of entrepreneurs in Chicago and New York not only explored trade opportunities with India but also brought cultural closeness among Americans and Indians which got further strengthened in the support for Indian nationalism in America. It can be said that under the prevailing conditions there was sympathy for demand for self rule from the British by the Indian nationalist. A combination of all these factors drew prominent figures like Swami Ram Tirath and Swami Vivekananda to the American World. Thus, on the issue of the emigration of Indians to America and Canada, the selected Indian and non-Indian writers show some differences in their understanding in the fact that while the non-Indian Gould writers look at the process of search for better opportunities, the Indian writers show a better understanding of the complexities determining the process of migration. These reasons identified by the selected Indian writers range from the structural changes in the rural and agrarian realities as a result of the conquest of Punjab by the British, the exposure to the life overseas as a result of the migration of the Punjabis to various destinations in South East Asia and the lure of better income in America and Canada apart from the sympathetic tendencies in the American society towards the Indian nationalist movement. In a nutshell it can be said that while the selected Indian writers agree on the point that it was due to economic depression that Punjabis started migrating abroad. Unlike them the non-Indian writer Harold a Gould disagrees with this and contends that that main reason behind the migration of Punjabis was economic advantage not economic disadvantage. Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery do not mention in their writings condition of Punjab.

The next issue that finds a detailed mention in the works of the historians is the beginning of the consciousness of slavery and bondage and the beginning of the desire for political independence. It is clearly brought out by the Indian writers like Jagjit Singh that the influence of the Singh Sabha Movement on the Sikhs who migrated to America and Canada was quite marked. Quite early in the period after migrations to Canada the Sikhs set up Gurudwaras in Canada in places like Port Moody and Vancouver. Harish K.Puri agrees with Jagjit Singh that predominant majority of the migrants comprised the Sikhs. So the objects set forth by the Singh Sabha movement in Punjab converged in the institution of the Gurdwara. Non Indian writers Harold A.Gould also reveal that this society established branches in Victoria, Abbotsford and Frazer mills. Sikh societies were also formed at different places in Canada and America. Thus, the selected Indian and non Indian writers are in agreement on the point that religion acted as the galvanizing force as well as the ideological bulwark whereas the Gurudwaras became the centers of political activities. In other words, the political consciousness of the Punjabi Sikhs could never be detached from their religious ideology. Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery this was viewed as a threat for British government.

All the selected Indian writers and non Indian Harold A.Gould writers attest to the fact that the Punjabi community attained economic stability and success as they were physically strong and hard working. However, the Non-Indian Ise Monger and J.Slattery writers are largely silent about this aspect of history.

Selected Indian writers give a detailed account of the fear and insecurity aroused in the labour unions because of the economic success of the Punjabi Sikhs. They also take note of the manipulations of the British government which created some opposition of the dominion Canadian establishment towards the migrants. This culminated in the restrictions on landing of the immigrants in Canada unless they arrived through a continuous journey. All the three Indian writers concur that these provisions affected the Indians adversely and this amounted to a ban on the entry of Indians to Canada. According to Ise Monger and J. Slattery and Harold A Gould also these provisions caused considerable disappointment among Indians. The present study clearly brings out that the Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery do not investigate the reasons for the Canadian government to implement laws that would virtually debar the Indians from entering Canada. Indian writers on the other hand

clearly state that these rules and laws were being enacted to deal with the problem of immigrants and to evict Indians. Indian writers Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh and Harish K. Puri and non Indian writer Gould present a clear picture that Indians were facing discrimination. On the hand Ise Monger and J.Slattery do not mention the issues related to racial discrimination. Selected Indian writers and non Indian writer Gould writers have also given detailed accounts on the efforts of the Canadian authorities to deport the Indians to the British Honduras. This makes it evident that the historical accounts of the selected Indian and non Indian writers Harold A.Gould present a more intimate account of the problems faced by the Punjabi immigrants. On the other hand Ise Monger and J.Slattery does not give a detail why Canadian Government make scheme of Honduras. The selected Indian and non-Indian Harold A.Gould writers have acknowledged that the migration of Punjabi migrants to the U.S.A increased as a result of the restrictions imposed on their entry to Canada. Jagjit Singh, Harish K. Puri, Gurdev Singh Deol and non Indian writer Harold A.Gould have highlighted that Punjabi migrants had to face racism, persecution, attacks and anti-oriental feeling in the U.S.A particularly because of the perceived threat by the American workers. The Indian writers clearly hold the view that the primary reasons for these anti-Indian feelings were not racism but economic factors. Ise Monger and J.Slattery remain silent about it.

On the positive side, Indian writers particularly Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri take note of the fact that later America became the breeding ground for Indian nationalism. American ideals of individual liberty coupled with the history of the American War of Independence acted as an important inspiration for the Punjabi migrants. The early developments towards the formation of anti-British organization took place in America. This was also because unlike Canada, America was not a colony of England. According to selected Indian writers and non Indian writers Harold A.Gould, the discriminatory behavior of the Americans also led to the rise of patriotism and a sense of common identity among the Indians. However, the non-Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery do not carry out a comprehensive examination of the adversities faced by Punjabi migrants in America.

The selected writers have written about the activities of the educated Indian in foreign lands and this constitutes an important subject in the writings of the selected writers. All selected writers, figures like the Bengali revolutionary Taraknath Das had

started their activities related to emergence of the nationalist programme by publishing revolutionary material and establishing associations of Indians. The non-Indian writers show their awareness of the activities of these early revolutionaries. On the other hand, Indian authors like Harish K. Puri go into very minute details related to the work of such figures as Taraknath Das, Ramnath Puri and P.S. Khankhoje and their contribution to the rise and emergence of revolutionary nationalism. Harish K. Puri and Jagjit Singh detailed account about the establishment of the Khalsa Diwan Society and United Indian League. Gurdev Singh also wrote but in brief account about this. Selected Indian writers and non Indian Gould, Ise Monger and J.Slattery record the efforts made by Khalsa Diwan Society and the United League to provide representation to the Sikhs against the restrictions on entry. They also aimed at the unification of the families of those who were already residents in Canada. They take note of the fact that in the face of discriminatory practices, the Indians in Canada came together under the leadership of Khalsa Diwan Society and United Indian League. First delegation sends to Ottawa. Harish K.Puri and Jagjit Singh identify the representatives as Teja Singh, Raja Singh and Sunder Singh. On the other hand Deol gave a wrong name in his writings. Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery only mentioned deputation of Sikhs went to Ottawa. Gould only mentions that delegates to Ottawa led by Teja Singh. Without any result deputation came back. Jagjit Singh and Harish K.Puri gave an accurate information about's name of delegation. The deputation came back without any result. Selected Indian writers and non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery they also record their role in representing the cause of the Sikhs by taking a second delegation to England and India. These were very important developments in the evolution of the revolutionary movement overseas. On the other hand Ise Monger and J. Slattery tried to link these organizations and their members with radical politics. Confirm from other sources, non Indian writers try to distort history by linking these men with radical politics. It was a time the *Ghadar* paper and Ghadar party had not come into existence at all. On the other hand non Indian writers Gould does not make any mention of England and India delegation.

In the face of increasing oppression and apathy the situation was ripe now to take the next logical step. As far as the formation and organization of the Ghadar Party is concerned the selected Indian writers as well as and non Indian writers closely trace the circumstances leading to the arrival of Lala Hardayal to San

Francisco. They also record the establishment of the Indian Association of the Pacific Coast in the second decade of the twentieth century. He was at the helm of affairs in organizing meetings and the publication of the *Ghadar* paper in various Indian languages. Gurdev Singh Deol has extensively covered the meetings related to the establishment of the Ghadar Party. All major writers do not agree on the date and time of the establishment of the Ghadar Party.

As far as issues related to the emergence, concerns and the organization of the early Ghadar movement is concerned it can be said the writers Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K. Puri and Non- Indian writers Ise Monger and J. Slattery and Harold A. Gould express varied and diverse views. Indians writers agree that Indian had come to destination overseas under economic distress. However, when we compare the writings of non- Indian historians with the Indian authors it is clear that they do not comprehensively consider the conditions of Punjab and policies of British government in Punjab. Indian writers and non Indian Harold A. Gould acknowledge the fact that when immigrants reached abroad they had to face many problems. However, on the other hand Ise Monger and J. Slattery do not mention Canadian policies and the discriminatory attitude against Indians. The works of the selected Indian writers and Harold A.Gould make it clear that when Indian immigrants reached abroad they faced many problems which were directly linked with the slave status of the Indian population. The awareness of this disadvantage was directly responsible for the evolution and the rise of the collective sentiment the freedom of India from British rule was important for the self determination and equality of Indians all over the world. According to selected Indian writers and Non-Indian writer Harold A. Gould Ghadar movement was a freedom movement against British India. On the other hand Ise-Monger and J. Slattery do not view Ghadar movement as a freedom movement. They describe the Ghadar movment as a conspiracy. The main reason behind this is that they were British officers and their concern for British government is reflected in their chronicles.

As far as the rise of the Ghadar Party and the Ghadar movement is concerned all the selected Indian have described it as a secular and revolutionary movement aimed at liberating India from foreign rule. Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri have alluded to several statements of Lala Hardayal clearly declaring that the main plan of the Ghadar party was to liberate India through armed rebellion.

In this sense, it can be said that the credentials of the Ghadar as an armed struggle are generally accepted by all the Indian writers. The historian clearly bring out that the plans of the Ghadar Party were laid down in the resolution passed at the conferences held at Astoria and Sacramento and that the members avowed the basic principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. Secondly the selected Indian writers and Non Indian writers like Ise Monger and J. Slattery and Gould clearly concur in their view that the main motive of the Ghadar party was to take advantage of the international situation since the British Government was deeply occupied in the war. There is also a clear understanding in all the three Indian writers and non Indian writers about the attempts by the leaders of the Ghadar like Lala Hardayal to use the hostility between the British and the Germans to their advantage. All the three Indian writers also concur in their view that the main aim of the party was to instigate the British Indian troops so that they join that movement and start a revolt.

Jagjit Singh, Deol, Puri and Ise Monger and J.Slattery have dwelt on the role of the *Ghadar* paper. According to them it became the fulcrum of all activities of the party. All the selected Indian writers agree that the *Ghadar* paper was responsible for propagation of the aims and objectives of the party and for making to Ghadar movement a forceful revolutionary power. Because of the outreach of the newspaper in countries other than America, the paper played a very important role in spreading the message of the Ghadar party in places outside America *Ghadar* paper became the centre of activities. Apart from this the paper was successful in exposing the inequities of the imperial rule as well as the in igniting a desire for self rule and freedom. Gould remains silent about it.

All the selected writers have written extensively about the *Komagata Maru* incident and the ways in which the incident affected the Ghadar movement. Indian writers Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K. Puri maintain that the voyage was not sponsored by the Ghadar party but the incident aroused anti-British sentiments among the Indians in the U.S.A and Canada as well as in Punjab. All the selected Indian writers identify the need to fulfill the condition of a continuous journey to Canada and the new policy of immigration as the main reason for setting out on the journey. There is a general consensus among all the writers about the date of the beginning of the journey. They do not agree the date of the arrival at Vancouver. All the Indian writers carefully note the repercussions both in Canada and

the U.S.A of the refusal of the Canadian Government to allow the passenger of *Komagata Maru* to disembark. The selected Indian writers and non Indian writers also offers details related to the long drawn conflict between the Canadian authorities and the passengers on *Komagata Maru*. The writers also trace the connection between the resentment among the Indians about the *Komagata Maru* incident and the vigorous momentum in the actions of the Ghadar party particularly the efforts smuggle arms on board the ship. Deol and Puri and selected non Indian writers give a detailed account of the Budge-Budge incident. Jagjit Singh does not mention in their writings about Budge-Budge incident. The historians trace a direct relationship between the persecution of the passengers of *Komagata Maru* and the Budge-Budge incident and immediate increase in the activities of the Ghadar Party particularly the influx of Indians from Canada to India. The writers go to the extent of contending that if the *Komagata Maru* incident had not occurred there would not have been an awakening among the Indians in Canada and the United States. Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh take note of the fact that some of the passengers of the ship tuned Ghadarites. On the other hand non-Indian writers play down this connection. Ise Monger and J.Slattery try to link the rise of the Ghadar movement with the World War I. On the other hand Gould silent about it. Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh and Puri also bring out the fact that there was a rise in the activities of the Ghadar after the start of the World War I. Thus, it can be concluded on the basis of the writings of both the Indian and non-Indian writers that the *Komagata Maru* incident and the World War I gave a boost to the Ghadar movement. Meetings were held, funds were collected and people left America and Canada for India.

All the selected writers provide a comprehensive account of the journey of the revolutionaries to India. They also present a detailed account of their stay and their activities in Hong Kong. Jagjit Singh, Deol and Puri in particular has given details of the intelligence network that was tracking the Ghadarities at various locations on their way to India as a result of which according to the historians; the Indian government was alert and ready to deal with the revolutionaries. Ise Monger and Slattery even go to the extent to stating that list of passengers was sent by the authorities of Hong Kong along with unfavorable report about the passenger of various ships. However, the historians differ about the exact number of Ghadarites arriving in India, the number of Ghadarites arrested immediately on arrival and the number of Ghadarites

who were restricted to their villages. Harold A.Gould does not mention in his writings.

The Indian writers like Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol and non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery have dwelt quite extensively in their writings on the activities of Ghadar members on their arrival in India. Their knowledge of their activities in Indian is apparently more detailed and precise as compared to the Indian writers Harish K.Puri. However, Indian writers Jagjit Singh and Deol and the non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery provide a detailed account of the various meeting of the Ghadarites towards the end of 1914. Harish K.Puri gave a brief account about this .Non Indian writer Harold A.Gould does not mention about this in his writings.

The plan to attack the Miameer arsenal in the Lahore cantonment and the role played by Kartar Singh Sarabha and Nidhan Singh finds a prominent mention in the works of all the writers. All the major writers including Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Ise Monger and J. Slattery give reasons for the failure of the scheme of the Ghadarites to carry out the attack on the Miameer Arsenal as well as the plan to attack the Ferozepur cantonment and the Moga treasury. The historians further dwell on the fact that the Ferozepur incident proved to be a major setback for the Ghadar movement. Several Ghadarites were arrested and the party was faced with a crisis. On the other hand Gould remains silent about it.

The writers have also dealt with the links between the Ghadar leaders and Bengali revolutionaries. Selected Indian writers and non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery highlights the way in which Bose organized the work of the Ghadar Party and brought it under centralized control from Lahore. The selected Indian writers have given details of the various *dacoities* committed by the members of the Ghadar. According to Harish K. Puri and Ise Monger and J.Slattery the ,primary objective of committing *dacoities* was the need for raising funds whereas Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh take note of the fact that *dacoities* were not part of the core agenda of the Ghadar and it can be seen as an expedient means of tiding over financial crisis. According to one opinion the *dacoities* were committed under the influence of Bengali revolutionaries. Writers also note that most of the *dacoities* were committed during the early 1915.

All the selected writers give detailed accounts of the efforts to seduce the Indian troops under the British at various locations such as Lahore, Ferozepur and Meerut. The role played by Kartar Singh Sarabha, Nidhan Singh and Rash Bihari Bose is also highlighted by both the Indian and Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery. Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol, Harish K.Puri and non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery in particular have expressed the opinion that the Ghadarites tried to instigate almost all the troops of the cantonments of northern India as they had planned simultaneous and orchestrated attacks at Lahore, Ferozepur and Rawalpindi. On the other hand Gould silent about it.

As far as the activities of the Ghadarites are concerned it can be said that selected Indian writers and selected Non-Indian writers have maintained that the main motive of the Ghadar movement was to begin an armed revolution in India against British rule. According to the Indian writers the main strategy of the Ghadarites was to take advantage of the international situation. It was a time when the British were entangled in the war. The leaders of the Ghadar movement felt that the time was right for going to India and instigate the Indian troops and raise awareness among the people about the problems associated with the foreign rule. In implementing their strategy the leaders of the Ghadar movement tried to spread their message through *Ghadar* newspaper. The newspaper had an important role in spreading the Ghadar ideology. All selected writers have written about the importance of the revolutionary literature. The ramifications of the *Komagata Maru* incident and the role of Ghadarites form an important section of the history of the Ghadar movement. The selected Indian writers hold the view that the voyage of *Komagata Maru* was not sponsored by the Ghadar party but was undeniably this incident that influenced the Ghadar movement deeply and aroused anti-British feelings among Indians in the United States and Canada. The Selected Indian writers and Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery also opine that when First World War broke out the Ghadarites also began coming to India on many ships and revolted against the British. It is also brought out that the British government received timely information about the action of the Ghadarites and took precautionary measures. Historians concur in the view that Ghadarites held many meetings in Punjab. These meetings were very significant as the entire plan to launch a struggle were discussed and chalked out in these meeting. Ghadarites tried to loot British treasures but they failed many time. The historians also

dwell at length on the relations of the Ghadarites with Bengali revolutionaries. The arrival of the Bengali revolutionary Rash Bihari Bose to Punjab and his role in the movement and in the organization has also been discussed. In the ensuing circumstances the Ghadarites resorted to committing many *dacoities* for purchasing arms. The Ghadarites made a plan that a revolt would start on 21 February 1915 at all India level through Indian Troops. However, Kirpal Singh an informer of British police leaked the information to police. Ghadarites had to alter their plan and change the date of revolt. The historians document the process under which the police received information about the new date foiled the plan. On the other Harold A. Gould remains silent about above mentioned information.

As far as the legacy of the Ghadar movement is concerned, historians bring out that the Ghadar movement did not only inspire the revolutionaries of the 1920 but it was a source of inspiration for Akali movement, Babbar Akali movement, Kirti Kisan movement and great revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh. Historians project all these movements as the legacy of the Ghadar movement. Among the reasons for the failure of the movement Jagjit Singh and Deol identifies lack of good leadership and poor organization as very important factors responsible for the failure of the movement. Other Indian writers like Harish K. Puri and Jagjit Singh attribute such factors and the inability to maintain secrecy as one of the reasons for the failure as the British Government had braced itself against the challenge before the Ghadarites came to India. Selected Indian writers also hold lack of mass following as the reason for the failure of the movement. The leader lacked the ability to mobilize the masses. Apart from this according to Jagjit Singh and Gurdev Singh Deol, the religious and communal institutions did not support the movement and many of them were sympathetic towards the British. Moreover, the Congress and the leading figures in the Indian freedom movement were moderate in their approach and did not believe in an armed insurrection. On the other hand non Indian writer Harold A. Gould links the failure of the movement to the defeat of Germany in 1918. They also link it with America's entry into the First World War in favour of the British and the subsequent suppression of the Ghadar leaders in America under British pressure. Thus, it can be said that selected Indian writers and Non-Indian writer have discussed the reasons for the failure of Ghadar movement. However, they acknowledge the fact that even in the face of failure the Ghadarites did not stop their activities. The selected writers, Jagjit

Singh , Gurdev Singh and Harish K Puri concur in the opinion that Ghadarites came out from the jails and then began to take part of others movements. It is at the same time noteworthy that Non –Indian writers Ise Monger and J. Slattery do not give adequate importance in their writings to the legacy of the Ghadar party. However, Non-Indian writer Harold A.Gould make mention of the legacy of this movement. Harold A. Gould wrote that Ghadar movement had many positive achievements to its credit. The Ghadar movement inaugurated a culture of resistance and opened up the possibility of opposition to the British rule

Ise Monger and J.Slattery are silent about the importance of the above mentioned episodes. Harish K.Puri has acknowledged the impact of the Ghadar movement on the many other movements. According to him some important Ghadarites played an important role in the Akali and Babbar Akalis movements.. The Gurdwara Reform Movement which started in late 1920 and continued up to 1925 had the flavor of Ghadarites revolutionary politics. The movement was radicalized right in beginning because many Ghadarite leaders had become involved in it. Gurdev Singh Deol also wrote that the Akali movement was, in particular benefited greatly by the example and participation of the remnants of Ghadar party and the spirit born of its patriotic activities. In the writings of Harish K.Puri the Babbar Akalis movement has been discussed in relation to Ghadarites and Babbar Akalis. Puri gives reasons for the rise and emergence of the Babbar Akali movement. The Babbar Akali movement also terrified the loyalists of the Government and also the elements sympathetic to the Government. The writers bring out how the government took stringent measures to suppress the Babbar Akalis. Though the movement lasted for a few years, it became a glorious chapter of the history of India's Independence struggle According to Harish K. Puri the Babbar Akali movement was significant to two reasons. In terms of its composition and character it was anti imperialist and it provided a fresh boost to the militant nationalism in Punjab. The section below contains a discussion on the view of selected Indian writers on the ways in which Ghadarites had been inspired from Russian October revolution. It is revealed that some of them like Rattan Singh and Santokh Singh had gone to Moscow for study about the Russian October revolution. They said that Santokh Singh came back to Punjab from Moscow. Here he published *Kirti* Newspaper. From other sources, it was decided to start the paper after the end of Bhai Santokh Singh's interment in May 1925. Puri also wrote that about

the establishment of Kirti Kisan party 1928. Other sources confirm Kirti group had constantly emphasized the need for an organization of the working class expressed the view that there was need for the formation of Kirti Kisan party.

Dwelling on another important legacy of the Ghadar movement Harish K. Puri has asserted that that at a very young age Bhagat Singh was deeply impressed by the Ghadar movement and that he regarded Kartar Singh Sarabha as his hero. It is well known that Bhagat Singh had personally met some of the leaders of the Ghadar party such as Bhai Santokh Singh, the founder and editor of the *Kirti* monthly, Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, whom he met in Lahore jail, Lala Ram Saran Das and Bhai Randhir Singh. Harish K.Puri has argued in his works that Bhagat Singh and his comrades regarded the Ghadar struggle as the first genuinely revolutionary struggle for the freedom of India. Thus, it is adequately brought out by selected Indian writers that the Ghadar movement had a great formative influence on Bhagat Singh. It can be said that the valour and the sacrifices of the Ghadarites left a deep imprint on the people of the Punjab, especially the rural youth for whom the Ghadarites became legendary heroes. Bhagat Singh organized the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and the HSRA to instill revolutionary ideas among the Punjabi youth and to prepare them for the coming struggle. This can be seen as a very important example of the legacy and continuation of the Ghadar movement. Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri also wrote that Indian National Army in 1942 was also the Ghadar movement made a huge impact on other movements. So we can say that no organization or platform remained untouched by the revolutionary politics and revolutionary ideology of the Ghadar movements. When we read other sources regarding Ghadar legacy we find that the Ghadar movement made a huge impact on other movements, so we can say that no organization or platform remained untouched by the revolutionary politics and revolutionary ideology of the Ghadar movement.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to study the similarities and dissimilarities related to the issue of emergence, concerns, organization of the Ghadar movement, and activities of Ghadarites in Punjab and legacy of Ghadar movement. The accounts presented by the selected writers contain similarities and dissimilarities related to the issues of emergence, concerns, organization of the Ghadar movement, and activities of Ghadarites in Punjab. Selected Indian writers agree to the point that it was due to economic depression that Punjabis started migrating abroad. Unlike them

Non Indian writer Harold A.Gould mention that the migration of Punjabis was economic advantage no economic disadvantage. But main reason for migration was economic distress. Ise Monger and J.Slattery are silent in this regard. Selected Indian writers and Non Indian writer Gould record the fact that when the population of Indians in Canada increased Canadian began looking at them as a threat. Confirm from other sources with the increasing number of Indian people entering Canada the local labour began to demand restrictions on their entry. On the other hand Non Indian writers Ise Monger and J.Slattery do not mention the issues. All the selected Indian and also discuss about the Canadian government to prohibited the entry of Indian in Canada. So this purpose Mr. King to Britain to talk about the curtailment of Indians entry into Canada. Jagjit Singh said that Mr King never came to England. Gurdev Singh Deol and H.K.Puri has recorded that King went to England. Consulting other sources it has been found that Mr.King went to England. Thus Jagjit Singh's assumption is wrong. Selected non Indian writers have also not written about that incident. Harish K.Puri wrote that Lala Hardayal formed *Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast* on May 1913. Deol wrote that this association was formed 21 April. Ise Monger and J.Slattery wrote that 2 June 1913. Gould wrote that this association 8 May 1913. On the other Jagjit Singh does not mention a bout's date of formation. From traced other sources, 21 April 1913 date is accurate. Jagjit Singh and Deol assumed that *Ghadar* paper in *Gurmukhi* published on January 1914. Puri, Ise Monger and J.Slattery wrote that paper was published in *Punjabi* on December 1913. We found other sources *Gurmukhi* paper published in 9 December 1913. On the other hand Gould assumed paper was published in *Gurmukhi* 1 November 1913. All selected Indian writers and Ise Monger and J.Slattery has discussed the events related to the warrants issued by the American Government in the name of Lala Hardayal. At this time the Ghadar party made arrangements for release of Lala Hardayal. Jagjit Singh wrote that after this the Ghadar party members and Lala Hardayal decided that he should move to Switzerland. Deol and Ise Monger and J.Slattery said that Lala Hardayal decided to go German. Puri said that Lala Hardyal left America secretly but he did not mention new location. On other hand Gould remains silent. Consulted from other sources Jagjit Singh gave right information about this. Jagjit Singh wrote that Kartar Singh Sarabha played a momentous role in establishing contact with Bengali revolutionaries. But Deol and Ise Monger and J.Slattery wrote that the contact with Bengali revolutionaries was made by Parmanand. Puri said that V.G. Pingle

played a great role to establish a link between Ghadarites and Bengalis. From traced other sources Jagjit Singh gave accurate information. On the other hand Gould silent about this. As far as the long terms fall out and the legacy of the Ghadar movement is concerned, Harish K.Puri and Gurdev Singh Deol assumed that the Akali movement was also influenced by Ghadar movement. However they does not mention in writings name of Ghadarites who participated in Akali movement. Piara Singh Langeri, Karam Singh Chima, Bhag Singh Canadian and Isher Singh Marhana and many more Ghadarites late became part of the Akali movement. Harish K.Puri believes that influence of the Ghadar movement was more evident in the militant Babbar Akali struggle. Puri however does not give any names of the Ghadarites who joined the Babbar Akali movement. From other sources it is found that Master Mota Singh, Karam Singh Chinger, Karam Singh Dolatpuri and Baba Hari Singh Soond were the Ghadarites who joined the Babbar Akali movement. There are several important figures that became part of the Babbar Akali movement after the failure of the Ghadar movement. Other selected writers have not written about it. All selected Indian writers accept the fact that Ghadarites were inspired by the Russian revolution. However the non- Indian writers have not dealt with the issue comprehensively. Both the Indian writers agree that when Santokh Singh was sentenced to imprisonment he came under the influence of Marxist idea and studied some Marxist literature and books. Jagjit Singh is silent in this regards. Sohan Singh quoted from file no 262/11 of 1923, NAI, "A secret report dated November 1920 says that Santokh Singh was advising the people to study the Marxian theory and learn Russian". All Selected Indian writers agree that Santokh Singh was very enthusiastic about the new alignment with Russian. Gurdev Singh Deol and H. K Puri wrote that along with Rattan Singh he was deputed to go to Moscow. But Jagjit Singh has not written about this aspect of history.

Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K. Puri confirm that Rattan Singh returned to California. Jagjit Singh notes that when Santokh Singh was coming back to India from Russia he was arrested on the border. On the other hand Deol and Puri do not give any information about this in their writings. Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K.Puri only mention that Santokh Singh returned to India. On consulting other sources it was found that he was interned in his village for two years. All selected Indian writers do not mention this fact in their writings. Jagjit Singh and Harish K.

Puri agreed that Santokh Singh published *Kirti* newspaper. Gurdev Singh does not mention this in his writings. On the other hand confirm from other, that it was decided to start the paper after the end of Bhai Santokh Singh's interment in may 1925. He secretly started attending the meetings of the Ghadarites in Dhardeo village. It was Bhai Santokh Singh, Bhai Bhag Singh Canadian and Karam Singh Cheema, Udham Singh Kasel and Inder Singh and Sur Singh who started this newspaper. It was first meeting of Kirti board and in this meeting it was decided that Bhai Santokh Singh would be editor, Bhai Bhag Singh Secretary and Karam Singh Assistant Secretary. All selected Indian writers remain silent and do not throw light on the meetings and on those who participated in this meeting. We assumed that there is much dissimilarity in the writings of selected writers.

As far as the accounts presented by Indian and non Indian writers are concerned they have major differences mainly owing to the fact that the accounts of non Indian writers form a part of the official history related with the interests of the political establishment whereas the works of the Indian writers are more intimate records of the efforts of the people to liberate themselves foreign rule. Every writer has his own approach which is influenced by his social and religious life that's why we also get difference about their Ghadar history.

**THE GHADAR MOVEMENT AND ITS LEGACY:
INDIAN AND NON-INDIAN PERSPECTIVES**

A

ABSTRACT

**SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
PUNJABI UNIVERSITY, PATIALA
IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY**

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2022

The Ghadar Movement And Its Legacy: Indian and Non-Indian Perspectives

ABSTRACT

The Ghadar Movement was started in 1913. This movement had played an important political and ideological role in the Indian freedom struggle against the British rule in India. As a result of this development, it had failed though it was not a total failure because this movement was a source of inspiration for the Akali Movement, Babbar Akali Movement, Kirti Kisan Organization and Indian National Army. Ghadarites did serve as a source of inspiration and in their process they had awakened the consciousness of their fellow beings. The ideas and aims of Ghadarites were the message of socialism, the idea of class struggle, advocacy of freedom of the press or journalism and the complete independence for India. The present work “ The Ghadar Movement and its Legacy: Indian and Non Indian Perspectives” is an attempt to highlight the writings of Indian and Non-Indian writers Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol, Harish K.Puri, Ise Monger , J.Slattry and Harold A.Gould, in order to explore and understand the nature of Ghadar organization in U.S.A. and Canada and activities of Ghadarites in Punjab in their writings. All of them had worked upon the Ghadar Movement. And also, it will be an attempt to understand the legacy of Ghadar Movement and the influenced it had had on the other movements in Punjab, particular, Akali movement, Babbar Akali movement, Kirti-Kisan movement, impact on Bhagat Singh and Indian National Army.

Chapter first is obviously the introduction. In this chapter a brief introduction of the Ghadar movement. In this chapter, a brief outline of Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol, Harish K.Puri's and Non Indian writers Ise Monger, J.Slattry and Harold A.Gould's life is also given. Instead of it research methodology has been used in this work is discuss. Review of literature is also given, in order to understand what was done before this research proposal and given. : How this is different from them. A brief introduction of all the chapters has also been. Second chapter, Life and Motives of the selected writers in this chapter we tried to discuss about the early life of Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol, Harish K.Puri and Non Indian writers Ise Monger, J.Slattry and Harold A. Gould. Third chapter is On Emergence, Concerns and Organization of the Early Ghadar Movement. An attempt has been made to draw

attention to the role of important Indian writers and Non-Indian writers in the Ghadar movement from a historical perspective. Some vivid aspects and concerns of the Ghadar movement are systematically treated and presented in the chapter. A detailed account of the reasons behind the large scale emigration of Punjabis to Canada and America is provided in the works of the writers. Their writings take care of various factors that led to Punjabis and especially Sikhs to Foreign lands. The writers highlight how political slavery and oppression awakened the convulsive spirit of political consciousness among people. The study of the works of these writers leads the reader to manners and methods employed in attaining freedom and changing the power-equations of the polity. An effort has been made by the writers to put in perspective the circumstances leading to the establishment of the Ghadar party in foreign lands. Forth chapter title is Plan and Activities of Ghadarites in Punjab. This study provides a close examination of the Ghadar movement. It aims at analysing the plans and actions of the Ghadar movement. The mandate and strategies of the Ghadar movement to achieve freedom from British occupation are distinctively presented and analyses in the writings of the selected Indian writers and Non-Indian writers with the help of other sources. Fifth chapter The Legacy of the Ghadar Movment in the British India ,Through the writings of Jagjit Singh, Gurdev Singh Deol and Harish K. Puri and non-Indian writers Ise Monger, J. Slattery, and Harold A. Gould the proposed research work is an attempt to understand perspectives of the Indian writers and non-Indian writers about the Ghadar Movement and its legacy or results The patriotic zeal of the Ghadarites initiated the strong sense of patriotism into the next generation. Sixth chapter deals with Comparative and Historiographical Analysis of the Indian and Non Indian writings. In this chapter an attempt has been made to study the similarities and dissimilarities related to the issues of emergence, concerns, organization of the Ghadar movement, activities of Ghadarits in Punjab and the legacy of Ghadar movement in the varied account of the selected writes. For this chapter a comparison of their opinions with primary and contemporary sources has been made. The seventh chapter is conclusion which summarizes the findings and interptations of the research work.

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ਐਬਸਟਰੇਕਟ

ਗਦਰ ਲਹਿਰ 1913 ਨੂੰ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋਈ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਲਹਿਰ ਨੇ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਅਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਸੰਘਰਸ਼ ਬ੍ਰਿਟਿਸ਼ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਇਕ ਮਹੱਤਵਪੂਰਨ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਅਤੇ ਵਿਚਾਰਆਤਮਕ ਰੋਲ ਅਦਾ ਕੀਤਾ। ਭਾਵੇਂ ਇਹ ਅਸਫਲ ਸੀ, ਪਰ ਪੂਰਨ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਅਸਫਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਇਸਨੇ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਬਹਿਰ, ਬੱਬਰ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਲਹਿਰ, ਕੀਰਤੀ ਕਿਸਾਨ ਲਹਿਰ ਅਤੇ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਨੈਸ਼ਨਲ ਆਰਮੀ ਗਦਰੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਦੂਜਿਆਂ ਲਈ ਪ੍ਰੇਰਨਾ ਦਾ ਕੰਮ ਕੀਤਾ। ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਉਦੇਸ਼ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਸਨ- ਸਮਾਜਵਾਦ, ਜਮਾਤੀ ਸੰਘਰਸ਼, ਪ੍ਰੈਸ ਦੀ ਅਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਅਤੇ ਪੂਰਨ ਅਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਭਾਰਤ ਲਈ। ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਕੰਮ ਦਾ ਨਾਂ ਗਦਰ ਲਹਿਰ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਲਗੇਸੀ: ਭਾਰਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਗੈਰ-ਭਾਰਤੀ ਦੇ ਸੰਦਰਭ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੈ। ਭਾਰਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਗੈਰ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕਾਰਾਂ ਜਗਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ, ਗੁਰਦੇਵ ਸਿੰਘ ਦਿਓਲ, ਹਰੀਸ਼ ਕੇ ਪੂਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਈਸ ਮੋਂਗਰ, ਜੇ ਸਲੇਟਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਹਰਓਲਡ ਏ ਗੋਲਡ ਦੇ ਗਦਰ ਲਹਿਰ ਦੇ ਤਿੰਨ-ਤਿੰਨ ਪੱਖਾਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂ ਦਾ ਅਧਿਐਨ ਹੈ। ਸਭ ਨੇ ਗਦਰ ਲਹਿਰ ਤੇ ਕੰਮ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ।

ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅਧਿਆਏ ਭੂਮਿਕਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਗਦਰ ਲਹਿਰ ਬਾਰੇ ਸੰਖੇਪ ਵਿਚ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਗਦਰ ਲਹਿਰ ਬਾਰੇ ਸੰਖੇਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਹੈ। ਜਗਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ, ਗੁਰਦੇਵ ਸਿੰਘ ਦਿਓਲ, ਹਰੀਸ਼ ਕੇ ਪੂਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਈਸ ਮੋਂਗਰ, ਜੇ ਸਲੇਟਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਹਰਓਲਡ ਏ ਗੋਲਡ ਦੇ ਜੀਵਨ ਅਤੇ ਖੋਜ ਵਿਧੀ ਦੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਹੈ। ਰਿਵੀਊ ਆਫ ਲਿਟਰੇਚਰ ਵੀ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ। ਸਭ ਅਧਿਆਇਆਂ ਦੀ ਸੰਖੇਪ ਚਰਚਾ ਵੀ ਹੈ। ਦੂਜੇ ਅਧਿਆਇ ਵਿਚ ਜੀਵਨ ਅਤੇ ਉਦੇਸ਼ ਦੱਸੇ ਗਏ ਹਨ ਚੁਣੇ ਗਏ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕਾਰਾਂ ਦੇ। ਤੀਜਾ ਅਧਿਆਇ ਮੁੱਢਲੀ ਗਦਰ ਲਹਿਰ ਦੇ ਉਚਾਰ, ਸੰਦਰਭ ਅਤੇ ਅਰਗੋਨਾਈਜ਼ੇਸ਼ਨ ਬਾਰੇ ਹਨ। ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਵੱਡੀ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਪੰਜਾਬੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਕੈਨੇਡਾ ਅਤੇ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਜਾਣ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਨ ਦੱਸੇ ਗਏ ਹਨ। ਜਿੰਨਾ ਕਾਰਨਾਂ ਕਰਕੇ ਗਦਰ ਲਹਿਰ ਵਿਦੇਸ਼ ਦੀ ਧਰਤੀ ਤੇ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋਈ ਬਾਰੇ ਵੀ ਦੱਸਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ। ਚੌਥੇ ਅਧਿਆਇ ਦਾ ਨਾਂ ਗਦਰੀਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਯੋਜਨਾਵਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਗਤੀਵਿਧੀਆਂ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਅਧਿਆਇ ਦਾ ਉਦੇਸ਼ ਗਦਰ ਲਹਿਰ ਦੇ ਇਰਾਦੇ ਅਤੇ ਕੰਮਾਂ ਦਾ ਜ਼ਿਕਰ ਕਰਨਾ ਹੈ। ਪੂਰਨ ਅਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਗਦਰੀਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਗਤੀਵਿਧੀਆਂ ਵੀ ਦੱਸੀਆਂ ਗਈਆਂ ਹਨ। ਪੰਜਵਾਂ ਅਧਿਆਇ ਦਾ ਨਾਂ ਲੀਗੇਸੀ ਆਫ ਗਦਰ ਲਹਿਰ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਚੁਣੇ ਗਏ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕਾਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਿਚਾਰਧਾਰਾ ਲਗੇਸੀ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਰਣਨ ਹੈ। ਛੇਵਾਂ ਅਧਿਆਇ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਗੈਰ-ਭਾਰਤੀ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕਾਰਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਲਿਖਤਾਂ ਦਾ ਹਿਸਟੋਰੀਓਗਰਾਫੀਕਲ ਅਤੇ ਤੁਲਨਾਤਮਕ ਅਧਿਐਨ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਅਧਿਆਇ ਵਿਚ ਗਦਰ ਲਹਿਰ ਦੀ ਸੰਦਰਭ, ਉਥਾਨ ਅਤੇ ਬਣਤਰ ਬਾਰੇ ਚੁਣੇ ਗਏ ਲੇਖਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਮਾਨ ਅਤੇ ਅਸਮਾਨ ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਦੱਸਿਆ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਮੁੱਢਲੇ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਕਾਲੀ ਸ੍ਰੋਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰਕੇ ਤੁਲਨਾਤਮਕ ਅਧਿਐਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ। ਸੱਤਵਾਂ ਅਧਿਆਇ ਸਿੱਟਾ ਹੈ। ਜਿਸ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਾਡੀ ਖੋਜ ਕਾਰਜ ਸੰਖੇਪ ਰੂਪ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ।

Glossary

The definitions and meaning of important terms given in this glossary hold true for the Present study. The same might have a different connotation at other times and places.

<i>Akali</i>	:	Literally a believer in the immortal; in common usage a Member of the Akali Party.
<i>Akali Dal</i>	:	Immortal Party
<i>Akali Jatha</i>	:	A branch or formation of the Akali Part
<i>Bande Matram</i>	:	Hail motherland.
<i>Chief Khalsa Diwan</i>	:	A religious association of the Sikhs.
<i>Doab</i>	:	A tract of land between two rivers.
<i>Famine</i>	:	A Severe Shortage of food
<i>Foreign</i>	:	Videshi
<i>Ghadar</i>	:	Mutiny, the Rebellion
<i>Ghadar Party</i>	:	A Party of mutineers
<i>Ghadar di Goonj</i>	:	Echoes of the Mutiny
<i>Gurdwara</i>	:	Sikh Place of worship, a Sikh temple, generally also the centre of social activity
<i>Gurmukhi</i>	:	Script of the Punjabi Language
<i>Granthi</i>	:	Custodian of a Gurdwara, the professional reader of Guru Granth Sahib
<i>Ilan-i- jang</i>	:	Declaration of war
<i>Inquilab</i>	:	<i>Revolution.</i>
<i>Inquilab Zindabad</i>	:	Long live the revolution
<i>Kirti</i>	:	A labourer
<i>Kisan Sabha</i>	:	Peasants Association
<i>Jatha</i>	:	A formation or group of the martyrs

<i>Jatha Shahidi</i>	:	A formation or group of the martyrs
<i>Jathedar</i>	:	the leader of a <i>jatha</i>
<i>Peasant</i>	:	Kisan
<i>Morcha</i>	:	An embrasure; entrenchment for besieging fort: used metaphorically by Akalis for heir non-violent agitations.
<i>Naya Zamana</i>	:	The New Age
<i>Shaheed</i>	:	martyr
<i>Siropa</i>	:	literally, from head to foot; a dress of honour
<i>Turban</i>	:	Dastar
<i>Yugantar Ashram</i>	:	New Age Center
<i>Zamindar</i>	:	a landlord

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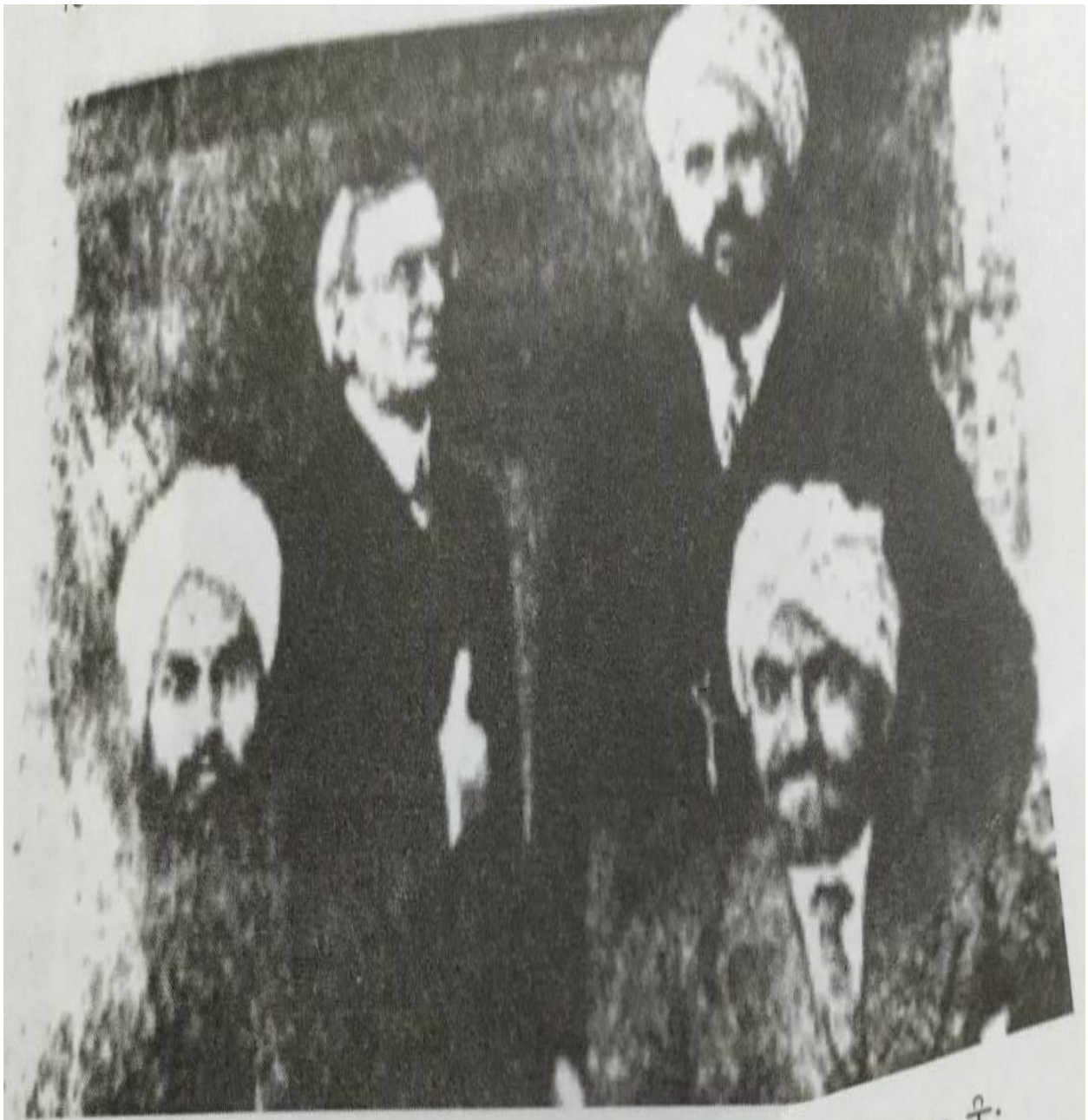
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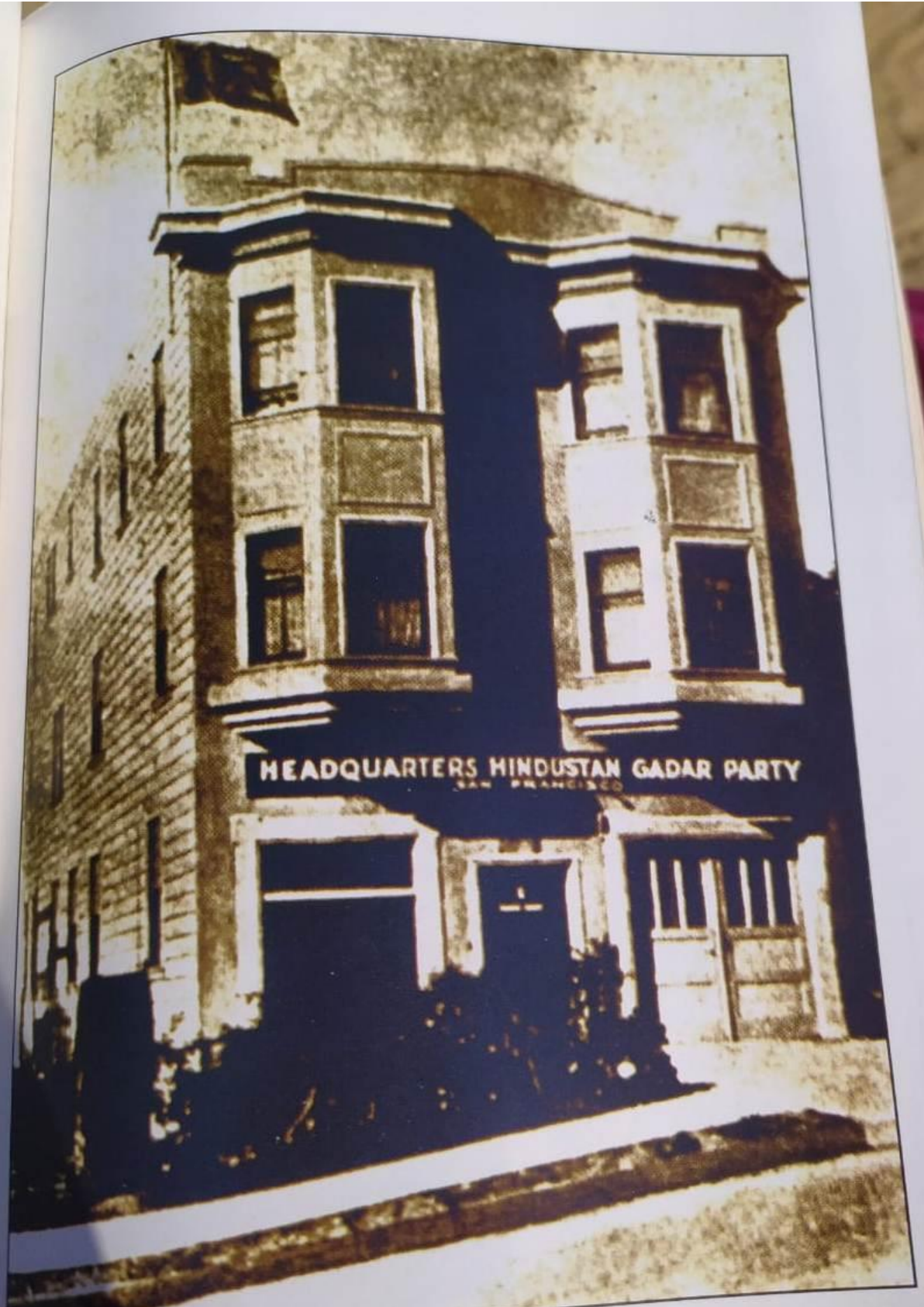


ਪਹਿਲਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਡੈਲੀਗੇਸ਼ਨ: ਕਨੇਡਾ 'ਚ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨੀਆਂ ਉਤੇ ਬੰਦਸ਼ਾਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਉਟਾਵਾ ਨੂੰ:
ਪ੍ਰੋ. ਤੇਜਾ ਸਿੰਘ, ਲ.ਵ. ਹਾਲ, ਰਾਜਾ ਸਿੰਘ, ਸੁੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ, ਦਸੰਬਰ 1911

ਨੈ ਸਭ ਕੁਝ ਜਾਣਦਾ



ਦੂਜਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਡੈਲੀਗੇਸ਼ਨ: ਲੰਦਨ, ਪੰਜਾਬ ਅਤੇ ਦਿੱਲੀ ਨੂੰ: ਬਲਵੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ,
ਨੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਅਤੇ ਨਰੈਣ ਸਿੰਘ, ਫਰਵਰੀ-ਦਸੰਬਰ 1913



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ਗ਼ਦਰ

ਸਿਖਰ: ਗਦਰੀ ਵਿਚ: ਪ੍ਰੰਮ

ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਗ਼ਦਰ ਦਾ ਕਰਾਰਿਠ

ਮੌਦੀਆ ਮੌਦੀਆ ਗ਼ਦਰ

ਗ਼ਦਰ ਅੰਕ 19 13 ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅੰਕ 9 ਦਸੰਬਰ 19 13 ਨੂੰ ਛਪਿਆ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ 8 ਪੰਨੇ ਸਨ।
 ਇਹ ਅੰਕ ਵਿਚ ਗ਼ਦਰੀਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਖ਼ਬਰਾਂ, ਖ਼ੁਫ਼ੀਆਂ, ਅਤੇ ਗ਼ਦਰੀਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਖ਼ਬਰਾਂ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਹਨ।
 (1) ਗ਼ਦਰ ਅੰਕ 19 13 ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅੰਕ 9 ਦਸੰਬਰ 19 13 ਨੂੰ ਛਪਿਆ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ 8 ਪੰਨੇ ਸਨ।
 (2) ਗ਼ਦਰ ਅੰਕ 19 13 ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅੰਕ 9 ਦਸੰਬਰ 19 13 ਨੂੰ ਛਪਿਆ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ 8 ਪੰਨੇ ਸਨ।
 (3) ਗ਼ਦਰ ਅੰਕ 19 13 ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅੰਕ 9 ਦਸੰਬਰ 19 13 ਨੂੰ ਛਪਿਆ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ 8 ਪੰਨੇ ਸਨ।
 (4) ਗ਼ਦਰ ਅੰਕ 19 13 ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅੰਕ 9 ਦਸੰਬਰ 19 13 ਨੂੰ ਛਪਿਆ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ 8 ਪੰਨੇ ਸਨ।
 (5) ਗ਼ਦਰ ਅੰਕ 19 13 ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅੰਕ 9 ਦਸੰਬਰ 19 13 ਨੂੰ ਛਪਿਆ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ 8 ਪੰਨੇ ਸਨ।
 (6) ਗ਼ਦਰ ਅੰਕ 19 13 ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅੰਕ 9 ਦਸੰਬਰ 19 13 ਨੂੰ ਛਪਿਆ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ 8 ਪੰਨੇ ਸਨ।
 (7) ਗ਼ਦਰ ਅੰਕ 19 13 ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅੰਕ 9 ਦਸੰਬਰ 19 13 ਨੂੰ ਛਪਿਆ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ 8 ਪੰਨੇ ਸਨ।
 (8) ਗ਼ਦਰ ਅੰਕ 19 13 ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅੰਕ 9 ਦਸੰਬਰ 19 13 ਨੂੰ ਛਪਿਆ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ 8 ਪੰਨੇ ਸਨ।

ਲੇਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੂਚੀ

ਨੰਬਰ	ਲੇਖ	ਪੰਨਾ
(1)	ਗ਼ਦਰ ਅੰਕ 19 13 ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅੰਕ	1
(2)	ਗ਼ਦਰ ਅੰਕ 19 13 ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅੰਕ	2
(3)	ਗ਼ਦਰ ਅੰਕ 19 13 ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅੰਕ	3
(4)	ਗ਼ਦਰ ਅੰਕ 19 13 ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅੰਕ	4
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ਸਾਰੇ ਚਿਠੀ ਪਤਰ ਤੇ ਅਧਿਕਾਰੀ
 ਦਾ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖੇ ਪਤਰ 'ਤੇ ਭੇਜੋ

ਸੰਕਤਰ: ਜੁਗੀਤਰ ਕਾਰਜੀ
 ਸਾਹਿ: ਕਰਾਰਿਠ

The Secretary
 You can find all the
 information here
 (Ca)

APPENDIX TO THE REPORT

APPENDIX I

By His Royal Highness

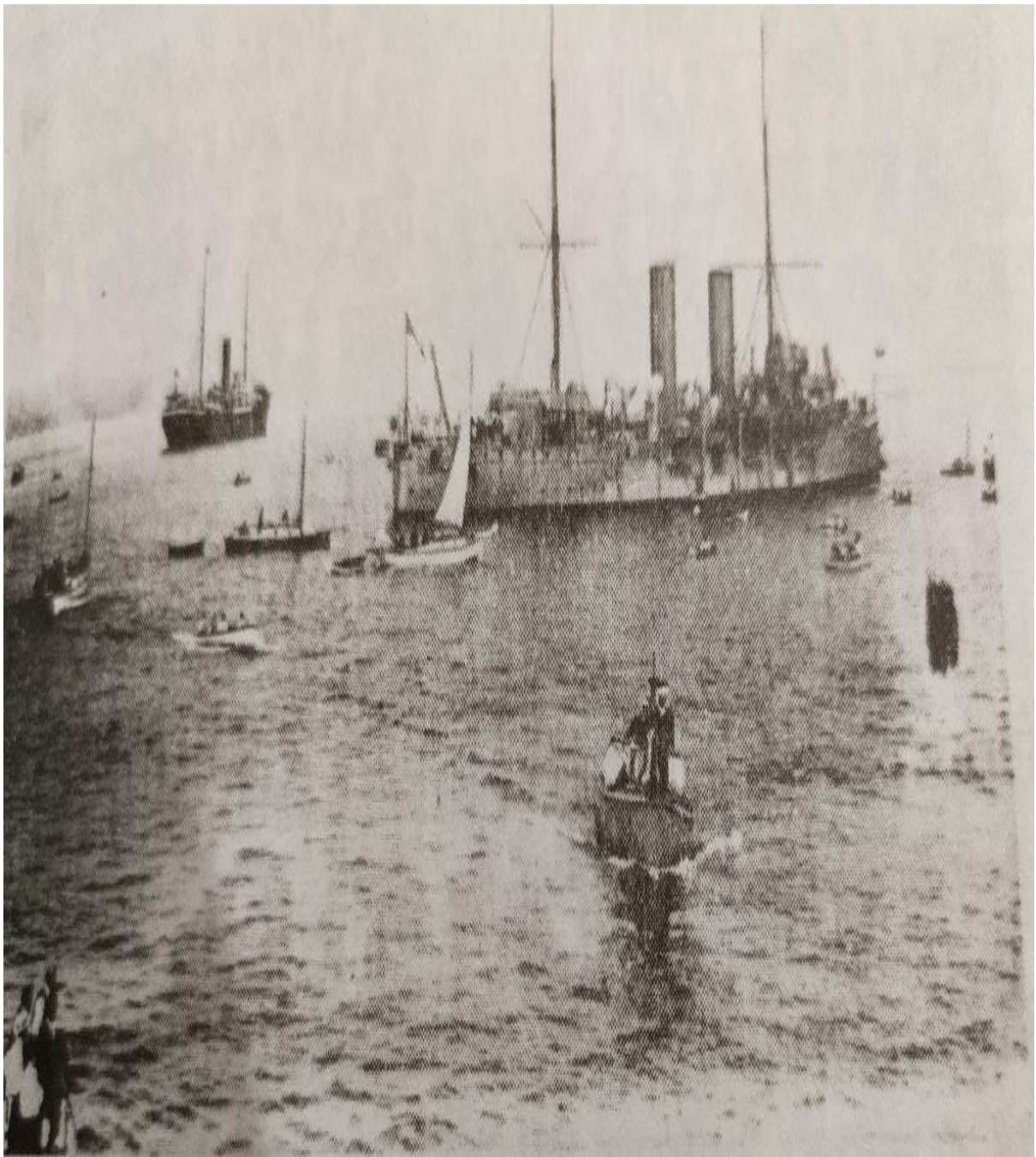
the GOVERNOR-GENERAL (of Canada) in Council.

Order in Council, dated 9th May 1910. (P. C. No. 920.)

From and after the date hereof the landing in Canada shall be and the same is hereby prohibited of any immigrants who have come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which they are natives or citizens, and upon through tickets purchased in that country or purchased and prepaid in Canada.

Order in Council, dated 9th May 1910. (P. C. No. 926.)

No immigrant of Asiatic origin shall be permitted to enter Canada unless in actual and personal possession in his or her own right of 200 dollars unless such person is a native or subject of an Asiatic country in regard to which special statutory regulations are in force or with which the Government of Canada has made a special treaty or convention.



ਰੇਨਬੋ ਜੰਗੀ ਜਹਾਜ਼ ਅਤੇ ਕੌਮਾਗਾਟਾ ਮਾਰੂ (ਪਰੇ ਦਿਸਦਾ),
21 ਜੁਲਾਈ 1914

Report

No. 152.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
HOME DEPARTMENT.

POLITICAL.

Delhi, the 13th January 1915.

RESOLUTION.

READ —

The report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the circumstances attending the arrival in India of certain passengers by steamship Komagata Maru.

On the 29th September 1914, 321 passengers, the great majority of whom were Sikhs, landed at Budge Budge near Calcutta on return from an abortive attempt to enter Canada *via* Vancouver. In consequence of information in the possession of Government, they were met on arrival by representatives of the Bengal and Punjab Governments, who attempted to persuade them to proceed by special train to the Punjab in accordance with orders issued under the Ingress into India Ordinance, 1914. In the case of 62 persons these efforts were successful, but the remaining passengers refused to comply with the orders, and in defiance of the authorities present proceeded to march by road in the direction of Calcutta. They were met *en route* by a force of police, and subsequently by military accompanied by Sir William Duke, then Member of the Provincial Executive Council. At his instance they returned to Budge Budge. While assembled near the railway station there, pending arrangements for their entrainment, a serious attack was made on the police in which firearms were used by the Sikhs. The police defended themselves using such revolvers as they had, but were overpowered. The assistance of the troops was invoked to quell the riot which ensued, and they opened fire on the rioters who dispersed. In the result 2 Europeans (1 police officer and 1 railway official), 2 Punjab police officers, 2 Indian residents of Budge Budge and 20 Sikhs were killed, and 6 Europeans and 5 Punjab police officers, 1 villager, together with 22 Sikhs and 1 Muhammadan from among the ship's passengers were injured. In

* Of these two have been arrested in the Punjab subsequent to the Committee's report

connection with this occurrence 211 persons were arrested, while 28* (including the leader, Gurdit Singh) escaped.

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ਜਿੰਗ ਵ. ਬਿਗਲ-ਸੁਭਾਸ਼ਿਕਾ

ਪ੍ਰਭੂਪਤਿਓ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਸੁ ਚੀਆ ਨਲ ਅਤੁ ਭਿਰ ੩, ਦੁ ਆ ਜਦੀਆ ਵੀ

ਹਿੰਦੀਓ ਸੁਭੇ ਹਿੰਦੀਓ ਸੁਭੇ ਸਮ ਆਖੀਆਂ

ਪ੍ਰਭੂਪਤਿਓ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਸੁ ਚੀਆ ਨਲ ਅਤੁ ਭਿਰ ੩, ਦੁ ਆ ਜਦੀਆ ਵੀ
 ਅਤੇ ਜਗਮਗਾ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਵੀ, ਮਹੰਤ ਕੁਆ ਪਦਾ ਹੁੰ ਡੇ ਆ ਨੀਆ ਆਖਣਗੀ
 ਜਗੀ, ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਭੂਪਤਿਓ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਸੁ ਚੀਆ ਵੀ
 ਮਦੀਓ ਹੁੰ ਡੇ ਆ ਨਲ ਅਤੁ ਭਿਰ ੩, ਦੁ ਆ ਜਦੀਆ ਵੀ
 ਸਿੰਘ ਦਾ ਮੁਖ ਮੌਕਾ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਵੀ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ
 ਸੁ ਚੀਆ ਵੀ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ
 ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ
 ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ
 ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ
 ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ
 ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ
 ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ ਆਖਣਗੀਆਂ ਫੇਰ

(ਹਿੰਦੋਸਤਾਨ ਗਦਰ , 4 ਅਗਸਤ 1914)

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10. ਗ੍ਰਿਫਤਾਰੀ

ਇੱਕ ਹਫ਼ਤੇ ਪਿੱਛੋਂ ਸਾਡੇ ਜਹਾਜ਼ ਨੂੰ ਪੀਨਾਂਗ ਤੋਂ ਚੱਲਣ ਦੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਮਿਲੀ। ਜਦ ਜਹਾਜ਼ ਬੰਗਾਲ ਦੀ ਖਾੜੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਪਹੁੰਚਿਆ ਤਾਂ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਸੀ. ਆਈ. ਡੀ. ਤੇ ਗੋਰੇ ਫੌਜੀ ਰੱਸੇ ਦੀਆਂ ਪੌੜੀਆਂ ਜਹਾਜ਼ ਤੇ ਸੁੱਟ ਕੇ ਉੱਪਰ ਚੜ੍ਹ ਆਏ।

ਗੋਰੇ ਸਿਪਾਹੀ ਗੋਲੀ ਹਥਿਆਰ ਸਮੇਤ ਜਹਾਜ਼ ਵਿੱਚ ਥਾਂ ਪੁਰ ਥਾਂ ਪਹਿਰੇ ਤੇ ਖਲੋ ਗਏ। ਜਦ ਜਹਾਜ਼ ਕਲਕੱਤੇ ਆ ਕੇ ਲੱਗਿਆ ਤਾਂ ਮੇਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਦੋ ਹੋਰ ਸਾਥੀ ਜੋ ਕੈਨੇਡਾ ਤੋਂ ਆਏ ਸਨ, ਤਿੰਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਪੁਲੀਸ ਨੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਫਤਾਰੀ ਕਰ ਲਈ ਤੇ ਬੰਦ ਗੱਡੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਬਿਠਾ ਕੇ ਫੌਜੀ ਪਹਿਰੇ ਹੇਠਾਂ ਕਲਕੱਤੇ ਦੀ ਕੋਤਵਾਲੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਲਿਆ ਕੇ ਬੰਦ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਦੋ ਦਿਨ ਪਿੱਛੋਂ ਪੁਲੀਸ ਦੇ ਪਹਿਰੇ ਹੇਠਾਂ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਤਿੰਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਲੁਧਿਆਣੇ (ਪੰਜਾਬ) ਲੈ ਆਏ, ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਲੁਧਿਆਣਾ ਜ਼ੈਲ-ਘਰ ਬਾਹਰ ਤੋਂ ਆਏ ਇਨਕਲਾਬੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਜਾਂਚ ਪੜਤਾਲ ਲਈ ਮੁਕੱਰਰ ਸੀ। ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੋਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਤਾਂ ਪੁੱਛ ਪੜਤਾਲ ਕਰਕੇ ਛੱਡ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਤੇ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਪੁਲੀਸ ਦੇ ਪਹਿਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਡਿਸਟ੍ਰਿਕਟ ਜੇਲ੍ਹ ਮੁਲਤਾਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਭੇਜ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਜਦੋਂ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਲੁਧਿਆਣੇ ਜੇਲ੍ਹ ਤੋਂ ਪੁਲੀਸ ਦੇ ਪਹਿਰੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਟਾਂਗੇ ਤੇ ਬਿਠਾ ਕੇ ਸਟੇਸ਼ਨ ਵੱਲ ਲਿਜਾਇਆ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਸੀ ਤਾਂ ਪਿੱਛੋਂ ਸਾਈਕਲ ਤੇ ਕਰਤਾਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਰਾਭਾ ਆ ਮਿਲਿਆ। ਉਹ ਖਤਰੇ ਵੇਲੇ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਅੱਗੇ ਰਹਿੰਦਾ ਸੀ। ਉਹ ਫੌਜੀ ਪਲਟਨਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਨਿਪੱੜਕ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਅਤੇ ਬਗੈਰ ਕਿਸੇ ਡਰ ਦੇ ਫੌਜੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰੇਰਦਾ। ਉਹਦੀ ਇਸ ਨਿਡਰਤਾ ਦਾ ਫੌਜੀਆਂ ਉੱਤੇ ਏਨਾ ਅਸਰ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਆਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਦੀ ਜੰਗ ਵਿੱਚ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਹੋਣ ਲਈ ਫੌਰਨ ਤਿਆਰ ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦੇ। ਮੈਂ ਉਹਨੂੰ ਦੱਸਿਆ ਕਿ ਮੇਰਾ ਚਲਾਨ ਡਿਸਟ੍ਰਿਕਟ ਜੇਲ੍ਹ ਮੁਲਤਾਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਜਾਉ। ਮੇਰੀ ਗ੍ਰਿਫਤਾਰੀ 1914 ਨੂੰ ਹੋਈ। ਬਾਹਰ ਦਾ ਜੀਵਨ ਸੰਗਰਾਮ ਖਤਮ ਹੋਇਆ।

ਸੋਹਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਭਕਨਾ (ਬਾਮ)
ਬਕੱਲਮ ਖੁਦ

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IMPACT OF SIKH GURUS AND GURUDWARAS ON THE GHADAR MOVEMENT AND ITS JOURNALISM

Veerpal Kaur *

The main focus of this paper deals with the Sikh Gurus and their teachings had inspiration for the Ghadar movement and its Journalism and the Gurudwaras also had played a significant role in Ghadar Movement and other spiritual personalities like Prof. Teja Singh, Balwant Singh and others were Granthis who had a played significant role in this movement. The Ghadarites were inspired by the teaching of Sikh Gurus for armed struggle for a righteous cause and were influenced by the martyrdom of the brave Sikhs like Banda Singh Bahadur, Baba Deep Singh and Mehtab Singh. Sikh Philosophy is vividly portrayed in Ghadar Poetry. Poems relating had been to the courageous of Gurus Gobind Singh and other martyrs. The Sikhs Philosophy had its impact on the Ghadar Movement because Ghadarites had been greatly inspired by the glorious way of the Sikh martyrs since the eighteen Century.

In order to understand the impact of Sikh Gurus on the Ghadar Movement and its Journalism it includes the role of Gurudwaras as well, it's necessary to understand for its reasons. First of all discussed the how Punjabi Sikhs were inspired for established the Gurudwara in aboard land and after the formation of Ghadar movement granthis of Gurudwaras had participated in this movement. In the bad economic conditions in Punjab further during the first decade of the twentieth century a large numbers of the Sikhs and other Indians came to Canada and united state America for better opportunities to earn money. Only 45 Indians had entered Canada in 1905. Then the number swelled 387 reached there in 1906, 2124 in the following year and 2623 in 1908. Thereafter the entry of Indians into Canada was practically banned by the dominion Government. So fresh Indian immigrants now sought entry to the United States of America instead.¹

The officially record of those Indians immigrants who entered USA from 1899 to 1913 was 6656. All these immigrants came mainly from Lahore, Ludhiana, Jalandhar Amritsar and Ferozpur and over 75 percent of them were Punjabis Sikhs.²

Indians faced taunting witticism everywhere as they were not free. The immigrations were different from the white Canadians and Americans in many ways. The distinct turban and beard identity was not letting them fit into culture of white Canadians and Americans.³ According to Bhai Kartar Singh of Nawan Chand approximately six hundred Sikh brothers had taken to wearing of hats⁴. First and foremost

* Research Scholar, Department of History, Punjabi University, Patiala.

1. Harish K. Puri. *Ghadar Movement Ideology Organisation and Strategy*, Ameritsar, Guru Nanak Dev University, 1993 Second Edition. p.17.
2. *Ibid.*, p.18
3. Rajwinder Singh Rahi. "Central Role of Gurudawara in Ghadar Movement", in Jasbir Singh Mann and Satnam Singh Johal (ed), *Sikh Gadar Lehar, 1907-1918*, Guru Granth Sahib foundation, California, 2015. p.136.
4. Harish K. Puri, *Ghadar movement ideology organization strategy*, p. 44.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled “ **The Ghadar Movement And Its Legacy: Indian and Non-Indian Perspectives**” embodies the work carried out by **Veerpal Kaur** herself under my supervision and that it is worthy of consideration for the award of the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences.

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DECLARATION

I **Veerpal Kaur** hereby affirm that the work in this thesis is exclusively my own and there are no collaborations. It does not contain any work for which a Degree/Diploma has been awarded by any University/ Institution.

Veerpal Kaur
Veerpal Kaur

Date... *22/3/2022*

Place; Patiala

This is to certify that the above statement made by the candidate is correct to the best of my knowledge.

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Dedicated

to

My Dear Husband

Sarabjeet Singh

&

Loving Son

Jujhar Singh

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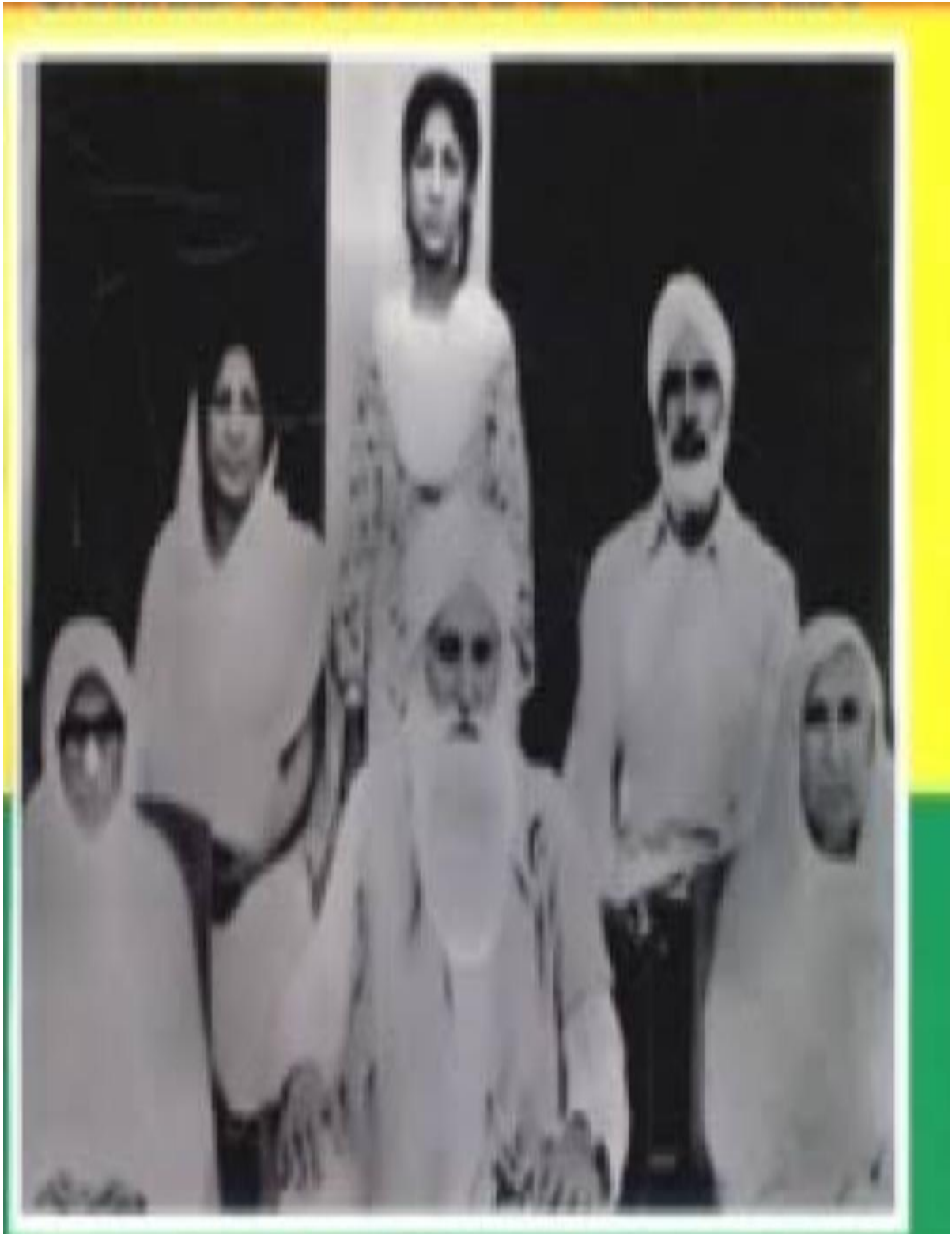
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