

**SOME CONFIDENTIAL PAPERS  
OF  
THE AKALI MOVEMENT**

**GANDA SINGH**

**AMRITSAR**

**Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee**







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*Edited with an Introduction*  
by  
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**SHIROMANI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE**

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## INTRODUCTION

### I

I am writing this Introduction to *Some Confidential Papers of the Akali Movement* exactly 33 years from the day when the late Bawa Budh Singh, I. S. E., Superintending Engineer, Lahore, first informed me on June 17, 1931, of the existence of the Confidential file of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar. The file was said to contain letters of Mahatma Gandhi, the deposed Maharaja Ripudaman Singh (later renamed as Gurcharan Singh) of Nabha and of other top-ranking political leaders of the country regarding the Akali movement and the Nabha agitation. For fear of a sudden raid on its office by the Punjab police, the file had for some time been entrusted to the custody of Bawa Budh Singh at Montgomery when he was posted there. He personally took it to Amritsar or Lahore and whenever it was required for consultation by the leaders of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. When the fear of police raids disappeared, the file was restored to the office of the Committee.

I felt inquisitive about the contents of the file. But I was then unknown to the Akali circles. Only about six months earlier I had returned to India after over ten years abroad and was reacquainting myself with Lahore where I intended settling down. Subsequently when I went over to the Khalsa College at Amritsar, I learnt from Giani Nahar Singh of Gujjarwal, then editor of the *Qaumi Dard*, Amritsar, that he had with him copies of most of the letters on Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee file taken by him in the second week of 1926, through the courtesy of Sardar Mahendar Singh of Sidhwan, then General Secretary of the Committee. Giani Nahar Singh very kindly placed the material at my disposal for publication. I got a typescript made but had to wait a number

of years before I could approach the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee for its publication. The project was sanctioned by the Committee in its meeting of December 30, 1954, but with the changes in its controlling personnel, its implementation came to be deferred for an indefinite period. Master Sujan Singh, the present Honorary Secretary of the Committee, deserves our thanks for his sympathetic response to my request in the resurrection of the ten-year old resolution and ordering the publication of this volume. But for his keen and sincere interest, it would not have seen the light of the day perhaps for a long time to come.

The copies of the confidential papers received from Giani Nahar Singh had been hurriedly made and were not complete. They have been checked and compared with the original letters in the Confidential file lent to me by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. A large number of additional connecting papers have been taken from the Birdwood Committee (1924) and other files belonging to Dr. Bhai Jodh Singh, who was a leading figure in the Gurdwara Reform movement in the early stages and withdrew from active association with it only when it drifted into politics. He was an active participant in General Birdwood's mission of bringing about a compromise between the Sikhs and the Government through a bill transferring the control of the Sikh historical shrines to an elected representative body of the community. The Birdwood negotiations, however, could not succeed owing to the intransigence of some of the Akali leaders, and the community lost the opportunity of a very favourable settlement of the problem. Bhai Jodh Singh, however, continued his efforts and succeeded in the end. Gurdwara Act was passed in 1925 when the Akali struggle for the reform of Gurdwara management came to an end. The papers received from Bhai Jodh Singh relate to this phase of the Akali movement.

Most of the Kapurthala, Nabha and Patiala correspondence included in the volume was received from the late Sardar Dalip Singh Doabia (of Pur Hiran, Hoshiarpur) who was the senior

Office Superintendent of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee during the earlier part of the movement. He was a very resourceful man and had connections with influential people in the Sikh States.

Some of the statements regarding the *Jaito morcha* had been collected by Giani Nahar Singh for a history of the struggle for Indian independence in the Punjab. He was one of the close associates of Bhai Randhir Singh of Narangwal and was in jail for a number of years for his part in the 1914-15 Ghadr activities in the Ludhiana and Ferozepur districts. I am thankful to him for the help I have received from him in the preparation of this volume.

Except in a few special cases, the documents included in this volume have all been arranged chronologically. The undated letters of the Akali leaders from inside the Lahore fort, where they were detained during their trial in 1923-25, have, however, been placed in the same order—not always correct—in which they were found in the Confidential file. They have to be used with care, referring, in doubtful cases, to the table of contents and the index which would be helpful in determining the sequence of the letters and events.

It is very much to be regretted that a large number of mistakes—some of them inexcusable—have crept in at the printing stage. The writer of these lines had no hand in the reading of the proofs. However, he offers an apology on behalf of the publishers and craves the indulgence of the reader. The *errata* would be helpful in correcting some of the errors.

For a more detailed study of this period, efforts should be made to collect documents and reports from the National Archives of India, the archives of the then Secretary of State for India, London, the Record Offices of the Governments of the Punjab (in India and Pakistan) and from the collections of the late Sir Sundar Singh Majithia, Sir Jogendra Singh, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das, Sardar K.M. Panikkar, Raja Sir Narendra Nath, Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh, Sardar Tara

Singh of Moga, Master Tara Singh and all others who have in one way or another been connected with the movement. The diaries of Sir Sundar Singh Majithia and Sardar Mehtab Singh, for some time President of the S.G.P.C., are full of invaluable information. Copies of the periodical reports of the District administrative and police officers to the provincial headquarters and of the provincial government to the Government of India should also be secured. A systematic search for relevant reports and documents should be made in the Indian and foreign newspapers and periodicals. These all, and the communiques of the S.G.P.C. and the Akali Dal of those eventful days, should be published in a series of volumes, properly edited and indexed, and made readily available to the students and scholars of history.

For publications dealing directly or indirectly with, or referring to, the Akali movement, the inquisitive reader is advised to consult *A Bibliography of the Punjab* being published by the Punjabi University, Patiala, and *The Bibliography of Sikhs and Sikhism* being issued by the S.G.P.C., Amritsar.

## II

### *Political Agitators in 1917*

The volume opens with a 'strictly confidential' list of 'the most prominent political agitators in the Panjab' whose movements were closely watched by the police in 1917 and reported to government (No. 1 and 2). The first World War (1914-18) was then on and German agents were trying to stir up revolution in India. Not long before, the Punjab had witnessed the terrorist activities of the Ghadr Party immigrants from America, many of whom had either been sentenced to death or were undergoing life imprisonments. Some of them had tried to escape from jails to renew their revolutionary activities in co-operation with their sympathisers outside. The persons mentioned in the list were suspected to be prominent anti-British agitators, some of whom had been

on the police lists since the Agrarian and Colony Bill agitation of 1906-07. This list was occasionally revised and circulated not only to all the District Superintendents of Police in the Punjab but also to the rulers of the native States.

- (i) 2. Anand Kishor Mehta was an associate of Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjab Colony Bill agitation in 1907.
- (ii) 3. Harchand Singh was the originator of the Rikab-ganj Gurdwara agitation in 1914, aimed at reconstructing the Gurdwara wall demolished by Government. Later he took part in the Akali movement. He started the *Khalsa Akhbar*, an Urdu weekly, in 1914 and was an associate of Master Sunder Singh Lyallpuri in starting the *Akali* in 1920.
- (iii) 8. Maulana Zafar Ali, the well known editor of the *Zamindar*, Lahore, was a leading nationalist of the Panjab in those days. Later he joined the Muslim League.
- (iv) 9. Teja Singh, M.A., popularly known as Sant Teja Singh of Mastuana, went to America for study in 1909 and there delivered a number of lectures on India and her people. On his return he was listed as an agitator. He is a religious recluse and has never indulged in active politics.
- (v) 11. Kedar Nath Sehgal attracted the notice of the Punjab Police during the Colony Bill agitation in 1907 and was placed on the list of agitators for surveillance.
- (vi) 16. Lal Chand Falak was an associate of the well known political agitators like Amba Prasad Sufi, Ajit Singh and others in the first decade of the century. In 1917-18 he was sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment in the fourth Lahore Conspiracy Case, but was released in 1920. He was a popular Urdu poet and the following lines from one of his poems have acquired historical significance :

صوفی اور اجیت نے ترکی کا راہ لیا  
مہ نے انارنگ کو شک بدل لیا

اللہ لا اجیت راہی بھی بدل گئے  
گورنمنٹ کو بھی بدل کر رہا بدل لیا

No information is available about the other agitators mentioned in the list.

*Treaty Rights of the Indian Ruling Princes*

For some time past there had been whispering complaints from some of the Indian ruling princes that rights secured to them by Treaties, Sanads and Engagements had not, in practice, been fully observed by the Government of India. It was, therefore, suggested by the Viceroy in an informal meeting held at Delhi on February 4-5, 1918, that concrete instances of disregard of treaty rights be brought to the notice of the Government before the next meeting (3, 4). It was in pursuance of this suggestion that the Nabha State collected a number of instances mentioned under No. 6.

*The Darbar Sahib Keys Agitation*

The stiff and hostile attitude of the Government of the Panjab towards Sikh Gurdwaras reform movement brought the Sikh community in direct conflict with the Government. With a view to suppressing the movement, the Government took away on November 7, 1921, the keys of the Golden Temple, Amritsar, and other allied Gurdwaras from their Manager, Sardar Sundar Singh Ramgaria. This created a stir among the community. As a strong step of protest against the Government, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, in its special meeting held at the Akal Takht on November 10, called upon the Sikh members of the provincial legislature, under threat of excommunication, to vacate their seats

(No. 9). A similar directive had also been issued to them by the Committee on August 27, 1921 (No. 7). The agitation soon took a serious turn and hundreds of Sikhs went to jail at the bidding of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. As there was no apparent justification for the Government to resort to repression in this case, it had to yield and return the keys to the Committee. The Sikhs had remained perfectly non-violent throughout their struggle with the bureaucracy and, according to Mahatma Gandhi, this was a glorious triumph of non-violence and self-sacrifice over official high-handedness. For this he congratulated the Sikhs in his telegram of January 18-19, 1922, to Sardar Kharak Singh, the then President of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, saying: "First Battle of India's Freedom won, congratulations" (No. 10).

### *Guru-ka-Bagh Affair*

There are only two documents here bearing on the Guru-ka-Bagh affair. One (No 190, p. 304) is an eye-witness account of Maulana Kifayatullah, the President of the Jamait-ul-Ulma-i-Hind. He visited the Guru-ka-Bagh Gurdwara on September 10, 1922, during the morcha days, in the company of the well known Indian leaders Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi, Swami Shardhananda, Shri Piaray Lal Sharma, Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee, Delhi, and Mr. G.A. Sundaram of the *Swadesamitram*, Madras. The statement of Maulana Kifayat-ullah gives to the reader some idea of how mercilessly the members of the Akali batches during the morcha were beaten to unconsciousness, day after day, by the police under the personal supervision of Mr Beaty, the Superintendent of Police, and how unresistingly and with great fortitude and resignation, the non-violent Akalis went through this ordeal. In the words of the Rev. C.F. Andrews, "A great heroism learnt through suffering, had risen in the land. A new lesson in moral warfare has been taught to the world." According to John S. Hoyland in his *The Cross Moves East* "An English spectator of this movement of *Satyagraha*, when hundreds of ex-soldiers, belonging to proudest and most martial Sikh race in India, marched in rank

after rank up to a cordon of police, there to be clubbed down unresistingly, has said to the present writer that never in his life did he see anything so dreadful and at the same time so impressive.'

The letter of Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni to Mr. A.W. Mercer, D.I.G. Police, dated September 25, 1922 (No. 191, p. 307) tells us that even the members of the public were ill-treated by the police and robbed of their belongings. This was all done with the object of striking terror into the people participating in or sympathising with the Akali movement. But it failed to achieve the desired effect. On the other hand, the publication of the reports of police atrocities against the non-violent Sikh *satyagrahis* stirred the conscience of the world against the Government and won for the Sikhs sympathy and admiration not only of the people of India but also of the world at large.

### *Repression in Native States*

Repressive measures against the Akali reformists were not confined to the British territory. They were followed with equal rigour in the native states also. Evidently, the Indian rulers did so under the pressure of the Political Department of the Government of India. In the Kapurthala State, the Akalis were watched and arrested not only for taking part in the activities of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee but also for wearing Kirpan—a religious symbol of the Sikhs—although there were no restrictions on it in the native states where the Indian Arms Act was not normally applicable. Many of them were confined to their own villages and could move out only with the permission of the State authorities. Additional military force was recruited to keep the Akalis under check, and special executive officers were placed on duty in the Tehsil headquarters to check the expansion of Akali movement (11,12).

### *Kooka Opposition to the Akali Movement*

The Kookas or Namdharis had been under strict surveillance



of the police since 1872, when sixtyfive of them had been blown from the guns for the murder of cow-killing butchers of Malerkotla and other places and their leader Baba Ram Singh and his close associates were exiled from the Panjab. Theirs was a purely religious and social movement with no political or anti-British designs. Yet the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana district, wherein the village of Bhaini, the residence of Baba Ram Singh, was situated, and the Commissioner of Ambala division, frightened by the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58, dubbed them as political suspects and established a police-post in the village. This was very irksome to the Kookas and they found a favourable opportunity in opposing the Akali movement to earn for themselves the goodwill of the Government of the Panjab. They not only allied themselves with the anti-Akali interests of the *Mahants* or custodians of the Sikh temples but also actively opposed the movement and carried on vigorous propaganda through the press, with papers such as the *Satjug* and the *Kooka*, and platform against the Akalis whom the Government then considered their worst enemies, particularly during the *Guru-ka-Bagh* and *Jaito morchas* or agitations (1922-25).

In recognition of their loyal services, the Government of the Panjab was pleased to remove in 1922 the fifty-year old police post from the Kooka headquarters at Bhaini. As a further mark of its favours, the Governor of the Punjab interceded on their behalf with the Administrator of the Nabha State on August 2, 1923, for not disturbing them about certain forest rights (in Nabha *Beer*) to save them from falling "into the arms of Akalis", with whom they were then on extremely unfriendly terms. These rights were said to have been granted to them verbally by the deposed Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha. The Governor was also pleased to suggest to the Administrator not to take any action regarding that land until the Akali agitation over Nabha had somewhat subsided (No. 13).

The Administrator (Mr. C.M.G. Ogilvie) in his D.O. No. 770, of August 30, 1923, accepted the recommendation of the Panjab Government and assured the Governor, through Mr. Craik, Chief

Secretary to the Government, that he did not intend to remove them for the present, or indeed at all, provided they refrained from bringing the Beer under cultivation. According to the Administrator, they hold no written deed of gift or anything of the kind (No. 188, pp 303).

### Abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha

Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha had, for reasons mainly political, incurred the displeasure of the Government of India and was deposed and exiled from the State. He, however, felt that he had been unjustly removed from his throne at the instigation of his enemies, particularly Maharaja Bhupendra Singh of Patiala and of the Political Department, which, he said, had been under the influence of his rival, that his abdication had been anything but voluntary and that he had been made to sign the letter of abdication under threats and coercion. He narrated at length in his letter of December 14, 1923, to H.E. the Viceroy and the Governor-General of India (No. 14) how his servants proved disloyal to him and how Col. Minchin, Political Agent to the Governor-General, had insulted him and treated him like a rebel and prisoner. How the Senior Maharani and ladies of the Zenana were insulted and searched by the Agent to the Governor General himself and placed under a military guard, and how the ladies of the family were starved for a whole day, make a pitiable reading.

The representation of the Maharaja ended with an appeal to His Excellency to find an early opportunity of redressing my grievances. He also informed H. E. that he had in writing dissociated himself from the agitation about his forced abdication and that he had also sent a telegram to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the press to that effect.

In his reply of March 3, 1924 (No. 15), Lord Reading, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, informed His Highness Maharaja Ripudaman Singh that he had fully considered the contents of H.H.'s representation and that his examination of the case and his personal knowledge of the events connected with it left no

ground in his mind that the grievances of His Highness and charges of intimidation and coercion levelled by him at the officers of the Government were without foundation and that he found no ground for revision of the decision arrived at by the Government.

Referring to his speech of October 17, 1923, that there should be no illusion about His Highness's restoration in a short time or in a few years and that he had ceased for all time to rule in Nabha, His Excellency reiterated: "To that pronouncement, I and my Government adhere and Your Highness must definitely understand that the decision is irrevocable."

This disillusioned the mind of His Highness about the chances of his restoration to the throne of Nabha and placed the leaders of the Shiromani Gurdwaras Parbandhak Committee in a very embarrassing position regarding the agitation that they had started for it in hot haste. The public disavowal of H.H. with it had further worsened the situation.

*Council of Administration for Nabha*

At one stage, in the course of consultations among the leaders of the Nabha agitation, when a Council of Regency was ruled out as unacceptable, it was suggested that the Government be approached to appoint a Council of Administration that would inspire confidence in the Sikh community that it will maintain the Sikh character of the state' (No. 185 pp. 298-99; cf. No. 163, p. 251). The Government had actually agreed informally with Bhai Jodh Singh that this Council of Administration, to be set up during the minority of the deposed Maharaja's son, Partap Singh, would have a Sikh as its president and the majority of the members would also be Sikhs. But the Akali leaders were not then in mood to agree to anything short of the restoration of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh. This the Government could not accept in the face of the irrevocable decision and categorical pronouncements of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India (No. 15, p. 29). Thus this proposal for a Council of Administration for Nabha State could not proceed beyond the stage of wishful thinking. And the British administrator continued

to remain in the saddle.

From Dehra Dun, the Maharaja was removed to Kodai-kanal in South India, where he died on December 14, 1942.

### *Jaito Morcha*

The Jaito agitation was only partially religious in motive. It began on September 14, 1923, when the continuous reading (*Akhandpath*) of the *Guru Granth Sahib* going on in Gurdwara Tibbi Sahib at Jaito in the Nabha State for the benefit of the deposed Maharaja Ripudaman Singh was said to have been interrupted by the state authorities. The state was then ruled by a British Administrator, Mr. Wilson Johnston. The *Jathas* sent by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee for restarting the interrupted reading were arrested by the state police and left in far-flung and out of the way places. After some 500 men had been treated in this way, a big *Shahidi jatha* (Martyrs' band) of 500 was sent. On its arrival at Jaito on February 21, 1924, the third anniversary of Nankana Sahib tragedy, it was mercilessly fired upon by the state forces, causing some 300 casualties, including about 100 killed. Seeing their comrades fall dead or wounded, the members of the *Jatha* rushed forward to seek martyrdom and literally ran into the jaws of death (No. 19-22, pp. 37-45; No. 155, pp. 228-34; No. 157-58, pp. 239-40; No. 167, pp. 261-64). Many more *jathas* followed. They were all arrested and not fired upon. A *jatha* came from as far off as America (No. 183, pp. 293-96). The struggle dragged on up to July 21, 1925, when the Government yielded, removed the restrictions on the *Akhandpath* and allowed the Sikhs to perform the ceremony uninterrupted. It may be pointed out that the *jathas* moved to Jaito with a vow taken at the Akal Takht, Amritsar (No. 18), to remain completely non-violent and that the vow was in all cases observed in letter and spirit.

### *Arrest of Akali Leaders*

Finding the Akali movement drifting into politics, particularly

when the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the Akali Dal began agitating for the restoration of the deposed Maharaja of Nabha to his throne, the Government of the Panjab declared these bodies to be unlawful associations and arrested on January 7, 1924 (No. 16), 62 of their leaders. The General Committee of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee in its resolutions of that day, passed before their leaders' arrest, condemned the 'arbitrary and high-handed policy of the Government', appreciated the services of the members of these bodies, protested against the entry of the police into the precincts of the Golden Temple and placed on record its firm determination to continue the struggle by all non-violent methods (No. 17).

*Mahatma Gandhi's letters* (Nos. 24-28)

While the *Jaito morcha* was being prolonged and there were signs of weakness here and there, and the Government of the Panjab was trying to create, with some success, a rift in the ranks of the Sikhs through a network of Government-sponsored Sudhar Committees and Zail Committees, composed of loyalists and Government agents, the arrested leaders of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee detained in the Lahore fort opened negotiations with the non-Akali Sikh leaders and others with a view to winning the sympathies of the national leaders of the country like Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for their struggle against the Government and for helping them out of it by the passage, in the provincial legislative assembly, of a bill transferring to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee the control of Sikh historical Gurdwaras. Mahatma Gandhi could interest himself in the *Jaito morcha* and arrange for opening negotiations with the authorities only if the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee were to make "a declaration in the clearest terms that the object of the jatha is purely to assert the aforesaid right [of performing the *Akhand-path* in place of the one that had been interrupted], that it has no desire to carry on under the cover of the *Akhand-path* ceremony any prohibited propaganda

in the Nabha state" (p. 51).

In connection with the movement for the control of historical Gurdwaras, "it will be assumed", said Mahatma Gandhi, "that all such Gurdwaras must remain in the control of Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee." But "in every case of disputed control or possession, the matter should be referred to arbitration" (p. 53). Mahatmaji also required satisfaction "that the movement is neither anti-Hindu nor anti-any other race or creed" (p. 54).

As to the restoration of Nabha. "In my opinion", said Mahatma Gandhi, "Whatever the true facts may be, the Maharaja has by his writings made it practically impossible for his well-wishers to carry on an effective agitation for his restoration. If, however, he makes a public statement that all the writings were practically extorted from him and "is willing to face the consequences of the publication of all the facts against him, it is possible to carry on an effective and even successful agitation." Then, "the agitation should be all-India agitation. The Akalis should merely assist in the elucidation of facts" (No. 27).

The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, in its reply dated April 20, 1924 (No. 29), to Mahatma Gandhi, agreed with him on almost all the points and assured him that their movement was "neither anti-Hindu, nor anti-any other race or creed", but was "thoroughly national in outlook." It also explained to him their entire position and stated its minimum demands as follows :

- a) "We want a Law that would provide for a central representative and elected body of the Sikhs as trustees of all historical Gurdwaras."
- b) "We want the freedom of our religious symbol, the *Kirpan* or sword, from all restrictions."
- 3) "We agree that reasoning and arbitration should be sincerely tried before resorting to *Satyagraha*" (No. 29, iv, p. 63).

Lengthy discussions and negotiations were carried on between the representative of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak

Committee and Maharaja Ripudaman Singh at Dehra Dun (referred to as 'D.D. Friend' in the correspondence) but as the Maharaja could not be persuaded to make a public statement on the lines suggested by Mahatma Gandhi [No. 27, p. 55], he could not interest himself in the agitation for the Maharaja's restoration.

### *The Birdwood Committee*

In the early months of 1924, Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Home Member of the Government of India, suggested to His Excellency Lord Reading, the Governor-General, to invite General Sir William Birdwood, the Commander-in-Chief of India, to help restore friendly relations between the Government and the Sikh community and to draft, in consultation with the members of the Panjab Legislative Council, a bill for the control of the Sikh Gurdwaras that may be acceptable to both the parties. General Birdwood was also authorized by the Governor-General to promise that if the Akalis co-operated with him in his work, those of them imprisoned and under trial for offences in connection with the Gurdwara agitation would be released. Sir William was known for his friendship for the Sikhs. During thirty-five years in the Indian army he had seen much of the Sikhs and knew them well. It was, therefore, hoped that with his tactful handling he would be able to overcome the hostility that had come to be created between the Government and the Sikhs. With the help of Bhai Jodh Singh and Sardar Narain Singh of Gujranwala, General Birdwood entered into negotiations with the Government of the Panjab, represented by Mr. Henry Craik, and the Akali leaders detained in the Lahore fort and working outside. Documents under No. 30 to 52 and 54 to 67 (pp. 69-129) give details of the negotiations and discussions and of the various drafts of the bases and terms of agreement proposed and amended by the parties and, at last, rejected by the Akali leaders inside the fort. Both sides worked with mental reservations and suspicions and looked more to their prestige than to the solution and settlement of the problem before them. Thus the efforts of the Birdwood Committee failed to achieve its objective and it was

dissolved.

General Sir William (later Field Marshall Lord) Birdwood has in his autobiography, '*Khaki and Gown*', thus summarized the failure of his negotiations :

“The more extremist Akalis obstructed progress with quite unreasonable demands. They tried to make it a condition that, in addition to those detained for simple Gurdwara offences, all Sikhs undergoing imprisonment or awaiting trial—even for murder or manslaughter resulting from the seizure of Gurdwaras—should be released before they would co-operate. To this stipulation it was, of course, quite impossible to agree, and after a whole month's discussions I had reluctantly to inform the Viceroy that the appointment of my Committee appeared to have been premature” (p. 372).

That the General was substantially correct in his conclusion is borne out by Sardar Raja Singh, then a member of the Working Committee of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, in his letter of resignation dated August 28, 1924 (No. 67, pp 128-29). Writing to the President of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, he said :

“As I do not believe in the policy and actions which actuated breakage of Birdwood negotiations so far as our side is concerned (and on the day the rejection of the settlement was finally decided in Lahore Fort jail, I stood against the rejection) and as the present policy of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (only one General Committee has met after 13th October, '23, and one Executive, and of these two considered the policy) and policy and actions of its very powerful and important instruments are unduly dominated by outside influence and consequently, under the circumstances, not in the interests of the Panth...I have been obliged to hereby submit my resignation from the Working Committee, which please accept and oblige.”



If the Akali leaders had accepted the proposed basis for co-operation with the Negotiations Committee, the drafting of the bill for the management of Gurdwaras would have been immediately taken up by a committee of six members, with Sir William Birdwood as president, set up for the purpose. The majority of the members were to be Sikhs—Bhai Jodh Singh, Sardar Narain Singh and Sardar Tara Singh—with two Hindu members, Raja Sir Narendra Nath and an eminent lawyer from Madras. The lawyer member had actually arrived at Lahore. But the Akalis insisted that such of the Sikh soldiers as had been convicted by military courts for wearing Kirpans should as well be released. Bhai Jodh Singh was of the opinion that when the negotiations were successfully concluded, the release of those soldiers could be easily secured. But the Akali leaders, prompted mainly by emotion, rigidly stuck to their demand being fulfilled as a preliminary condition for their co-operation. And the Birdwood negotiations broke down.

This refusal to co-operate with the Birdwood Committee by the extremist Akalis is considered to be one of the greatest blunders committed by them. The passage of the Gurdwara Bill at that stage would have ended the struggle of the community with the Government much earlier and saved it from the rot into which it fell as a result of the mutual split and acrimony created by the accentuation of differences by the extremists.

### *Gurdwara Act, 1925*

The time and labour spent by General Birdwood and his Sikh Committee was not, however, entirely wasted. The leaders of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, and the well-wishers of the Sikhs soon felt the necessity of reopening the subject at the point where it had been left off. In the meantime, Sir Malcolm Hailey had become the Governor of the Panjab in place of Sir Edward Maclagan. He was a clever politician and a practical statesman. Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh says in his letter

of 1st September, 1924 (No. 68, pp. 129-31), addressed to Sardar Narain Singh, M. L. C., of Gujranwala that the failure of the negotiations of the Birdwood Committee has, I believe, done a good deal of harm to our cause ..” “I have seen that the sympathies of the Hindus and Muhammadans are daily on the decrease on account of their thinking that the position taken up by the Akalis being unreasonable... I have found a gentleman...who has promised to intervene and try to have the matter settled between our community and the Government, if we take up a reasonable position.”

“I think the Government is also as anxious, perhaps more anxious than ourselves, to have the matter settled.”

This move was supported by seven Akali leaders headed by Risaldar Sundar Singh (then in the Lahore fort) in their communication of September 16 (No. 69, p. 131) wherein they stressed the desirability of an early settlement with the Government in consultation with the Sikh councillors, Sardar Narain Singh and Bhai Jodh Singh. They were of the opinion that the bill should be accepted in all cases, even if the Government did not agree to the release of the Akali prisoners before the passage of the bill. In the third week of December, 1924, twenty of the Akali leaders detained in the Lahore fort authorized the Secretary of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee to take all kinds of decisions in the interest of the Panth without asking them as they could not arrive at any unanimous decision on account of differences of opinion amongst them. (See No. 76, 77, 78 pp. 138-44.)

Sir Malcolm Hailey did not take long to acquaint himself with the Sikh problem. He seems to have understood the psychology of the extremist Akalis better than his predecessor. In the course of a casual talk he is said to have once remarked, “Why delay the Bill and let the Government get the blame. Give it to them, and also their Gurdwaras. They will then quarrel among themselves. The Government will be free to do something else.”

The reconcilable attitude of both the Akalis and the Government encouraged the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council to hammer into shape the Gurdwara Bill as best as they could. Bhai Jodh Singh took a leading role in the negotiations with the Government. His correspondence with Mr. H.W. Emerson, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, and Mr. H.D. Craik, the Chief Secretary to the Government, who represented the Government in the preliminary discussions, and with the Akali leaders reveals the various stages through which the draft of the bill passed before it was finalized for being presented to the Council. It also gives an insight into the reactions of the Akali leaders, both extremist and others (No. 71 to 97, pp. 134-57; Cf. 165, pp. 250-52).

With the change in the attitude of the Government, the Muslim members of the Council also assumed a helpful attitude and offered to support the Bill if Professor Jodh Singh agreed to their suggestion of maintaining the records of the proposed Gurdwara Judicial Commission in Urdu instead of Gurumukhi as provided for in one of the clauses of the Bill. The Hindu members on the other hand asked him not to accept the Muslim suggestion saying that they would stand by him in the Council. This gave him an opportunity to secure their promise to withdraw their proposed amendments to the Bill on the affirmation of Mahant Basant Das, Secretary of the Udasin Mahamandal, that the various shrines mentioned in the Hindu Members' amendments were Sikh Gurdwaras, dedicated to the *Guru Granth Sahib* and that regular Sikh practices were observed therein. As a compromise, the Gurdwara of Manak of Mehant Basant Das was excluded from the list attached to the Bill. Thus the Gurdwara Bill was passed by the Punjab Legislative Assembly on July 7, 1925. And it came into force with effect from the 1st of November, 1925.

Now arose the question of the release of the Akali prisoners and of those under trial for offences connected with the Gurdwara struggle. The Government agreed that such of them as declared themselves to be in favour of working the Bill asked for and

accepted by the Sikhs would be immediately released. Most of the leaders saw no objection in making this declaration in favour of the Bill which had been drafted by Sikh councillors in response to their wishes and in consultation with them. The irreconcilable extremists, however, looked upon this declaration as a humiliating condition laid down by the Government and they refused to accept it. This widened the rift between the two sections and led to the frittering away of the energies of the community in fratricidal recriminations (Nos. 98-106, pp. 157-72 ; No. 183, pp. 289-92). The Government gradually released the prisoners after the Bill came into force with effect from November 1, 1925.

### *The Nabha Question*

As the question of the restoration of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh was purely political and the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee was a religious body, it could not in honesty be pursued by the leaders of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, and had to be dropped to secure the passage of the Gurdwara Bill. At one stage, Master Sundar Singh Lyallpuri, one of the original promoters of the Akali movement, had suggested that this question should be handed over to the Sikh League, a political organization. And if it were not done, he had threatened to launch a campaign against it (No. 156, pp. 237-38).

Sardar Amar Singh of Jhabbal was also of the view that a serious mistake had been made by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, in involving itself in politics. He, therefore, dissociated himself from the Committee and resigned its membership. There were also some two dozen other members who were not in favour of continuing the Nabha agitation as a part of the Gurdwara Reform movement and wished it to be dropped (No. 156, pp. 237-38 ; No. 160, pp. 244-45).

The leaders of the Committee, therefore, assumed a luke-warm attitude towards it, neither dropping the question nor making it a life-and death question. (No. 168, Note, p. 266). The Maharaja

bitterly complained of this in his letter addressed to the Committee (No. 107, pp. 172-74), though he was himself mostly responsible in weakening the hands of the agitators in his cause (Nos. 58, 59, pp. 105-120 ; No. 156, pp. 237-38 ; No. 168, pp. 266-67, No. 177, pp. 284-86 ; No. 186, p. 301).

### *Services of the Patiala State to Government*

Soon after the Gurdwara Bill was passed, the Prime Minister of the Patiala State, Daya Kishan Kaul, sent in August 1925, under instructions of the Maharaja, a note on the *Services rendered by Patiala in combating the dangerous Sikh agitation and the Akali movement in the Punjab in recent years* to Col. St. John, Political Agent to the Governor General, with the request that they might be brought to the notice of the Government of India for such recognition as they deserved (Nos. 108-09, pp. 174-78).

There is also on record a confidential note submitted to His Highness Maharaja Bhupendra Singh by Liaqat Hayat Khan, Home Minister, on the political situation in the State and on the desirability of recognizing the services of deserving persons (No. 110, pp. 183-92).

### *Allowances to Newspapermen*

The letter of Daya Kishan Kaul, dated May 24, 1924, to Master Chanda Singh, editor of the *Panth Sewak*, Amritsar (No. 53), is an indication of how newspapermen were paid allowances by the Princely States, evidently to play to their tunes or to act as their agents.

### *Chief Khalsa Diwan and the Khalsa College, Amritsar*

The Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar, is a religio-political association of the Sikhs established in 1902. Its leaders, headed by Sardar Sundar Singh Majltha, believed in the policy of political compromise and co-operation with the Government. This policy alone, they felt, could help the backward and predominantly rural

community of the Sikhs catch up in social and educational fields with the rich and advanced Hindus and the Government-favoured Musalmans. Their only college, the Khalsa College, Amritsar, received substantial aid from the Panjab Government. This was not in keeping with the rising tide of political extremism and non-co-operation. Flushed with successes in gaining control of some of the important Sikh shrines, and taking advantage of the commotion in the College due to differences between the Principal (Mr G. A. Wathen) and the Managing Committee, some of the Akali leaders started in 1923-24 virulent propaganda both against the Chief Khalsa Diwan and the Management of the Khalsa College. This is referred to in letters Nos. 164, 170 and 175 received from Akali leaders inside the Lahore fort. The community could not then afford, they felt, to enter into a fratricidal campaign against the Chief Khalsa Diwan and appealed to the editors of their newspapers, Sardar Mangal Singh and Giani Hira Singh, not to permit that unhealthy criticism to continue (No. 164, pp. 252-53). They were in favour of a compromise with the Managing Committee of the College, but if that were not possible, they wished the anti-college agitation to be dropped in the interest of the Gurdwara Reform Movement (No. 175, p. 281). Not unoften they stood in need of the services of the leading members of the Chief Khalsa Diwan like Sir Jogendra Singh, Sardar Harbans Singh of Atari, Sardar Raghbir Singh of Rajasansi and Bhai Jodh Singh, who was, in fact, their main negotiator with the Government (No. 166, p. 258 ; No. 172, p. 274).

### *Morcha at Bhai Pheru*

While the agitation to restart the 'interrupted' *Akhand-path* at Jaito was going on, another campaign came to be started at Bhai Pheru in the district of Lahore on December 15, 1923, for Gurdwara Sangat Sahib. There are only two documents referring to it available in these papers. One is a telegram of September 22, 1925 (No. 111), from Sardar Arjan Singh informing the Secretary, Shromani Akali Dal at Amritsar, that he had ordered the

suspension of the morcha from that day, The other is a letter dated September 26, 1925 (No. 112) from Teja Singh Ghawind to Bhai Nand Singh, *jathedar*, supporting the action of Arjan Singh and impressing upon Nand Singh the necessity of observing discipline and not starting another *morcha* there (pp. 193-94). Also see No. 133 for an agreement between the Hindus and the Sikhs regarding Gurdwara Bhai Pheru (pp. 213-14).

### *The Sikh Sudhar and Zail Committees*

As stated earlier, the Government had encouraged the formation of the Sikh Sudhar and Zail Committees composed of loyalists, government pensioners, etc., to create anti-Akali opinion in the rural areas, which supplied volunteers for the Akali *jathas*, and to dissuade the prospective volunteers from active association with the Akali agitation. The leaders of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, both inside the Lahore fort and outside, occasionally referred in their correspondence to the great harm that these committees were doing to the movement and suggested measures to counteract their propaganda. These Committees, however, died their natural death soon after the Gurdwara Act of 1925 came into force (No. 159, p. 240 ; No. 161, p. 245 ; No. 166, p. 257).

### *Release of Prisoners in Patiala State*

As a result of the interview of the representatives of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, headed by its President, Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh, on February 16, 1926 (*Report* under No. 136, pp. 215-18), His Highness Maharaja Bhupendra Singh was persuaded to take a sympathetic view of almost all their wishes and he released the Akali prisoners (No. 137, p. 219 ; No. 189, p. 304).

It may be said to his credit that on previous occasions also as well as subsequently he, whenever properly approached, readily responded to the wishes of the Sikh leaders. It was only when

his own rights and privileges were questioned and assailed that he assumed a stiff attitude. This was but natural. He had helped save from the jaws of death the invaluable life of the Akali Jathedar Kartar Singh Jhabbar of Nanakana Sahib and had taken a leading part in the *Kar-sewa* (dredging service) of the sacred tank of the Golden Temple at Amritsar undertaken by the Akalis. He would have effectively helped them out of many an embarrassing situation during the Gurdwara Reform movement if they had only adopted a neutral policy in the family feuds of Nabha and Patiala. Evidently, it was under some such hopeful impression that some member or members of the Working Committee of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee suggested to the leaders inside the Lahore fort the advisability of working through the Maharaja of Patiala for a speedy settlement with the Government of the Panjab (No. 162, p. 249). How far, in face of differences among them, the Akali leaders were able to avail themselves of his influence with the Government is still a sealed secret.

### *Other Sikh States*

No record is available in these papers about the release of Akalis in Kapurthala, Jind and Kalsia states. They must have followed the lead of Patiala. Faridkot State was then under a Council of Regency and its President, Sardar Indar Singh, did not find it advisable to give an interview to the President and representatives of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (February-March, 1926) and release Akali prisoners even after the Gurdwara Bill had been passed and accepted by Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (No. 149-51, pp. 225-27).

### *Proposal for the appointment of a Receiver at Nankana Sahib*

While the Jaito and Bhai Pheru *morchas* were on, there was a proposal in Government circles to appoint an official Receiver for the management of the Gurdwara Janam Asthan and its landed property at Nankana Sahib, perhaps, to divide the attention of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the Akali



Dal. But the Akali leaders saw in it a favourable opportunity for launching another *morcha* there to harass the Government with a three-pronged attack pressing for an early settlement with them (No. 166, p. 258 ; No. 175, p. 281 ; No. 186, p. 301). But the proposal was not pursued by the Government and the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee had no cause for launching another *morcha*.

### *Financial Difficulties of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.*

There was a very heavy drain on the finances of the Committee during the Jaito and Bhai Pheru *morchas* when it had also to fight the Akali leaders' case (1923-25) in the court in addition to pursuing several other legal cases. At one stage it was feared that, for want of payments, their counsel, Raizada Bhagat Ram of Jullundur, might refuse to render the legal assistance (Nos. 116-17, pp. 197-98 ; 132, p. 213 ; 164, pp. 251-52). Several measures were, therefore, suggested to collect funds, including a fiva-anna appeal to the public and a request to Mahatma Gandhi for help (No. 173, pp. 277-78). In March, 1926, a request for a 'good contribution' to the Gurdwaras Defence Fund was made to H. H. Maharaja Jagatjit Singh of Kapurthala (No. 146-48, pp 223-24). Regarding similar requests to other Sikh rulers, there is nothing on record there.

### *Differences between Akali leaders*

Differences had arisen between the leaders of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee over the scope of the Bill for the control of the Gurdwaras. These are reflected in the letters written from inside the Lahore Fort to the members of the Working Committee at Amritsar, and in the correspondence exchanged between the General Secretary of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (April 19, 1926, No. 119) and Sardar Mangal Singh (April 28, 1926, No. 120). It was evidently due to these differences that Sardar Mehtab Singh, President of the Shiromani

Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, submitted his resignation on February 21, 1926. Ostensible reasons given were those of health, which must, of course, have been shattered owing to the heavy pressure of work and his long detention in the Lahore Fort. This state of affairs referred to in the letter of Sardar Mangal Singh of February 26 (No. 115, p. 106, and in No. 164, pp. 252-53 ; No. 170, pp. 269-70 ; No. 176, pp. 282-83 ; No. 181, pp. 288-89), seems to have worsened by the delay in the general election of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, further postponement of which was asked for in the statement and telegram of May 27, 1926, of Prof Teja Singh (Nos. 125, 126 and 127, pp. 207-09), who was trying to bring about a compromise between the warring parties.

### *Riots in Rawalpindi*

The month of June in 1926 saw the outbreak in Rawalpindi (now in Pakistan) of communal riots wherein the Sikhs suffered heavily at the hands of their Muslim neighbours. As the Akalis had just come out of a year-long struggle with the Government and there were some extremists belonging to the newly created Akali Party, who were not happy over the settlement with the Government, it was feared that the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee or the Akali Dal might send some *jathas* to Rawalpindi to help their co-religionists, thus causing embarrassment to Government. But the Akalis had no such plan in view. In reply to the enquiry of the Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar (No. 123, pp. 200-01) on June 15, the Secretary of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee informed him on the 18th (No. 129, p. 201) that the "Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, on hearing of heart-rending news from Rawalpindi wanted to send medical aid for the wounded", but on receipt of a message from there about the situation being reassuring, "it dropped the idea".

### *Representation to the Udasis and Namdharis on the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.*

The leaders of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee

were in favour of giving proper representation to the Udasis as a special case in consideration of their services to the Panth and the Gurdwaras. This was supported by a resolution that had been passed by the Executive Committee about a year and a half before the writing of this letter (some time in the summer of 1925).

The insistence of the Namdharis on separate representation was, however, not well founded as they already enjoyed the right as Amritdhari Sikhs. "Recognition of direct separate representation for Namdharis", the Akali leaders wrote from inside the fort, "would be a dangerous thing as it would be a precedent for splitting up the Panth into small camps, specially when the Namdharis have so far been having no interest in the service of the Gurdwaras," but had, actually, opposed the Gurdwara Reform movement (No. 187, pp. 302-03).

### *Other points*

There are in the documents in this volume a number of other points which have not been touched in this introduction. For them the reader is referred to the table of contents and the index which would help him locate the relevant information.

GANDA SINGH

July 5, 1965

Patiala



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## List of Abbreviations used in the Text

A. G. G.	Agent to the Governor-General
A. S.	Arjan Singh
C. I. D.	Criminal Intelligence Department
C. L. A.	Criminal Law Amendment
C. L. A. A.	Criminal Law Amendment Act
Cr. L.A.A.	Criminal Law Amendment Act
D. D.	Dehra Dun
D.D. Sajjan	Dehra Dun Friend, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha
D. O.	Demi-official
G. G.	Governor-General
G. R.	Gurdwara Reform
H. E.	His Excellency
H. H.	His Highness
I. P. C.	Indian Penal Code
L. C.	Legislative Council
M.L.C.	Member of the Legislative Council
R. S.	Raja Singh
S. A. D.	Shiromani Akali Dal
S. B.	Sardar Bahadur
S. G. Act	Sikh Gurdwaras Act
S.G.P.C.	Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee
S. S.	Sardar Sahib
W. C.	Working Committee





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**SOME CONFIDENTIAL PAPERS**  
of the  
**AKALI MOVEMENT**



SOME CONFIDENTIAL PAPERS  
of the  
AKALI MOVEMENT

1

**Confidential**

No. 963 D. 6-13.

Patiala

Dated 6th December 1917.

Dear Sir,

I enclose a printed copy of the list of the agitators in the Punjab for the use of the Durbar and request that precautions may be taken to keep the list strictly confidential, and that the contents may not be disclosed to any official below the rank of Inspector General of Police. Telegrams regarding the agitators should refer to them by numbers not by names.

Yours Sincerely  
Sd. L.M. Crump

To

Pandit Shri Krishna Joshi  
Foreign Minister,  
Nabha State, Nabha.

H. H's order Dated 22.12.17.

A typed copy of the list may be sent to the Chief of the Police.

D.M. Narsinga Rao  
22/12

(Foreign Minister)

**Secret**

Revised list of Prominent Agitators in the Punjab whose movements should be reported

The Sub-joined revised list shows the names of the most prominent political Agitators in the Punjab on whose movements Superintendents of Police are requested to keep a close watch.

In the event of an agitator leaving one district for another, the officer whose district he leaves should at once communicate by ordinary telegram with the Superintendent of Police of which district such agitator is about to enter. In communicating the information the name of the individual should not be mentioned the agitator's number on the list with the name of the province added, being all that is required, e. g. :-

“Number One, Punjab left for Amritsar today”.

The ordinary channel for reporting the movements of agitators will be the weekly confidential diary, but Superintendents will use their discretion in communicating with the Special branch by letter or wire, as may be considered necessary. When an agitator leaves the Punjab for another province, the Special branch must invariably be informed by wire.

The District and Railway police should co-operate with each other in giving information and watching the movements of these men. The movements of political agitators of other provinces who visit the Punjab will be similarly reported.

Whenever an individual, whose name is included in the list of active political agitators published in the secret police abstract, returns to his usual place of residence after an absence, the fact should be reported to this office by the Superintendent of Police in whose jurisdiction he resides.

N. B. The list does not purport to give the names of all agitators in province, and does not relieve Superintendents of police of the necessities of watching other individuals whose movements, it is considered necessary or desirable to report.

S. No.	Name and Profession.	Resident of	Last reference, in abstract.	where last reported, with date,
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Satya Dev	Ludhiana	Abstract for 1915, Para 1044.	Monghyr (Bihar and Orissa), on 5th May 1917.
2.	Anand Kishore Mehta	Lahore	Abstract for 1916 Para 1634.	Interned at Chubara in the Muzaffargarh District
3.	Harchand Singh	Chak No. 220 R.B. Lyalpur	Current abstract para 426.	Lahore, 19th May, 1917.
4.	Jagan Nath Sehgal	Lahore	Abstract for 1915 para 2364.	Interned at Pakhmian, in the Multan District.
5.	Mangal Singh Kuka	Originally of Fatuhi Chak Gurdaspore and now of Dogranwala Gujranwala	Current abstract para 140.	Gujranwala, 10th Feb., 1917.
6.	Dr. Hari Nath Mukerjee	Ambala	Current abstract para 399.	Ambala, 5th May, 1917.
7.	Ch: Khuda Dad Khan Jessar	Sialkot	Abstract for 1915 para, 1582.	Lahore, 10th April, 1915.
8.	Zafar Ali	Karma Bad Gujranwala	Current abstract para 417.	Simla, 10 June. 1917.
9.	Teja Singh, M.A.	Gujranwala	Current abstract para 484.	Rawalpindi, 2nd June 1917.
10.	Shiekh Mohd. Arjmand	Tarn Taran Amritsar	Abstract for 1913 Para 1418.	In Jail.

*Contd.*

11. Kidar Nath Sehgal	Lahore	Abstract for 1915 para 3258.	Interned at Pakhi Mian, Multan.
12. Pindi Dass	Gujranwala	Current abstract para 88.	Interned in Jandawala, Mianwali.
13. Zia-ul-Haq	Hapur, Meerut Distt : U P	Current abstract para 458.	Ferozepore, 26th May, 1917.
14. Maulvi Abdullah	Sialkot	Current abstract para 469.	Kabul, 18th Feb, 1916.
15. Nihal Singh Nihang	Koharka Amritsar	Amritsar for 1916 para 913.	Interned at Alipore, Muzaffargarh district.
16. Lal Chand Falak	Lahore	Current abstract para 401.	Under trial in a conspiracy case Lahore.

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Note :-The above list of agitators is revised upto the 31st May, 1917 and supersedes all previous lists. Will Superintendents of Police, Punjab, all Special Branches and D.C.I. please note ? (S.B. Punjab)



## 3

Copy of a Digest of proceedings of the informal meeting held in the Council Room at Viceregal Lodge on the 4th and 5th February, 1918.

His Excellency the Viceroy said, at the outset, that the conference was not intended to arrive at any final and binding decisions. It was proposed to consider and perhaps to revise the proposals which had been put forward, and to discuss new suggestions frankly and freely.

Draft Scheme prepared by the Ruling princes. Each clause of the draft scheme was then discussed separately.

1. Treaty Rights, Dignity and Honours, privileges and prerogatives of the Ruling prince and Chiefs of India. His Excellency stated that it was the intention of the Government of India to maintain intact and safeguard strictly the Treaty Rights and prerogatives of the ruling princes. In reply to an enquiry as to whether any specific cases could be mentioned at the moment, the Ruling princes were apprehensive as to what might happen in the future. They wished to make sure that the fulfilment of the Treaties should not depend on the personal good-will of high officers. Some states also contended that Treaty Rights were not conceded, because individual Ruling Chiefs were not permitted to exercise the powers which belong to them by right to Treaty.

His Excellency the Viceroy stated that postponement of further discussion of the point might enable some concrete instances of disregard of Treaty rights to be brought to notice before the next conference. It did not, of course, follow that any such instances brought to notice would be admitted by the Government of India to have involved a breach of faith, but they would be carefully and sympathetically scrutinised.

## 4

Copy of a Confidential letter No. 205. C.A. dated the 12th April, 1918, from the Political Agent, Phulkian States to Pandit Sri Krishana Joshi, Foreign Minister, Nabha State, Nabha.

---

I am directed to forward for reference a copy of Head I "Treaty Rights, Dignity and Honours, privileges and prerogatives of ruling prince and Chiefs of India" the proceedings of the informal meetings held at viceregal Lodge Delhi, on the 4th and 5th February, 1918.

2. Some of the ruling princes present at the discussion were evidently of opinion that the rights secured to states by Treaties, Sanads and Engagements had not, in practice, been fully observed by Government. They were unable at the moment to quote specific instances of disregard of undertakings, but since allegations of the nature denote the existance of uneasiness and dissatisfaction, the Government of India regard it as desirable that the matter should be fully enquired into.

3. I am accordingly to ask whether the Darbar desire to bring to notice any cases in which they consider that there has been a failure to fulfil pledges given by the British Government. I am to explain that at the present stage nothing more is required than the briefest possible statement of the nature of each complaint, if any, since it is the intention of the Government of India to offer later full opportunity for detailed representation if this is desired. It is obvious that no useful purpose would be served by raking up ancient history and disinterring forgotten disputes in this connection, and representation should, therefore, be confined to matters which constitute a grievance at the present moment. I am to ask that I may be favoured with a reply before the end of July. If no reply is received by that date, it will be assumed that the Durbar does not desire to reply.

5

**Confidential No. 237**

**Urgent**

Nabha, Dated 17th April, 1918.

Dear Sir,

His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Malvindra Bahadur is pleased to direct that the instances in which rights secured to this State by the Treaties, Sanads and Engagements had not, in practice, been fully observed by Government should be collected forthwith by reference to past records, with the aid of memory and other devices. This investigation should cover the entire period, viz., from the dates of Treaties, Sanads and Engagements up to the present time. For this purpose His Highness directs the formation of a committee comprising the following as members :-

1. Sardar Hazura Singh
2. Lala Tipper Chand
3. Lala Salig Ram Verma
4. Pandit Sri Krishna Joshi

The Foreign Minister will act as the convenor. The Committee should prepare an exhaustive list of cases in which they consider that there has been a failure to fulfil pledges given by the British Government to this State.

The list together with a report should be submitted by the Committee for the consideration of His Highness on or before the 15th May 1918.

The matter should be treated as Secret and Urgent.

Yours Sincerely  
Sd/- D.M.Narasinga Rao  
Chief Secretary to His Highness

To  
Pandit Sri Krishna Joshi,  
Foreign Minister.

## 6

Nabha,

24th May, 1918.

Your Highness,

In compliance with your Highness' order conveyed in the Chief Secretary's confidential memorandum No. 237, dated 17th April, 1918, we beg to bring to your Highness' notice the following cases in which we think that Treaties, Sanads and Engagements have not been fully observed by Government.

- (i) Interference in matters relating to Imperial Service troops.
- (ii) Requiring agreements ceding jurisdiction over areas under railways in a form not approved by the Darbar and declaring the state's rights of sovereignty secured under the Punjab Government's letter No. 552 dated 24th July, 1899, as only nominal sovereignty.
- (iii) Enforcement of the Arms Act in lands brought under railway.
- (iv) Agreements required from the State to furnish Statistics relating to the State.
- (v) Interference with excise administration of the State, e.g., requiring the prohibition of the sale of boiled opium, limiting the supply of hill opium and laterly asking the state to prohibit the import of such opium altogether.
- (vi) Requiring the extradition of Mohammad Hussain Thanedar in disregard of the Darbar's representation.
- (vii) Cases of Mohru and Gopal.
- (viii) Refusal to surrender subject of the State, e.g., Shivdev Singh.
- (ix) Assigning of symbolic meanings to articles presented by Governments on the occasion of installation.
- (x) Insisting on the occasion of succession upon a fresh bestowal or confirmation of the rights of sovereignty naturally vested in the heir to the State.

- (xi) Defects in procedure on occasions of the reception of the rulers.
- (xii) Entertaining complaints from the subjects, Muafidars, Jagirdars, and dependants of the State contrary to the provision of the Sanads of 5th May 1860.
- (xiii) Harboursing and encouraging servants and deserters from the State, e.g., Bhai Kahan Singh, Sardars Bakhshish Singh and Shivdev Singh.
- (xiv) Establishment of the office of a political agent in the capital of one of the Phulkian States.
- (xv) Interference in the case of the Shadi Fund.
- (xvi) Interference in the internal affairs of the State, e.g., in the case of S. Jawala Singh's deposit.
- (xvii) Taking unauthorised possession of State lands by the Canal Department, e.g., in the Dadahur case and other cases referred to in letter No. ... dated ... to the Political Agent.
- (xviii) interference in the matter of the insignis of the State.
- (xix) Insisting upon the countersignature of the Political Agent on the passes for namp drugs.
- (xx) Demand of Guarrantees from the State in regard to future action.
- (xxi) Insisting upon the personal attendance of the Ruler of the State to discuss matter in which he had delegated representative to whom reception was denied.

Such files in support of the above instances as were found in the Foreign Office are submitted and notes have been attached to each file referring to the important letters in which complaints were made.

Your Highness'  
Humble servants

## 7

ੴ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹ ।

ਦਫਤਰ ਸ਼ਮਣੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ

Page 23 of the Proceeding book

Res. No. 2 dated 27th August, 1921.

(੨) ਇਹ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਸਮੂਹ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਕੌਂਸਲਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਮੈਂਬਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਖ ਧਰਮ ਤੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਸੁਧਾਰ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਪੁਰ ਹੁਕਮ ਦਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਆਪਣੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਵਾਰਾ ਸੁਧਾਰ ਦੇ ਪਰਯੋਜਨ ਨੂੰ ਮੁਖ ਰਖ ਕੇ ਕੌਂਸਲਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਮੈਂਬਰੀਆਂ ਛੱਡ ਦੇਣ ।

## 8

8. 11. 21.

ਦੋ ਤ੍ਰੀਕ ਨੂੰ ਇਜਾਜ਼ਤ ਮੰਗੀ ਗਈ ।

ਤਾਰ ੮ ਤਰੀਕ ਨੂੰ ਗਈ

Keys of Golden Temple, Akal Takhat, Baba Atal, Tarn Taran Sahib taken away from S. Sunder Singh Ramgarhia by the D.C. by show of force under orders of Govt.

Emergency meeting of General S.G.P.C. is called at Akal Takhat. Reach immediately without fail. Situation serious. Proceedings on completion of quorum.

੨੧ ਆਦਮੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਤਾਰਾਂ ਗਈਆਂ, ਬਾਕੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਚਿੱਠੀਆਂ ਪਾਈਆਂ ਗਈਆਂ ।

੧੦ ਤਰੀਕ ਸਵੇਰ ਦੇ ੧੦ ॥ ਬਜੇ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਹੋਈ, ਕੁਲ ੩੫ ਸਜਣ ਹਾਜ਼ਰ ਸਣ ।

ਦੁਜੇ ਦਿਨ ੯॥ ਬਜੇ ਰਾਤ ਨੂੰ ਫਿਰ ਸੀ, ੬੨ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਹਾਜ਼ਰ ਸਨ ।

## 9

Res. No. 3 of special meeting held at Akal Takaht at 10-30 A.M. on 10th Nov. 1921.

Page 65 of the Proceedings book

ਕੌਂਸਲ ਦੇ ਮੈਂਬਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਨੋਟਿਸ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ ਕਿ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੇ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਗੁ. ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੇ ਗੁਰਮਤੇ ਅਸਨੁਾਰ ਜੇ ਹਫਤੇ ਤਕ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਮੈਂਬਰੀਆਂ ਨਾਹ ਛੱਡੀਆਂ ਤਾਂ ਤਨਖਾਹੀਏ ਕਰਾਰ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਜਾਣਗੇ ।

Certified True Copy

Sd/- Sahib Singh

3. 3. 22.

10

18/19-1-1922

Telegram from Mahatma Gandhi to Sardar Kharak Singh after the latter's release on January 17, 1922 from jail in connection with the morcha launched by the Sikhs against the seizure, by the Government of the Panjab, of the keys of the Golden Temple, Amritsar. The Government had ultimately to give in and return the keys to Sardar Kharak Singh, then President of the Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar.

SARDAR KHARAK SINGH PRESIDENT SHROMANI  
GURDWARA PARBHANDHAK COMMITTEE AMRITSAR  
FIRST DECISIVE BATTLE FOR INDIA'S FREEDOM WON  
CONGRATULATIONS.

M.K. GANDHI

11

(19-3-1922)

Order of H.H. the Ticca Sahib (Kapurthala)

All the Akalis shall remain in their respective villages and any of them leaving his village without permission shall be liable to arrest and the Jathedars will be responsible for their respective Jathas.

This will remain in force for fifteen days or till further orders as Sadr may desire.

No meeting to be held except with the permission of the Director of Police. The respective Executive Officers to be consulted in every case. All meetings held without permission will be considered as unlawful assembly and dispersed.

A Chief Executive Officer shall be appointed for Phagwara Tehsil, Who shall be responsible and in charge of the whole Tehsil and its departments for above period as a temporary manner.

The following ferries will be watched and guarded by the Police :—

Gugrewal, Warowal, Gondwal, Miani, Munda, Dhilwan,

Harrike, Nangal, Tahli, Ramedi, Lakhan ke-Pudde, Butala, Bhundhal.

Any Akali disobeying the orders promulgated here will render himself liable not only to arrest, but their villages will have to pay the expenses of the punitive force.

Any agitators of other communities going to any village will be arrested.

Fifty extra Police to be enlisted in order to keep the peace. The expenses of the Police will be realised from the villages which give any trouble.

The pay of this additional Police Force will be Rs. 12/- P.M. plus Rs. 3/- special allowance.

All the outsiders known as agitators should be detained by the senior Tehsil Officers and the information sent to the Director of Police.

### Kirpans

The rules of wearing the Kirpans already forwarded to the chief Minister have been approved, to which is added the following rule :-

Kirpans worn on the belt is contrary to the Arms Act, and they should always be worn on the side being slung across the shoulder.

Marching in Military formation of more than five men will be considered as an unlawful assembly.

All rules passed by the Government as regards **Supha Jung**, battle axes, etc., are enforced in the State.

### Arrest of Violent Akalis Phagwara Tehsil

Manak	.....	Dalip Singh, Pritam Singh
Domeli	.....	Thakar Singh
Namana	.....	Thakar Singh, Hari Singh
Pilahi	.....	Gulzara Singh carpenter
Phagwara Khas	.....	Milkha Singh, Nand Singh, Purtap Singh (if he returns should be arrested)



### Dhilwan Tehsil

Dhilwan Khas	.....	Mahinder Singh, Hardit Singh Ganesha Singh
Nangal Lobhana	.....	Basawa Singh
Madowal	.....	Kishan Singh Carpenter
Mana Tulwandi	.....	Dalip Singh
Botala	.....	Jhanka Singh, Labh Singh
Ramedi	.....	Banta Singh

### Note

Udam Singh, Achhar Singh, Musa Singh, Harri Singh's brother of Namana, should be kept under strict surveillance of their respective Executive Officers.

### Sultanpore Tehsil

Saidpur	.....	Jawala Singh
---------	-------	--------------

### Kapurthala Tehsil

Jallowal	.....	Mit Singh
Khiranwali	.....	Ganesha Singh
Kesarpur	.....	Labh Singh
Bhandel Bet	.....	Thaman Singh

Amar Singh Jamadar Pensioner of Dhaliwal

His Pension should be stopped; to be interned in the village, should be under Police surveillance and should be placed on security.

Names of men marked with an asteric should be arrested and interned in the jail.

All committees instituted by the villagers themselves should be abolished and the members put on security.

All action be started from tomorrow.

### Distribution of Forces

Seventy five military men with one Lewis gun, four Sawars and two cycle Sawars to go to Phagwara.

Twentyfive men to be kept here as reserved for Phagwara.

A car and a horse be placed at the disposal of the Chief Executive Officer in charge. Police will be placed along with the Military Pickets. Any resistance to the Military orders is to be met with by force.

Verbal warning should be given before firing, and when firing, Military will be instructed to fire straight at the crowd.

The Chief Executive Officer phagwara Station is empowered to issue any orders he may consider necessary for the maintenance of discipline and internal security, and all those infringing his orders will render themselves liable either to imprisonment or flogging.

Thirty military men to go to Dhilwan out of which one picket will be placed at Beas bridge.

A Motor Car will be placed at the disposal of the Executive Officer Dhilwan. All other ferry posts mentioned in this list within the Dhilwan area will be picketed by the Dhilwan Police.

Twenty five Military men to go to Sultanpur and a Motor Car to be placed at the disposal of the Executive Officer.

### Note

A Reserve of twenty military men for Sultanpur and twenty for Dhilwan to be earmarked at Head-quarters.

Two groups of thirty men each to march in the Dhilwan Ilaqa according to Bakhshi's orders.

A notice under the signature of the Director of Police to be issued that there will be no meeting at Manak, a copy of the notice be sent to Sardar Matab Singh.

Emergency Power of Expenditure of Tumtoms  
and Ekkas

---

Chief Executive Officer of Phagwara.	up to Rs. 100/-
Executive Officer, Sultanpur.	up to Rs. 50/-
Executive Officer, Dhilwan.	up to Rs. 50/-

Rai Sahib Sardar Durga Dass is appointed Chief Executive

Officer (ਅਫਸਰਿ ਆਹਲਾ) Phagwara Tehsil as a temporary measure. The Tehsildar, Munsif, Officer Commanding, the President Municipality, and the Sub-Inspector will be directly under the orders of the Chief Executive Officer.

L. Mubarak Rai and M. Abdual Majid Khan are appointed Executive Officers at Dhilwan and Sultanpur respectively.

M. Kishan Singh is appointed as Executive Officer at Kapurthala.

The Executive Officers have the authority, when dealing with matters mentioned in this order, to issue any orders they think necessary to the Tehsildars, Sub-Inspectors, or officer commanding military forces.

Rozenamchas to be submitted from the Station House Officer to the Executive Officers.

All these orders to be enforced from tomorrow.

By order

Sd/- Chief Minister.

## 12.

Revised orders of H. H. the Ticca Sahib  
Regarding Akalis and other political agitators.

### A.

- (i) All Akalis shall be confined to their respective villages and shall be under police surveillance. Any one contravening this order shall be liable to arrest.
- (ii) The following violent Akalis should be arrested.

### Phagwara Tehsil

Manak : Dalip Singh and Pritam Singh

Deomeli : Thakar Singh

Namana : Thakar Singh

Dhilwan Khas : Mohinder Singh, Hardit Singh and Ganesha

Nangal Labana : Basawa Singh

- (iii) Akalis and other agitators belonging to British India and found within the State territory shall be detained pending final orders of Sadr.
- (iv) No meetings except strictly and purely religious should be held without the permission of the Director of Police. Meetings held without permission will be treated as unlawful gatherings and dispersed as such.
- (v) Rules regarding the wearing of Kirpans and possession of Safa-Jangs, battle axes, etc., issued by the Punjab Government are hereby enforced in the State.
- (vi) Marching of more than 5 Akalis in Military formation is prohibited.
- (vii) Unlawful assemblies will be dispersed by force, if necessary.

### **Disposition of Military Forces**

#### **B.**

- (i) Phagwara :- 75 Infantry with a Lewis gun, four cavalry sawars and two cycle sawars.  
 Dhilwan : 35 Infantry  
 Sultanpur : 25 Infantry.
- (ii) Sufficient reserves shall be earmarked for the above detachment.
- (iii) Two Military columns will be daily marching through the Ilaqa, each accompanied by an Assistant Superintendent of Police. A separate column of Police will march through Phagwara Ilaqa.
- (iv) The Bias bridge will be guarded by a Military picket and approaches to Phagwara by Police picket as also the ferries along the river Beas.

#### **C.**

- (i) Owing to its isolated situation, the Phagwara Tahsil will be in charge of an officer to be called "Chief Executive Officer." All the present local officers will be directly under his orders. For this temporary appointment, Rai

Sahib Sardar Durga Dass has been nominated.

- (ii) The Kapurthala, Sultanpur and Dhilwan Tehsil will each have an Executive Officer to be in charge of the above mentioned emergent operations.

Kapurthala	M. Kishan Singh
Dhilwan	Lala Mubarak Rai
Sultanpur	M. Abdul Majid Khan

Special powers have been conferred on these officers.

## D

- (i) The troops shall work under the orders of the Executive officers and render aid to the Civil powers when necessary.
- (ii) Firing shall not be resorted to except in case of unavoidable necessity and shall not be continued longer than is absolutely necessary. When necessary, the order to fire must be given by the Executive Officer in charge.
- (iii) 50 extra Police to be enlisted. The expenses of this additional force to be realised from such villages as prove to be particularly troublesome.

The above shall take effect from Monday the 20th March and will remain in force for a fortnight or until further orders.

---

## CONFIDENTIAL

No. 117/C

Dated the 21st March 1922.

Copy of the above forwarded to the Rai Sahib Sarbar Durga Dass Sahib, Chief Executive Officer, Phagwara for information and guidance.

Sd/ Supdt.  
for Chief Minister  
Kapurthala State.

---

## 13

GOVERNOR'S CAMP,  
Panjab,  
2-8-1923.

My dear Ogilvie,

Reports have reached us from Amritsar that the Namdhari Sikhs have received Information from Nabha that you intend to resume certain land or forest rights granted to them by the ex-Maharaja and that the Namdhari leaders are considerably perturbed at this.

Such action on your part might have the effect of throwing the Namdhari Sikhs into the arms of the Akalis over the Nabha agitation. At present the two Sections are on extremely bad terms on account of the recent fracas at Tarn Taran. In the circumstances I am desired to suggest that you should, if there be no objection, postpone action regarding the Namdharis' land in Nabha state until the Akali agitation over Nabha has somewhat subsided. The matter is not, I imagine, very urgent.

Yours Sincerely  
H.D. Craik

To  
C.M.G. Ogilvie Esq.,  
Administrator of Nabha State,  
Nabha.

## 14

5 Eastern Canal Road,  
Dehra Dun,  
Dated the 14.12.1963.

My Esteemed friend,

It is with pain that I recall the incidents that led up to the severance of my connection from the administration of my State. But, now, with the return of better health, when I ponder over the whole course of events, I am compelled to believe that your

H. D. Craik, Chief Secy., Punjab, to C. G. M. Ogilvie,  
Administrator, Nabha, dated August 2, 1923.

(No. 13, p. 18)

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE  
PUNJAB.  
2. 8. 1923.

My dear Ogilvie,

Reports have reached us from Amritsar that the Namdhari Sikhs have received information from Nabha that you intend to resume certain land or forest rights granted to them by the ex-Maharaja and that the Namdhari leaders are considerably perturbed at this.

Such action on your part might have the effect of throwing the Namdhari Sikhs into the arms of the Akalis over the Nabha agitation. At present the two sections are on extremely bad terms on account of the recent fracas at Jarn Jaran. In the circumstances I am desired to suggest that you should, if there be no objection, postpone action regarding the Namdhari's land in Nabha State until the Akali agitation over Nabha has somewhat subsided. The matter is not, I imagine, very urgent.

Yours sincerely,

10/  
C.M.G. Ogilvie Esqr., I.C.S.,  
Administrator of Nabha State,  
Nabha.

H. D. Craik





Excellency had not the advantage of knowing many of the facts and the proper sequence of events. I also feel that as the aggrieved ruler of an important State having historic relations with the British Government, I owe it to the supreme head of the Government of India and the representative of the British Crown to place before him the true facts of the matter as far as lies in my power in my present position of disadvantage and want of necessary documents and other facilities. Rather than delay I take this opportunity of stating the facts as they are briefly but frankly to your Excellency.

I can not but deplore the facts that the enquiry into the Patiala-Nabha dispute by Mr. Justice Stuart began in circumstances extremely disadvantageous to me when the ill-judged and unjustified action of Sir Ali Imam had already prejudiced the Nabha case by his entertainment more or less against my wish and as a sacrifice for the sake of peace, of the so called terms of compromise from Patiala. There was perhaps much behind this action of Sir Ali Imama and it was already a false step. Again during the enquiry I had not full opportunity of bringing home my whole case against Patiala though the record is not wanting in facts which clearly reveal Patiala methods of work.

At the same time during my stay at Delhi in the early part of this year some drug was given to me to undermine my will-power and mental vigour. To add to this, the natural worries of the enquiry and the enticing away of some of my important officials and witnesses prostrated me. Taking advantage of my exhausted health, my self-seeking officials, who I have come to know were under the influence of my rivals, and the officials of the Political Department overwhelmed me with repeated suggestions to leave my state in their hands and placate the Government by allowing greater powers of intervention in the affairs of my State. It was in these circumstances that "Dewan Scheme" of the 21st April 1923 and the "Council Scheme" of the 4th May 1923 were forwarded to government. Fortunately for me, these schemes were not approved and your Excellency very kindly gave expression to your concern for my

health in your reply of 21st May.

Failed in this, my interested and corrupt officials adopted another method. They urged me persistently to approach the A.G.G. in order to make what they called my "settlement" with government and presented to me the dangers of not doing so. Realising that these threats originated from Government circles, and on the insistence of my officials, I was compelled to see the A.G.G. on the 5th June at Kasauli, thus unknowingly confirming his belief in the efficacy of a policy of intimidation. I venture to affirm with all the emphasis at my command that I did not seek an interview with Col. Minchin of my own free will and accord, nor did I, in the interview, offer to abdicate. On the other hand, I was driven into the presence of the Agent by clever schemers, and it was he who demanded abdication from me threatening worse and dire consequence in case of my non-compliance. I flatly refused to do so and said that I would prefer to make a reference to the Viceroy. Col. Minchin refused to accept any such suggestions and insisted on a reply within two days. On returning from the interview I mentioned the whole affair to General Sir Richard Wapshare with whom I was putting up at Kasauli.

On the 7th June my two ministers, Messrs Rao and Sen, saw the A.G.G. and reported to me that the Agent insisted that the State should be surrendered to the British Government who would place it under a civilian officer. He also threatened that after the 9th June even abdication would no longer be permitted. Deposition, a trial on serious charges and something like imprisonment were likely to follow if I did not make my "Settlement" with the Government. He went on to tell them "it is necessary at the same time to settle differences with Patiala by accepting Sir Ali Imama's terms and also paying an indemnity to Patiala." Evidently compromise with Patiala was considered a matter of secondary importance but my surrender to government was a *sine qua non*.

I may draw your Excellency's attention to the significant fact that there is no reference at all, direct, or indirect to any other

charge or grievance of Government against me in the Government of India resolution and communique of the 7th July 1923. Col. Minchin, however, all along insinuated and acted as if there was some serious and grave complaint of Government which needed settlement before tackling the Nabha-Patiala issue. It is unthinkable that if the Government had any grievance or complaint against me they would not have even once clearly communicated these to me officially or otherwise.

To continue, the A.G.G. had ordered Messrs Rao and Sen to proceed to Nabha immediately and acquaint me with the extreme urgency of the matter. He himself wired to me on the 8th June, and again on the 9th June, demanding an immediate and prompt meeting.

I was thus compelled to go once more to Kasauli on the 9th June and there, besides threats, the A.G.G. confronted me with what he described as the orders of His Excellency the Viceroy conveyed to him in a cypher telegram by Mr. Thompson, the Political Secretary to the Government of India. Thus by using the name of the Viceroy he compelled me to sign the documents produced by him. Not content with this forced surrender of my state, the next day he dictated further terms divesting me of all personal property and required me to sign these terms in his presence. Under the circumstances, I had to yield and did as he demanded. Later the Agent on the 27th June summoned Mr. Rao to Kasauli by wire, had a conference with him, and handed to him a signed letter containing the conditions imposed by the Government of India. The Agent demanded from me a written letter of acceptance of the terms immediately, otherwise, he said, the Government of India would pass orders deposing me and would authorise the Agent to remove me to Dehra Dun under a military Guard. He would then take forcible charge of the State. "The idea was" he said, "to make an example of His Highness."

The above mentioned letter and the report of the interview were handed to me on the 30th June and then the A.G.G. sent

three telegrams one after another demanding acceptance before the 1st of July. This pressure from Government was supplemented by the suggestion of wild threats conveyed to me in two representations by my own officials dated the 1st July and 2nd July. At this juncture Mr. O' Grady, one of my paid employees, whom I later discovered to be in correspondence with the officials of the Political Department of the Government of India, came down from Simla for the purpose of securing the letter of acceptance. He told me that refusal to sign the terms would be taken as an act of rebellion, for which I might be shot. Hedged in and surrounded on all sides by insidious schemers as I now see, I felt helpless and allowed a wire to be sent to the A.G.G., on the 5th July that the required letter would be despatched the next day.

The letter which followed speaks for itself. The following words "I recognise that nothing is left to me but make the submission demanded of me", show clearly that my acceptance of the terms imposed by His Excellency the Viceroy was anything but voluntary. As soon as it was signed on the 6th July, Mr. O' Grady hurried away with the letter. I sent two high officials (subsequently proved to be treacherous) in my fastest car to overtake Mr. O' Grady and bring back the letter. They overtook him at Ambala, but Mr. O' Grady would not give back my letter, and, strange to say, the two officials meekly took the refusal and returned to Nabha late at night.

Deserted and defied by my officials and feeling that I had for the time being put myself under the thumb of the implacable A.G.G., who had in a way secured his objective, I was still pondering as to the measures I could take to undo the mischief, when early on the morning of the 8th July without apprising me beforehand, Col. Minchin appeared with troops before my palace and forced entry through the gates defying the guard. Soldiers surrounded the palace and Col. Minchin penetrated unannounced into my rooms. In my capital and in my own palace I was insulted, treated like a rebel and a prisoner and was practically deported out of the State within a few hours.

Immediately after sending me away on the morning of the 9th

July, an unprecedented insult was offered to H.H. the senior Maharani and ladies of the Zenana living in the Pacca Bagh Palace. The A.G.G. forced entry into the Palaces and after searching them himself locked the gates and placed a military guard there. Suffice it to say, the ladies of my family were starved for a whole day. I do not wish to ponder over the details of this painful episode. Even though beaten down by corruption, conspiracy and intimidation, I have yet enough of pride and self-respect left in me to make my whole nature revolt against this unbearable insult.

That my severance was not voluntary is evident from the facts stated above. If any further proof were necessary it was supplied by Col. Minchin's surprise visit to my house at Dehra Dun on the 31st July 1923. He unceremoniously placed before me a typed document and required me to sign it. It stated that my severance was entirely voluntary and effected after full consideration and that I did not desire my restoration. The action was perhaps prompted by a realization of the nature of his own proceedings which no body knew better than he. The Col. pressed me to sign. I refused. He threatened me once more and as before used the name of the Government of India in coercing me to sign what he was aware was a false document. But this time I summoned courage and finally refused to subscribe to a statement which was farthest from truth.

From the above submission, Your Excellency will be pleased to see that my severance from the administration of my State was brought about by the A.G.G.'s intimidation and by the corruption, treachery and intrigue of my officials who were in league with my rivals and who were, if nothing worse, at least corresponding behind my back with officials of the political Department. I have in this brief letter endeavoured to convey to your Excellency the deep sense of wrong under which I am suffering and, knowing that I am making this representation to the Ex-Chief Justice of England, I feel sure that it will not be in vain. Your Excellency will, I venture to hope, find

an early opportunity of redressing my grievances. situated as I am, impelled by an irresistible sense of justice to my self and, if I may say so with respect, of justice to your Excellency, to make a full disclosure, even with the incomplete materials available, of the true facts at as early a date as I could to the King's representative in India.

Before I conclude, may I also be permitted to protest strongly against the open campaign countenanced by State and Government officials which is being carried on in Nabha to fabricate false complaints against me and keep to up a disreputable propaganda to defame me in my absence.

This representation would have been submitted much earlier to Your Excellency had I not been given to understand by Col. Minchin and others that your Excellency of Your own accord would reconsider my case if I disassociated myself from the agitation about my forced abdication, which I did in writing as desired by Col. Minchin. I also sent a telegram to the S.G.P.C. and the Associated Press to that effect.

Having done this, however imperfectly, I feel relieved and satisfied to leave the matter to Your Excellency's consideration.

I remain,  
with profound respects,  
your sincere friend,  
(sd) Ripudaman Singh

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15

To

His Highness Farzand-i- Arjumand,  
Akidat-paiwand, Dault-i-Inglishia,  
Barar Bans, Sarmaur, Raja-i-Rajgan,  
Maharaja Ripduman Singh, Malvendara  
Bahadur, Maharaja of Nabha.

My Esteemed friend,

I regret that owing to the pressure of work it has not been possible for me up to the present to reply to your Highness's letter dated the 14th of December. I have now fully considered its contents and have given my earnest attention to those aspects of the case to which your Highness attached particular importance.

2. I do not desire to discuss in detail all the allegations which you have made. My examination of the case and my personal knowledge of all the important events connected with it leave no doubt in my mind that the grievances which you have brought to my notice and the charges of intimidation and coercion which you have levelled at the officers of my Government are without foundation. The action which was taken throughout the case and the proposals which were made were taken and made after careful consideration at the time and no pains were spared to ascertain the facts at every step. In order to satisfy myself, I have re-examined the matter in the light of your Highness' allegations but I can find no ground for revision of the decision arrived at after much anxious thought and full consideration of every point.

3. The substantial allegation in your Highness' letter is that your abdication was not voluntary but was the result of coercion, intimidation and intrigue. It is to this aspect of case that I have given special consideration.

4. It is clear from the communications which took place while the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Stuart's enquiry was still in progress that your Highness had been thinking for sometime of shaking off the cares of state. In the middle of April you sent your Dewan to Simla with a message to the effect that in view of the state of your health you proposed to invest the Dewan with full powers of the administration and to retain for yourself an allowance from the state of three lakhs of rupees per annum. On the 4th May your Highness wrote me a letter in which you said that you wished to take a long rest in view of the state of your health and that you therefore "intended to make arrangements for the

proper carrying on of the administration untill you felt physically quite fit once again, and if not until the *Tikka Sahib* attained majority and assumed charge of the government of Nabha as Regent." You proposed to "appoint Her Highness the Senior Maharani as Regent and to constitute an Executive Council." In reply I informed you that I would let you have my views on your proposals when I had considered them in all its bearings. This proposal of yours was made before Mr. Justice Stuart had written his report and it shows clearly that even at that stage your Highness desired to separate yourself from the administration of the State.

5. I cannot of course discuss the accusations of disloyalty and intimidation which you have made against your confidential advisors. This matter is one that must rest between you and them but I repudiate your Highness' suggestion that anything whatever was done against you under the influence of the officers of the Political Department or that any threats originated from government circles. I have learnt from the Agent to the Governor-General, Panjab States, that on the 26th May your Highness sent him a letter by the hand of Sirdar Tippet Chand asking him to visit you at Nabha or should that not be possible, to let him know when and where you could see him. The interview was entirely of your own seeking, and I am assured that the request made by you came as a surprise to the Agent to the Governor-General in view of your Highness' previous attitude towards him. The Agent to the Governor-General in reply expressed regret that his engagements prevented him from visiting Nabha at that time but said he would be happy to see Your Highness at Kasauli if you wished to visit him there. Your Highness paid him a visit on the 5th June and discussed with him matters connected with the patiala and Nabha Durbars. You asked him to intervene on your behalf with the Government of India in regards to the results of the enquiry which you were certain had gone against you. The Agent to the Governor-General informed you that as you yourself were suggesting a settlement out of court it was advisable for you to offer terms which government might be disposed to



accept unless you desired that I should pass orders on the report of the Special Commission. The Agent to the Governor-General added that you had come to him voluntarily and that it was entirely for you to decide whether you should make any offer to the Government of India or not. You then left promising to let him know your decision by the early morning of the 7th June. On that day your Dewan came to Colonel Minchin and stated that you were prepared to make over the administration of the State to Government and would undertake to abdicate formally as soon as your son reaches his majority, on the understanding that you would be allowed to retain your salute and titles and permitted to draw an allowance of three lakhs of rupees yearly from the State. You also agreed that compensation up to Rs. 50,00,000/- might be awarded by the Government of India to Patiala. These terms were communicated by the Agent to the Governor-General Panjab States to the Political Secretary the same day. On the 8th of June the Agent to Governor-General telegraphed to you asking you to come to Kasauli for a final discussion. Your Highness with your confidential officials arrived at Kasauli on the 9th of June and the Agent to the Governor-General explained to you the terms on which the Government of India were prepared to allow you to sever your connection with the administration of the State. After some consultation with your officials you wrote to Colonel Minchin accepting the terms. A few days before you signed the final letter accepting the terms on the 5th July you asked for an assurance, and it was given to you, that so long as you observed the conditions laid down by the Government of India no further penalties would be exacted from you.

6. After the 5th July nothing was heard from you by me or by the Government of India until your letter dated the 14th December was received, after I had made it clear in my speech at Simla on the 17th October that the decision of the Government of India was unalterable.

7. In conclusion I desire to inform your Highness that the

Government of India approached this case not only without bias but with friendly feeling which was due to State which had on many occasions rendered loyal assistance to the British Government. The personal intercourse I had had with you left nothing but friendliest feeling on my part to you. The result of the enquiry however left the Government of India in your own interests no alternative but to accept the terms which you yourself had offered of your own accord. The retention of your title and salute and the allowance of Rs. 3,00,000/- were all suggested by yourself. These concessions were accepted by the Government of India, though it was felt that in the circumstances they might be regarded as erring on the side of liberality. The conditions which are subsequently added on the initiative of the Government of India were conditions of minor importance and two of them were already implied.

8. In my speech on the 17th of October to which I have alluded above I called attention to remarks that were being circulated of your Highness' restoration in a short period or in a few years. I said that there should be no allusion in this respect and that your Highness had ceased for all times to rule in Nabha. To that pronouncement I and my government adhere and your Highness must definitely understand that the decision is irrevocable.

I remain, with much consideration  
Your Highness' sincere friend,

Sd/-Reading.

Viceroy and Governor-General of  
India.

Delhi,

The 3rd March, 1924.

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## 16

### Arrests of 62 members of the S.G.P.C.

Today at one P.M. the session of the general meeting of the S.G.P.C. started on the 2nd story of Sri Akal Takhat Sahib. An

hour had scarcely elapsed when news reached the Committee that the police were preparing at their Headquarters (Kotwali) in the city to march to Sri Akal Takhat Sahib to arrest indiscriminately all who would be found present in the Committee. As the terms of reference of the General Committee were of an important nature, it was decided not to talk about the coming of the police and to vigorously proceed in executing the business before them. The Committee had not yet finished one quarter of their work when the police were reported to have reached the Akal Takhat. As is Customary from the times of the Gurus, no one with uniform on can enter the Akal Takhat and no one who has not been regularly baptised is allowed to put his step on the platform of the throne or to ascend the stairs. The police and the military who were headed by the Supdt. of police and 2 other British Officers were advised by some gentlemen present that they should not attempt to enter the Akal Takhat. The Supdt. of police, however, paid no heed to this advice and ordered his force (police and military) to break through the entrance through force. On this order being given by the Supdt., the Akalis who, in the meanwhile, had gathered there in sufficient numbers, formed into a solid wall and occupied the entrance of Sri Akal Takhat Sahib. The Supdt. and his party tried their level best to break through the Akalis but were pushed backwards by the Akalis. On the police trying again and again to ascend the Akal Takhat Sahib, they were told that so long there was one sikh child alive in Amritsar at the moment, no unbaptized person could be permitted to violate this custom. It will be interesting to know that when the Akalis were busy with the police at the entrance of Sri Akal Takhat Sahib, the Committee remained busily engaged in transacting the Agenda before them. The police were thus in an unsettled State of mind and did not know what to do. S. Jodh Singh Ji, M.A., appeared on the scene and explained to the Supdt. of police that it was impossible for them to enter Sri Akal Takhat Sahib and that as the members of the S.G.P.C. would not at all shrink from arrests, it was best that the authorities

to submit a list of the names of the members they wished to arrest which he would present to the Committee assembling for surrendering the persons, if present, to the police. The authorities seeing no other alternative possible, yielded to hand over the list to S. Jodh Singh. Just when this talk was going on between professor Jodh Singh and the authorities, the latter were told by the Secretary of the Local Gurdwara Committee to clear out of the premises of Sri Durbar Sahib as they were in uniform. The Supdt. and his party agreed and took their stand in front of Gurdwara Tharra Sahib with their backs towards the Gurdwara. It has been mentioned above that the authorities gave up the list of persons they wished to arrest. This list was read out before the Committee and those wanted by the police came down from the upper story to be arrested. The authorities in the meanwhile had left Tharra Sahib and watched the Clock tower to wait the coming of the members they wanted to take hold. It was about 6 O' clock when the members after finishing their work calmly came down from Sri Akal Takhat Sahib and standing before it implored the help of the Great Sat Guru for whose cause they were going to jail. A few of them delivered stirring speeches advising the Sikhs to remain non-violent and united for ever. After the *Ardasa* (Final prayer), the members went to Sri Darbar Sahib to pay homage when they were led to the clock tower headed by the Akali band and thus were made over to the police. The police who had come for the arrests were about two hundred strong and were followed by a Gorkha guard. Some were armed with rifles and some with lathis. There was also a section of the machine guns to be seen. The appearance of all these forces before Sri Akal Takhat is, from the Sikh point of view, the highest insult ever done to this sacred place. The cup of suffering is now full and the Sikhs are being highly provoked by the Govt. to take to violence. The S.G.P.C. expects every Sikh to do his duty and to remain non-violent in all circumstances. It is notified for general information that new members in place of those arrested had been duly elected and that the business of the S.G.P.C.

will go on in perfect order. These or such future arrests will on no account dislocate the work of the S.G.P.C. while the police were at the scene and until the members were made over to the police, there was not an inch in the Durbar Sahib, Clock-tower platform or Ahluwalia Katra unoccupied. There were about 50 thousand souls, present throughout this time and it was almost impossible to move without using considerable pushes on all sides. Never in the history of Sikh arrests was such enthusiasm displayed as this afternoon.

The following is the list of the members arrested. All arrests were without warrants. Those arrested are in the Amritsar jail :—

1. S. Sohan Singh, Khadur.
2. Master Sujan Singh, Surhali.
3. S. Jawala Singh, Burj.
4. S. Sunder Singh, Nareka.
5. S. Channan Singh, Nikodar.
6. S. Jai Singh, Dhudial.
7. S. Assa Singh, Chandoli.
8. S. Amrik Singh, Chuniwala.
9. S. Waryam Singh, Garmula.
10. S. Autar Singh, Gujranwala.
11. S. Naranjan Singh Tansain, Gujranwala.
12. S. Gian Singh.
13. S. Hukam Singh, Montgomery.
14. S. Jalwant Singh, Jathedar.
15. S. Lakha Singh, Kaulke.
16. S. Sohan Singh, Shekhupura.
17. S. Sudager Singh, Moolanwala.
18. S. Inder Singh, Maror.
19. S. Sher Singh, Kote Pindiwal.
20. S. Santa Singh.
21. S. Kartar Singh, Naharpur.

22. S. Ranbir Singh, Kaonki.
23. S. Jogindra Singh, Raipur.
24. S. Sunder Singh, Ghuman.
25. S. Harnam Singh, Kadirwala.
26. S. Gurdial Singh, Bhondi.
27. S. Bhagat Singh, Pasrur.
28. S. Gian Singh, Thikra.
29. S. Nirmal Singh, Sialkot.
30. S. Partap Singh, Kotefatoohi.
31. S. Giani Batan Singh.
32. S. Teja Singh, Alawalpur.
33. S. Gurbakh Singh, Masand kote.
34. S. Kishan Singh.
35. S. Ratan Singh, Panjab Darpan.
36. S. Lehna Singh, Nully.
37. S. Jamadar Sahib Singh, Chak No. 127 Sargodha.
38. S. Man Singh, Secy: Akali Dal.
39. S. Bhagat Dunna Singh, Abbotabad.
40. S. Gian Singh.
41. S. Diwan Singh, Kote Najibullah.
42. S. Fauja Singh, Chunian.
43. S. Indar Singh, Barka.
44. S. Jawala Singh, Rais.
45. S. Balwant Singh, Gujarkhan.
46. S. Jawand Singh, Rawalpindi.
47. S. Raja Singh, B.A., Peshawar.
48. S. Jagat Singh.
49. S. jai Singh, Mardan.
50. S. Mehtab Singh, Kohat.
51. S. Harnam Singh, P. Sub.
52. S. Amar Singh.
53. S. Mool Singh.
54. S. Bawa Sarup Singh.
55. S. Dharam Singh, Namdhari.

56. S. Sunder Singh, Batala.
57. Dr. Bhagwan Singh, Amritsar.
58. S. Mohan Singh Vaid, Taran Taran.
59. S. Hira Singh, Naharli.
60. S. Sucha Singh, Khara Sauda.
61. S. Jamadar Sadhu Singh.
62. S. Karam Singh, chima.

## 17

( 593 )

The following resolutions were passed by the General Committee of the S.G P.C. held on 7-1-24.

1. Where as the S.G.P.C. is the supreme religious assembly composed of representatives elected by the whole Sikh Community in consonance with the injunctions of the Sikh Panth, whereas the said Committee being united with all executive powers to protect and advance the cause of the Sikh faith has been peacefully carrying on religious reforms, where as the Shiromani Akali Dal has been rendering voluntary service to the said Committee to save the honour of their religion, this Assembly most emphatically condemns this arbitrary and highhanded measure "The Declaration of the said two bodies as an unlawful associations" and deprecate this autocratic action of the Govt. as a reckless interference with the inviolable religious right of Indian Citizens in utter violation of the proclamation of 1858 and repudiates this direct challenge to the whole nation to the exercise of the universal civic rights of the formation of association.

2. This Committee appreciates with great satisfaction the noble sacrifices rendered by the members of the S.G.P.C. and Shromani Akali Dal, who have suffered arrests, imprisonment and deaths, and congratulate them for their sterling services to the Panth.

3. Whereas the Bureaucracy has by the stopping of *Akhand Path* inflicted the greatest insult, and irreparable injury on the Sikh *Panth* and perpetrated a ruthless religious crime, whereas

the Sikh *Panth* has resolved to restart and complete 101 Akhand Panths to atone for the sacrilege done to their Guru, whereas the Jathas daily reaching at Jaito to fulfil the holy mission are being most brutally treated by the callous and wantonly insolent officials, this Committee failing to tolerate any longer the continued deprecation of their religious rights empowers the Executive committee to take all possible steps to effectually deal with the situation and save the honour of the Sikh religion.

4. This Committee heartily congratulate all the Akali brethren who have been undergoing endless troubles and tortures in their attempts to restart the *Akhand Path* and to protect the sanctity of the Gangsar gurdwara at Jaito, whereas the bureaucracy are most barbarously victimising the Akalis with brutal assault, merciless beatings, fatal starvation and exposure to freezing cold at nights to subject them to the attacks of pneumonia and other mortal diseases to cut short their lives and thus make terrifying examples of them.

5. This Committee fully endorses the actions of previous Executive Committee and solemnly enjoins the present incumbent body to carry out most enthusiastically the policy as chalked out by them.

6. This Committee approves of and confirms the proceedings and actions of the present Executive Committee.

7. Whereas the Supdt. Police, Amritsar, with his posse of police by forcing his way within the holy precincts of Sri Darbar Sahib has violated the sanctity of Akal Takhat Sahib and Harmander Sahib, the S.G.P.C. very strongly condemns this uncalled for sacrilege and wanton disregard of Sikh Susceptibilities and places on record its firm determination that Khalsa shall evenge by all non-violent methods the insult thus offered to their holy *Manders*.

Sd. Tara Singh,  
Genral Secretary,  
S.G.P.C.

Dated : 8-1-24.



## 18

9-2-1924.

*DECLARATION of orders by the Jathedar of Sri Akal Takhat Sahib Amritsar to the batch of 500 Sikhs proceeding to Gurdwara Gangsar, Jaito, for offering, under the pledge of non-violence, their lives as voluntary sacrifice in the cause of vindicating the birth-right of the Sikh nation of free and unrestricted worship of Sri Guru Granth Sahib in the sacred shrines of the nation, made on Saturday, February 9, 1924, about mid-day in a congregation of over thirty thousand persons.*

Beloved Khalsa ji !

“We the Sikhs have offered our heads as a willing sacrifice to the Guru who is the essence of our national life and the promoter of our national honour.

“If you feel moved to enter the arena of love, strike your head off the body to use it as a ball. So absorbed in the play of love, let not the thoughts of after-events distract you.

“Dear Khalsa ji, The soul and strength of our religion is *Gurbani* (the holy texts). Sri Guru Granth Sahib may aptly be compared to a mighty ship composed of sacred Word in which souls may safely cross the terrible sea of mortality. For the true and faithful Sikhs Sri Guru Granth Sahib is for all times the personified life and living light of the Satguru, and the ever-shining and ever-rising sun of the most glorious and highest truths. To the Sikhs Guru Granth Sahib alone is the levin and essence of their spirituality, their religion, their heroism, their national greatness, and is the one fountain of immortality from which the Sikh Community draws perennial life and light.

“Saintly Martyrs ! At Jaito in Gurdwara Gangsar the sanctity of *Akhand Path* (continuous recitation of the holy texts without break from end to end) has been violated. The holiness of Sri Guru Granth Sahib has been insulted. Sikhs going to the Gurdwara for paying homage are being arrested and persecuted. They have inflicted a deep and the most painful wound in the heart of the

Sikh nation. So long there beats within our breast the heart formed of Sikh blood, we can never brook the slightest insult to Sri Guru Granth Sahib. The acts of stopping Sikhs from paying respects to the sacred Gurdwara and Making encroachments upon the holiness of Sri Guru Granth Sahib are extremely blasphemous and provoking. Is it not making us barren of the fruits of the glorious sacrifices freely made in the past and the present? Can we allow the throwing of dust on the precious blood of our martyrs and forget our noble traditions? Under the merciless stabs of the three edged dart, the bleeding heart of the Panth has been groaning piteously. Several thousands of the devoted Sikhs have already gone to offer their lives at the call and in the service of the Satguru. They had pious intentions of honouring Sri Guru Granth Sahib at the Gurdwara and of resuming the continuous recitation (*Akhand Path*) that had been forcibly stopped before its conclusion.

“You 500 immotralized souls ! The Panthic wrongs there have not yet been righted. The intensity of pain in the wounded and bleeding heart of the Sikh nation in growing every day. It is now ripe time for the Sikh Nation to make, with full faith in the efficacy of the Principle of non-violence, all sorts of sacrifices for re-establishing of the right of the freedom of worship and of reverencing the Satguru. I recall to your mind the non-violent martyrdoms of Sri Guru Arjan Dev and Sri Guru Teg Bahadur. I ask you to remember the noble sacrifices of Bhais Mati Das and Mani Singh. Thus arming your minds with the recollection of the grand sacrifices of our Satgurus and the golden deeds of the Sikh martyrs, I order you to go to Jaito and redress the grievous wrongs done to the Panth.

“Dear five hundred brothers ! You will always be under the protecting hand of Kalgidhur Maharaj and Mata Sahib Devan. Finally I bid you on behalf of Sri Akal Takht Sahib the farewell blessings in these words, “Only those fight to end that have been tried. The untried give in and flee from battle field.”

“Noble Khalsa Ji ! You start under the pledge of non-violent sacrifice. Resume the recitation of Shri Guru Granth Sahib. The bleeding and burning heart of the Panth can be healed with the *Amrita* of your sacrifice. Thus alone can the deeply piercing dart of illegitimate interference in worship be pulled out. in case this is not done, sacrifice your lives crying prayerfully, “Dear Kalgidhar Satguru ! our Father ! We thy children lay down our lives for Thee. The honour and prestige of the Panth rest in Thy hands.”

“Brave and saintly souls ! You will be beaten mercilessly with sticks. You will be shot dead with bullets. You will be thrown into dark and solitary cells, You will be hanged most ignominiously. Your steadfastness will be tried by the most inhuman and unnatural bodily and mental tortures. Keep yourselves perfectly non-violent as has been previously announced. Your sole aim is to pay homage to Gurdwara Gangsar and resume the recitation of *Akhand Path* Since the moment of your departure from Sri Akal Takhat Sahib and always on the way, feed your body, mind, and soul on the life-giving recitation and singing of *Garbani* or discourses on the holy texts. Do not cherish the slightest ill-will against any person in thought, word, or deed.”

SAT SRI AKAL.

Jathedar Sri Akal Takhat Sahib.

19

21-2-1924.

### ਬਿਆਨ

ਅਜ ੧੮ ਜੁਲਾਈ ਨੂੰ ਭਾ: ਨਿਰੰਜਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਤੁਲਸੀ ਰਾਮ ਜੀ ਪਿੰਡ ਗੋਬਿੰਦਗੜ੍ਹ ਜ਼ਿਲ੍ਹਾ ਪਟਿਆਲਾ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਜੱਥੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਚਿੱਤੜਾਂ ਪਰ ਦੋ ਗੋਲੀਆਂ ਵੱਜੀਆਂ ਸਨ ਔਰ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਿਸ਼ਾਨ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਹਨ ਏਥੇ ਦਫਤਰ ਪੁੱਜੇ । ਆਪ ਦਸਦੇ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਜਦੋਂ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਪਤਾ ਲੱਗਾ ਕਿ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਜਥਾ ਬਰਗਾੜੀ ਪੁੱਜ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਭੀ ਬੇਅੰਤ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਸਹਿਤ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਬੀਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਕਰਨ ਹਿਤ ਬਰਗਾੜੀ ਪੁੱਜੇ । ਜਥੇ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਬੇਅੰਤ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਸਨ ਅਤੇ ਜੱਥਾ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਸਹਿਤ ਜੈਤੋ ਨੂੰ ਵਧਦਾ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਸੀ । ਜਦੋਂ ਜੱਥਾ ਟਿੱਬੀ ਸ ਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਲਾਗੇ ਸੁਏ ਦੇ ਪਾਸ ਪੁੱਜਾ ਤਾਂ ਇਕ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ ਅਫਸਰ ਨੇ ਹੱਥ ਦੇ

ਹਥਿਆਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਲੜਾਈ, ਏਥੇ ਨਿਹੱਥੇ ਬਿਦੋਸ਼ਾਂ ਭਗਤਾਂ ਉਤੇ ਸਾਥੋਂ ਗੋਲੀਆਂ ਚਲਵਾਈਆਂ ਗਈਆਂ, ਜੱਥੇ ਨੂੰ ਬੜੀ ਬੇਰਹਿਮੀ ਨਾਲ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਗੱਡੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਪਾ ਕੇ ਕੁਛ ਕਿਲੇ ਵਿਚ ਅਤੇ ਕੁਛ ੨ ਨੰਬਰ ਜੇਲ੍ਹ ਵਿਚ ਲੈ ਗਏ। ਉਥੇ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਦੇ ਬਸਤਰ ਖੋਹ ਲਏ ਅਤੇ ਦੋ ਦਿਨ ਨਾ ਰੋਟੀ ਅਤੇ ਨਾ ਪਾਣੀ ਦਿੱਤੀ। ਏਸ ਤੋਂ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਸਮੇਂ ਸਿਰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਹਜ਼ੂਰੀ ਵਿਚ ਸਭ ਕੁਝ ਪਰਗਟ ਕਰਾਂਗੇ।

(ਦਸਤਖਤ ਭਾ: ਸੇਵਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਹੌਲਦਾਰ)

ਸੇਵਾ ਸਿੰਘ

(ਭਾ: ਹਰਦਿੱਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਪਾਹੀ)

ਹਰਦਿੱਤ ਸਿੰਘ

ਨੋਟ :—ਸ੍ਰੀਮਾਨ ਜੀ ਭਾ: ਸੇਵਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਫੌਜੀ ਭਾ: ਹਰਦਿੱਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਬਿਆਨ ਆਪ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਬਿਚ ਘਲਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਹੋਰ ਪੁਛ ਗਿਛ ਹੋਵੇ ਲਿਖੋ। ਉੱਤਰ ਸ਼ੀਘਰ ਹੀ ਆਵੇਗਾ।

ਜੀਵਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਕੱਤ੍ਰ

ਨਾਭਾ ਜੱਥਾ

23

First letter  
dt. 4-3-24.

### Copy of the letters of Mahatma Gandhi.

I. In my opinion in order to bring the whole of the Akali movement to a successful issue, it is absolutely necessary that their minimum should be unmistakably stated. This alone can evoke universal approval and sympathy, provided that minimum is just and reasonable in the sense that it appeals to the reasons of a common sense God-fearing man. It will not, therefore, do to say that a particular claim is a religious claim. All religious claims must necessarily appeal to reason.

In a movement of non-violence, the minimum is also the maximum just as the minimus is not capable of reeducation even though the difficulties may be insurmountable, similarly under favourable weather there can be no addition to the minimum.

This follows from the fact the non-violence includes truth, and

truth admits of no expedients.

2. It is, therefore, necessary for the S.G.P.C. to state the implications of the Gurdwara Movement, i.e., which gurdwaras are claimed by the Akalis to be historical or otherwise falling within the movement and without which an Akali to be true to his faith may not rest. Second, what are the implications with reference to the present *Akhand Path* affair in Gangsar Gurdwara? Third, what is the movement in connection with the forced abdication or deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha?

3. In my opinion with reference to the Gurdwaras, the mode of procedure should be in the case of disputed possession, (i) Through private impartial arbitration without reference or intervention of the present courts of law. (ii) Where the opposite party refuses to submit to reason or arbitration, by *Satyagrah*, i.e., non-violence mode of asserting S.G.P.S.'s right to possession, in order that the method is and remains strictly non-violent throughout. It is not enough that there is absence of active violence, but it is necessary that there is not the slightest show of force.

It follows, therefore, that a large body of men cannot be deputed to assert the right of the S.G.P.C.'s possession, but one or at the most two men of undoubted integrity, spiritual force and humility may be deputed to assert the right.

The result of this is likely to be the martyrdom of these pioneers. My conviction is that from that moment the possession of the Committee is assured, but it may so happen that martyrdom is postponed and intermediate stages, such as pin-pricks, serious assault or imprisonment might have to be suffered. In that case and in every case till actual control is secured, there must be a ceaseless stream of devotees in single or double file visiting the gurdwara in assertion of the right of the Committee. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that if the possessor for the time being may consent to submit to arbitration. The Committee should be ever ready to accept the offer, when the asserting of the right by means of *Satyagrah* ceases. In such a case, it goes without saying that

if there are any of the devotees who have been imprisoned in prosecution of the object of the Committee, they should be discharged simultaneously with the acceptance of the arbitration.

### Nabha

I understand the position regarding the Nabha state to be as follows and as explained by the Akali friends who have been kindly sent by the S.G.P.C. for the purpose :—

1. The S.G.P.C. contends that the Maharaja has been forced to abdicate, that there is no sufficient warrant for the step and that the committee is in a position to prove that the Maharaja has been forced to abdicate not because of the charges vaguely referred to by the Viceroy or of any other charge such as should justify the extreme punishment, but for his public spiritedness exhibited on several occasions and for his known active sympathy for the Akali cause. The Committee invites an open and impartial enquiry by a competent authority into the whole case, before which the S.G.P.C. should have the right to give evidence and the Committee should be satisfied with the findings of such an enquiry. It has been suggested that the Nabha Maharaja has voluntarily abdicated in consideration for the Government suppressing certain charge which they hold are of an extremely defamatory character. If the Maharaja's own writing can be produced in proof of the statement, the Committee will naturally have nothing further to say. Such writing should be given by the Maharaja without any veiled pressure from the Government and should be a fresh document. The Committee have no desire at present for any direct action, at the same time it is but fair to say that if all the efforts at impartial enquiry for obtaining strict justice fail and when the public have been put in possession of all the facts known to the Committee and public opinion has been fully matured and cultivated, the Committee may be reluctantly compelled as a matter of honour and chivalry to a resort to direct action. No mention, however, of direct

action will be made in any manifesto stating the Committee's position, regarding Nabha that may be issued by the Committee.

The above position appears to me to be unexceptionable and I hereby endorse it.

### **Shahidi jathas 500, Akhand Path.**

Had it been possible for me to have met the Akali friends before the jatha, which is now on its way to Jaito, had started, I would, even after having heard all that the friends had to say, have adhered to my advice that it should not be sent before perfect stock-taking and review of the whole situation but I wish to cast no blame on any one for the delay in the friends meeting me or if there is any blame to be attached to any body, I must take it upon my own shoulders, because I omitted to take the precaution of wiring the full text of my message to the S.G.P.C. at the same time that I handed it to the representative of the Associated Press. I was under the mistaken belief that press messages having precedence of private messages, the A.P. message would be earlier in the hands of the Committee. I foolishly wanted to save public money. Could I be present in the Punjab and see things face to face, I would not hesitate even though the jatha is nearing its destination, to tender my advice for its recall in order to enable us to review the situation and to take certain steps which I hold are necessary before taking further direct action, but I cannot undertake the responsibility lying on a sick bed of advising the recall. I dare not place such a burden on the friends who have come to discuss the Gurdwara affair with me. In the circumstances, therefore, I fear that the jatha must be allowed to proceed to its destination. I understand that elaborate precautions have been taken to prevent admiring crowds or others from following or accompanying the jatha. I understand that strictest instructions have been issued to the jatha to adopt and continue a perfectly non-violent attitude in spite of the gravest provocation. This is all to the good.

But I understand further that the jatha has also been instructed, in the event of its receiving orders to leave the state boundry, to disobey, and arm in arm the jatha has been instructed to present a solid living wall to the state soldierly and to draw upon their devoted heads with unflinching courage all the fire that can be poured upon them. The idea is no longer to submit to pin-pricks and prolongation of the agony by way of forcible deportation, but to end it by every member of the jatha sitting at his post and dying there with calm resignation without any retaliation. This plan is conceived in a most lofty and daring spirit. The bravery of those who conceived it and still greater bravery of those who are expected to carry it out in its entirety cannot be questioned and if the Nabha authorities are so foolish as to fire upon the jatha till every one lies dead at his post, it will certainly stagger humanity, thrill the world and command universal applause for matchless heroism, but I am sorry to say it could not be recorded as an act of non-violence. This proposed action can be described as civil disobedience but in reality it would not be civil disobedience. For civil disobedience, perfect submission to order which are given as punishment for the breach of primary orders, which a civil resister holds against conscience, but such disobedience to be civil, requires perfect obedience to sanctions, small and great, and disobedience of small sanctions in order to invite larger sanctions, is not civil but is rowdy and, therefore, violent. The faith of civil resister must be a living faith in the ultimate success of the spirit of suffering and forbearance. Infinite patience must, therefore, be badged.

Let us now apply this principle to the proposed action to sit tight in the face of an order of deportation or an imprisonment in order to invite shooting, is to avoid the intermediate sanctions and possibilities of prolongation of slow suffering and also the struggle. Such avoidance is not permissible in civil disobedience and is calculated to give an excuse to opponent that they are not non-violent. The natural course would be to obey the order of deportation



when it is accompanied by physical force, be it ever so slight. Therefore, even if a youngster duly authorised came to enforce the order of deportation, 500 strong men would in honour be bound meekly and joyously to march out with a young deporting officer, whom by the heroic forbearance, the 500 are likely to convert into a friend. Once put across the border, the right of marching back accrues to the 500, and be treated similarly, or worse. The idea underlying meek suffering is that ultimately it is bound to melt the strongest heart. It further deprives disobedience of the slightest trace of violence either active or passive.

I wish to analyse the proposed action still further. What is the locking up of arms of the whole jatha, if it is not passive violence. It is clear that such a solid wall cannot be broken by one man where as the creed of non-violence presupposes that a move of violence by the opponent is enough for him to push back a crowd of 20,000 non-violent men.

If, therefore, the Committee accept all the Implications of non-violence, I am firmly of opinion instructions already given, as to the action to be taken by the jatha when it comes in conflict with authority, should be revised in terms of what I have sketched above. In that event only one or the other thing can happen, either the 500 will be deported or imprisoned but in both the cases the act will have been performed with complete meekness on our side. I know the difficulties of following the procedure. The authorities may endlessly continue the see-saw business in order to tire us out, but this difficulty vanishes if we as a body claim incapable of being tired out. Non-violence depends, as it does, on an unquenchable faith in God, and in the persistence only of that which is good ; does not know what it is to be defeated or to be tired out. If the plans suggested by me is adopted, any number of men may march in and at any time of the day. It will be found in practice that no authority can possibly afford to play game of see-saw with a people so determined. So much regarding the jatha now on march. When the present manoeuvre is finished, I

would suggest a review of the whole situation. So far as I know, the aim of the *Akhand Path* movement is to assert the right of community to have *Akhand Path* in place of that which was interrupted and to vindicate the right to have the *Akhand Path* as often as the community considers it necessary. The authorities state that they do not wish to prevent the *Akhand Path* ceremony but they will not allow under its cover the massing of a large number of Sikhs from outside who may carry on open or secret propaganda regarding the Nabha Maharaja and thus create and keep up the movement in the state. In order to meet this objection, I would advise the Committee to make a declaration in the clearest possible terms that the object of the jatha is purely to assert the aforementioned right; that it has no desire to carry on under cover of the *Akhand Path* ceremony any prohibited propaganda in the Nabha State whilst the Committee in no way binds itself to refrain from pressing forward the claims of the Nabha Maharaja and agitating for the Nabha question. But that agitation will stand on its merits and will have no connection with the *Akhand Path* affair. The Committee will also in that case be satisfied with sending a jatha of 25 without any way admitting the right of the state to limit the number. It would be purely a voluntary act with a view to disarm suspicion.

If then the sending of jatha of 500 is suspended for the time being and the declaration sketched above is made, it opens the way for a third party to negotiate with the authorities with a view to removing the dead-lock.

### **Gurdwara Reform Movement**

In connection with the Gurdwara movement, I am asked to state the procedure that in my opinion should be adopted prior to the direct action sketched in the foregoing notes. The first thing is to state the case fully and publicly as to the conditions of the Gurdwara mis-management and character of occupant, etc., or

notice should also be served on the occupants stating the position of the Committee and asking him to submit to its jurisdiction and control and informing him that in the event of his wishing to contest the Committee's possession, the latter would be willing to submit the case to the arbitration ; the names of the arbitrator or arbitrators on behalf of the Committee should be given in the notice, and in the event of the occupant ignoring the notice or declining to submit to arbitration, the Committee would be free to take direct action.

With reference to the gurdwaras already possessed by the S.G. P.C., as a matter of truth and justice I am convinced that if the party dispossessed disputes these rights of the S.G.P.C. to the possession, the Committee should be ready to have the matter reopened and settle by arbitration, but I recognise that it would be dangerous and detrimental to the best interests of the Committee to make any such public announcement at the present moment, and whilst the Government is trying its best to injure the Committee and in every way interfere with its activity. With reference to the gurdwaras claimed to be historical, the only thing, so far as I can see, the Committee can be reasonably expected to do is to prove the historical nature and if it satisfies the arbitration regarding it, possession must rest with or vest in the Committee without any further proof being necessary regarding any other matter.

Sd/- M. K. Gandhi

## 24

Asked as to the result of the protracted deliberations with the Akali friends, Mahatma Gandhi made the following statement to our representative :—

I had long and cordial conversations with the Akali friends. In the course of the conversations I tendered to them my opinion on the several matters under discussion. The public will not

expect me to divulge the matters discussed between us or the opinion given. But I am free to state this that the Akali friends told me that my letter was not received by the S.G.P.C. with apathy and they satisfied me that it gave it all the consideration that was possible under the circumstances. Unfortunately my letter was seen by them in the Press so late that they were unable to do more than they did in the matter.

M.K. Gandhi.

25

4-3-24.

### Letter of Mahatma Gandhi

If I am entirely satisfied as to the nature of and implications of the present Akali movement and the methods adopted to gain the end, I should have no hesitation in throwing myself heart and soul into it and even in burying myself in the Punjab if it become necessary in order to guide the movement. The satisfaction that I require is on the following :—

1. The strength of the Akalis.

2. (a) A clear manifesto publicly stating the minimum which I understand to be the performance of the *Akhand Path* ceremony in the Gangsar Gurdwara, the Sikhs openly and sincerely declaring that it has no political end that they do not desire, through the *Akhand Path* movement in any shape or form, to carry on an agitation directly or indirectly, for the restoration of Nabha Maharaja. The agitation which the Akalis intend to carry on in connection with such restoration will be on an independent footing and will be purely a separate movement.

(b) In connection with the movement for control of gurdwaras in every case of disputed control or possession, the matter should be referred to arbitration. In the case of historical gurdwaras, it will be assumed that all such gurdwaras must remain in the control of the S.G.P. Committee. But the question of

fact whether a particular gurdwara is or is not historical will be a subject matter of arbitration, and the burden of proving that it is so will lie on the shoulders of the S.G.P. Committee. With reference to all other gurdwaras, all the facts in dispute should be a subject matter of arbitration.

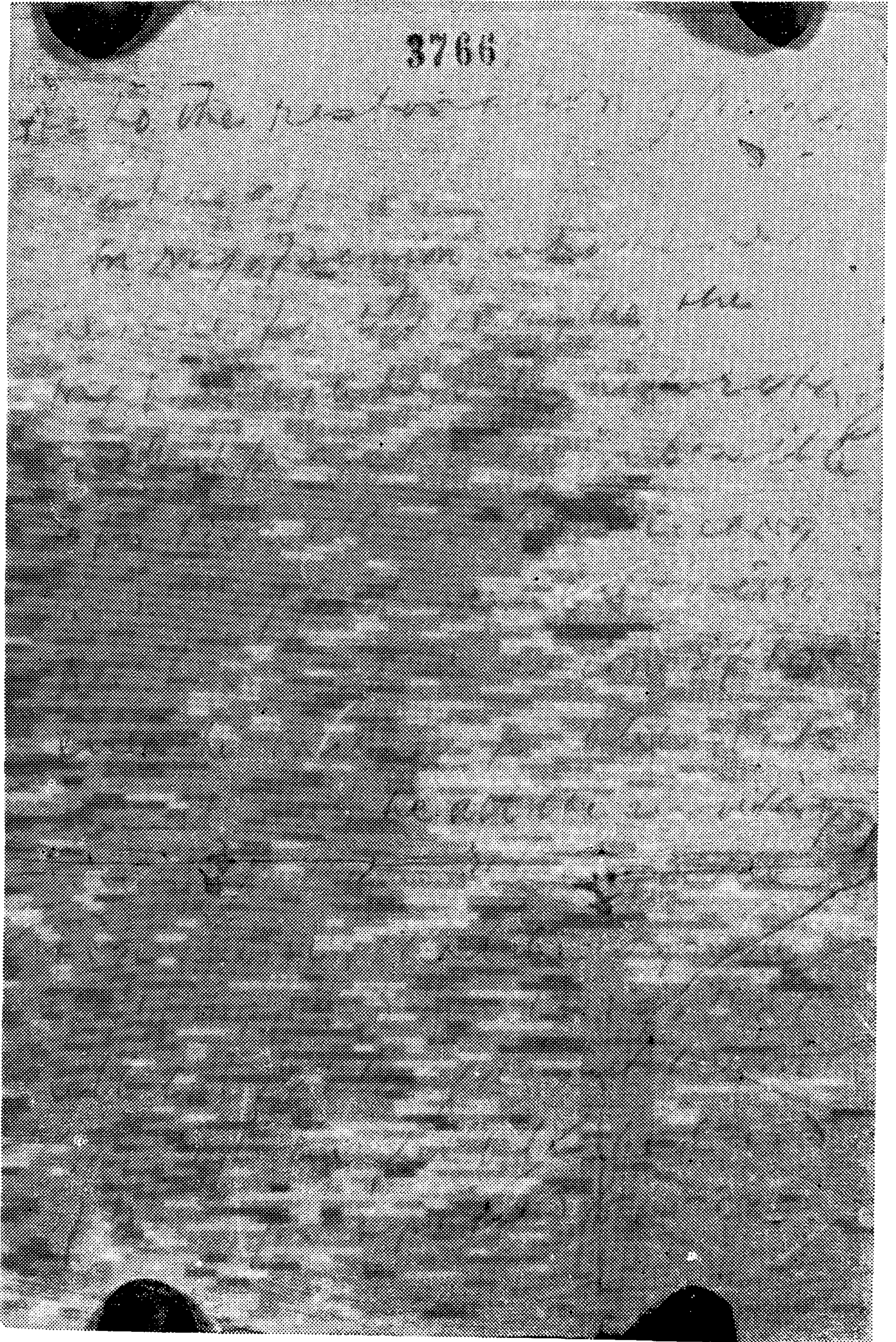
In the event of the party in possession of such gurdwaras declining to surrender control to the S.G.P. Committee or to refer the matter in dispute to arbitration, the Akalis would be free to take such direct action as is consistent with non-violence in the strictest sense of the term.

3. Full assurance and, therefore, a document intended for publication signed by all the principle leaders or on behalf of the S.G.P.C. giving a description of the methods which will clearly set forth all the implications of non-violence. By the term I do not wish to convey that non-violence is to be regarded in the document referred to above as the final creed of the Sikhs which I know it is not. But I do understand that their methods so far as this gurdwara movement is concerned, will be absolutely non-violent, that is to say, the Akalis will be non-violent in thought, word and deed in connection with all persons, whether government officials, English and otherwise, or whether members of the public belonging to any denomination whatsoever who may be regarded as apponents of the objects of the Akali movement. Absolute adherence to truth I regard as an integral part of any scheme of non-violence, whether it is temporary or permanent and whether it is restricted to persons or places. It, therefore, admits of no diplomacy, as we understand the term, and it rejects altogether the prevailing noraml idea that it is legitimate to have surreptitious methods with regard to opponents. It follows that there is to be no secrecy.

4. That the movement is neither anti-Hindu nor anti-any other race or creed.

5. That the S.G.P.C. has no desire for the establishment of Sikh Raj and as a matter of fact, the Committee is purely a

Mahatma Gandhi to Akali leaders  
(No. 27, p. 55)



religious body and, therefore, as such, can have no secular object or intention.

## 26

Dear friends,

I learnt through Pandit Moti Lal after you had gone, that the S.G.P.C. was actually defending the accused in the matter of the prosecution of Akalis. I learnt too that a Hindu temple within the precincts of the Golden Temple had been destroyed by the Akalis and that the latter took their stand upon religion. In your letter which you have promised I would like you please to deal with all these questions.

Yours sincerely

M.K. Gandhi.

4th March 1924.

## 27

As to the restoration of Nabha Maharaja.

In my opinion, whatever the true facts may be, the Maharaja has by his writing made it practically impossible for his well-wishers to carry on an effective agitation for his restoration. If, however, he makes a public statement that all the writings were practically extorted from him and that he is quite willing and anxious that all the facts against him should be published and if he is prepared to face all the consequences, of the agitation, viz., deprivation of titles, annuity, & c., and if all his allegations regarding duress can be proved, it is possible to carry on an effective and even successful agitation.

In any event when the declaration of the kind mentioned is made by the Maharaja, the agitation should be "all India agitation". The Akalis should merely assist in the elucidation of facts.

M.K. Gandhi.

9-3-24.

My friends informed me to my surprise that there was a general misapprehension that after the Nankana tragedy I had expressed an opinion that the Gurdwara Movement should have been postponed till after the attainment of Swrajya. And that my recent letter was intended to renew that opinion. I never once expressed the opinion attributed to me, as can be amply verified from my writing and speeches of the time. My recent letter was merely an advice to suspend and not necessarily to stop altogether the sending of the then impending shahidi jatha till after deliberations with Committee of non-Sikh friends and full introspection and searching of the heart.

M.K. Gandhi  
Poona, 9th March, 1924.

Amritsar,  
April 20, 1924.

Dear Mahatma ji,

We regret that owing to a variety of circumstances, into which it is not necessary to enter, we have not been able so far to reply to your letter dated 4th April. We have discussed the issues raised in your letter and we wish to state that on all those points our position is very clear. We are glad that on these points our views coincide with yours and we can request to atonce to declare them on your behalf again, if you like.

I. Yes, we agree that in matters of disputed control or possession, arbitration should first be tried and if you study the facts about our movement so far, you will find that we have been following this practice. As you say, it should be assumed that all historical Gurdwaras must remain in the control of the S.G.P.C.,



the onus of proving the historical character of a Gurdwara, when questioned, will be on the S. G. P. C. With reference to all other Gurdwaras, all the facts in dispute should be a matter of arbitration. *Satyagrah* to be resorted to by the Akalis only in the event of arbitration and other attempts at amicable settlement being rejected by the incumbents. *Satyagrah* is to be practised in the spirit of perfect non-violence. The spirit of truth that should underlie such non-violent campaign requires that our objectives and methods should be open and above-board. The S.G.P.C. has been holding this principle and has always enjoined it on itself and all those who have accepted its lead. We have been successful in carrying it out into practice and it is a source of great satisfaction to us that the public, on all occasions, has acknowledged our doing so. Our experience of this method has strengthened our faith in it and our adherence to it.

2. Our movement is neither anti-Hindu nor anti-any other race or creed. Though essentially religious in spirit and objectives, it is thoroughly national in outlook. We have, therefore, all along endeavoured to carry with us the sympathy, approval and good wishes of all that is best in India or elsewhere ; and we take pride in the fact that we have been successful in it.

3. The movement is purely religious and has no secular object or intention. The S.G.P.C. is a purely religious body and has no desire for the establishment of Sikh *Raj*. We have repeatedly declared it whenever any such reflection has been cast on our intentions by Govt. So far this baseless charge has been trotted out only by Govt. who may be interested in maligning us and creating reversion against us among other communities. It is most painful to us that it should have been necessary to have to make this explanation even to you. Not only S.G.P.C. but no other Sikh body or individual entertains even in dream any idea or desire of establishing Sikh *Raj*.

It is exactly because ours is a religious movement that although we have sought and received sympathy and support from non-Sikh friends and Sikh and non-Sikh national workers, yet our people

have been very jealous of keeping the control and guidance of the Gurdwara movement in purely Sikh hands, and we are glad to note that our friends have appreciated this view and approved of it. Again, it is exactly because of the same reason that we have not availed ourselves of the frequent and affectionate offers of *direct* participation in our religious *satyagrah* by non-Sikh friends, such as the offers of Hindus and Mohammadans to form jathas and participate in our suffering in the Guru-ka-Bag days and again last winter when the S.G. P. C. and the *Akali Dal* were declared unlawful. Of course, we cannot repay the deep debt of gratitude that we owe to Hindu and Mahammadan friends like Pandit Dinanath, Swami Shardhanand, Swami Vishwa Nand, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Gidwani Onkarnand, Santanam, Kitchlew and others who have suffered for sympathising with us. If for no other reason, the love of these friends and of Malvyaji, Swami Shankeracharya, Ali Brothers, Mr. C. F. Andrews and yourself would prevent us from becoming anti-Hindu or anti-any other community or entertaining any dreams of dominating over communities.

### III

As for the significance of the Jaito struggle and its implications we wish to state as follows :-

Right of free congregation and free worship by holding religious *diwans* is the birth-right of the Sikhs. Not the deposition of the Maharaja but the invasion of these rights at Jaito by the Nabha Administration was the cause of the going of *jathas* to Jaito. The S. G. P. C. supported the protest of the Sikhs of the State against this action but the authorities turned the deaf ear to the legitimate demand of the Sikh community and further aggravated the position by closing the Gurdwara and interrupting the *Akhand Path* by forcibly breaking the congregation. This and this alone was the cause of the sending of the *jathas* to re-establish the rights assailed. The S. G. P. C. has declared in unequivocal terms in its

communiques and in instructions to the daily *jatha* of 25 and each *Shahidi jatha* of 500, that their objective is to re-establish the right of free congregation and free worship. The S. G. P. C. has not had, nor has, any other objective than this and certainly does not wish to make Gangsar Gurdwara its base of operations to carry on the propaganda against Nabha deposition under the cloak of pilgrimage and *Akhand Path*. At the same time the S. G. P. C. wishes to make it clear that its resolution to get the wrong done to His Highness righted by all peaceful and legitimate means stands in full force and that the S. G. P. C. will leave no stone unturned to carry out that resolution in consonance with its wording. It is our intention that when the Gurdwara is thrown open to us we should depart within a few days after establishing our rights and making necessary arrangements for the fulfilment of our vow of completing 101 *Ākhand Paths* there. We do not wish to make any unnecessary delay in completing the above number of *paths*. We would rather desire to have as many simultaneous *paths* as can be performed with due respect and ceremony. The only implication that we can think of is that we feel that we will have fallen short of our duty if in the Jaito Gurdwara we do not raise our voice to mark the feeling of the *Panth* about the martyrdom at Jaito and also about the religious grievance of Nabha wrong, out of which the whole Jaito affair has sprung. Nobody has any right to impose any restrictions on us as to the number of pilgrims, period of stay, and mode of worship in our Gurdwaras.

It should be hoped that the establishment of our rights and the fulfilment of our vow would be carried out amicably and in truly religious spirit and that the authorities will not create any complications again by any interference with our legitimate religious rights.

We hope the above statement will make our whole position clear to you and convince you. If you have any further views on the matter kindly communicate them to us. And so long as we do

not hear from you that you completely agree with us we would request you to keep it confidential and not publish it. On our part we think that we have sufficiently and frequently enough declared our position in public and that no new announcement is necessary.

As for the suggestion about making Nabha deposition an All-India question and as a preparation for that securing certain announcements from His Highness, it requires much consideration and there is no immediate pressing need of coming to a decision on the matter.

As for the query about the strength of the Akalis we have the satisfaction that the whole *Panth* is with us except a few individual *mahants* who are opposed to us for selfish ends. The number of Akali *satyagrahis* depends upon the intensity of repression.

We agree with you in principle on the question of non-violence and in its methods and implications too. We mainly agree with you. But we have difference of opinion on two points, i. e., about the question of the alleged show of force involved in a considerable number of men practising *satyagrah* at the same time and the question of disobeying the order of arrest. These points we have dealt with in a separate note annexed herein. You will see that second question has not yet arisen and the discussion about it is merely academic.

### III

Pandit Moti Lal Nehru was right in informing you that many of the Akali leaders are defending themselves in the present conspiracy case against them. They are doing so in this case because the charge is extraordinary, i. e., that they want to seize the Punjab. They want to combat that wicked charge positively instead of by the negative method of denying it in their statement. The wisdom of their action is proved by the fact that the case has been going on for the last six months but the prosecution has

not ventured to bring even a shred of evidence about this charge. Another reason is that the whole course of the Gurdwara movement has been made the subject of inquiry and they wish to prevent the history of their movement from being murdered. That even you have found it necessary to ask for repudiation on our part of the charge of desiring a Sikh *Raj* and harbouring ill-will against other communities, shows how far the Government has succeeded in clouding the issues and how necessary it was to fight this campaign of misrepresentation.

Almost all national leaders, Pandit Moti Lal included, had approved of this decision and went further to form an Akali Legal Defence Committee which, however, died without functioning. We also want to make it clear that the S. G. P. C. has never adopted any resolution of the boycott of courts and has gone to courts many a time, deciding its policy on every occasion according to the nature and circumstances of the case. Generally we have not sought redress in courts, but when advisable, have confined ourselves only to defence. It should be noted that ours is a religious representative body containing men of all shades of opinion, co-operators and non-co-operators. Our very demand for a Gurdwara law shows that if such a law is given to us we must use the courts. We may also point out that in the present case 13 out of 46 are not defending themselves. The second batch of 58 members of the S. G. P. C. convicted under Section 17 (2) Cr. L. A. A. did not defend themselves and nor did thousands of other Akalis put in any defence who have been flung into jails.

As for the demolition of a Hindu temple within the precincts of the Golden Temple the facts are these :-

There was a Hindu image, *Shiva-lingam*, in a corner of the Parikarma of the Golden Temple which had been introduced in recent times. The Sikhs are not idol-worshippers and the S.G.P.C. had always looked forward to an amicable removal of the image in consultation with Hindu leaders. In fact this matter had been broached with Pandit Malavyaji and Swami Shankeracharya, both of whom

had agreed with the Sikh view. Before the S. G. P. C. could achieve this consummation or had at all set about it, some irresponsible and misguided men, most probably Sikhs, demolished it one night in April 1923 without even the knowledge of the S. G. P. C. or any person connected with it. When it was discovered the next morning, the S. G. P. C. hastened to condemn this action and expressed its deep regret in public and its readiness to make amends to injured Hindu sentiments in consistency with the principles of Sikhism. While we resent to be called idol-breakers, we dare not figure as idolerectors. So the restoration of the image by the S. G. P. C., the trustee of Religious reform, was out of question. Even from a practical point of view, the replacing of the image with a view to its ultimate removal, and with the daily risk of its desecration by irresponsible people, was not advisable. Short of it we were ready to make it up to our Hindu brethern in a hundred ways. By a strange irony of fate the image was demolished on the same night, April 12, when about 1600 Akalis were patrolling the streets of Amritsar to protect the life and property of Hindus and their temples and *Thakardwaras*. This combination of circumstances pained the S.G.P.C. most.

#### IV

Most of the suggestions made in your first letter have already been adopted and carried out by us and we have been trying to act in the spirit which you are anxious to inculcate. It appears that as yet you have not had the opportunity to go through the literature on the movement published by us and also that our representatives have not been able to adequately explain many important points.

We now proceed to take up the points discussed in your note and state our position with regard to each.

I. From the beginning we have put forward only the minimum of our demand and have repeatedly declared it in the press and on the platform and in conferences with the representatives of the Government. We have never changed our position or made any

addition to our minimum in favourable weather. That minimum has always been the following :-

(a) We want a Law that would provide for a central, representative and elected body of the Sikhs as the trustee of all historical Gurdwaras, i.e., those connected with the memory of any Sikh Guru, martyr, saint or historical personage. These Gurdwaras are mentioned in authentic Sikh books.

The Government has all along admitted that the existing law is defective and that there is great need of reform, but for reasons of its own has persistently set its face against conceding the demand for a central body, as mentioned above.

(b) We want the freedom of our religious symbol, the *Kripan* or sword from all restrictions as to wearing possessing, carrying, manufacturing and selling or size or form. This is not a new demand, but an old essential religious principle and the struggle for it is as old as modern reform movement. For a fuller statement see pages 462-476 of the book named "Gurdwara Reform Movement". Our claim is that the Law as it exists gives us this freedom, but the Government has been interpreting it differently on different occasions according to its attitude towards the Sikhs.

2. The above are the minimum demands. It should not be understood that the Sikhs do not want to reform the Sikh religious and charitable public trusts, other than historical, which are mismanaged. It is hoped that when the main problem of the historical Gurdwaras is solved, there will be no difficulty in improving the condition of other religious institutions by securing their management according to the conditions of their foundation. The present struggle, however, is confined to historical Gurdwaras alone.

3. We agree that reasoning and arbitration should be sincerely tried before resorting to *Satyagrah* in order to assert the S.G.P.C's. right to control and manage a particular historical Gurdwara. This has been our practice all along.

Generally when the efforts of local Sikhs to reform a Gurdwara

through persuasion have failed and in some cases when even Law Courts have not granted redress, the S. G. P. C. is moved to take the matter in hand. The S.G.P.C. invites the *mahant* to remove the defects and consent to work under a committee representative of the local *sangat* and affiliated to the S.G.P.C. Respectable and impartial persons, Sikhs and even non-Sikhs, of the locality are requested to intervene and exert their influence to bring about an amicable settlement. If the Government is not in a spasm of repression at the time, these counsels often prevail. The purpose of reform being attained, the *mahant* is treated generously in regard to his maintenance. So many Gurdwaras have been affiliated in this way. But if the Government as is often the case, is in a repressive mood, the *mahants* are put up and would not listen to reason, entreaty or arbitration. In some cases even those who have accepted the control of the S.G.P.C. and signed an agreement, throw up their connection with the S. G. P. C. In such cases, after all other means have failed, it becomes imperative for the Sikhs to reform the Gurdwara by non-violent suffering. If any possession has been taken by some enthusiastic Sikhs without satisfying the above preliminaries the "S.G.P.C." has condemned such action and ordered the possession to be restored to the *mahant* even though, reform was urgently needed.

Our mode of suffering is perfectly non-violent. All those who have seen the Sikhs' suffering have been convinced of their sincerity and non-violence. It is only the Government that has brought out convenient charge of show of force against the Akali *Satyagrahis* in order to dis-credit the movement although in Guru-ka-Bagh affair it felt obliged to admit that the Akalis had been completely non-violent. Generally we have been practising *Satyagrah* in small numbers i. e. in batches of one, two, three or four. In the Keys affair, individual speakers dis-obeyed the Seditious Meetings Act. In Guru-ka-Bagh affair, *jathas* went to court arrest in batches of four. During the beatings the daily *jathas* proceeding to Guru-ka-Bagh were stopped on the way by police and ordered to disperse, on their



refusal they were beaten to unconsciousness. Nobody complained of their overawing any body. If they had been allowed to proceed they would have offered for arrest in batches of four. Even now at Bhai Pheru, batches of four go out to court arrest. On other occasions, such as in the Spring of 1922 when hundreds were arrested, there was no question of show of force, for the Akalis did not offer themselves for arrest, but were hauled up from their homes by moving columns of police and military in pursuance of an official campaign of repression. The present struggle at Jaito has arisen in peculiar circumstances necessitating the sending of larger numbers. This we hold is quite compatible with the spirit of non-violence, which we hold is as the essential of our success. At Jaito, two of our dear religious rights were assailed without which a Sikh "to be true to his faith cannot rest". One is the right of assembling in the form of a congregation or *Sangat* and the other is to freely carry on *Paths* and other ceremonies of worship in our Gurdwaras. These rights were assailed by the officials of the British Administration of Nabha at Jaito, when they blockaded the congregation for many days and eventually broke it up and carried away its members under arrest and interrupted the *Akhand Path* going on in the Gurdwara. All access to the Gurdwara was stopped and Sikhs prohibited from congregating and resuming the interrupted *Akhand Path*.

Batches of 25 Sikh pilgrims have been daily going to Jaito since the 15th September, 1923, i.e., for more than 6 months and have been beaten, humiliated, arrested and deported. The position of the Sikhs from the beginning has been the same and based on a principle. But the Government has frequently shifted its position and tried to impose restrictions on the number of pilgrims, number of *Paths* and the period of the stay of the *Sangat* in the Gurdwara. Acceptance of any of these limitations would mean, for the Sikhs, the surrender of the religious principle at stake.

In your suggestion about the limitation of *satygrahis* to "one or at the most two" you have not taken to account the significance of the institution of *sangat* in Sikhism and the principle of numbers

involved in the Jaito struggle. As you will see from the first chapter of the book the *Gurdwara Reform Movement*, the holding of and worshipping in *sangats* is an essential part of Sikhism. The *sangat* is believed as the Guru incorporate. From the time of Guru Nanak onwards, Sikhs in large numbers have been proceeding to Gurdwaras and congregating therein. The freedom of temples would mean nothing without the free and unfettered exercise of this right. This issue was never so clearly involved at any other place in this movement, therefore, some find it a little difficult to understand the developments of the struggle at Jaito. To further cloud the issue, the Government and the Anglo-Indian press have persistently spread misrepresentations about it.

## V

After having tried for a long time to reform the Gurdwaras through the agency of law courts, arbitration, agitation and other ordinary means, and having failed, the Sikhs have been compelled to adopt the way of suffering taught by their Gurus. The idea is to civilly disobey certain official orders pertaining to the Gurdwaras and thus invite suffering on ourselves, remaining perfectly non-violent. This method has been adopted with the conviction that it will lead to success by moving the callous heart of the oppressor by presenting to him the sight of suffering inflicted by him and that by cheerfully enduring this suffering strength will be evoked in us and the public will be convinced of the depth of our feeling and the sincerity of our cause. This suffering may take the form of imprisonment, fines, beating or death.

Government at first tried the policy of wholesale arrests in 1921 and the first half of 1922. In spite of inflicting severe sentences it failed to suppress the ardour of the Sikhs. Then in August 1922, in Guru-ka-Bagh affair Government deliberately adopted the policy of dispersing the Sikhs proceeding to the Gurdwara by inflicting inhuman beating on them which created a sensation throughout the world. The prayerful non-violent attitude and the undaunted

steadfastness of the Sikhs under this severe trial, and the pressure of public opinion convinced the Government of the futility of this step and it reverted to the former policy of making arrests. That even failed for daily a batch of one hundred Sikhs offered itself for arrest in a perfectly non-violent manner for full two months without breath. There seemed to be no end to this stream of Sikhs volunteering to be arrested. Thousands were rendered destitute and homeless by heavy fines and wholesale unscrupulous attachments. After having arrested about 6,000 the Government found an excuse to extricate itself from its wrong positions. In the present Jaito struggle the Government taking lesson from its failure at Guru-ka-Bagh tried to avoid making arrests of large numbers of Akalis and adopted the policy of cat-and-mice play. The daily batches of 25 pilgrims were nominally arrested, often being beaten and humiliated before arrest, and were taken hundreds of miles away by train and sent adrift unprovided in the jungles of Bawal, an outlying dominion of Nabha State. These *jathas* often walked long distances back to Jaito to re-arrest the right and met the same fate. This continued for months and the Government was absolutely unmoved. The religious sacrilege at jaito remained unremedied and the religious right of pilgrimage and worship remained unredeemed. After five months the Sikhs resolved to take intenser and vaster suffering upon themselves by sending *Shahidi jathas* of 500. The objective and the oath of non-violence of these *jathas* was the same as of the previous smaller *jathas*. The first *Shahidi Jatha* that arrived at Jaito on 21st February was ordered to disperse and, on its refusal to comply with this order, was fired upon. It was perfectly justified in refusing to disperse for a Sikh cannot surrender his religious right of freely visiting the Gurdwara. When the Sikhs advanced even under fire to the Gurdwara, the authorities discontinued the firing and ordered the police and military to beat them down and carry them away. The second, third and fourth *Shahidi Jathas* on their arrival at Jaito, were ordered to be arrested and got themselves arrested because from the treatment meted out to the first *jatha* it appeared that the Government meant to make genuine arrests.

So far the question of disobeying the order of arrest has not arisen, and this discussion is only academic.

But if it come to that the Sikhs believe that they have a right to disobey a mere order of arrest, compatibly with their oath of non-violence. Of course, while disobeying such an order only passive resistance is to be offered. There is to be absolutely no retaliation, but only more suffering is to be invited on ourselves by refusing to obey the mere words of command for arrest. For instance the *jatha* advances to the Gurdwara and is stopped by an officer who declares it under arrest. The *jatha* will continue to advance as long as it is possible without physical stoppage by the Government forces. If it is surrounded it will sit down and not move unless beaten and carried away. There its policy of disobedience will cease and while in jail its members will obey all orders unless repugnant to religion. If one word is to suffice to make us give up our pilgrimage and to submit to cat-and-mouse policy, then that prohibitory word could be pronounced as we step out of the Golden Temple or even, while we are in our homes. In fact that order has already been pronounced and if we are not to move our legs at the mere presence of the order, we had better give up the movement itself. If we have got the right to disobey the order of prohibition and proceed to *Jaito*, and reaching there disobey the order of dispersal, and if in doing so we have remained perfectly non-violent, then we have certainly got the further right of passively disobeying the order of arrest and still maintain our non-violence. We are compelled to consider the necessity of extending the field of our suffering on account of the continued and increased callousness of the Government. It should be borne in mind that we are not fighting for any ordinary worldly rights but for the most precious right of religious liberty not to win any new rights, but to retain those already ours, without which our life is impossible. After full deliberations and intense experience of the consequences of civil disobedience we are obliged to admit that we do not agree that resistance of an order of arrest in the manner described above falls

under the category of violence. This passive resistance is very limited and conditioned by the circumstances of the present struggle. It is not a general undefined policy to be exercised widely. It is to be resorted to under special circumstances not out of weakness, but out of willingness to take greater suffering.

Another practical consideration derived from experience is that suffering in order to be more effective must take the form of an impressive demonstration and its intensity should vary with the hardness of the oppressor's heart. It is a patent fact that Government has become more and more hardened.

The idea of increasing the number of sufferers is to make our intense suffering *vaster*, and there is no "show of force" when the whole *jatha* is to act in perfect co-ordination like one man and goes only to suffer and not to inflict suffering.

I beg to remain,

Yours truly,

Secretary,

Shromoni Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

Basis proposed by the Committee on the 7th April, present S. Narain Singh, Bawa Harkishan Singh, S. Mehtab Singh, S. Teja Singh.

1. Letter from Nabha.
2. Akhand Path open.
3. Declaration by S.G.P.C. regarding above.
4. Cancellation of notification Cr. L.A.A. and no further arrest.
5. Stoppage of Jathas to Bhai Pheru.
6. Birdwood Committee's recommendations about bill and Kirpan.
7. S. G. P. C. to give undertaking to work the Bill in letter and spirit if they are allowed to consider the Bill in full Session, before the introduction in Council, whether in jail or outside.
8. Release of all Sikh prisoners convicted or under trail in connection with Kirpan, Jaito affair, Bhai Pheru, C.L.A.A., Black pagri (Military), and the case against S. B. Mehtab Singh and others.

9. If there be any difference of opinions between the S.G.P.C. and Government about any particular prisoner or prisoners, the Birdwood Committee should decide whether they fall under item 8.

10. (Enquiry into) Jaito firing by an independent committee or even the Birdwood Committee.

11. Convictions connected with S.G.P.C. movements not to carry any legal disqualifications or disabilities, nor will matters connected with the movement form any basis for further prosecution.

12. These terms to be kept strictly confidential.

( Draft of a proposed statement by Maharaja of Nabha )

I deeply appreciate the sympathy expressed with me in the Panth but I have reasons to believe that the interests of myself, my house and my state would be best served, if the Nabha agitation is now dropped. I, therefore, request the S.G.P.C. to exert its influence in the Panth for this purpose.

Notes handed over to General Birdwood on 16th April 1924 :-

1. If assurance given about prisoners without prejudice. Jodh Singh and Narain Singh in any case join.

2. If letter obtained from Nabha, and Akhand Path at Jaito begins, the Gurdwara committee will publicly drop Nabha agitation.

3. Government could then cancel the notification.

4. The sending of jathas to any Gurdwara will be stopped.

5. The Committee will examine witnesses and make its report

6. The Government will make it possible for S.G.P.C. meeting of the original members to be held. It goes before the council and when it passed and becomes an Act, releases will follow.

1. The Government was prepared to give a bill according to the wishes of the S.G.P.C.

2. That they were prepared to release all prisoners.

3. That the Sikh representation in the Panjab Council will be interested at 25 p. c.

4. That a Council of 3 Sikhs could be appointed for Nabha.

5. The rulers of Sikh states do not abjure their religion.

6. That a Land Board would see that Sikh soldiers are generously treated.

1. Kirpan and *Kali* Pagri prisoners in the army.

2. If there is any doubt as to the release of a prisoner, this Committee would decide.

3. If this Committee can hold Jaito enquiry also, it will be accepted.

Basis proposed by General Sir William Birdwood—present S. Narain Singh, Mr. Craik, General and S. Jodh Singh, 17 April 1924.

1. All Jathas should stop ( 1 ) Jaito ( 2 ) Bhai Pheru and elsewhere.

2. The Government would not make any fresh arrests under C. L. A. A.

3. S.G.P.C. to publicly withdraw from the Nabha agitation on receiving an assurance from the Maharaja that he abdicated voluntarily and desired the agitation to be stopped.

4. The release of the Prisoners. When the Gurdwara Act becomes law. Gurdwara and Kirpan prisoners, including Jaito and Bhai Pheru, C.L.A.A. prisoners, convicted or under trail.

5. These terms to be kept absolutely confidential.

6. S.G.P.C. undertake to carry out the actual spirit as well as the letter of the law passed.

7. The *Akhand Path* can be performed, provided no political speeches are made there and jatha leaves the state after they have performed their Akhand Path.

Draft Resolution by the Panjab Government to be published simultaneously with the announcement of the personnel of the Birdwood Committee.

Certain conversations have recently taken place between the Panjab Government on the one hand and certain elected Sikh members of the Panjab Legislative Council on the other hand with the object of ensuring a favourable atmosphere for the deliberations of the Birdwood Committee, the personnel of which is announced to-day.

1. The Governor in Council has decided in order that there should be no misunderstanding on the part of any section of the community to publish the result of these conversations and the understanding arrived at, which has been approved of by the Government of India.

2. (a) On the other hand the Government of India have agreed to permit the performance of *Akhand Path* ceremony in the Gangsar Gurdwara at Jaito, on being given a written assurance by the Sikh members of the Council who have taken part in the conversations that the ceremony will be concluded as speedily as is consistent with the due performance of religious observances and that the ceremony including the *Ardas* at its conclusion will not be made the occasion for any form of political propaganda.

(b) On the commencement of *Akhand Path* orders will be issued from Siri Akal Takht Sahib, stopping the despatch of all jathas to Jaito or elsewhere and disbanding all jathas now on the march. The members of such jathas will be allowed to proceed to Jaito should they desire, but only as individuals and not as part of any organised jatha.

(c) The Panjab Government, with the approval of the Government of India agree to cancel the notification proclaiming the S. G. P. Committee and the Shromoni Akali Dal as unlawful associations under Act XIV of 1908, on the Parbandhak Committee making a public announcement which will be binding on both associations that it has decided, in order to create a favourable atmosphere for the Birdwood Committee, to abandon all forms of propaganda and agitation against Government either in Nabha or elsewhere. The Panjab Government further agree that on the cancellation of the notification, they will refrain from making further arrests under the Cr. L. A. A.

(d) The leading members of the S.G.P.C. will give a written assurance :-

(i) To give all facilities within their power to the proceedings of the Birdwood Committee.



(ii) To carry out the spirit as well as the letter of any act that may be passed with the consent of the Sikh members of the Legislative Council as a result of the Birdwood Committee's deliberations. The Panjab Government will give all reasonable facilities for the obtaining of this assurances from these members of the S.G.P.C. who are in jail in consequence of the notifications of October last.

3. On an Act being passed to which the Governor-General has assented, the Government of India and the Punjab Government undertakes to release the following classes of prisoners.

(a) Prisoners convicted for offences connected with Kirpans.

(b) Prisoners convicted or under trial for offences connected with the forcible seizure of Gurdwaras and kindred offences, including prisoners at Joito.

(c) Prisoners convicted or under trial under C. L. A. A. This will not include persons convicted of or charged with serious crimes of violence or persons convicted by Military Courts.

4. The Panjab Government undertake to take such steps as be in their power to prevent the fact of imprisonments from prejudicing the careers of released prisoners.

The Government of India do not desire to press for the imposition of time limit to the *Akhand Path* but in view of the local conditions it is essential that a date should be fixed by which the concourse of visitors from outside should leave the state. Plague is already rife at Jaito and the assembly of large number of persons might easily lead to an outbreak of cholera. The water supply is limited to two wells, one of which is already condemned as unsafe, and the supply of food in Jaito itself is extremely limited. Finally it is not fair to place on a small state the financial burden of keeping indefinitely in a remote place the numbers of officials whose presence will be necessiated by a large influx of visitors from out side.

For these reasons the Government must insist that no visitors from outside will remain within the state for more than...

days after the commencement of the *Akhand Path*.

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### Draft proposed

24. 4. 24

The Parbandhak Committee being solely concerned with religious matters and being actuated by a sincere desire to advance the well-being of their brother Sikh co-religionists is most anxious to prove to the world that it is prepared to meet General Birdwood Committee half way and thereby to create a new happier atmosphere and make it possible to come to conclusion as regards the future management of Gurdwaras which will be satisfactory to all concerned. Further having regard to the declaration of the Maharaja of Nabha that he is not responsible for the present agitation about Nabha affairs and has no sympathy with it, the Committee now makes public declaration in connection with Nabha will be dropped, and further it announces that if an *Akhand Path* is commenced at Jaito, orders will be issued to stop at once all jathas proceeding to Jaito or to any other shrine pending the conclusion of General Birdwood Committee—also all propaganda in any way criticising the action of Government will cease.

35

### Copy of the letter of Nabha

I am not responsible for the present agitation about Nabha affairs.

Sd/Ripudaman Singh  
31. 7. 23.

P. S. and have no sympathy with it.

Sd/R. S.

**Present—**

Col. Minchin  
 General Birdwood.  
 Mr. Craik  
 S. Narain Singh  
 S. Jodh Singh  
 Dated 24-4-24.

### Went to fort.

1. Narain Singh
2. Myself
3. S. B. Mahtab Singh
4. B. Harkishan Singh
5. S. Teja Singh

This proposal rejected.

36

### Proposed Basis of Settlement

25. 4. 1924

I guarantee on behalf of the Akal Takht that if one jatha of 25 is allowed to commence an *Akhand Path* in the Gangsar Gurdwara, the council will undertake that the performance of the *Akhand Path* by the jatha will occupy not more than 9 days, after which the jatha including the readers, will, leave the state.

They further undertake that the ceremony including the *Ardas* will be purely religious, also that there will be no political speeches or propaganda in the state territory.

In consideration for the above concessions, the S. G. P. C. guarantee that despatch of all jathas to Nabha or other form of direct action will cease immediately the *Akhand Path* commences. Individual Sikhs will be allowed to visit the Gangsar Gurdwara, provided that they indulge in no political speaking or propaganda while in the state territory. Further when Birdwood Committee commences its sittings, the despatch off all jathas throughout the

Punjab will cease.

These terms to be kept strictly confidential by both the parties

### Present

1. Colonel Minchin
2. General Birdwood
3. Mr. Craik
4. Jodh Singh

Basis of settlement proposed by the Government, leaving Nabha question aside. Date 25. 4. 24.

37

25-4-24

When the Bill proposed by the Birdwood Committee becomes law, with the consent of the Sikh members of Legislature Council these classes of prisoners will be released:—

- (a) Prisoners convicted in connection with Kirpan.
- (b) Prisoners with the forcible seizure of Gurdwaras including Jaito affair.
- (c) Prisoners convicted or under trial under C. L. A. act including the case against Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh and others. All serious crimes of violence will be excepted.

This and the draft about Jaito shown to S.B.S. Mehtab Singh, B. Harkishan Singh, S. Teja Singh on 25. 4. 24 with the result that S. G. P. C. should give nothing as a confidential undertaking and (B) Public communique was suggested.

(Written in the hand of Bhai Jodh Singh, a member of the Birdwood Committee)

38

28. 4. 1924

### New Terms

The following new terms were suggested by S. Jodh Singh at a conversation held on the 28th April, at which General Sir

William Bird, Colonel Minchin and Mr. Craik were Present:—

1. The attached draft communique by S. G. P. C. to be issued with the omission of the last sentence and the words 'necessity of' in the penultimate sentence. It should be understood that this communique does not imply the definite abandonment of the Nabha agitation by the S. G. P. C.

2. On the time of the communique referred to in (1) one of the daily Jathas of 25 arriving at Jaito should be given permission to commence on *Akhand Path*. 101 *Akhand Paths* in all will be performed according to the vow taken. The S. G. P. C. is unable on religious grounds to give an explicit assurance that the ceremony will be concluded within any fixed term, but S. Jodh Singh assures that judging from the attitude of the S. G. P. C., every effort will be made by means of the provision of as large a number of readers, etc., as possible to finish the ceremony as quickly as possible.

3. As soon as an *Akhand Path* is commenced, orders to issue from the S. G. P. C. stopping or dispersing all jathas now on the march, including the Lyallpur Jatha, members of such jathas to be free to proceed to Jaito as individuals but not marching in military formation as jathas.

4. S. Jodh Singh considers that the S. G. P. C. would not consent to the publication of a statement by Government on the lines of paragraph 4th of the telegram from the Government of India No. 835-S of the 26th of April.

5. The *Ardas* at the conclusion of *Akhand Path* would contain no prayer for the restoration of Maharaja or any other words which could be interpreted as propaganda against the Government.

6. As soon as *Akhand Path* is commenced, Government would announce the personnel of the Birdwood Committee.

7. The Parbandhak Committee would then make a public announcement that in order to create a favourable atmosphere for the Birdwood Committee, they have decided to suspend all form of propaganda against Government both in Nabha and elsewhere and also to suspend the sending of jathas to any destination. (It is understood that the despatch of the jathas to Jaito would be finally

stopped as soon as the Akhand Path commences).

The foregoing statement will be binding on the Akali Dal as well as the S. G. P. C.

8. On the publication of this announcement the Panjab Government will cancel the notification of October last proclaiming the Parbandhak Committee and the Akali Dal as unlawful associations. It being distinctly understood that should any unlawful form of agitation regarding the Nabha affair be renewed, anybody or any association directing or encouraging that agitation will again be proclaimed, and the Government would refrain from making arrests under the C. L. A. A. Act and from attaching property in realization of fines.

9. The S. G. P. C. will give a written assurance,

(a) to give all facilities within their power to the proceedings of the Birdwood Committee.

(b) to carryout the spirit as well as the letter of any act that may be passed as the result of the Birdwood Committee's deliberation with the consent of the Sikh members of the Legislative Council.

The Panjab Government will give all reasonable facilities for the obtaining of this written assurance from the members of the S. G. P. C., now in jail.

10. On an act being passed to which the Governor general has consented, Government undertakes to release the following classes of prisoners:

(a) Prisoners convicted in connection with Kirpan;

(b) Prisoners convicted in connection with the forcible seizure of Gurdwaras and connected offences.

(c) Prisoners convicted or under trial under the C. L. A. Act X.

It is suggested that word "unconditionally" should be inserted as exception will be made in the case of persons convicted of serious crimes of violence and of those convicted by Military Courts.

11. As regards releases, Government undertakes to take

such steps as lie in its power to prevent the fact of imprisonment from prejudicing the careers of released prisoners.

Doubtful cases to be considered by a committee which will make recommendations to Government consisting of the following:—

(a) Sir William Birdwood or, if he is not available, a Judge of the High Court.

(b) A nominee of the Parbandhak Committee.

(c) Chief Secretary to Panjab Govt., Mr. Craik.

### 39

The working Committee approves the programme for compromise as drafted and it empowers the following Sub-Committee to work out the details in consultation with the working Committee in Fort Jail.

S. Mangal Singh

S. Daulat Singh

S. Raja Singh

#### Present

1. S. Arjan Singh
2. S. Niranjan Singh
3. S. Partap Singh
4. S. Harbans Singh
5. S. Lashman Singh
6. S. Mangal Singh
7. S. Daulat Singh
8. S. Gopal Singh

**Dated 28-4-24**

Whole story told to the outer Working Committee.

### 40

#### **Draft Communique (Proposed on April 28, 1914)**

The S. G. P. C. has repeatedly and clearly declared its position

with regard to the *Akhand Path* affair in its Communiques and instructions to the Jathas given at Sri Akal Takht. But as misunderstandings appear to have been created in certain quarters it once again reiterates its real position.

The only object of sending jathas to Jaito is to establish the right of Sikhs to worship and congregate for religious purposes without hinderance. It has been made clear that the S. G. P. C. has no other objective than this and certainly do not wish to make the Gurdwara Gangsar a base of operations to carry on the propaganda against Nabha deposition under the cloak of performance of pilgrimage and *Akhānd Path*. As soon as 101 *Akhand Paths* are finished with due reverence and ceremony and their vow fulfilled, the Jathas will have no further incentive to stay there. It need not be added that in the event of existing restrictions being removed the sending of further Jathas to Jaito or any other form of direct action will cease. (The deleted sentence is not included here.)

The words to be used in the *Ardas* after the *akhand Paths* at Jaito.

41

ਅਰਦਾਸ

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

“ਹੇ ਸੱਚੇ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ, ਇਨਸਾਫ਼ ਹੋਵੇ, ਅਨਯਾਏ ਦੂਰ ਹੋਵੇ ਤੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦੀ ਬਿਪਤਾ ਵਿਚ ਹਰ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਸਹਾਈ ਹੋਵੇ । ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਗੰਗਸਰ ਜੈਤੋ ਦੇ ਅਖੰਡ ਪਾਠ ਤੇ ਯਾਤਰਾ ... ਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਜੋ ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਹੋਏ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਕਸ਼ਟ ਸਹਾਰੇ ਹਨ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਘਾਲ ਪਰਵਾਨ ਕਰੋ ਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਨਬੰਦੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਸਿਦਕ ਤੇ ਸ਼ਾਂਤੀ ਬਖਸ਼ੋ, ਤੇ ਸਰਬ ਸੰਗਤ ਨੂੰ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਪੂਰਨਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਚਲਣ ਦੀ ਸਮਰਥਾ ਬਖਸ਼ੋ”



30-4-1924

Instructions for Bhai Jodh Singh and Narain Singh.

1. We agree to the omission of the words 'necessity of' In place of the last sentenc, the following may be substituted in the communique:

"It should be understood that this communique does in no way imply the abandonment of the Nabha question by the S.G.P.C."

or

It should be understood that if the above is not included in the communique the S, G. P. C. will be free to announce this fact, if necessary.

The word 'definite' to be omitted and the word 'agitation' to be replaced by 'question'.

2. Line 2, omit the words 'daily' and 'of 25'.

Line 7, omit the word 'explicit'.

Line 8, omit 'but'.

Line 9, add however after 'Single'.

3. For this para substitute:

"As soon as the S. G. P. C. learns of the removal of restrictions at Gurdwara Gangsar, Jaito, no new Jatha will be sent to Jaito from anywhere by the S. G. P. C. *Jathas* already on the way will be instructed to intrain at the nearest railway station and reach Jaito as soon as possible and proceed to the Gurdwara singing shabad.

4. Omit.

5. Omit para 5.

**For information of Bhai Jodh Singh only.**

6. Stands

7. For 'Nabha and elsewhere', substitute 'British territory and Indian States'.

8. For 'on the publication of' read 'along with the publica-

tion of'.

After 'Government' add 'for the same purpose of creating a favourable atmosphere for the Birdwood Committee.'

Add after 'fine', 'or taking any other penal action'.

9. Delete 'for the obtaining... .. Jail' and substitute 'for holding a general meeting of the S. G. P. C. as it existed on the 6th August 1923 in order to consider the draft bill in a free and unfettered manner.'

10. After 'release' add 'unconditionally' and after 'classes of prisoners', 'convicted or undertrial.'

(a) Delete 'prisoners' convicted'

(b) Delete 'prisoners convicted'. After 'offences' add 'arising out of Gurdwara Reform movement and Jaito affair'.

(c) Delete 'prisoners convicted or under trial', and after 'Act' add 'including the case of S. B. Mchtab Singh and others'.

Delete 'and of those convicted by Military Courts'.

11. Omit the first sentence 'as..... prisoners' and substitute 'The Government will take steps to remove all legal disabilities and penal consequences incurred by the released prisoners, mentioned under para 10 and no further prosecutions will follow on the basis of any action or speech made in furtherance of G. R. M. including the Kirpan questions.'

12. (a) Omit 'A Judge of the High court' and add 'any other gentleman acceptable to both sides.'

Add Para 13. An enquiry in to the Jaito firing affair made by an impartial committee, commanding public confidence.

14. Every effort will be made by the Government and the S. G. P. C. to settle the whole affair before the departure of H. E. Sir Edward Maclagon.

15. All announcements concerning settlement by both sides will be made after mutual consultations. The S. G. P. C. will take care that no offensive expression is used and Government will also avoid any expression humiliating for the Sikhs.

16. If the above changes and amendments in the draft of

proposed basis of settlement dated 30th April, 1924 are accepted by the Government, Bhai Jodh Singh, M. A., and S. Narain Singh, and in the absence of the latter Bhai Jodh Singh alone, may sign the agreement on behalf of the S. G. P. C.

17. The S. G. P. C. has no objection in the publication of the whole or any part of the basis of settlement.

18. Bhai Jodh Singh and S. Narain Singh should make it clear that if as a result of any such publication, any misunderstanding arises, the S. G. P. C. will also be entitled to the similar right of publication in order to remove the misunderstanding.

Sd/- Daulat Singh  
Mangal Singh  
Raja Singh.

43

It is an indispensable preliminary condition that in any settlement that may be arrived at, both the Government of India and the Punjab Government are to remain free to make such publication as they may deem necessary at any time.

H. D. Craik  
30. 4. 1924.

Inner Working Committee and representatives of the Outer informed of it on 30-4-24.

(Jodh Singh)

44

Revised Draft of proposed resolution by the Panjab Government.

I. Conversations have recently taken place between the Panjab Government on the one hand and certain Sikh members of the Panjab Legislative Council on the other hand with the object of removing as far as possible all grounds of misapprehension and controversy which would be prejudiced to the impartial enquiry into

and the endeavour to reach an equitable permanent solution of the matters offered to the Committee to be presided over by General Sir William Birdwood, Bart., G. C. B., G. C. M., K. C. I., C. D. E., D.S.O., the personnel of which is announced to-day. The Governor in council has decided in order that there should be no misunderstanding on the part of any section of the community to publish the result of these conversations and the understanding arrived at which has been approved of by the Government of India.

2 (a). The Sikh members of Punjab Legislative Council who have taken part in these conversations have given an assurance of their honour that if opportunity is given for the performance of the *Akhand Path* in the Gangsar Gurdwara at Jaito, the ceremony will be concluded as speedily as is consistent with the due performances of religious observances and that no part of the ceremony will be made the occasion of any form of political propaganda. It is anticipated by the Sikh members that the *Akhand Path* will be completed in... .. days, and arrangements are being made accordingly, though no definite undertaking can be given.

The administrator of Nabha will authorise the performance of ceremony on this undertaking.

2 (b). On the commencement of *Akhand Path*, orders will be issued from Sri Akal Takht Sahib stopping the despatch from any place of all jathas to Jaito or elsewhere. Such jathas as are already on the march will disperse but the members will be allowed to proceed, should they so desire, by train to Jaito as individuals but not as part of any organised jatha. On and after entering the Nabha border they will obey all orders of the state authorities.

(c) The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee undertakes forthwith to make a public announcement which will be binding on both the Parbandhak Committee and the Akali Dal that they have decided in order to secure the objects referred to in para 1 to abandon all forms of Propaganda and agitation against the Government either in Nabha or elsewhere. The Punjab Government will thereupon cancel the notification proclaiming the S. G. P. C. and

the Akali Dal as unlawful associations under Act XIV 1908. On the cancellation of the notification the Punjab Government will make no further arrests in respect of offences arising from the notifications so long as the conditions detailed in this resolution are duly observed.

(d) Leading members of the S. G. P. C. will give a written assurance :—

(i) to give all facilities within their power to the proceedings of the Birdwood Committee and

(ii) to carryout the spirit as well as the letter of any act that may be passed with the consent of the Sikh members of Legislative Council.

(3) As a result of the Birdwood Committee's deliberations, if the Panjab Legislative Council, with the consent of the elected Sikh members pass a bill to which the Governor of the Panjab is able to assent as an equitable solution having due regard to all interests concerned and to which the assent of the Governor-General has been obtained, it is the intention of the Government of the Panjab to release as many as possible of the persons now imprisoned in connection with the Akali movement.

With this object they will review the cases of the following classes of prisoners :—

(a) Prisoners convicted for offences with Kirpan;

(b) Prisoners convicted for offences with the seizure of Gurdwara and kindered offences;

(c) Prisoners convicted under C. L. A. A.

These will not include persons convicted or charged with serious crimes of violence. The Administration of Nabha state will take similar steps regarding prisoners of the same classes in its jurisdiction.

4. The punjab Government will refrain from taking any steps to prevent or prejudice the resumption of there occupation as a consequence of their imprisonment by prisoners so released.

## 45

Lahore  
1st May, 1924.

Dear Mr. Craik,

Up to 30th April the conversations between us were on the understanding that everything would be kept confidential. On the 30th you gave me a note purporting that the condition of secrecy will not be binding on the Government of India and Government of Punjab. I think this condition could not apply to our previous conversations. After 30th, of course, there could be no hitch.

I may recapitulate the whole proceedings because I fear the negotiations are coming to a stand-still and it is better to commit to writing what has passed between us to avoid any risk of misunderstandings arising afterwards. On receiving telegrams from you, S. Narain Singh and myself came to see General Birdwood and after a long talk you proposed certain terms on which a compromise could be affected. I noted them down and talked with the other side and then saw General Birdwood on the 18th and gave him a brief note of what the other side thought.

After your return from Simla you again wired to me on the 23rd. S. Narain Singh and I again came on the 24th and General Birdwood handed over a draft communique to me which the S.G.P.C. might issue about Nabha. That proposal not maturing on the 25th, we discussed the possibility of a compromise leaving Nabha question alone, and you handed over proposals to me for a settlement of the Jaito question. I took them to the other side and brought their proposals to you. On the 28th you handed over a note to me as a result of conversation between yourself, Col. Minchin, General Birdwood and myself. I may point out that the headlines of that note convey a wrong impression. All the proposals did not emanate from me and the..... even those proposals which I clearly indicated... .. acceptable to the other side.

On the basis of that note I saw the other side on the 30th

and they gave me their amendments of that note. But when I came to see you on the 1st you told me that the previous negotiations could not be carried on in that form and handed over a draft resolution to me which the Government suggests should be published by agreement of the approval of Government of India is obtained. At my suggestion you made certain changes in it and I took the note to them. The reply that they have now asked me to convey to you is that by their experience of the last few days they feel that it will not advance matters to discuss proposals that still require the approval of the Government of India. They are prepared to give a definite reply if something is shown to them in its final shape.

Yours sincerely,  
Jodh Singh

46

AMRITSAR  
1-5-24

Dear Mr. Craik,

On reading the proposed draft again I find these words on page 2 para (c)

“To abandon all forms of propaganda and agitation against Government, either in Nabha or elsewhere.” May I point out that if the Government of India agree to a settlement on the basis of leaving the Nabha question still.....it will be difficult to reconcile the word *abandon* with the clear statement of the S. G. P. C. that Nabha question is still unsettled. I mean that if once the Government of India pass this draft how will I be able to explain to the S. G. P. C. that it means abandonment till the settlement of the Gurdwara question by the Birdwood Committee.

As for *Ardas*, I forget to tell you that at the time when this particular *Akhand Path* was interrupted the S. G. P. C. had fixed a particular prayer to be offered at the conclusion of all such *Akhand Paths* throughout the British territory and Indian States. The words

now proposed have been toned down to their utmost. All reference to Government has been cut out in view of settlement.

Pray ask General Sahib to fight his hardest for Sikhs this time. They must have fought their hardest under him so many times.

Yours sincerely,  
Jodh Singh

47

Gujranwala  
9th May (1924.)

My dear General Birdwood,

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ।  
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਿਹ ।

After leaving you I went to Amritsar and along with Bh. Jodh Singh saw the gentleman concerned and discussed the matter with them. They are very reasonable. But they are undoubtedly in an awkward position as regards the change of route of the Jatha. A great deal of money and efforts have been spent in collecting rations; more than this, they think that the change will have an adverse effect on the mind of the general public. However if the Government moves one step forward towards peace and goodwill, they are prepared to move two. If the Government, as I suggested yesterday verbally, *suspends, till the matter is decided one way or the other*, the realisation of fines and new arrests from to day, I can induce them to meet your wishes in changing the route. But for this, I am afraid the desire of changing of route cannot be..... you will press the reasonableness of this suggestion on Mr. Craik, so as to produce the necessary calm atmosphere, Moreover, there is yet ample time to the entering of the jatha in the state and if the Committee meets before that time, the desired object could be gained.

Yours sincerely,  
Narain Singh



48

Secret

No, 13940-Poll:  
Punjab Civil Secretariat  
Lahore, dated 10-5-1924.

My dear Sardar Jodh Singh,

With reference to S. Narayan Singh's letter to me of the 9th of May, I am desired to say that I am not empowered to bargain with you as to the condition... .. the route of the fifth "Shahidi Jatha" should be ... .. orders have already been issued to all Deputy Commissioners... .. directing the temporary suspension of the realization of fines inflicted on Akalis pending the result of the negotiations now in progress. It should be clearly understood (a) that no announcement of this suspension is to be made; and (b) that if the negotiations come to nothing, the realization of fines will be proceeded with.

2. As regards the suspension of arrests, such suspension is out of the question so long as the despatch of "Jathas" and other unlawful activities continue. The suspension of arrests is, as you are aware, one of the terms of the main agreement and is contingent on the cessation of all propaganda and agitation. Moreover it is obviously impossible to suspend arrests at Bhai Pheru so long as "Jathas" continue to proceed to that place. At the same time I am in a position to inform you that Government do not contemplate making arrests on a large scale at the present moment.

3. As the matter is now very urgent and..... leave Lahore for Simla tomorrow night, I must ask... .. to let me have a definite reply not later than 5 p. m. tomorrow, Sunday, the 11th of May, either by telephone or otherwise. Failing the receipt of such a reply, I shall conclude that the "S. G. P. C." do not intend to order the change of the route, ... of course special arrangements may... with the "Jatha" ... event of the "S. G. P. C." ... suggest the prospects

of the main negotiations reaching a successful issue will be gravely prejudiced.

Yours sincerely  
H. D. Craik

To

S. Jodh Singh M. L. C.,  
Dhingra Buildings, Hall Gate, Amritsar.

A duplicate of this is being despatched to S. Narain Singh at Gujranwala today.

49

Amritsar  
11. 5. 24.

Dear Mr. Craik,

I am in receipt of your secret letter No. 13940 Poll dated 10. 5. 24 and the contents have been noted by the S. G. P. C. They have written to me to say that they have changed the route of the jatha as follows :—

14th Jhok Mohra  
15th Jagat Singh Wala  
16th Jandoke  
17th Mukatsar  
18th Serai Nanga  
19th & 20th Kishenpura Wala  
21st Jaito

Yours sincerely  
Jodh Singh

50

**Confidential**

Amritsar  
12. 5. 24

My dear Mr. Craik,

Just a line to remind you of the case against S. Mohinder

Singh, M. L. C., of Ludhiana. He is a very inoffensive gentleman, just an eat-drink-and-be-merry sort of fellow and at this stage when the negotiations are proceeding, it will be advantageous if the case against him be withdrawn. If that be not possible at this stage, postponement or a long date may do. Next hearing of his case comes off on the 15th instant.

Yours sincerely  
Jodh Singh

## 51

18. 5. 1924.

Copy of letter dated Lahore the 18th May 1924 from the Secretary Negotiation Sub-committee to Sardar Narain Singh and Sardar Jodh Singh. A copy of this letter was handed over to Mr. Craik by Sardar Jodh Singh the same night :—

We have seen the revised draft of proposed resolution by the Punjab Government handed over to us by you on the 17th May 1924. This draft makes such a departure from the line of discussions followed hitherto and involves so many changes in the previous proposals made by the Panjab Government that it becomes necessary to recapitulate the proceedings that have taken place so far.

On the 17th April, after meeting the representatives of the Panjab Government, General Sir William Birdwood and Mr. Craik, Chief Secy., you brought certain proposals to us which contemplated the settlement of all the questions at issue including the Nabha affairs. The Solution of the latter affair proposed by the Government was that S. G. P. C. may advise the Sikh community to drop the Nabha affair on receipt of a request to that effect from H. H. the Maharaja himself. We expressed our willingness to do so. If the Maharaja of his own free will and accord wrote to the S. G. P. C. something to the following effect :—

“I duly appreciate the sympathy expressed for me in Panth, but I have reasons to believe that the interests of myself, my house and my

state would be best served if the Nabha agitation is now dropped. I would therefore request the S. G. P. C. to exert its influence in the Panth for the purpose."

On the 24th April to our great surprise you brought from the Government an attested copy of statement dated the 31st July 1923 signed by H. H. and not adressed to the S G.P.C. which the S.G.P.C. had already disposed of as having been secured from the Maharaja under circumstances detailed in S. G. P. C. communique No. 569 and 570 dated 2nd Aug. 1923.

Further, it had been observed before the S. G. P. C. passed the Nabha Resolution in its general meeting of August 5th and 6th 1923 after giving due consideration to this statement.

As no fresh document of the purport proposed by the Government was forthcoming, it was mutually agreed to discuss the settlement of after questions and leave the Nabha affair open.

With this end in view, you informed us that it was desired by the Panjab Government that a confidential agreement should be made. We agreed to this. After some discussions you brought us a draft agreement on 28th April which embodied, among others, the proposal to give an undertaking about the release of all the prisoners convicted or under trial in connection with Kirpan, Gurdwara and kindered cases, etc. The withdrawal of the case against S. B. Mehtab Singh and others was also included in the above mentioned undertaking. In this draft agreement there was no mention of any time limit for the performance of *Akhand Path* in the Gurdwara Gangsar, Jaito. It was also clearly put down therein that the Nabha question would remain open for both the parties. After considering this draft of confidential agreement, we made certain necessary amendments and authorised you in writing on the 30th April to sign the agreement on behalf of the S. G. P. C. if the Government accepted our proposed amendments.

On the 1st May you came back and told us that on reconsideration the Government did not want to make a confidential agreement

but had instead given you a draft resolution which was to be published by agreement and was subject to the approval of the Government of India. You also told us that the resolution had been drafted without even your getting an opportunity of placing our amendments before the Government. On account of this sudden change in the form of discussions and the necessity of the approval of the Government of India, we felt that it would not advance matters to continue to discuss proposals which were tentative and expressed our readiness to give a definite reply if something were shown to us in final shape.

But we may mention that in the draft resolution of May there is no mention of time limit for the performance of *Akhand Path* at jaito and it includes an explicit undertaking by the Government to release all prisoners convicted or under trial for offences connected with Kirpan, Gurdwaras and kindred offences, and under C. L. A. A. and persons arrested at Jaito. Withdrawal of the case against S. B. Mehtab Singh and others, was also included in the above undertaking.

In 17th May after seeing the Government representatives you brought to us another draft of proposed resolution by the Punjab Government revised by the Government of India. To our astonishment we find that the undertaking about the release of prisoners has been changed into a mere 'intention' which again has been made contingent on a new condition, viz., "the Governor of the Panjab is able to assent to the bill passed by the Council as an equitable settlement of the question, having due regard to all interests concerned". Stranger still, in spite of clear knowledge of the inability of the S. G. P. C. on religious grounds to give an assurance that the ceremony will be concluded within any fixed time as admitted by the Government in the proposed confidential agreement of 28th April, it has now thought fit to again pin us down to the same undertaking in a roundabout way. At the same time as already clearly explained in our instructions to you embodied in the amendments proposed by us on the 30th April, it is beyond our

power for religious reasons to ask any jatha that has taken the vow at Sri Akal Takht Sahib to disperse before reaching Jaito, but as already explained we are prepared to meet the wishes of the Government by sending these jathas by train after the removal of the restriction on the *Akhand Path*.

Further you gave us clearly to understand that all persons arrested at jaito will be released after the commencement of the *Akhand Path*, but now we learn that a new case has been started at Nabha in which the Head Jathedar and jathedar and propably some other members of the Ist Shahidi Jatha have been charged with violence... ..

Another disturbing factor during the course of discussions has been the excesses perpetuated on the S. G. P. C. members and others in the District jail Multan. In spite of your telegrams to the Government, you have not been allowed to go there and see things for yourself. These incidents are not conducive to the success of discussions about settlement.

Again although both sides have clearly understood since 28th April that the Nabha question was still open yet the revised resolution brought by you now wants us to abandon all propaganda against Government instead of "suspending" as originally proposed in the draft agreement of 28th April. We may assure you once more, if any assurance is required, that we have always been prepared for a reasonable and honourable settlement, that would secure to the Panth its objective of the Gurdwara reform. At the same time, we have not the least desire to lower the prestige of the Government in the eyes of the public.

But for reasons stated above we are sorry that we cannot see our way to agree to the settlement proposed in the revised draft resolution.

Sd/-Daulat Singh  
for S. G. P. C.

52

21st May, 1924.

My dear S. Jodh Singh ji,

Herewith a true copy of the letter sent by me to General Birdwood on 9th inst. Please send me a copy of the typed notes from S. B. Mehtab Singh which was handed over to Mr. Craik.

I am just in receipt of the following telegram from Mr. Craik. I am sure you have also received the same.

“268 Js. urgent. Government does not propose to publish anything regarding course or terms of recent negotiations without consultation with you. Stop. It trusts that you and your friends will meanwhile publish... .. nothing as any publication at present would greatly increase difficulties of situation.”

Craik Punjab.

The telegram shows that they have not yet finally broken the negotiations. Please, therefore, do the needful. Will it not be better to inform the gentlemen concerned not to publish anything yet ?

Yours sincerely,  
Narain Singh

53

From Sir Daya Kishan Kaul, Prime Minister Patiala State, to  
Master Chand Singh, Editor, *Panth Sewak Amritsar*,  
( Urdu )

ਓਕਵੁਡ, ਸ਼ਿਮਲਾ  
੨੪ ਮਈ ੧੯੨੪.

ਮਿਹਰਬਾਨ ਮਾਸਟਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ  
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਿਹ

ਆਪ ਕਾ ਖਤ ਮੁਵੱਰਖਾ ੨੨ ਮਈ ਮੁਝੇ ਅਭੀ ਮਿਲਾ । ਮੈਂ ਅਫਸੋਸ ਕਰਤਾ ਹੂੰ ਕਿ

ਮੁਝੇ ਪਟਿਆਲਾ ਮੈਂ, ਪਹਿਲੇ ਬ-ਵਜਾ ਬੀਮਾਰੀ ਬਾਦ ਮੇਂ ਕਸਰਤ ਕਾਮ ਕੀ ਵਜਾ ਸੇ, ਆਪ ਸੇ ਮੁਲਾਕਾਤ ਕਾ ਮੌਕਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਮਿਲਾ। ਲੇਕਿਨ ਮੁਝ ਕੋ ਆਪ ਕਾ ਪੂਰਾ ਖਿਆਲ ਥਾ। ਚੁਨਾਂਚਿ ਮੈਂ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਡਿਓਡੀ ਕੋ ਕਹਿ ਦੀਆ ਥਾ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਕੋ ਨਈ ਸਕੀਮ ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਮਝਾ ਦੇਂ। ਆਪ ਬੇਦਿਲ ਨ ਹੋਵੇਂ। ਗੁਜ਼ਸ਼ਤਾਂ ਮਹੀਨੋਂ ਕੇ ਅਲਾਉਂਸ ਭੀ ਆਪ ਕੇ ਪਾਸ ਬਹੁਤ ਜਲਦ ਪਹੁੰਚੇਂਗੇ। ਸਰਦਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਕੇ ਪਾਸ ਪਿਛਲੇ ਦਿਨੋਂ ਜ਼ਿਆਦਾ ਗੁੰਜਾਇਸ਼ ਨਹੀਂ ਥੀ। ਮੈਂ ਉਨ ਕੋ ਤਾਕੀਦਨ ਲਿਖ ਰਹਾ ਹੂੰ। ਬਿਹਤਰ ਹੋਗਾ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਡਿਓਡੀ ਕੋ ਏਕ ਪਤ੍ਰ ਲਿਖ ਕਰ ਪੂਛ ਲੇਵੇਂ ਔਰ ਉਨ ਕੀ ਤਹਿਰੀਰ ਪਰ ਪਟਿਆਲਾ ਤਸ਼ਰੀਫ ਲੇ ਜਾਵੇਂ। ਕਾਮ ਕਾਜ ਕੀ ਬਾਬਤ ਮੇਂ ਵੁਹ ਸਬ ਸਮਝਾ ਦੇਂਗੇ। ਵਹਾਂ ਪੰਡਿਤ ਜੀਵਨ ਲਾਲ ਪਰਸਨਲ ਅਸਿਸਟੈਂਟ ਹੋਮ ਸੈਕਟਰੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਸੇ ਭੀ ਮਿਲ ਲੇਵੇਂ। ਜ਼ਿਆਦਾ ਖੈਰੀਅਤ।

ਦਿਆ ਕਿਸ਼ਨ ਕੌਲ

54

Lahore

26th May 1924

My dear Craik,

I and Sardar Narain Singh had a talk with the other side from 3 to about 7 P. M. in the fort. The following is the impression that I gathered from their talk :—

1. They insist on an impartial enquiry about the Jaito shooting. If that be not possible for the present, postponement of the Present case till the enquiry. But if a promise to release the accused in this case alongwith other Jaito prisoners is given, there is a possibility or there agreeing to it.

2. They insist upon explicit declaration about the unconditional release of prisoners but if the Government retain the present form they might agree to a written assurance saying, as you explained to us verbally, that these words are merely a legal form but in reality the Government will release all the prisoners.

3. They may agree to our estimated time of *Akhand Paths* at 34 or 35 days ( 6 Paths at a time ) and a week extra for unforeseen difficulties.



4. One thing more. They are issuing of their own accord tonight the communique that was proposed on 28th April they should issue. I mean the one explaining their real object of jaito struggle and disclaiming all intention of making it a base for Nabha agitation. This step taken of there own accord, I think, should convince you of their earnest desire for an honourable settlement, if possible. I think that will settle with most of the difficulties in the last two paras in the proposed resolution relating to jaito affair. I shall write in detail tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,  
Jodh Singh.

## 55

### Press Communique No... ..

The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee has repeatedly and clearly declared its position with regard to Jaito AKHAND Path affair in its Communique and instructions to the Jathas given at Sri Akal Takht Sahib. But as misunderstandings appear to have been created in certain quarters it once more reiterates its real position.

The only object of sending jathas to Jaito is to establish the right of the SIKHS to worship and congregate for religious purposes in their Gurdwaras without let or hinderence. It has been so often made clear that the S. G. P. C. has no other objective than this and certainly does not wish to make the Gurdwara Gangsar a base of operations to carry on the propaganda against Nabha deposition under the cloak of performance of pilgrimage and AKHAND PATHS. As soon as one hundred and one AKHAND PATH are finished with due reverence and ceremony and their vow fulfilled, the Jathas will have no incentive to stay there.

It need not be added that in the event of existing restrictoins

being removed, the sending of jathas to Jaito or any other form of direct action will cease.

Amritsar.

26 May, 1924.

Sd/-

General Secretary

Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee,

Amritsar.

56

**Confidential**

Amritsar,

27th, May 1924.

My dear Mr. Craik,

I sent you a rough pencil note\* yesterday per S. Sunder Singh. It was written in the train and I jotted my impressions of yesterday's talk on all the important points.

I enclose the copy of the communique that the S. G. P. C. has issued to day. On referring to the draft resolution, I find that the communique almost completely covers the ground of matters discussed in para 2 (a) and (b). The only question is of time limit about which I gave my estimate yesterday. About jathas on march, there is complete agreement on both sides now. So para 2 (a) and (b) becomes unnecessary now in view of this public declaration on there part. There is no need for the Sikh members to give an assurance now when the S. G. P. C. has done so publicly.

*Para (c).* Instead of S. G. P. C. issuing one communique and taking responsibility of Akali Dal also, they will issue two communi-ques separately because they say the two organisations are quite different and the each should shoulder its own responsibility.

They are quite willing to abstain from all agitations against Sikh states also, provided the Sikh states too like the British Government undertake to release the Akali prisoners after the passage of the Bill and, meanwhile, postpone the realization of fines, attachments,

\*Typed by S. Raja Singh, approved by S. Mangal Singh and S. Daulat Singh. Copy given to inside people on 31st at 4 P.m.

confiscations of property and fresh arrests. So para (c) reconstituted they will like it to read as under.

The S. G. P. C. and S. A. D. will forthwith make public announcements that they have decided in order to secure the objects in para 1 to suspend\* all form of agitation against British Government and Sikh states including the despatch of jathas to Bhai Pheru and elsewhere.

The Punjab Government will cancel the notification proclaiming the S. G. P. C. ... on duly observed. But they want to make it clear that Nabha question is still open and settlement about it has not yet been arrived at and that should the necessity arise, they will still be free to make an announcement to this effect.

Para D stands intact. But they say in order to give a complete assurance about (d) ii they must do it constitutionally so that none may rebut them after words. For that purpose they will require the holding of the general committee to discuss the Bill proposed before it is placed on the council anvil.

*Para 3.* About the release of the prisoners, I wrote fully yesterday. They will like such some announcement when the Punjab L. C. with the consent of the Sikh members has passed a bill to which the assent of the Governor and the Governor General has been obtained, the Punjab Government will unconditionally release the following classes of prisoners convicted or undertrial. But if for legal form this announcement cannot be made publicly, a written assurance that the words used in the proposed resolution really mean what has been said about may satisfy them.

Para (c). In view of the stoppage of agitation against Sikh States instead of the Administration of the Nabha state the administration of all the Sikh states may be substituted.

In stead of Para 4 of the new draft they want para 4 of the draft proposed on May 1st. It may be included in the resolution or in the private assurance as you like better. Realising the legal

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\*If it comes to settlement on other points, they might agree to abstain instead of 'suspend'.

difficulties pointed out by the Government of India about the public announcement of the withdrawal of the case against them, they appear willing to accept your verbal assurance as Chief Secretary that when the bill has become law, the case against S. B. Mehtab Singh and others will be withdrawn. About the Jaito trial I have written fully yesterday.

These are my impressions of the discussion with them yesterday.

They asked me if an agreement is arrived at, what time the deliberations of the Birdwood Committee and the passage of the bill etc., will occupy. I told them that General Birdwood was thinking of leaving India by the 1st October and before that he must finish not only this bill but he must finish the work of the committee about the doubtful cases also and I further added that what I gathered from talk they want to expedite matters as much as possible.

The whole thing is now clearly laid before the Government and if it finds it can effect settlement on the lines if may immediately do so for in my opinion lengthening of the negotiations is bound to introduce further complications for example:

Some Lambardars, etc., are said to have been dismissed and suspended for serving the Akali jathas, etc. They Laid great stress on their reinstatement yesterday.

Yours sincerely,  
Jodh Singh.

57

June 1924.

Press statement re. the breakage of Birdwood negotiations.

In its communique 3rd June, Government has definitely announced that the idea of the Birdwood Committee has been abandoned, thus the negotiations between Government and the Sikhs about preliminaries have not resulted in an agreement. In order that there

may not be any misunderstanding about the position of the Sikhs in this matter the following brief authoritative statement is issued.

Early in March (1924), an informal private suggestion was conveyed to certain Sikh leaders that if the Sikhs relax their demands about the Nabha question, the Government was ready to give a law about Gurdwaras and *kirpans* to their entire satisfaction and release all prisoners. The Sikh leaders were likely to be put in direct touch with the Government of India when the Panjab Government intervened and demanded that Jathas should cease going to Jaito and Bhai Pheru as an earnest of good faith. In reply the Government was asked also to show its bonafides by removing restrictions on pilgrimage to Gurdwara Gangsar, Jaito, and restoring the *status quo ante* 13th October 1923. To this the Government did not reply.

In the beginning of April the Panjab Government invited Bhai Jodh Singh, M. L. C., to serve on the Birdwood Committee which it contemplated to announce. Bhai Jodh Singh expressed his inability to serve on the Committee unless the release of prisoners connected with the movement before the introduction of a bill in the council was definitely guaranteed. A little later S. Narain Singh, M. L. C., Gujranwala, was asked by Government to join this Committee. On the 17th April the above mentioned Sikh councillors and General Sir Birdwood and Mr. Craik, Chief Secretary, met at Government House, Lahore, and after discussing matters with them met the representatives of the S. G. P. C. in Lahore Fort and outside. At this stage Government contemplated settlement of Nabha, Jaito, Gurdwara Legislation and Kirpan affairs all and made suggestions accordingly. But as the Government was not able to carry out its own proposal about Nabha, the settlement of that affair did not mature and it was agreed by both parties to proceed with the solution of the other questions, leaving the Nabha question open.

It was the desire of Government that the settlement should take the form of a confidential agreement. The Sikhs agreeing, a document was drawn up in which Government agreed to give a

definite written undertaking about the release of prisoners including those under trial in Lahore Fort and those arrested in connection with Jaito affair, on the the passage of a Gurdwara Bill with the consent of the Sikh councillors. This draft document was brought by Bhai Jodh Singh and S. Narain Singh on 28th April to the S.G.P.C. representative who proposed some amendments, the more important of which were based on religious grounds. The S. G. P. C. had of its own accord offered to suspend all forms of agitation in order to create a calm atmosphere for the Birdwood Committee and Government agreed to cancel the Cr. L. A. Act notification declaring the S. G. P. C. and S. A. D. as unlawful associations and to abstain from fresh arrests and other penal actions; of course, the going of jathas to Jaito and Bhai Pheru was to cease. The amendments desired by the S. G. P. C. were of such ordinary and reasonable nature that Bhai Jodh Singh considered the settlement so likely that he thought that another meeting would not be necessary. He, therefore, asked for and obtained the written authority of the S. G. P. C. for himself and S. Narain Singh to complete the transaction and sign on their behalf. When on 1st May the two Sikh councillors met the representatives of Government, they were faced with a new proposal. They were told that the Panjab Government had changed its mind and, in stead of making a confidential agreement, wanted to publish a resolution, but which was subject to the approval of the Government of India. This draft resolution disclosed a number of changes from the position taken up by Government previously. When this was shown to the S. G. P. C. representatives they naturally, replied they felt it would not advance matters to discuss proposals that yet required the approval of the Government of India, but that they were prepared to give a definite reply if something were shown them in a final shape. After two weeks' silence the Panjab Government handed to Bhai Jodh Singh and S. Narain Singh on 17th May "a revised draft of proposed resolution by the Panjab Government approved by the Government of India." In this process the Government proposals had undergone further material

curtailment. The definite undertaking about the release of all prisoners was now changed into a mere intention to review the cases of certain classes of prisoners and release as many of them as possible. The release of S. B. Mehtab Singh and others in Lahore Fort was distinctly omitted and the S. G. P. C. was asked to rely on a verbal assurance of the Chief Secretary as to their release; there were other changes too. The S. G. P. C. could not accept the resolution and gave an elaborate reply on 1st May, indicating how the new proposals fell very much short of even Government's own proposals made previously. While these conversations had been going on, the Government instead of giving the Sikhs an impartial enquiry about Jaito firing; which the S. G. P. C. had been demanding from the beginning, started at Nabha a trial of 22 Sikhs including, besides a Sikh lady, the Head jathedar and jathedar of the first *Shahidi* jatha, which had been fired upon on 21st February in spite of its admitted non violence. The S. G. P. C. in its reply had to notice this fact.

On 22nd May 1924 Bhai Jodh Singh was called to Simla and shown a draft announcement which Government proposed to publish about the break of negotiations and the abandonment of the Birdwood Committee as no agreement could be reached. He did not take exception to the wording which was colourless. On being asked again, however, he expressed his belief that an honourable settlement was not impossible. Next day the Government representatives gave him to understand that certain amendments could be made in the resolution, but that on the question of release of prisoners, including the leaders in Lahore fort and those undergoing trial at Nabha, the Government position was unaltered.

Bhai Jodh Singh and S. Narain Singh saw the representatives of the S. G. P. C. on the 26th of May, who replied that they wanted an explicit declaration about the unconditional release of prisoners, pointing out however, that if the Government insisted on making its announcement in particular phraseology, it might give a private written assurance that the words really mean that all the prisoners

will be released on the passage of the Bill. About the prisoners undergoing trial at Nabha in connection with the Jaito tragedy, the S. G. P. C. suggested two alternatives. Release of those prisoners along with other Jaito prisoners, or impartial inquiry. These views were duly conveyed to Government by Bhai Jodh Singh in two letters. On 29th May he received a letter and a telegram from Punjab Government informing him that Government was not prepared to make any change, and unless Government's proposals of May 23rd were accepted by the noon of Monday, the 2nd June, the negotiations may be considered to have ended.

Thus after dragging on for full to months and after substantial agreement on most other points, the negotiations have mainly broken where they had begun, that is, on the question of the release of prisoners. It can easily be understood why the Sikhs are anxious for the release of prisoners. Any Gurdwara legislation would be doomed to fail, if the thousands who have suffered to secure it do not come out to work it and the bitterness due to their detention in jail continues. It is hard to understand why the Government can not give the required assurance, unless it means to detain them in prison and frustrate its own purpose of restoring peace by giving the desired legislation. It is also clear how moderate the Sikh demand was, for in view of their tremendous suffering at Nanakana Sahib, Guru-ka-Bagh, Jaito, Bhai Pheru, etc., by which hundreds have lost their lives, thousands have been rendered destitute and homeless, they might well have pitched their demands much higher. But knowing that nothing in the world could make up for these sufferings, which must go as a sacrifice for their God and Guru, they have only asked for the release of prisoners.

The present rupture of negotiations has confirmed the fear of the average Sikh that the Government does not want to release the leaders and workers of the Sikh community and that a Government which would not do that would never consent to give them a satisfactory Gurdwara Legislation. Nothing strange, if the Sikhs,



in view of their past experience and particularly of the present negotiations, insist that their leaders at least must first be released so that they may as free men help to fashion the Bill and carry the whole community with them in accepting and working it.

Secretary,  
S. G. P. C.,  
Sri Amritsar.

## 58

25-7-1924.

The working Committee, consisting of S. Gopal Singh, S. Daulat Singh, S. Lachhman Singh, S. Arjan Singh and Sardar Raja Singh considered the Elders' message—relating to D.D. (Dehra Dun) friend. They agreed that their representatives, Mangal Singh and Raja Singh, with Mr. Pannikar, should visit the friend and discuss matters with him in the list of the message. Therefore Raja Singh was sent to Delhi to take the other gentlemen from there and proceed to D.D. He went to Delhi and discussed matters with Sardar Mangal Singh who for certain reasons showed his inability to take the job. He further considered Mr. Pannikar's going there to no useful purpose. Therefore Raja Singh returned the same night to Amritsar and put the matters before the W.C. (Working Committee). The elders' message regarding Daulat Singh and Arjan Singh was also placed before the W.C. It was then decided unanimously to send Sardar Arjan Singh and Raja Singh to D.D. Therefore they proceeded by the night train. In the way S. Arjan Singh got fever. Hence he went straight to Hardwar and Raja Singh went to bring Mr. Pannikar. Mr. Pannikar and Raja Singh proceeded to D.D. and wired Arjan Singh to meet them on the way at Hardwar. At Saharanpur St. Deedar Singh also came into the carriage where Mr. Pannikar and Raja Singh were. He tried to find out why Raja Singh was proceeding, but he after about an hour's struggle evaded him. At Hardwar Arjan

Singh met Raja Singh and Pannikar and St. Deedar Singh. Saint wanted to find out from Arjan Singh as well, but he also after some difficulty evaded him. He again met Raja Singh and told him that they were insulting him by not confiding in him but trusting a non-Sikh. He told Raja Singh that he was coming from Lahore to see the friend, and find out what he wanted (a) Postponement of his case from settlement, (b) giving up his case or (c) he would give a settlement to S.G.P.C. of his case. And that he was doing so in connection with negotiations that S. Jogindra Singh was conducting and which the elders had approved and the details of which were sent by them to Jogindra Singh through S. Narain Singh. He wanted information of Raja Singh and Arjan Singh's mission so that his statement, the friend may not conflict with theirs. In view of the elders' strong message that everything was to be strictly limited to W.C., St.'s money affairs, and the belief that the elders could not expect to be so inconsistent as to tell everything to others without consulting the outside servants, the affair was all considered to be a *banāo*. He was therefore again left blank from Hardwar to D.D. Pannikar, Arjan Singh and Raja Singh sat in another carriage. At D.D. he again wanted to accompany A. S. and R. S. but they declined. They went straight to Chatopadaya's place, and he to S. Prem Singh's, although he said he would be staying in a hotel. A. S. and R.S. asked Chatopadaya to fix time with the friend. He said that about four days back the friend had told him to leave D.D. as his stay with him was harmful to him. Therefore, R. S. himself went to fix time, but took Chatopadaya with him to show him house, etc. R.S. saw Ranbir Singh and asked him to fix time with the friend. He did not like to tell the friend that we were at Chato's but R.S. told him that as, according to their information, Chato could be relied upon by them, they stayed with him. Ranbir Singh saw him. He first sent for Chato and asked him why Pannikar was with R. S. (and) A.S. Chato said to show him that they were right persons. He, therefore, sent for Pannikar and asked him whether his seeing A.S. (and) R.S. was

not objectionable. He advised him to see them. But he mentioned that S. Jodh Singh passed D. D. for Mussoorie the previous day. A. S. (and) R. S.'s going there proved the clique against him and so on. He then sent for R. S. (and) A. S.

The following is the summary of which passed at the meeting. Present were, Friend, Chato, Pannikar, A. S. (and) R. S., Maharani sitting behind the curtain separating rooms. It is pointed out st. was at Prem Singh's, when Raja Singh first went to fix time, but he concealed himself in the bathroom. He was seeing the friend before Mr. Pannikar went there It is not known what passed from him or on to him. A. S. (and) R. S.'s meeting started at about 2 P. M. and lasted up to 6 P. M. A copy of the attached statement will for verification be handed over to the friend. Mr. Pannikar also desired a copy and accordingly one would be given to him, in accordance with the last promise of Raja Singh.

H.H:—You mean to say, that your resolutions of August last, Truth about Nabha, your challenge to the Government have not been able to prove your bonafides and that during this one year the public has not been fully behind you. And still supposing I do give this statement and as you say public opinion does get behind you and you proceed on sending Jathas, how will this be able to solve the question? Jathas cannot solve it. You challenged the Government for an open enquiry. You expect people to reply to your challenge in the way you dictate. The Government gave the reply through the Viceroy's speeches. What more you want? People ought to learn lesson from changes of circumstances. You should think of political ways. Mere sending of Jathas cannot bring restoration nor can the issue of the statement you require, but still I shall consider over the matter. It is only political pressure that can bring you the desired result.

R. S. Honestly speaking, we must confess that the general public has been fully satisfied with the bonafides of our case. We can expose everything to a few trusted friends, but not before the public. We do not say we have not received any reply from the Government. We take the speeches referred to by you quite enough

as reply to our challenge in the usual diplomatic form. But we are not satisfied with them and we have to contest them. I agree with your H. (Highness), that is, only political pressure that will bend the Government. But to bring the political pressure, to reply to the Government, to get the public opinion behind us, for invigorating political pressure, your statement is indispensable. Without it nothing further can be done. Hence the request.

H. H. Well I must again ask for time to consider over the matter.

R. S. Has not this question been discussed with your H. by S. Mangal Singh and Daulat Singh.

H. H. No.

R. S. I think there was some discussion with the said Sardars about your H. H. giving a statement which could be verified by somebody who came from Mahatma Gandhi. It was almost the same.

H. H. It related to enquiry about forcible disposition only, but that limited portion was physically impracticable to separate from the main enquiry. Moreover, It was for Mahatma Gandhi only. It was not a public statement nor on the subject suggested by you.

R. S. Then I should understand that your H. H. was not prepared for the enquiry demanded by us, nor Your H. could issue the requested statement now.

H. H. I have stated that it is impracticable to separate the limited enquiry from the main, and for the statement I want time.

R. S. I realise that for the reasons stated your H. cannot agree to the proposed enquiry.

Mr. Chatopadya. It means that, Does not it, Maharaja Jee?

H. H. It does.

A. S. How much time your H. will take to form an opinion about the statement.

H. H. As soon as possible.

R. S. Sir ! This is too indefinite. There are circumstances which force us that the decision should not be put to indefiniteness. Kindly say some definite time, 2 days, three days.

H. H. It may take about ten days.

R. S. Well Sir, in the meantime, kindly give us an authenticated copy of the representation submitted by your Highness to the Viceroy. In the opinion of the legal advisers of the S. G. P. C. it is necessary that before the defence starts in the beginning of August, we should have the said copy.

H. H. It is no good defending the case. Defence will not do anything. It will not save the accused from the punishment Government had already decided upon. I made the same mistake. The Government would have the same it did even if I did not defend. You cannot satisfy the court by defence and further what value the copy can have to defend the accused ?

R. S. We are not defending because we are too much after saving our leaders. Let the court do what it likes. We are not aiming at satisfying the court (In the above H. H. also said Mahatma Jee does not like defence). We want to prove to the world that the case is a farce. Mahatma jee does not like defence, but this is not the defence of Individuals. It is not being carried to save them. It is to prove the farcical nature of the charge against the existence of the S. G. P. C. and S. A. D., the life of the Panth. The Government want to take a certificate from the court that having purposely overawed the Government and conspired, against the King Emperor by taking up Nabha question, S. G. P. C. has become an unlawful association and therefore it ought to be dispersed.

Authenticated copy of the representation will prove that S. G. P. C. did not take up Nabha question for over-awing the Government. Mahatma Jee does not like defence but there are circumstances different in every case, and moreover we do not say Mahatma Jee controls our movement, nor does he claim it. In short it is the considered opinion of the S.G.P.C. in the best advice available in the country that for our justification in the case the requisite authenticated copy of the representation is indispensable, and

accordingly on behalf of the S. G. P. C. I request your Highness to please give us one.

H. H. This is the second new proposal. I must require time to consider over it. I shall consult my advisers in the matter.

R. S. Cannot your Highness please send for your advisers now?

H. H. No, can not. I must look to the convenience of other persons as well.

R. S. We can go whence the adviser is to come. It is only a question of a few hundred rupees for him. But please see to our difficulties as well. Surely our inconveniences are far greater than his.

H. H. There should at least be one holiday.

Lastly it was decided that the S. G. P. C. man should go on Saturday to get the reply on Sunday.

R. S. One thing more, Sir, supposing on the advice of your advisers, your Highness decides that your Highness is unable to give any of the two documents requested for, kindly consider and advise us what we should do then, for taking everything into consideration, we have made these requests.

H. H. Why should we anticipate troubles before hand?

R. S. My Dear Maharaja Sahib, I have already said that I cannot delay our decisions much longer. In case your H. does not give us any of the said two documents, please put your Highness in our position and advise us what to do, for in our opinion without one of these two documents there is no going forward by us.

H. H. Does this mean that you are to give up the Nabha question?

R. S. Well sir, when the Panth took up Nabha question, it did not take up to give it up. It has not sacrificed for this question for one complete year, meaning its sacrifices to be wasted. It took it up in right earnest and it wants to proceed on so with it, but can't do without one of the documents mentioned.

H. H. It is not my cause now, it is the Panthic cause. The great Guru has said "*Banhen Jinan di pakrie sir dije Bnahen nan*

*chhorie*." When the Allies took up Belgium's causes it was no longer Belgium's it was of the Allies.

R. S. Well Maharaja Sahib, it is the panth's cause and Panth is proud to have taken it up. Panth, in accordance with the orders of the great Guru does not in the least contemplate giving up the arm it has grasped. It wants to hold it fast. But kindly do not snatch away the arm, which in other words means give the Panth what is necessary for it to fight on; without giving anything means asking us to fight on without any arms. Without one of the documents, the movement is bound to cripple down and consequently it cannot be expected to walk. We do not want to keep quiet. As you say we want to bring political pressure on the party concerned. And, in my opinion the best thing for us would be to place the matter naked open before the British public, American public, the British Government, and for the Congress, Khilafat and others making a common cause with us in the matter. But suppose the Government tomorrow says Maharaja Sahib is satisfied with the decision, where do we stand. What reply have we to give ? I cannot say what the Panth will do. But I must put it in very clear words that in case your Highness decided not to give either of the two documents, Panth will decide what it should do, how it should proceed. The form of decision I cannot say, but in my personal opinion there is no ground for S. G. P. C. to push on. The S. G. P. C. have (no) *locus standi* in the matter. They become crippled and they cannot move.

H. H. But there must be some occasion for a public statement. It was occasion for me to make on when the Viceroy made the speech or Lord Oliver, but how can I make a statement after a year without any reason ? How can statement spring out like a mushroom in the rainy season.

R. S. Occasions can be created for it (He suggested one or two proposals for creating occasions for the statement, but they were not considered to be satisfactory ones and Mr. Pannikar agreed with H. H. ). Well we can think for the occasions and we shall

suggest later on. But in the meantime you very kindly do decide on the two proposals, and in case of there not maturing, the alternative, as the S. G. P. C. must decide in the matter before any delay.

Mr. Chato:—Why not await Hailey's announcement in his Durbar at Amritsar ?

H. H. Yes.

R. S. In view of urgency of matters, we cannot postpone it till then.

H. H. You ask me for an alternative suggestion. You also give me your opinion putting yourself in my position.

R. S. If I must give my opinion, then putting my humble personality in your Highness's place I would not like to give the copy of the representation, but I shall have no hesitation absolutely in giving the public statement demanded.

H. H. I shall consider over it.

R. S. Well sir, we shall be sending our man, most probably S. Daulat Singh to be here on Saturday to get your final reply, i. e., either a public statement, or an authenticated copy of your representation, or a suggestion as to what S.G.P.C. should do in the matters of Nabha question. But I must impress upon your Highness the necessity of the documents and also that in their absence Panth must without delay decide for itself what it should do.

Final thing I have to mention is that the S. G. P. C. has from time to time been receiving information that certain persons including some newspapermen have been coming to your Highness and getting money on the pretence that it was required for Panthic work in connection with the Nabha question and the S. G. P. C. further heard that in one particular instance a gentleman took a large amount from your Highness for the S. G. P. C., that the Panth since it took up Nabha question is ready to sacrifice everything for your cause, but does not expect and is not ready to accept even a single pie from your Highness for the purpose. And furthermore, if anybody whosoever has taken any money for the



S.G.P.C. or otherwise, it was not with the order, permission, cognisance or information of the S.G.P.C. In the case of big sum, as soon as S.G.P.C. came to know about it, it ordered him to return it to you. S.G.P.C. was informed after a few days that it had been returned. The position of the S.G.P.C. was quite clear in the matter. Your Highness should clearly understand that it is not an individual, whosoever, or a group of individuals that is working in the S.G.P.C. for Nabha question. It is not even the W.C. or Executive Committee for the S.G.P.C. that it is working. It is the Panth alone and combined who gave the S.G.P.C. that mandate in the election.

H. H. I do not interest myself in money matters. Tell this to Maharani (Sahiba).

Maharani Sahiba came and the matter was repeated to Her Highness.

After other mutual social enquiries, Mr. Pannikar, A.S. and R.S. took leave.

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The whole of the above was related to the W.C. who decided that R.S. should again go and get the matter finally settled. He is proceeding to Dehra Dun to night, the 25th July.

(Sd/- Secretary, S.G.P.C.)  
Amritsar.

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27-7-24

In continuation of my report dated the 25th July I have to report the following :—

I reached Dehra Dun 5-30 on the 25th July, went to Mr. Chatopadaya (who), was asleep. Went to see S. Prem Singh, none responded. Went again at 8-30. It was decided, I should see H.H. at 9. But H.H. not feeling well, I had to wait till about 11. At 11 it was decided I could see H.H. at 3-30. I went about 4. P.M.

H.H. said, as he was not feeling well, I had better see Chato., and that he himself would listen to it. I asked "what has been decided. Has H.H. decided in favour of giving a public statement or a true authenticated copy of the representation?" Mr. Chatopadaya said, "H. H. has decided "NO" in both the cases". I said, "I explained last time how necessary it was, that either of the 2 documents should be given. I added, in case of Nabha question, I cannot see how S.G.P.C. can proceed further without one of these two documents. I meant waste of the Panth's sacrifices during the last year. This means leaving the Panth to its look. The Panth under these circumstances shall have to consider how it should proceed further. But in doing so our object that was there should be (no) unpleasantness and at the same time the course should be such that Government not be able to harm either the S.G.P.C. or H.H." Here long discussion ensued. Maharaja Sahib, apparently under effects of the impression that he had not been treated fairly by our people, said two or three times. "Then why not leave the Nabha question." I then asked, "Has H.H. said so seriously. I can (not) think of anyother alternative under these circumstances. What course is then left? What more suggestion I can make? But in saying H.H. said "I said so at the time S.G.P.C. men (came) to Nabha." I was told by Bawa Harkishan Singhjee "quite possible, whether probable, after sometime the government may give writing to your Highness that H. H. will be restored after a certain period. The government may bribe you and so on. But you should not leave the S.G.P.C. and S.G.P.C. would not leave H.H." He further said, "Master Tara Singh Jee said, "you are politically dead. Your raising will be a ressurection. The community will raise you, and before long." But in spite of this, though I could not doubt all what Maharaja Sahib said, and certainly with pain, I had to repeat "Then Maharaja Sahib, we do not want to leave Nabha question, we did not take it up to give it up. All what S.G.P.C. did during one complete year was not done for the sake of fun. We took the matter in hand seriously and we seriously mean to finish it

successfully. But I explained to you how impossible it was for us to do so without either of these two documents and that how the documents could be used, in our opinion, for further struggle." But as H.H. (was) not prepared to do either of these two things. I had to enquire whether under these circumstances, H. H. seriously advised us to give up Nabha question. It was too late then and I was asked to stay there for another day which, after some hesitation, I had to agree to.

Next morning (July 26), I drafted the attached rough draft, which I explained was subject to alternation, correction and approval of both H.H. and the S.G.P.C. This time S. Prem Singh jee, Maharani Sahiba, Maharaja Sahib, B. Chatopadaya were present. I explained again the necessity for the statement and requested H.H. to be prepared to give that ; the document was to be signed then and used when the Associated men went there. But as the reply was to the negative, I said, "Taking your Highness's remarks"—"then why not leave the Nabha question"—to be serious proposals, I presented the draft No. 2 of a letter addressed to the S.G.P.C. asking it to give up the Nabha question. Here Maharaja Sahib reitrated his yesterday's talk about our men's promises and remarks and so on and showing me S. Tara Singh's telegram to England published in the Tribune said "S.G. P.C. now wanted a loop-hole to give up Nabha question. I have seen negotiation paper with S. Mangal Singh. There was a proposal that S. G. P. C. would give up Nabha question on its getting some letter to that effect. It was a foregone conclusion with the S.G.P.C." He further said, of course in words which came out from a deep heart, "S.G.P.C. asked me to be ruined by submitting that petition to the Viceroy. I was against it. Maharani was against it. My legal adviser was against it. By your representative Deedar Singh I was told this was the message of S. B. Mehtab Singh and his colleagues that I should sign the representation. In view of the fact that Deedar Singh came with Bawajee and on other occasions on behalf of S.G.P.C. and also in view of the absolute fact that St.

Teja Singh told me at Nabha (Deedar Singh was present with him) that Deedar Singh was the *Gupt* (secret) Jathedar of Sri Akal Takht Sahib. I and Maharani were, as Sikhs, left with no alternative but to sign the representation. I have been ruined by the submission of that representation. I have been swindled. I wrote also the last year's message to the Associated Press with Bawajee's approval. Because your movement is getting weaker, because you are getting less funds, now you want a loop-hole. It is a fact that no life is left in us now. But if S.G.P.C. now give up the Nabha question, what is left in us? If there is any, it will be squeezed by the government. It is Pandit Malaviya who spoiled my case with Sir Ali Imam. He urged Ali Imam to treat me as he did. It is Malaviya who changed his views after seeing my case. About that very case you depend upon Malaviya? I often said Bhagat Ram was Daya Kishan Kaul's man. I was ignored in this respect as well. I cannot give the representation (i) because it is a private communication and secondly as it will prove our connection." He was of the opinion that, situated as he was, he could not prove his case in any court, and as the limited enquiry demanded by the S.G.P.C. was physically impossible without going into the details of the whole case, he was not prepared for the enquiry and at the same time he could not see what good such enquiry could do. He could not suggest anything to the S.G.P.C. but surely in view of the reasons and the state of affairs explained above S. G. P. C. would be betraying him. If S.G.P.C. gave up Nabha question. If the court demanded the letter from him, he said, he would have no objection in giving the letter then."

In a long speech, in which I expressed regret at the happenings about the *Hukam Nama*, which, I must repeat here as well, is no less an abuse of power than that exercised by the Mahants whom we have ousted, vindicated the position of the S. G. P. C. in this matter as well as in the matter of money. I explained to H. H. the intentions of the S. G. P. C. with regard to Nabha question. Maharaja Sahib being satisfied, we sat together to consider the matters cool-heartedly. I pointed out that I did not know law, but I thought the

court had no jurisdiction over H. H. In that case, Her Highness suggested, better get the Viceroy as witness and ask him to produce the letter. Here I pointed out the danger of proving our connection by asking the Viceroy to produce the petition.

After further deliberations. H. H. consented to give the attached public statement to Mahatma Gandhi. But the statement was to be reply to a letter from Mahatma Gandhi asking the questions to which H. H.'s statement could be a letter, and secondly the onus of publishing the statement was to lie with Mahatma jee. Mahatma jee should not ask in the letter whether H.H.'s letter was to be published or not but he can publish it.

H.H. pointed out the difficulties that may arise after the elders conviction and new men taking power after us or in the next election. I assured him on the points. Finally the statement was dictated by H. H. and I made out two copies and then took leave at about 10 past seven in the evening, sitting for practically the whole day.

(Sd/-) Raja Singh.

**P. S.**

I regret owing to feeling puzzled, I have not been able to repeat the facts in exact words I used there, but the facts are the same, though not put here in exact sequence of occurrence.

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( a )

### Draft No. 1

A special representative of the Associated Press interviewed H. H. Maharaja Sahib Bahadur of Nabha at Dera Dun on the— — — and the following conversation took place.

#### **Asstd. Press Repr.**

It is generally believed that Birdwood negotiations failed because S. G. P. C. insisted on your Highness, restoration The belief seems to have been confirmed by the speech of Lord Peel, the late Secretary of State for India, in the recent debate on the Indian situation in the House of Lords.

But considering your Highness' quietness over the speeches of Lord reading, Sir Mohd. Shaffi, Lord Oliver, Sir Malcolm Hailey on the Nabha affair, people feel that your Highness is satisfied with the decision of the Government of India in your case and the attitude of the S. G. P. C. in the matter is not appreciated.

**His Highness:--**

The presumption is incorrect. I am not satisfied with the decision of my case which was wholly a *Banāo* of intrigues and bribery, not without the hand of the officials of the Political Department. I kept quiet over the insults levelled against me in the speeches you refer to partly owing to derangement of my health through drugs given me in the course of intrigues and partly because I consider it futile to cotest my case further in the face of gross injustice done to me.

If at any time circumstances convince me that justice will be done, I intend to fight out my case.

But at the same time it should be clearly undertood that I am not responsible for the activities of the S. G. P. C. or any other Sikh body with regard to my case.

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The draft was prepared off hand without considerations or consultations at D. D.

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( b )  
Draft No. 2

To  
The President,  
S. G. P. C.,  
Dear Sir,

It is rumoured that Birdwood negotiations failed mainly because of the S. G. P. C. insisting on my restoration. Lord Peel's speech on the Indian situation in the recent debate in the House of Lords has tended to confirm that rumour.

Though my attitude towards the activities of the Panth with regard to Nabha question has throughout remained the same as

expressed in the Associated Press telegram of— 1923; I cannot but thank the Panth for the feeling of goodwill underlying these activities.

But in spite of this and the merits of my cases I consider it to be in the interests of all concerned that the Panth should set aside my case and I wish the S. G. P. C. exert there influence in that direction.

To be from his Highness.

Drafted suddenly at Dehra Dun without consultation but subject to approval of both the S. G. P. C. and H. H.

( c )

### Draft No. 3

My dear Mahatma Jee,

I am much obliged by the receipt of your kind letter.

In reply to your enquiry, I have to say that I have been reduced to my present condition through the trickery, corruption, intrigue, vindictiveness and disloyalty of my old enemies, rivals, officers, servants, and people who posed as friends. After crushing me these very people, still not being satisfied, have often abused me publicly in press and levelled baseless charges against me, which one cannot help characterising as mean and mischievous as my vilifiers and slanderers know that, situated as I am, I could not reply to them.

Mine is a very sad case and I was much touched by your kind enquiry. I am suffering under a great wrong and grave injustice and what more makes my position sadder is that crippled and clipped as I am I cannot vindicate my honour. ( Rs to Elders—will this help us? )

If my memory does not fail me I think the Hon' ble the Home Member said in one of his speeches last winter that Government took action in my case as a result of a judicial enquiry or something to that effect. Now it will come to you perhaps as a surprise that not withstanding my repeated requests Government did not permit the counsel to appear in the case to which I was entitled under

Government's own resolution. Such enquiry, I think, can not be called a judicial enquiry at all.

There may be some such other things as well, with which I need not trouble you at this late hour as I do not think that will serve any useful purpose.

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From Sardar Mangal Singh to Secretary S. G. P. C.

16th August 1924  
Delhi.

My dear Sardar Sahib Ji,

Mr. Pannikar has come back this morning. He had long talk with Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Mr. Dass and C. F. Andrews on the Sikh situation and showed them negotiations papers. They all, one and all, perfectly agree with us and are prepared to fully support us in our demands. They say our demands are very reasonable and are exactly what can be expected from any reasonable man. I understand from Mr. Pannikar that he had already written to you direct from Calcutta. Moti Lal and Dass are prepared to move matters with the Government of India or the Home Government, if necessary. I want authenticated statement of our minimum demands to be given over to Pandit Moti Lal, Mr. Dass, C. F. Andrews and Mahatma Gandhi. I have got some papers already but I want about half a dozen copies of the negotiations papers as well as a statement of our minimum demands. This would help us in enlisting sympathy for our movement because when the people come to know about the reasonableness of our demands they will support our case whole-heartedly. This is necessary. I will see Pt. Moti Lal when he is passing to Simla or possibly I may travel with him up to some distance and explain to him the whole situation and tell him what we want them to do. They have passed resolutions making our cause there party question but my complaint is that our sikh friends in L. A. are not doing what they should do. They do not canvass and



even do not mix with the Swarajists. They do not explain the Sikh situation to them. They do not ask them to help them. I think the S. G. P. C. should definitely order them to do this and that. They are very lazy, other-wise we will have to take some disciplinary measure against them and ask them to clear out to make room for others and better heads. I am feeling very strongly on this matter. I am enclosing herewith the copies of the resolutions passed by the Swaraj Party meeting held at Calcutta on the 16th instant for your perusal.

I understand that Sardar Jogindra Singh and Ujjal Singh have gone to Amritsar with some proposals. I object very strongly to S. Ujjal Singh coming in when we do not want him, S. Jogindra Singh is a second best choice but he is some-times impulsive and for him it is difficult to distinguish whether this is to be done or not. At this time or that, he should be given definite instructions beyond which he should not be allowed to go in any case.

Please send half a dozen copies of the negotiations file and statement of our minimum demands that would help us even in propaganda work.

I am yours V. Sincerely  
Mangal Singh.

(To S. Daulat Singh)

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From S. Mangal Singh Delhi.

My dear Sardar Arjan Singhji,

Herewith I am sending you the letter which Pannikkar wrote me today as soon as he came here. He has already sent one letter to you direct and I have also written another brief letter giving my impressions of the talk which I have had with Pannikkar. I again asked him to write out the correct version I am forwarding for your perusal.

Yours sincerely,

## 62

From Shri K.M. Pannikar to Sardar Mangal Singh.

Delhi,  
August 18, 1924.

Dear Sardar Mangal Singh,

I wrote to you from Calcutta the result of my interviews with Pt. Moti Lal Nehru and Mr. Dass, Pt. Nehru told me that he would be prepared to help us in every way, with resolutions, questions, etc., in the assembly and by personal negotiations if required. Mr. Dass is not going to England but on my showing him the papers in connection with Birdwood Negotiations he told me that if an authenticated copy of the proceedings is given to him, he will communicate directly with the Cabinet. I also got a promise from him to pass two resolutions at the Swarajist conference which are worded something like this.

“This meeting of the Swarajya Party of the Indian National Congress places on record its sympathy for the cause of the Gurdwara Reform undertaken by the S. G. P. C. and expresses appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices undergone by the whole Sikh community in its present struggle with the Government. This meeting of the Swarajya party calls upon all Swarajist members in the Panjab Legislative council and in the Indian Legislative Assembly to give whole-hearted support to their Sikh colleagues in their attempt towards a reasonable settlement of the problem.”

Both Pt. Moti Lal Nehru and Deshbandhu Das have promised me that these resolutions will be passed unanimously in the meeting. I also showed a copy of the statement (which was drafted but not issued) about the negotiations to the C. F. Andrews who has promised to get it published in the Manchester Guardian.

My own feeling is that if a settlement by negotiation is possible, then the only man who can do it is Pt. Moti Lal Nehru. Pandit Jee told me that Hailey asked him twice to intervene but he did not want to do so at that time. He declared himself ready

if some one who had full authority from the Committee will instruct him. Pandit Jee will be going to Simla in the first week of September, probably on the first. It would be advisable if Sardar Raja Singh or Mangal Singh could be sent with full authority. I have every hope that the matter may be settled in such a case if Pandit Nehru will take it in person to Sir M. Hailey. This is the impression I gathered and it is given here for all it is worth. In any case the leader of the Swarajya Party in the Assembly carries much more weight with the officials than any other individual and if we can secure him to speak for us, there is every chance of securing better terms. Personally I am strongly of opinion that he will do much better than Pt. Malviya who is thoroughly distrusted by the Government. But that is for the Committee to decide.

K. M. Pannikkar.

### 63

From Sardar Mangal Singh to Sardar Daulat Singh, Secretary  
S. G. P. C.

Hall Street  
Amritsar  
21 August, 1924.

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Pannikkar and I are ourselves non-plussed and thoroughly flabbergasted to see the publication of a statement regarding Birdwood negotiation in the 'Forward'. I think what happened was this. Asaf Ali got hold of a statement some-how or other either from Dass or from some other place, and while he was introducing a resolution in the Swarajist council about the Sikhs, read out that statement and from there it went out to the press and 'Forward' published it without saying anything as to whence or from whom they got it. I have sent a wire to Dass to know the real facts, the wording or which is this: "Regret Asaf Ali reading a document which was private and given to you in confidence in the Swarajist conference. Please wire reply, Pannikkar."

We have received the authenticated copy of the statement and minimum demands. I will see Moti Lal when he is going to Simla and discuss the whole matter. I think instead of trying your Bill business in the Punjab council which is rotten, it would be brought up in Legislative Assembly. We may not succeed but we will get on all-India status and Sir Malcolm Hailey will simply be confused. With a powerful daily paper from Delhi and for the matter of that the whole Swarajist party with us, we can make the Govt. jump. In fact the Swarajist support is contingent on the support of our paper to their party which we have promised provided they do not fight with the Congress. They have given up the idea of starting another paper from here or purchasing Eastern Mail. They rely on us and promised to send us their good wishes.

Please consider this question reg. L. Assembly. If there is no legal or technical objection to it, then it may easily be taken. Akali and Gurdwara question is now an All-India question.

Please write me in detail.

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,  
Mangal Singh.

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From Sardar Mangal Singh to Sardar Daulat Singh, Secretary,  
S. G. P. C.

Delhi,  
22 August, 1924.

My dear Daulat Singh,

I wrote you yesterday how we ourselves were much surprised to see the publication of the statement in the 'Forward' of the 19th instant. Pannikar was naturally much upset and he immediately sent a wire to Dass, the copy of which was sent to you yesterday. This morning he has again sent another telegram to 'Forward' for publication, the copy of which I am enclosing herewith for your information. We are still ourselves wondering as to how the copy

of the statement went into the hands of Asaf Ali. The reply from Dass has not come so far. As he has left Calcutta for Jamshedpur, I do not expect his reply very soon. We have been making enquiries. Mr. Asaf Ali himself has not come back so far, but we happened to meet Mr. Sherwani who has just come from Calcutta after attending the Swarajist conference. He told us various things about Asaf and our D. D. friend which are very much amusing. This gentleman is highly respected and reliable, and we have no reason whatsoever to disbelieve what he says. You know already that Asaf went to our friend and saw him for a pretty long time and that the whole thing was kept secret even from men like Chattopadhyaya who is supposed to be his most confidential adviser and from whom, as you know, nothing is hidden. I told you already that our friend has made certain important proposals to the Swaraj party, the nature of which could not be known at that time but what has transpired now has confirmed my conclusions. Mr. Sherwani told us that Asaf wired to Moti Lal Ji asking him to travel with him from Allahabad to Calcutta as he had certain important communication to make to him. So they both travelled together. Mr. Sherwani also happened to go in the same compartment. He says that when he went there; Asaf was reading certain papers to Moti Lal Ji which he stopped as soon as he entered the compartment and an enquiry from him (Moti Lal) said that these papers were about the Akalis. Sherwani says that he did not know the nature of the papers but they were with Asaf Ali and he put them back in his bag and that Asaf was also talking of this communique in the train. Amongst other things he also told Pandit Ji that he knew it for certain that the Akalis would not be able to hold out for more than a month and that he should interfere in the matter otherwise the Sikh's cause stands to lose and the movement may go down. Mr. Sherwani further told us that Asaf told Pandit Ji that the Maharaja has made a definite proposal to the Swaraj party to offer them one lack of rupees provided they took up his cause, and, evidently, Asaf went from here with this proposal and naturally some important papers from our friend. I do not know what had been

its fate, but what I came to know from Sherwani regarding the answer given by Moti Lal Ji, I think it was rejected. Sherwani told me that Pandit Ji while talking of this proposal remarked, "Look here, I am 63 and have seen much of the world but this chap wants to make me a fool." It appears that Pandit Ji has clearly told Asaf that personally he had no interest in the Nabha question. He is only interested in it because his friends Akalis took it up. He flatly refused to discuss this proposal saying that he would not hear anything about the Sikhs unless it comes from the S. G. P. S. That was the only reply worthy of a man of his position, and from this it can be safely presumed that Mr. Dass might have given the same reply to him. But it would be useful to push on the enquiries in that direction still further.

As regards the statement Mr. Sherwani told us that when Asaf began to read it, Moti Lal said that it was not a public document to which Asaf replied, 'why not'? Mr. Dass is also reported to have objected to his reading the statement. After reading a few lines, however, he himself said that since people do not appear interested in hearing it, he may stop it, and did so, but he gave it to the press. Now the question that worries us most is how and from where he got hold of this statement. There was one copy with Mr. Dass to whom it was given in full confidence, and it is not likely that he had shown it to Asaf since he knows all about him. The fact that he brought some important paper from D.D., which he was reading to Pandit Ji in train, raises serious doubt whether or not he could get its copy from the D. D. friend. Mr. Sherwani also told us that Asaf was talking about it in the train before he had reached Calcutta. By the way it should be remembered that the D. D. friend was very much interested in the publication of this statement, because he did not like the negotiations to be resumed on these lines (leaving Nabha Question aside which was, he said, tantamount to formally giving it up). I myself have serious doubts that the Maharaja will ultimately play false to the S. G. P. C. These damned princes, you know, do not care for anything if they could get their own work done. The proposal of offer of one lack to the Swaraj party and giving

confidential papers to them, without any consultation and even knowledge of the S. G. P. C., are serious matters and should not be overlooked. It shows what way the wind is blowing. Evidently he is getting hopeless from the Sikhs and now he is looking forward to the Swarajists. He is just like a drowning man who would unhesitatingly and unscrupulously push down his dear and near kinsmen and would try to catch hold of anything in order to save himself. I am sure if even he could find an occasion to betray us to the Government, he would not pause to do it. It is high time, therefore, that we think over this question, otherwise it may be too late. Please send this letter to the Babas. I will be making further enquires here but I think it would be useful if you could send some clever chap to D. D. who would regularly watch his movements and report all that happens there.

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,  
Mangal Singh.

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Telegram

(August 22, 1924)

From

Pannikkar Secretary Akali Sahaik Bureau, Delhi.

To

“Forward” Calcutta

Kindly publish prominently following message in connection with publication of document entitled “Gurdwara Reform and Birdwood” quote, “much surprised to see in Forward of 19th instant, the publication of a document purporting to give details about Birdwood negotiations. From the document it is clear that it was a private message and it is much to be regretted that it should have been published without authorisation from proper quarters.

Pannikkar.”

C/o Hindustan, Burn Bustion Road,  
Delhi.

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Ambala City  
21-8-24.

Dear Sardar Sahib,

Reference your letter dated 19-8-24.

1. I will try my best to do as mentioned in para a, but I have explained the situation in my last letter.

2. Manifesto proposal is certainly a very good one. We will try to take in as many H. & M. as possible. We have got very little material at our disposal here. Just please get it ready at Amritsar and send on to me. I will then send it for signatures. This is high time for the nerve, and I think we should be as quick in the matter as possible. Let the history of the nation, services and the movement be put in very briefly.

3. I will try my best with respect to 3.

Yours sincerely,  
Gurbaksh Singh.

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24-8-1924

To

The President S.G.P.C.

Amritsar.

Respected Sir,

As I do not believe in the policy and actions which actuated breakage of Birdwood negotiations so far as our side is concerned (and on the day rejection of settlement was finally decided in Lahore Fort jail, I stood against the rejection) and as the present policy of the S. G. P. C. (only one general committee has met after 13th October, '23 and one executive and of these two considered the policy) and policy and actions of its very powerful and important instruments are unduly dominated by outside influence and consequently under the circumstances not in the interests of the Panth and as in spite of strenuous efforts of some of the present



members of the W. C. (are) rebuking myself and even those of the leaders now undergoing trial, the matters are going further in that direction. I have been obliged to hereby submit my resignation from the working committee, which please accept and oblige.

I beg to remain,  
Sir,

Yours most obedient servant,  
Raja Singh.

68

Rose Cottage, Simla E.,  
1st September, 1924.

Dear Sardar Sahib,

Since the failure of the Birdwood committee, I have been very anxious for the position of our community in the province and I have been thinking if any suitable further attempts can be made to arrive at a settlement.

I saw Sir Malcolm Hailey at Rawalpindi but I purposely did not mention any thing about the Akali situation as I wanted to gauge the feelings of the Govt. and the Panth on the situation as well as that of the Hindus and the Mohammadans. I have seen that the sympathies of the Hindus and Mohammadans are daily on the decrease on account of their thinking that the position taken up by the Akalis being unreasonable.

The failure of the negotiations of the Birdwood committee has, I believe, done a good deal of harm to our cause. Therefore, I have been in Simla, now, for about two weeks and I was trying to find out some body who could intervene on our behalf because I thought that it was impossible for any Sikh to intervene at this time. After many consultations and requests, I have found a gentleman whose name I would not like to mention in this communication. He is a very able and also a legal man from outside the Punjab. He is also a knight and in good books of the Government. He has promised to intervene and try to have the matter settled between our community and the Government, if we take up a reasonable position.

Even before this he has been taking some interest in the Sikh situation and he understands some little about it but he has asked me to give him information on the following to enable him to see if he can prove of any use to us.

(1) The latest bill that was being discussed between the Government and the Akali leaders with a note as to what were the points with which the Govt. agreed and on what it did not agree and also the points on which the Akali leaders agreed and on what they did not agree.

(2) Proceedings of the Legislative council, which I suppose, are printed over the past Akali bill which was passed in the teeth of opposition from the Panth.

(3) Proceedings of Select Committee on the same bill which, I suppose are also printed.

(4) Copies of any representations or correspondence between the S.G.P.C. or Akali leaders and the Government.

(5) A statement of what is wanted by the S.G.P.C. now.

(6) Any other information which you think would be of interest to the gentleman concerned.

I can assure you that he is quite anxious to get this matter settled between us and the Government, and will make sincere efforts to enable us to come to some settlement.

I will be leaving Simla this evening for Delhi and after staying there for a day or two, I will be going to Rawalpindi. If you send me the reply to this to my address at Rawalpindi, it will be quite alright and, then, if required, on my return back from Rawalpindi I can see you at Gujranwala, Lahore or Amritsar by appointment, and we can discuss the matter if you think so with any of the present Akali leaders.

The letter is a private communication to your goodself and is not meant to be made public or to be sent to the press and I hope you will treat it just as such.

The gentleman whom I have interested in our cause wants to study the whole thing at first and then he would be quite willing to

discuss the matter with 4 or 5 leading members of Gurdwara Committee, and then communicate with the Govt. on the basis of the understanding that may be arrived at after mutual consultation.

From what I have gathered from the different people here and what is now apparent from the Governor's speech and reply to the address of the Sikh Sardars of the Ambala District at Ambala, I think that Govt. is also as anxious, perhaps more anxious than ourselves, to have the matter settled although some unscrupulous men who have got their own axes to grind are taking advantage of the Govt's present attitude towards the S.G.P.C.

There is another thing that comes to my mind that :

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) [Jogendra Singh]?

To  
Sardar Narain Singh Sahib,  
M.L.C., Pleader, Gujranwala.

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16-9-24.

ਰਸਾਲਦਾਰ ਸੁੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਆਦਿਕ ਸੱਤਾਂ ਮਾਂਬਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ।

ਸ਼੍ਰੀਮਾਨ ਜੀ,

ਭਾਵੇਂ ਜੀਕੁਰ ਕੁਝ ਅਰਸੇ ਤੋਂ ਆਪ ਦੀ ਪਾਲਸੀ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਅਸਾਡੀ ਕਈਆਂ ਗੱਲਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੰਮਤੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ, ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪਦੇ ਜ਼ਿੰਮੇ ਉਪਰ ਸਾਰੀ ਗੱਲ ਸੁਟਨ ਲਈ ਜਥੇਬੰਦੀ ਦੇ ਅਸੂਲ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਰ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਚੁੱਪ ਕੀਤੇ ਰਹੇ ਅਤੇ ਜੇ ਕਦੀ ਬੋਲ ਕੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਖਿਆਲਾਤ ਦਾ ਤਬਾਦਲਾ ਕਿਸੇ ਉਘੇ ਅਤੇ ਜ਼ਿਮਾਵਾਰ ਸਜਨ ਨਾਲ ਕੀਤਾ ਤਾਂ ਬੀ ਅਸਾਡੀ ਕਦੀ ਕਾਮਯਾਬੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਈ । ਪਰ ਹੁਣ ਬਾਹਰ ਦੀ ਪੁੱਜੀ ਪੱਤਰ ਤੋਂ ਜੋ ਅਜ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਹੈ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪਣਾ ਧਰਮ ਸਮਝਦੇ ਹਾਂ, ਕਿ ਆਪਣੀ ਤੁਛ ਰਾਇ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਅਤੇ ਬਾਹਰ ਦੇ ਜ਼ਿਮੇਵਾਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟੀਗੋਚਰ ਕਰ ਦੇਵੀਏ । ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਕੁਝ ਜ਼ਿਮੇਵਾਰ ਆਦਮੀ ਇਹ ਜ਼ੋਰ ਨਾਲ ਆਖਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਅੰਦਰ ਵਾਲੇ ਖਾਹ-ਮਖਾਹ ਆਪਣੀ ਇਖਤਲਾਫ ਰਾਏ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਣ ਤਹਿਰੀਕ ਨੂੰ ਕਮਜ਼ੋਰ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਹਾਲਾਂਕਿ ਬਾਹਰ ਸਾਰੇ ਇੱਕ-ਮਿੱਕ ਤੇ ਇੱਕ-ਮੁੱਠ ਹਨ, ਤਹਿਰੀਕ ਬੜੀ ਤਕੜੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਹਰ ਪਰਕਾਰ ਦੀ

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(4th Oct., 1924)

from Sardar Joginder Singh to S. Arjan Singh.

Aira House,

Simla.

October 4th,

My dear Arjan Singh,

I have been waiting to hear from you and I am now going to U. P. I will be back about the middle of October. I do not know if you have fixed any date for the meeting. I am afraid I won't be able to attend if you have fixed any date before the 17th. Any way, it would not much matter if you decide to the following.

1. To make peace with the Government.
2. Draft an amending Bill to amend Act VI 1922.
3. Drop Nabha.
4. Press for the release of prisoners.
5. Sending only a Jatha of 50 to Jaito.

I am returning the Gurdwara Bill.

I am

Yours sincerely,  
jogindra Singh.

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Lahore  
23-11-24

To  
The Secretary S. G. P. C.,  
Amritsar.  
Sir,

The Sikh members of the P. L. C. had two interviews with Mr. Emerson and had long talks with him about the Gurdwara legislation, the details of which have been verbally reported to you. We hope you have no objection to our working out a

bill on those lines in consultation with the Govt., and introduce it in the next session. The draft bill will be sent to you as soon as ready.

Yours sincerely,  
Jodh Singh.

draft of this letter approved by

1. S. Narain Singh
2. S. Tara Singh
3. S. Gurbax Singh
4. S. Partap Singh
5. S. Harchand Singh.

Dated 23/11

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**Confidential**

Dated 24th Nov, 1924.

The Secretary,  
Sikh Council Party, Lahore.

I thank you for your favour dated 23rd November, 1924. In reply I have to inform you that the committee will have no objection to your working out a bill on the lines mentioned by you. It is, however, necessary that you will kindly send us the draft bill, as soon as it is ready, for our final say in the matter.

Yours Sincerely,  
D. Singh.  
Secretary,  
S. G. P. C.

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Khalsa College,  
Amritsar.

Dated 26th November, 1924.

My dear S. Mangal Singh,

The Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council have

appointed the following members to meet Messrs Emerson and Puckle to discuss details of the proposed Gurdwara Bill :-

1. S. Narain Singh B. A. Vakil
2. S. Tara Singh B. A., LL. B., Vakil
3. S. Gurbax Singh B. A. LL. B., Vakil
4. S. Mangal Singh Man of Kotshera
5. S. Jodh Singh M. A. Professor.

The first meeting will take place at 10-30 A. M. on Saturday the 29th at Lahore in the Committee Room of the Council Chamber and sittings will continue from day to day till the whole business is finished. Please do attend.

Yours Sincerely,  
Jodh Singh.

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Khalsa College,  
Amritsar,

Dated 26th November, 1924.

Dear Mr. Emerson,

The Sikh members have appointed the following five members to meet you and Mr. Puckle to discuss details of the proposed Gurdwara Bill :-

1. S. Narain Singh, B. A., M. L. C., Vakil High Court, Gujranwala.
2. S. Tara Singh, B. A. LL. B., M. L. C., Moga.
3. S. Gurbaksh Singh, B. A. LL. B., M. L. C., Ambala City.
4. S. Mangal Singh Man, M. L. C., of Kotshera, District Gujranwala.
5. S. Jodh Singh, M. A., Professor, Khalsa College.

I am informing S. Mangal Singh, who alone was absent from the meeting of 25th, about the time and place of the first meeting. If there is any change in them, you may let all know directly.

The addresses of the other Sikh members of the Council are given below :-

1. S. Harchand Singh, M. L. C., Reis, Lyallpur.
2. S. Randhir Singh Kallaswalia, M. L. C., Honorary Magistrate, Daska.
3. S. Partap Singh, M. L. C., B. O. Shankar, Distt. Jullundur.
4. S. Mahinder Singh, Bar-at-law, M. L. C., Pamal, Dist. Ludhiana.
5. S. Boota Singh, B. A., LL. B., M. L. C., Vakil Sheikhupura.
6. S. Bakhtawar Singh, M. L. C., Kathgarh, Dist. Hoshiarpur.
7. S. Sangat Singh, M. L. C., Lucknow. (You know his exact address.)

Yours sincerely,  
Jodh Singh.

H. W. Emerson Esqr.,  
Deputy Commissioner,  
Lahore.

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Lahore,  
10th December, 1924.

Dear Professor Sahib,

I enclose a printed copy of the Draft Bill in so far as it can be drafted at present. It is now, I think, in a form which should enable us to decide what modifications, apart from the Sections left blank, if any, are necessary before Mr. Puckle and I, on the one hand, report to Government and before the Sub - Committee, on the other hand, consults the Sikh Councillors as a body, it being understood that the draft commits neither Government nor the Sikh Councillors. The next meeting is on Friday, the 12th December, at 2-30 at the usual place.

Yours sincerely,  
H. W. Emerson.

To  
Sardar Professor Jodh Singh, M. L. C.  
Khalsa College, Amritsar,

18. Ranjodh Singh
19. Kishan Singh of Amritsar
20. Dan Singh
21. ਮਿੱਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੈਨੇਡੀਅਨ
22. ਬਖਸ਼ੀਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ ਭੂਮਦੀ
23. ਤ੍ਰਿਪਤ ਸਿੰਘ
24. ਗੋਪਾਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਗਰੀ

In supercession of all previous suggestions sent to you by us so far, we are forwarding to you this note signed by 24 of us. Master Tara Singh, although, he has not signed it for private reasons, is also in agreement with it and has seen this endorsement.

There are in all 34 members of S. G. P. C. amongst us. 25 have signed this note, 6 have given the second appended note. The remaining 3, S. Sarmukh Singh, Gopal Singh Qaumi and Chuharkana have not supplied us with any opinion. Of these nine, with the exception of S. Sewa Singh & S. Rai Singh 11 Teja Singh Chuharkana, the rest have never participated in our deliberations.

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### ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

(ੳ) ਅਸੀਂ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖੇ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਬਿਲ ਲੈਣ ਦੇ ਇੰਨੇ ਹੀ ਹੱਕ ਵਿਚ ਹਾਂ ਜਿੰਨਾ ਕਿ ਕੋਈ ਵਧ ਤੋਂ ਵਧ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ, ਪਰ ਅਸੀਂ ਸਾਫ਼ ਸਾਫ਼ ਪਰਗਟ ਕਰ ਦੇਂਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਸਾਡੀ ਸਨਿਮਰ ਰਾਏ ਵਿਚ ਐਸਾ ਬਿਲ ਮਨਜ਼ੂਰ ਕਰਨਾ, ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਪੰਥ ਦੀ ਕਿਸੀ ਪਰਕਾਰ ਵੀ ਹੇਠੀ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੋਵੇ, ਅਥਵਾ ਆਨ ਸ਼ਾਨ ਨੂੰ ਵੱਟਾ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੋਵੇ, ਯਾ ਪੰਥ ਵਿਚ ਧੜੇਬੰਦੀ ਜਾਂ ਫੁੱਟ ਪੈਣ ਦਾ ਰਤਾ ਮਾਸਾ ਵੀ ਡਰ ਹੋਵੇ, ਮੌਤ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਵੀ ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਦਰਜੇ ਬੁਰਾ ਹੈ, ਇਸ ਲਈ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਹਾਲਤਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਅਸੀਂ ਕਦਾਚਿੱਤ ਵੀ ਇਹ ਬਚਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇ ਸਕਦੇ, ਜੇ ਕਰ ਕੋਈ ਐਸਾ ਧਰਮ ਇਖਲਾਕ ਤੋਂ ਡਿੱਗਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਅਤੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਾਨ ਨੂੰ ਵੱਟਾ ਤੇ ਫੁੱਟ ਦੀ ਚੁਆਤੀ ਲਾਉਣ ਵਾਲਾ ਬਿਲ ਮਨਜ਼ੂਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਤਾਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਆਕੇ ਕੋਈ ਮੁਖਾਲਫਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਾਂਗੇ ।

(ਅ) ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਤਾਂ ਇਹ ਗੱਲ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਿਹੜੀ ਗੱਲ-ਬਾਤ ਬਿਲ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਹੋ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ ਉਹ ਤਾਂ ਹੀ ਮੰਨਣ ਯੋਗ ਹੋ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ ਜੇਕਰ ਬਿਲ ਦੇ ਜਾਰੀ ਹੋਣ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ



ਸਿੰਘਣੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਵੋਟ ਦਾ ਹੱਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ, ਸਾਡੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ ਸ਼੍ਰੋ. ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ, ਵੱਡੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੂੰ ਲੋਕਲ ਕਮੇਟੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਤੌਰਨ ਬਨਾਉਣ ਦਾ ਹੱਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ, ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਆਮਦਨ, ਪੂਜਾ, ਮਕਾਨ, ਲੰਗਰ ਤੋਂ ਸਿਵਾਏ ਹੋਰ ਕਿਸੇ ਕੰਮ ਤੇ ਖਰਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ, ਕੀ ਵੱਡੀ ਕੀ ਛੋਟੀਆਂ ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਕਮੇਟੀਆਂ ਇਕ ਕਚਰਿਰੀ ਦੇ ਮਾਤਹਿਤ ਹੋਣਗੀਆਂ। ਇਹ ਸਭ ਕੁਝ ਵੇਖ ਕੇ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਸਿਵਾਏ ਡੱਬ ਮਰਨ ਦੇ ਹੋਰ ਕੁਝ ਨਜ਼ਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਉਂਦਾ। ਇਹ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਤੇ ਸ਼੍ਰੋ. ਕਮੇਟੀ ਵਿਚ ਸੁਣਾ ਦੇਣੀ ਤਾਂ ਕਿ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਟਪਲਾ ਨਾ ਰਹੇ।

ਦਾਸ,

ਤੇਜਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਚੂੜਕਾਣਾ,

੨੦-੧੨-੨੪

79

**Confidential.**

Khalsa College,

20-12-24.

Dear Mr. Emerson,

The problem for the Sikh members is to have the bill accepted by all sections of the Sikhs and have no openings for the turbulent one to ply its trade. Perhaps you do not know that apart from the Gurdwara funds. S. G. P. C. has got other funds that run into lacs. The Nankana Shahidi fund alone amounts to something like two lacs. Then apart from the Gurdwaras in the Punjab which will come under the Act, there are other Gurdwaras outside Punjab that are under the control of the S. G. P. C. If we could name the new Central organisation S. G. P. C., all these funds and places might be transferred to it, otherwise even if they hand over the Gurdwaras in the Punjab peacefully the Act will have no power to compel them to hand over to the new body other funds and property that apart from the Gurdwara property stand in the name of the S. G. P. C. That could only be done by consent. It was with this end in view that we wanted the old name to be retained. For if such a vast amount of money and valuable property again fell into undesirable hands, it might be used for purposes other than those mentioned in the bill.

Again our object is not only to have the bill passed but to see it worked out. With the old name we might be able to induce the old body to hand over charge of all its funds voluntarily. Think of the immense advantage that such a step would give to those who want to restore normal relations between the Community and the Govt. I hope you will ponder over the matter from this point of view and agree to the name, or if you so desire we could wait upon H. E. and explain the whole situation to him.

By the way have you any objection to my taking with me to the fort some outside members of the S. G. P. C. and have the whole bill discussed in one or two sittings? In previous negotiations it was allowed and expedited decisions. If you agree you may kindly send me a permit allowing some 7 or 5 outside members to visit those inside to discuss the bill. The time should be from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M.

Yours sincerely,  
Jodh Singh.

80

Office of Deputy Commissioner,  
Lahore, 22nd December, 1924.

Dear Sardar Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter dated 20th of December. In the last paragraph of your letter you asked for a permit for five or seven outside members to visit the under-trial prisoners in the fort to discuss the draft Bill. I have sent a telephone message to you about this through Captain De La Fargue, Political Assistant, Amritsar, but in case you have not got it, will you please let me know as soon as possible the names of the members whom you wish to take into the Fort.

2. Earlier in the letter you suggested that the Sub-Committee should wait upon His Excellency and explain to him the situation regarding the name of the Central Board. My instructions on

this point were quite clear, and I do not think that anything is to be gained by further discussion. The difficulties you mention in your letter can, I think, be easily overcome if the Sikhs are genuinely anxious for solution of the Gurdwara problem whatever name be given to the Central Board.

Yours sincerely,  
H. W. Emerson.

To  
Sardar Jodh Singh, M. A., M. L. C.,  
Professor, Khalsa College,  
Amritsar.

81

Office of Deputy Commissioner,  
Lahore, 23rd December, 1924.

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I have now obtained the orders of Government regarding the grant of permission to certain persons to visit the under-trial prisoners in the fort. Government, as you know, has put definite restrictions on interviews and it is prepared to relax these only for very special reasons. These reasons have to be very strong indeed to justify a relaxation of the rules in favour of persons who include several members of the present working Committee of the S. G. P. C. and Government does not consider that the reasons exist in the present instance. It has allowed liberal facilities to the Sikh Members of Council to visit the Fort in connection with the discussion of the Draft Bill and as presumably the Sikh Members are in touch with other interested parties, it considers that these facilities should be sufficient. I regret, therefore, that I am unable to give the necessary permission.

Yours sincerely,  
H. W. Emerson.

To  
Sardar Jodh Singh,  
Professor, Khalsa College, Amritsar.

82

Khalsa College,

Amritsar,

Dated 27th December, 1924.

**Confidential**

Dear Sardar Sahib,

My idea is that we should discuss the Bill with gentlemen in Lahore Fort Jail on the 29th so as to have a definite idea of their opinion on the whole Bill. Kindly make it convenient to come to the Fort between 10 and 10.30. A. M. on Monday the 29th. Do come because the larger the number the more impressive will be our opinion.

Yours sincerely,

Jodh Singh.

M. A., M. L. C.

1. S. Gurbax Singh
2. S. Narain Singh
3. S. Tara Singh
4. S. Mangal Singh.

83

Khalsa College,

Amritsar.

I. I. 25.

Dear Mr. Emerson,

The Sub-Committee met at Amritsar today and all members except S. Mangal Singh attended. After a good deal of thoughtful consideration we came to the conclusion that we would wait upon his Excellency to explain the whole situation and then proceed with the bill. We hope you have no objection to this procedure. Rather we expect you to kindly arrange for the interview as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Jodh Singh.

84

Deputy Commissioner's Office,  
Lahore, 2nd January, 1925.

Dear Sardar Sahib,

Your letter dated the 1st January 1925.

It does not contain an assurance that the idea of giving to the Central Board the name of S. G. P. C. in the Bill has been definitely dropped by your sub-committee and until this point is left free of doubt it will, of course, not be possible to continue the discussion of the Bill. If the name S. G. P. C., has been dropped we can finish the discussion of the draft bill and if the Sub-Committee on the one hand and Mr. Puckle and myself on the other, come to an agreement, the Sikh members of the council will be given an opportunity of discussing the proposed Bill with Government and of explaining any difficulties they may apprehend. But, until such a preliminary agreement has been reached, the time is not ripe for the interview with H. E. the Governor which you ask and I regret therefore that I am unable to arrange for one.

I should be glad if you would let me know whether the Sub-Committee wishes the discussion of the draft bill to continue on the assurance regarding the name of the Central Board which I have mentioned above.

Yours sincerely,  
H. W. Emerson.

To  
Professor Jodh Singh,  
Khalsa College, Amritsar.

85

**Confidential**

9th January, 1925.

Dear Mr. Emerson,

On the 5th when I saw you personally at Lahore, I

explained to you that if the new Central Board was allowed to choose its own name we were prepared to drop the idea of calling it S. G. P. C. in the bill. I hope you have consulted the Government by this time and will let me know the result of that consultation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jodh Singh.

86

**Confidential**

9th January, 1925.

Dear Mr. Craik,

The proposals that I gave to you on the 6th and about which we had a talk on the phone this morning are designed to remove all the existing causes of trouble and to restore those relations between the Sikhs and the Govt. which obtained before this trouble started. They should in no way be taken as attempts to haggle or understood to mean that some body was offering concessions. His Excellency when Home Member said in the Assembly that the Govt. was extending its hand it was for the Sikhs to grasp it. Now if the Sikhs realizing in what their true interests lay came forward, why should the move be not construed in its true light? I hope you will look at the proposals from this point of view.

Yours sincerely,  
Jodh Singh.

87

Deputy Commissioner's Office,  
Lahore District.  
Dated 14-1-1925.

Dear Sardar Sahib,

Your letter dated 9th January.

The question is under the consideration of Govt. and I will let you know its decision in due course.

Yours sincerely,  
H. W. Emerson.

88

Khalsa College,  
Amritsar.  
Dated 15-2-1925.

Dear Mr. Emerson,

Will you kindly let me know if you had any talk with Mr. Craik after our talk over the phone and what was the result. I need not emphasise that I am very anxious that the Gurdwara Bill should come before the Council during the Budget Session, as was also suggested by you.

The S. G. P. C. wish, if possible, to consult their members in the various prisons about the Bill. Could Govt. permit S. Arjan Singh of the S. G. P. C. to visit those in Lahore Fort, Mianwali, D. G. Khan and Multan Jails; I personally think there is no ban on S. Arjan Singh visiting them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jodh Singh.

89

To  
The Secretary Sikh Council Party,  
Amritsar.

Dear Sir,

I am directed by my committee to inform you that Sardar Tara Singh M. L. C., should be put in charge of the Gurdwara Bill.

Yours faithfully,  
Secretary,  
Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

No. 3156,  
Amritsar.

The 10th March, 1925.

90

Secret

Office of the Sikh Council Party,  
Amritsar.

My dear Sardar Ji,

I herewith enclose a copy of draft Gurdwara Bill with a copy of confidential letter received from Mr. Craik. I am sending the draft per special messenger so that it may reach you as soon as possible. Now that it has been put in the legal form, the lawyer members of the Sub-Committee should go through it very carefully so that in the next meeting with the Government we may press for the changes that we want. I may add that going through the draft hastily I find that most of the changes agreed upon in our last meeting with Messrs Puckle and Emerson have not been incorporated. You will, I hope, as advised by Mr. Craik, take special care that the draft does not leak out.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd/ Jodh Singh,  
M. A., M. L. C.,  
Secretary.

Khalsa Collee,  
D/March, 29, 1925.

91

Punjab Civil Secretariat,  
Lahore.  
3rd April, 1925.

Dear Sir,

His Excellency the Governor has agreed to see the Sikh members of the Legislative Council who acted as a Sub-Committee for the purpose of drafting a Gurdwara Bill on Monday the 6th of April at 2.30 P.M. The meeting will be held in His Excellency's room in the Council Chamber building.

Yours faithfully,  
H. W. Craik.

S. Jodh Singh, M. L. C.,  
Khalsa College,  
Amritsar.



*Part of a representation by the Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar.*

.....themselves to Reform the Gurdwaras when they were practically assured that the Government policy of non-interference in such matters had allowed them to so assert their opinion as to bring about the desirable change in the administration of Gurdwaras. Be that as it may it can not be correct to say that the Sikhs who are now undergoing their trials and have been convicted in connection with this movement had any intent to commit offences under the Penal Law. They have already assured Government and the assurance may be repeated here that they were innocent of any criminal intent and do not intend to overstep the limits of constitutional reform. Though it is not intended to discuss individual cases here, it may be mentioned that the Government Prosecutor has declined to produce in Court five witnesses who were admittedly present on the occasion and were cited as witnesses in the Police Challan in the case known as the Chandar-Kot case on the ground that they were not likely to support the version placed by the prosecution before the Court which the Sikhs believe to be false.

Similarly in the Manak case an attempt has been made to make up a case of conspiracy which really did not exist. An entirely different course was and is being adopted in the case of Nankana Sahib Massacre and the inference thought not intended by Government is obvious.

It is therefore necessary that in order to restore the confidence of the public His Excellency may be pleased to order release of the Sikhs now in Jail in connection with this movement. The Government has already adopted the course of releasing Political prisoners on assurances of non-violent methods for the future. The Sikhs fail to understand why a different method should be meted out to them in the Gurdwara cases in which persons concerned acted under noble impulse.

The Dewan is of opinion that Legislation embodying the following principles and reform will go a long way to set at rest the perturbed feelings of the community:—

- (1) All incumbants...of Gurdwaras should hold office only as long as they mantain a high standard of personal character and should be removable without recourse to the present cumbersome procedure in case of misconduct, misfeasance or malfeasance of duty.
- (2) The properties attached or belonging to Gurdwaras should in no account be treated as personal or private estates.
- (3) Accounts of all sorts of incomes and revenues of Gurdwaras should be regularly kept, periodically audited and published, and otherwise be open to inspection.
- (4) Each Gurdwara should be controlled by a Committee of Sikhs elected by the community.
- (5) The Funds of the Gurdwaras should be spent only on the objects for which the trusts exist.
- (6) Worship and religious services should be carried on in accordance with the teachings of the Guru Granth Sahib.
- (7) A Special Tribunal composed of Sikhs be established to decide any disputes that may arise, and an appeal against their decisions in cases of dispute about title to property may be made to the High Court.

Another source of irritation exists in the cases where Sikhs are being prosecuted, whether in substance or in form, for wearing Kirpans. The term Kirpan is translated and defined in all Hindi and Sanskrit dictionaries and also by writers on the Sikh History and Religion like Cunningham and Macauliff as sword. No particular length is fixed either in the Sikh literature or in the Law as it now stands. Yet arrests and prosecutions for possession of Kirpan have taken place.

It may be mentioned in passing that it is practically only in two districts of Lahore and Amritsar where such prosecutions are going on, and people who are apparently quite safe when carrying their Kirpans in other districts are arrested as soon as they enter these two districts. This is a state of affairs which will not, it is hoped, be permitted any longer by Government.

The other questions, which have also contributed considerable to bring about the present tension of feelings between the Government and the Sikhs include the representation of the community in the Civil Administration, Legislative, Judicial and Executive. It is trusted that when next occasion for revision of the Rules under the Government of India Act arises, Government will be pleased to consider the Sikh public bodies and so revise the Rules as to place the community on a level with other important minorities. As regards representation of the community in the Civil Administration, a separate representation has already been addressed to the Government by the Dewan and by the Sikh Members of the Punjab Legislative Council.

Harbans Singh of Atari  
Bahadur Singh, Honorary Captain  
Jodh Singh, M. A.  
Daswandha Singh  
Sewa Ram Singh  
Amar Singh  
Hukam Singh  
Mehtab Singh.

93

Office of the Sikh Council Party.  
Lahore, D/7th Apl. 1925.

Dear Sardar Ji,

The final discussion of the Draft Gurdwara Bill with the Government is over today. The application for permission of the Governor-General to introduce the Bill in beginning of the May session must be presented on 13th of April, 1925 at the latest without fail. The Sub Committee earnestly requests all the Sikh members to approve the Draft before it is sent to the Government of India. I therefore request you to attend an urgent meeting of the Party at Akal Takht Amritsar on the 10th of April at 10 A. M. sharp. Please do attend because

if there is no quorum of the general meeting, the Sub Committee will have no other option left but to proceed with the business so as to be able to introduce the Bill in the next session.

Yours sincerely,  
Jodh Singh.  
M. A., M. L. C.

P. S. You must have received a telegram also containing the notice of the meeting.

## 94

Proceedings of the Party meeting held at Akal Takht  
on 10. 4. 25 at 10. 30 A. M.

### Present

1. S. Gurbakhash Singh ... .. in the chair
2. S. Narain Singh
3. S. Partap Singh
4. S. Tara Singh
5. S. Mohinder Singh
6. S. Jodh Singh.

(1) The bill as drafted by the Sub Committee was placed before the meeting and the Party approved of the draft.

(2) S. Narain Singh proposed that the S. G. P. C. may be asked to decide the name of the member who should take charge of the Bill.

(3) That the bill be formally sent to the S. G. P. C.

Resolved by majority of the Sub Committee that S. Narain Singh be in charge of the Bill and he is to do all the work from today onward.

Jodh Singh  
Gurbaksh Singh  
Narain Singh.

The sub committee was never given a notice to meet. S. Mangal Singh is absent. Moreover this Committee can't decide

as it is beyond its jurisdiction to decide as to who should introduce it. This.....to draft the Bill and .....to the Council Party for final consideration. It is the function of the Council Party to decide this question. These three gentlemen who are signing it are doing it by force and over-riding the powers of the Council Party. If this is to go on, I will certainly resign the membership of this Committee.

Tara Singh,

95

-Amritsar,  
10th April, 1925.

Dear Mr. Craik,

Sardar Tara Singh, M. L. C., will sign the application and will be in charge of the bill on our behalf.

Yours sincerely,  
Jodh Singh.  
Secretary,  
Sikh Council, Party.

96

Copy.

27 or 28th June, 1925.

Dear Sardar Sahib,

You will no doubt have seen that protests are being made with regard to the inclusion in schedule I of the Sikh Gurdwara bill of Shahid Ganj of Bhai Taru Singh Gurdwara (No. 7 in the ammended schedule I) on the ground that the place or part of it is really a mosque. The Deputy Commissioner has been asked to report. In the meantime I am desired to request you to let me have all details in your possession with regard to the history and circumstances of this Gurdwara.

J. G. Beazley.

Sardar Tara Singh, M. L. C,

97

Moga,  
29.6. 1925.

Dear Brother,

I enclose herewith a copy of the letter I have received today from Mr. Beazlay. You are requested to make full preparation and collect all the necessary judicial and non-judicial documents and other materials in support of our contention. All the civil judgments in our favour must be obtained and supplied to me on 3rd July when I have to satisfy Mian Sahib in an informal meeting.

I hope it will be treated as most urgent.

Yours sincerely,  
Tara Singh.  
M. L. C.

Dear Master ji,

You will please kindly hand the letter over to S. Arjan Singh so that he may do the needful. I am leaving for Simla on the 1st July.

Yours sincerely,  
Tara Singh.

To Master Daulat Singh.

98

### Working of Gurdwara Bill

I. Mr. Petman saw H.E. the Governor on Saturday last (July 11, 1925) at 3 P.M. H.E. accepted that (1) There should be a single local Committee for compact areas like one city as Lahore, etc., or one town or village like Khadur Sahib, Guru-ka-Bagh (Now Ajnala) or Goindwal Sahib, etc. Also one committee for an area where several gurdwaras are in close proximity like Anandpur Sahib and Kiratpur Sahib, etc. on this principle other gurdwaras also to be brought under single Committee on the recommendation of the Central Board.

II. H. E. agreed that if Mahants do't furnish lists of property of gurdwaras in schedule A within 90 days of the passing of the Act, then the Gurdwaras' names should not be cut off from

schedule A and that other persons and bodies interested should be given an opportunity to do so.

III. H. E. was very sympathetic and said that no sooner the question was settled and the S.G.P.C. showed an inclination to work the Bill, then the Government would like to increase its prestige and strength.

IV. H.E. was favourably inclined to gurdwaras all over the world being affiliated under the S.G.P.C. and its controlling all the Panthic activities in constitutional ways.

V. H.E. gave no promise but remarked that after all what was in a name if there was an honest effort on both sides to effect a reconciliation, and also said there did not seem to be any apparent objection to their choosing their own name (This refers to the proposal that the general committee of the first Board may choose its name).

VI. H.E. said that he knew the Sudhar people and what they were but as long as the reasonable and reconcilable people did not detach themselves from irreconcilables who want to turn us out from India and are not prepared to give-and-take terms, we have to use some people as statesmen and can't sit with eyes and hands closed allowing the things to drift and become worse than they are.

(N.B. The above is simply for your information so that the committee members may be forewarned of the situation).

99

Working,  
The Gurdwara Bill,  
14-7-1925.

From the Secretary, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee,  
Amritsar.

To  
Sardar Tara Singh, M.L.C., Moga.  
Amritsar, Dated 14th July, 1925.  
Sir,

We the undersigned six members who have been fully

authorised by the Executive Committee of the S.G.P.C. to take all possible steps to secure the unconditional release of Sikh prisoners, hereby in writing give the assurance on behalf of the Executive Committee to Sardars Tara Singh and Jodh Singh that in case the Government agrees to release Sikh prisoners without taking individual undertaking, we will secure the passage of a resolution in the S.G.P.C, to the effect that S.G.P.C. will work out the Gurdwara Bill. And in persuance of that policy the despatch of jathas to Bhai Pheru will be discontinued.

Arjan Singh  
 Bishan Singh  
 Dharam Singh  
 Mangal Singh  
 Hazara Singh (Urdu)  
 Harbans Singh Sistani (Urdu)

**Most confidential.**

Please note that none of you "the Committee Members" should ever refer to any conversation between Governor and Petman in any of the conferences with officials, else a great harm will result. They should keep in mind but not refer at all.

**100**

The Gurdwara Bill  
 Working of.

( From inside the Lahore Fort )

Sunday

12. 7. 25.

No. 1 Extract from Sardar S. B. S. Mehtab Singh's diary.

Sardars Jodh Singh, Tara Singh, Mahindar Singh. Narain Singh, Boota Singh, Dhira Singh, Partap Singh, Gurbax Singh, Harchand Singh with Sardars Mangal Singh, Arjan Singh, Harbans Singh, Daulat Singh, Hira Singh Dard, Amar Singh of Jhabal came and had a long conference. The consensus of opinion was to stop direct action and to work the Bill. To demonstrate



that, to stop sending jathas to Bhai Pheru and Jaito, to start Akhand Path at Jaito, oppose signing individual undertaking by prisoners and to prepare the Government to take S. G. P. C. assurance that the Bill shall be worked and direct action stopped.

Tuesday

14. 7. 25.

Mr. Langley, Commissioner, Lahore Division, paid a visit and had half an hour's conversation with me mainly about signing the undertaking. I showed him my typed note and he agreed with me that such a course may humiliate the well-wishers and supporters of the Bill and injure the law. He said what guarantee was there that we shall not repudiate if the outside S. G. P. C. decided to work the Bill. I replied that we have assured them of our support in writing and shall do so again if need be. He promised to speak to His Excellency. He said the object was to keep only those in jail who apart from the Gurdwara Bill wanted to stir up feelings hostile to the Government and retard a rapprochement and reconciliation. He was pleased to hear that the S. G. P. C. will work the Bill and stop jathas to Bhai Pheru and Jaito. He was sympathetic throughout, but said that his visit was private altogether. He said he shall immediately convey my views to H. E. the Governor for favourable consideration.

Saturday

18. 7. 25.

Rai Bahadur Jawala Parshad Prosecution Counsel told me that Mr. Langley had celled him on Wednesday last . i. e., 15th and had a lengthy talk with him regarding the situation that had arisen on akali leaders' refusal to sign an undertaking. He said he had given an opinion entirely in our favour. It was also stated that D. C. and Superintendent of Police Amritsar were with Mr. Langley. It is rumoured that D. C. is not favourable to the condition being signed and thinks a verbal assurance quite enough.

Saturday

18.7.25

Mr. Ogilive, Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, had an hour's conversation with me out of which half an hour with Captain Ram Singh and me both. He cross-examined me regarding our intentions and prospects of winning the election. He expressed a fear that non-co-operators, if released, will join the Gargaj party and injure the cause of the Bill and a rapprochement. I assured him that they shall not join the Gargaj party. We shall have a majority and the non-co-operators will not oppose our working the Bill. He was under the impression that S. G. P. C. being "unlawful" may stand in the way of Government's accepting and acting on its assurance. To which I replied that the ban may be removed. He smilingly remarked something about two knots being loosened by one ... .. He assured me that the object of Government was not to humiliate the supporters of the Bill. I replied that it must be so, but effect of the undertaking would be our humiliation. He asked, was there a method by which we could go out and yet those who were hostile to Government apart from Gurdwara reform, remain in jail? I told him that by our going out the gigantic conspiracy case against half a dozen non-co-operators for depriving His Majesty the King Emperor of his Indian sovereignty would look ridiculous. If there was a conviction, it would be unfair to us who would not have been heard and yet the verdict against us would be there. He was very friendly and sympathetic and on leaving remarked we shall soon be outside jail. He complained that in spite of the passage of the Bill, jathas to Bhai Pheru continued. Captain Ram Singh impressed on him that by detaining non-co-operators in jail Government would make them leaders and lower us in the eyes of the public.

I have been offered a release on signing an undertaking to support the Bill or, in other words, to reform the Gurdwaras in accordance with the Provisions of the new Reform law known as the Sikh Gurdwara Act. In this case about twenty of public speeches and my correspondence and conversations with the

Government officials are before the court. They show in unequivocal terms that I have been a staunch advocate throughout of the passage of a reform law and a rapprochement between the Government and the Sikhs. The sacrifices made and sufferings borne by the Sikhs were not in a spirit of levity and bravado but with the genuine desire of saving the Gurdwaras from the admittedly defective law and to get a fair and workable law enacted. This has now been done. The new law is not an ideal one but is as fair a measure as could be expected under the circumstances. I have watched it step by step and strongly supported it. By energetically working it and improving it from time to time as need arises, it can fully fulfil the aspirations of the reformers. So far as I am concerned, therefore, there would neither be occasions nor need for any Sikh to oppose any law to carry out and complete the reform of the Gurdwaras. Now arises the question of signing the undertaking required by the authorities as a condition of my release. Suppose I agree to it being a staunch supporter of the law, I can not stand apart but must lend a helping hand in getting it accepted and worked by my community. No sooner I open my mouth and utter a word in its favour than there will arise a voice from the audience : "Mehtab Singh you have no doubt made sacrifices and borne sufferings in the cause of the reform but in supporting the Bill you are carrying out the condition of your release, let a disinterested person advise us." What would be the position then? I would be unnecessarily humiliated and my support will do harm to the Bill. Thus by signing the undertaking I do not help the cause of rapprochement between the Government and the Sikhs but do harm to the Bill and to my self-respect.

After deep dileberations I have made my choice. At least for the present I do not sign the undertaking and remain in jail as long as the Court chooses to keep me there or the crown considers that my going out will retard the Bill or bringing about a rapprochement and a reconciliation between the Govern-

ment and the Sikhs. If, however, at any time the Sharomani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee considers that such a sacrifice of human dignity and self-respect is required for the welfare of the community, I shall submit once more and carry out its desire. I may say that this is a delicate matter and everyone has to consider his own opinion and circumstances. I have consulted none of my colleagues and co-accused. This is my own individual, personal opinion and binds no one else.

Mehtab Singh,  
19th July, 1925.

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ਰਸਾਲਦਾਰ ਸੁੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸ: ਬਹਾਦਰ ਮਹਿਤਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਚਿੱਠੀ

.....

ਪਰਮ ਕਿਰਪਾਲੂ ਜੀ,

ਦੋਇ ਕਰ ਜੋੜ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਵਿਖੇ ਸਨਿਮਰ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ੧੨ ਜੁਲਾਈ ਵਾਲੀ ਮੀਟਿੰਗ ਦੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਸ਼੍ਰੀਮਾਨ ਸ: ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਅਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਮਾਨਯੋਗ ਸਾਥੀਆਂ ਨੇ, ਬਿਨਾਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਦੀ ਬਿਨੇ ਦੇ, ਸੁਤੇ ਹੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪ ਇਹ ਪਰਗਟ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਰਿਹਾਈ ਦੇ ਮੁਤੱਲਕ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਬਿਲ ਪਰਵਾਨ ਕਰਨ ਕੀ ਲਿਖਤ ਦੇਣ ਵਜੋਂ ਜੋ ਰਾਏ ਭੀ ਕੋਈ ਸੱਜਣ ਦੇਵੇਗਾ ਉਹ ਨਿਹਾਇਤ ਪੋਸ਼ੀਦਾ ਰੱਖੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ ਪਰ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਵੱਡੇ ਸ਼ੋਕ ਨਾਲ ਇਹ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਉਪਰ ਅਮਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ, ਬਲਕਿ ਇੱਥੋਂ ਤੀਕ ਕਿ ਪਬਲਿਕ ਵਿੱਚ ਲੈਕਚਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਅਖਬਾਰਾਂ ਦਵਾਰਾ ਰਾਏ ਦਾ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਗਲਤ ਇਜ਼ਹਾਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ। ਜਿਸ ਉਪਰ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਸਖ਼ਤ ਇਤਰਾਜ਼ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਲਈ ਮੇਰੀ ਅਰਦਾਸ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸ਼ੀਘਰ ਤੋਂ ਸ਼ੀਘਰ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਹੀ ਅਖਬਾਰਾਂ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਸਚਾਈ ਪਰਗਟ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇ ਅਤੇ ਲੈਕਚਰਾਂ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਭੀ ਸੋਧ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇ, ਨਹੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁਧ ਕੋਈ ਕੰਮ ਹੋ ਜਾਣ ਪੁਰ ਕਿਸੇ ਉਪਰ ਦੋਸ਼ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ। ਬਲਕਿ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਜ਼ਿੰਮੇਵਾਰੀ ਗਲਤ-ਫਹਿਮੀ ਫੈਲਾਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਸੱਜਣ ਦੇ ਹੀ ਸਿਰ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ।

ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਦਾਸ,  
ਸੁੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਰਸਾਲਦਾਰ,  
੧੭-੭-੨੫.

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( From inside Lahore Fort )

Objection of S. Bhag Singh Vakeel

My objections to the draft proposed to be sent to the

S. G. P. C. and as shown to me on 24th July, 1925.

(1) I consider the joint note signed and sent by some 25 of us to the S. G. P. C. still binding upon me. The decision contained therein has not been cancelled by signatories and therefore any suggestion on their part to the S. G. P. C. are precluded by it.

(2) The case would have been otherwise, had the S. G. P. C. asked us to make any suggestions. But even this demand is lacking and this coupled with the fact that we do as indefinitely of the wishes of hundreds of our brothers imprisoned in the same cause with us and in the absence of definite knowledge what would be their attitude or lot if we go out by making the proposed declaration. I regret the action as unbecoming, ungenerous and quite uncalled for.

(3) The S. G. P. C. cannot be supposed to be sitting idle and forgetful of its responsibilities. The sending of the proposed draft would not only hurt their feelings but on the other hand seriously embarrass them to give any independent, unprejudiced and free guidance to the Panth.

(4) As the Draft is to be approved of by the Governor and to be acted upon if met with his approval and he agreed to release us on its basis, I fail to see how this ceases to be a condition of our release.

(5) I think that we are trying to throw dust into the eyes of our people when we put in the declaration—when the fact is quite evident as evidenced by the purport, occasion and need of the set declaration—that it is solely for the benefit of our community that we declare that the Bill should be worked. This declaration has entire and sole connection with our release. If it is meant only to advise the Panth to work the Bill, we have given our opinion already to the S. G. P. C., and through it to the community. The court is not the happy place where confronted with the terms of our release to be reminded of our duty to offer this benevolent advise to those outside. I consider such action as unworthy of the representatives of our great community.

(6) I understand that pressure is being brought upon the Governor to release us unconditionally. Let us wait for the result and refrain from weakening its effect by any other *via media* proposals on the part of those immediately concerned.

(7) If it is pleaded that we should not waste any time, my reply is that this is the time when patience and tact are urgently needed and haste would only spoil matters by denoting our nervousness to the shrewd Government.

(8) It is a no hidden secret that the Government is resolved to detain those persons in jail who happen not to be in a position to support the Bill. There is a large number amongst us who want to work the Bill and yet are not prepared to leave behind those who have worked and suffered with us by furnishing the Government with any means to distinguish between the supporters and non-supporters of the Bill, and thus unconsciously becoming a cause of their trouble. By the proposed declaration we supply the means to the Government and this is injurious to us on Panthic and sentimental grounds.

(9) I am convinced if the S. G. P. C. declares in favour of the working of the Bill, begins preparing the ground in right earnest for it, gives up morchas altogether and tries by press, platform and other legitimate and dignified means to bring pressure upon the government to release us unconditionally, the Government cannot hold out in its unreasonable course for a very long time.

(10) We have urged all those arguments and asked the signatories of the proposed declaration to wait for 2 or 3 months more, to allow the forces briefly outlined in Para 7 to bear upon the Government and which we are convinced shall have the desired effect.

Bhag Singh.

Bill.  
25. 7. 1925.**(From inside Lahore Fort)**

Letter of S. Gurcharan Singh and others to S. Mangal Singh.  
Sardar Mangal Singh President,  
S. G. P. C.

Sir,

A statement signed by 19 persons has been sent to you as a suggestion to the S. G. P. C. for approval. The other 17 persons have refused to sign it deliberately, and have after much thought come to the conclusion that they will remain in Jail in spite of some of them personally holding view that the Sikh Gurdwara Act should be worked by Sikh community despite its defects. Why the other 17 persons have decided not to sign the document intended to be read out in court after the approval of the S. G. P. C. and the Governor will be clear from the facts set forth below :-

(1) To make such a statement in court when confronted with terms of release on the basis of previous understanding with the Governor and followed immediately by withdrawal of the case against those only who support such a statement expressly or impliedly cannot but amount very clearly and precisely to a conditional release.

(2) Even to make such a suggestion to the S. G. P. C. now when the whole Panth has committed itself through definite resolutions to the policy of condemnation of conditional release cannot be taken to mean anything else but to embarrass the whole community and make its position entirely awkward at this critical juncture.

(3) There would be nothing to guarantee the unconditional release of Akalis detained in other Punjab jails when about

half of us go out on a conditional release of this nature. Thus there will be a great chance of Government's attitude being very strict on account of apprising of our weakness. Such a conduct on the part of 19 persons will demoralize Akalis in other jails.

(4) It is very likely that the Governor will have himself arrived at the decision of un-conditional release of all under the pressure of Sikh public opinion but for the attitude taken up by our friends. So much haste and want of patience will spoil our cause.

(5) S. Teja Singh Samundri gave a suggestion to the representatives of those 19 persons to the effect that they should wait for two or three months meanwhile the S. G. P. C. should issue immediately a declaration that the S. G. Act will be worked by the Sikh community in right earnest. Then as soon as the Central Board is constituted, the ban of unlawful bodies shall be removed from the S. G. P. C. and S. A. Dal. Then Government's position in keeping the Akali prisoners in jail shall *ipso facto* become untenable. Even if government does not release us then, the steps they are taking now can without any disadvantage be taken by them at that time. But they do not appear to have taken this suggestion to heart and have regarded it in the light of a condition from the opposite party to be replied with other unnecessary stipulations emanating from them, though it was merely a good suggestion to save them from the awkward position, they were putting themselves in, for the benefit of the whole Sikh community.

(6) Consequently the step taken by these 19 persons is very dangerous to the welfare of our community. It will create a split in our camp. Government's hand will be strengthened to crush us. Now is the time for the S.G.P.C. and S.A.D. to save the situation by taking a deliberate and firm attitude.

Gurcharan Singh and others.

25-7-25.



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25-7-1925.

**(From inside Lahore Fort)**

੧੯ ਆਦਮੀਆਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਸ: ਤੇਜਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਸਮੁੰਦਰੀ ਦੇ ਦਸਖਤਾਂ ਹੇਠਾਂ  
ਮਤੇ ਜੋ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੂੰ ੨੫-੭-੨੫ ਨੂੰ ਭੇਜੇ ਗਏ ।

We (19 signatories) unanimously of opinion that the following resolution may be publised at once, without even having talk with government :—

(1) Resolved that in spite of certain shortcomings in the S.G. Act 1925 we appeal to the Panth to work it whole heartedly irrespective of the release of prisoners.

(2) We (19) are unanimously of opinion that the following resolution may be published only if government agrees to it before as a solution for bringing about unconditional release of all gurdwara prisoners :—

Resolved that in spite of certain shortcomings in the S.G. Act 1925 we appeal to the Panth to work it whole heartedly. We also, wish to make it perfectly clear that we are not prepared to give any undertaking as a condition of our release.

(We are now in majority of 20/12)

(3) In event of your being unable to reach at any solution in spite of this our position is clearly that described in our signed note handed to you today. And you will kindly permit S. Jodh Singh to proceed with the matter.

Resolved that in spite of certain shortcomings in the Sikh Gurdwara Act 1925 the Panth should be appealed to work it out honestly. But we wish to make it perfectly clear that we are not prepared to give any undertaking as a condition of our release.

It should be published.

The word "But" suggests that we ourselves have a doubt that the above lines can be taken as an undertaking. This word should be deleted or in its place "at the same time" or "also" may be added.

Four of us 17 do not find themselves in a position to give any definite opinion till they are in Jail. The other 13 are unanimously in favour of your resolution.

We pass this resolution in order to strengthen the hands of the S.G.P.C. in the Sikh public for the working of the Bill. So we are against showing it to the government before its publication for in that case it will become a condition of our release.

One of us 13 has no objection if you show it to the government before its publication.

(ਤੇਜਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਮੁੰਦਰੀ)

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(ਲਾਹੌਰ ਕਿਲੇ ਦੇ ਅੰਦਰੋਂ)

“ਅਰਜੈਂਟ”

੫-੮-੧੯੨੫

੧੯

ਮੁਵੱਰਖਾ ਪ ਅਗਸਤ—ਮੁਸ਼ਫਿਕਿ ਮਨ-ਕਲ ਏਕ ਜੁਮਾਵਾਰ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਕੇ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਸੇ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੁਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਐਗਜ਼ੈਕਟਿਵ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਕੇ ਅਜਲਾਸ ਮੁਵੱਰਖਾ ਯਕਮ ਅਗਸਤ ਮੇਂ ਭਾਈ ਫੇਰੂ ਮੋਰਚਾ ਕੇ ਬੰਦ ਕਰਨੇ ਔਰ ਬਿਲ ਕੋ ਵਰਕ ਕਰਨੇ ਕੇ ਮੁਤੱਲਕ ਕੋਈ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀ ਗਈ ਔਰ ਉਨ ਮੁਆਮਲਾਤ ਕਾ ਫੈਸਲਾ ੧੪ ਅਗਸਤ ਕੇ ਅਜਲਾਸ ਐਗਜ਼ੈਕਟਿਵ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਮੇਂ ਕੀਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ। ਮਿਹਰਬਾਨੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਮੁਫੱਸਲ ਇਤਲਾਹ ਵਾਪਸੀ ਅਰਸਾਲ ਕਰੇਂ, ਕਿ ਕਿਨ ਕਿਨ ਵਜੂਹਾਤ ਔਰ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਕੇ ਯੇਹ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਦੋ ਹਫਤੇ ਕੇ ਲੀਏ ਮੁਲਤਵੀ ਕੀਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ।

(1) ਹੈਰਾਨੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਬ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਭੀ ਮੁਤੱਫਕਾ ਅਪੀਲ ਆਪ ਕੋ ਪਹੁੰਚ ਚੁਕੀ ਹੈ ਔਰ ਤਮਾਮ ਸਿੱਖ ਔਰ ਗ਼ੈਰ ਸਿੱਖ ਪਬਲਿਕ ਮੁਤਾਲਬਾ ਕਰ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸ਼ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਬਿਲ ਕੋ ਵਰਕ ਕਰਨੇ ਕੇ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕਾ ਇਲਾਨ ਕਰੇਂ, ਔਰ ਭਾਈ ਫੇਰੂ ਕੋ ਜੱਥੇ ਬੰਦ ਕਰੇ ਤੋ ਫਿਰ ਕਿਉਂ ਖਾਹ ਮੁਖਾਹ ਦੇਰ ਕੀ ਜਾ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ ਔਰ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਔਰ ਪਬਲਿਕ ਕੋ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਨੀਅਤ ਪਰ ਸ਼ੱਕ ਕਰਨੇ ਔਰ ਹਮ ਕੋ ਸੁਣਨੇ ਕਾ ਸੌਕਾ ਦੀਆ ਜਾ ਰਹਾ ਹੈ।

(2) ਦੀਗਰ ਯਿਹ ਭੀ ਖਬਰ ਮਿਲੀ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਕਾ ਇਰਾਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਪਸ ਮੇਂ ਸੁਲਾਹ ਕਰਕੇ ਜ਼ਾਹਰਾ ਤੌਰ ਪਰ ਦੋ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਬਨਾਈ ਜਾਵੇਂ। ਏਕ ਬਿਲ ਕੇ ਚਲਾਨੇ ਕੇ ਹੱਕ ਮੈਂ ਅਰ ਦੂਸਰੀ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਖਿਲਾਫ ਔਰ ਖਿਲਾਫ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਕੋ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਲੀਡ ਕਰੇਂ। ਮਿਹਰਬਾਨੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਫੌਰਨ ਪੁਖਤਾ ਪਤਾ ਦੇਂ ਕਿ ਆਇਆ ਯਿਹ ਠੀਕ ਹੈ

ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਪਹੁੰਚੇ । ਸ: ਜੋਧ ਸਿੰਘ, ਸ: ਤਾਰਾ ਸਿੰਘ, ਸ: ਨਰੈਣ ਸਿੰਘ, ਸ: ਗੁਰਬਖਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ, ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇ ਕਿ ੨੦ ਤਾਰੀਖ ਤਕ ਐਡਮਿਨਿਸਟਰੇਟਰ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲ ਕੇ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਆਰਾਮ ਆਦਿ ਦਾ ਪਰਬੰਧ ਕਰਵਾਣ ਦੀ ਖੋਚਲ ਕਰਨ । ਸ: ਮੱਘਰ ਸਿੰਘ, ਸ: ਹਜ਼ਾਰਾ ਸਿੰਘ, ਸ: ਮੂਲ ਸਿੰਘ, ਸ: ਹਰਬੰਸ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੀਸਤਾਨੀ, ਸ: ਠਾਕਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਡੁਮੇਲੀ ਇਹ ੫ ਸੱਜਣ ਕੌਂਸਲ ਦੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਮੈਂਬਰਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਜਾ ਕੇ ਪੂਰਨ ਪਰਬੰਧ ਕਰਨ ।

ਵਰਕਿੰਗ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਇਕੱਤਰਤਾ ਮਿਤੀ ੨੦-੮-੨੫

ਹਾਜ਼ਰੀ ਸ: ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ, ਸ: ਗੋਪਾਲ ਸਿੰਘ, ਸ: ਦੌਲਤ ਸਿੰਘ,

ਸ: ਤਾਰਾਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਵਲੋਂ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖੇ ਡਰਾਫਟ ਰੈਜ਼ੋਲਿਊਸ਼ਨ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਗੋਚਰਾ ਪੇਸ਼ ਹੋਇਆ । ਦੀਰਘ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਉਪਰੰਤ ਪਰਵਾਨ ਹੋਇਆ ਕਿ ਜੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਕੈਦੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਬਿਲਾ ਸ਼ਰਤ ਰਿਹਾਈ ਅਤੇ ਨਾਲ ਲਗਵੇਂ ਮੁਆਮਲਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਤਸੱਲੀ-ਬਖਸ਼ ਹੱਲ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਲਿਖਤੀ ਭਰੋਸਾ ਦੇ ਦੇਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਇਸ ਰੈਜ਼ੋਲਿਊਸ਼ਨ ਨੂੰ ਪਾਸ ਕਰ ਦੇਵੇਗੀ । ਅਤੇ ਭਾਈ ਫੇਰੂ ਦਾ ਮੌਰਚਾ ਬੰਦ ਕਰ ਦੇਵੇਗੀ ।

( S. Maghar Singh voted against it )

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**Confidential**

20-8-25

W.C.'s resolution dated 20-8.25.

After full consideration of the draft resolution presented by S. Tara Singh, the W. C. resolves and gives this assurance hereby that it will secure passage of the said draft resolution in the General meeting of the S.G.P.C. and will stop jathas to Bhai Pheru provided the Panjab Government gives a written assurance to the effect that on the passage of this resolution it will release forthwith unconditionally all Gurdwara prisoners and also redress other allied Gurdwara grievances.

The draft resolution runs thus :—

Our leaders in the Fort have advised us to accept the Gurdwara Act. Beleiving this advice to be in the best interests of the Sikhs, the S. G. P. C. declares its acceptance of the Act and calls upon all those who acknowledge its authority to co-operate in working it. It hopes that it will not long be deprived of the assistance of its members and followers who are in Jail and expects with their help

to amend the defects in the act by ordinary methods. With the acceptance of the Act the need for direct action disappears. Direct action was forced upon the S. G. P. C. by the failure of the law to provide a remedy for the religious grievances of the community.

*Jathabandi* is the visible sign of the unity of the Panth, but the organisation of the Akali Dal instead of being used as the instrument of direct action will exist to preserve the corporate spirit of the Sikhs and will earn in the fields of religious and social work even greater renown than it has won in the morchas of the last five years. Regarding the question of the deposition or abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha, a question which it considers to be apart from the main Gurdwara reform movement, the S. G. P. C. has nothing to add or subtract from *what it has already declared*.

By mutual agreement S. Tara Singh and Mr. Puckle have made the following changes and alterations in the above draft resolutions :—

- (1) In line '8' the words are used "the act will be amended."
- (2) In line '14' the word *jathabandi* substituted for "Akali Dal".
- (3) In line '21' the words "a question which.....G. R. movement" are omitted.

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(ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨਾਭਾ ਦਾ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਭਾ ਸਵਾਲ ਛੱਡਣ ਪ੍ਰਥਾਇ ਉਲਾਂਭਾ ਜੋ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬਿਲ ਦੇ ਪਾਸ ਹੋਣ ਦੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਦਾ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਤ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ।)

ਨੋਟ—ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੇ ਜੋ ਅਬ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਵਾਲ ਛੋੜ ਦੀਆ ਹੈ, ਯਾ ਯੂੰ ਕਹੋ ਕਿ ਕੁਛ ਅਰਸੇ ਕੇ ਲੀਏ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਜ਼ਿਕਰ ਕਰਨਾ ਛੋੜ ਦੀਆ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਕਾ ਫਲ ਯਿਹ ਹੋਗਾ, ਕਿ ਕੁਛ ਸਮਾਂ ਪਾ ਕੇ ਔਰ ਤਾੜ ਕੇ ਸ਼ੀਘਰ ਹੀ ਅਧਿਕਾਰੀ ਮੁੜ ਕੋ ਪੀਸ ਡਾਲੇਂਗੇ, ਪਕੜ ਕਰ ਬਰਹਮਾ ਯਾ ਔਰ ਕਹੀਂ ਲੇ ਜਾ ਕਰ ਸਾਰੀ ਉਮਰ ਨਜ਼ਰ ਬੰਦ ਰਖ ਕਰ ਔਰ ਅਨੇਕ ਪਰਕਾਰ ਕੇ ਕਸਟ ਦੇਕਰ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਸਹਿਤ ਮਾਰ ਡਾਲੇਂਗੇ, ਔਰ ਕੱਚੇ ਕੋ ਖਾ ਜਾਵੇਂਗੇ। ਯਹੀ ਬਾਤੇਂ ਸ: ਰਾਜਾ ਸਿੰਘ, ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ, ਅਰਜਨ ਸਿੰਘ, ਦੌਲਤ ਸਿੰਘ, ਪਾਨੀਕਾਰ ਵਗੈਰਾ ਕੋ ਕਹਿ ਦੀ ਗਈਂ ਥੀਂ, ਜਬ ਯਹਿ ਲੋਗ ਆਪ ਲੋਗੋਂ ਕੇ ਭੇਜੇ ਹੂਏ ਯਹਾਂ ਕਈ ਬਾਰ ਆਏ ਥੇ। ਕਿਆ ਅਬ ਮੈਂ ਯਹਿ ਸਮਝ ਲੂੰ ਕਿ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਕੀ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਕਾ ਮੁੜੇ ਪੂਰਾ ਫਲ ਮਿਲ ਗਿਆ। ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਪ੍ਰਤੱਗਯਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੇ ਅਛਾ ਓੜ ਨਿਭਾਯਾ।

ਸੰਤ ਦੀਦਾਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਪਰ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਕਾ ਆਦਮੀ ਸਮਝ ਕਰ ਭਰੋਸਾ ਕੀਆ ਗਿਆ। ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਵਹ ਯਹਾਂ ਬਾਵਾ ਜੀ ਔਰ ਸਮੁੰਦਰੀ ਜੀ ਕੇ ਸਾਥ ਆਇਆ ਥਾ।

ਆਪ ਹਮ ਸੇ ਕਹਿਤੇ ਥੇ ਕਿ ਹਮ ਨੇ ਰਾਜ-ਤਿਆਗ ਪੱਤਰ ਪਰ ਦਬਾਉ ਮੇਂ ਆ ਕਰ ਦਸਤਖਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਨੇ ਥੇ। ਚਾਹੇ ਕੁਛ ਹੀ ਹੋ ਜਾਤਾ। ਹਮ ਨੇ ਦਸਤਖਤ ਉਸੀ ਤਰਹ ਦਬਾਓ ਔਰ ਮਜਬੂਰੀ ਕੀ ਦਸ਼ਾ ਮੈਂ ਕਰੇ ਜਿਸ ਤਰਾਂ ਅਬ ਆਪ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਹਮ ਕੋ ਲਾਚਾਰ ਹੋ ਕਰ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਸਵਾਲ ਛੋੜਨਾ ਪੜਾ ਹੈ।

ਅਬ ਸਵਾਲ ਯਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਐਸਾ ਕਿਉਂ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹੈਂ। ਆਪ ਕੋ ਕਿਨ ਕਾਰਨੋਂ ਸੇ ਇਤਨਾ ਨੀਚਾ ਉਤਰਨਾ ਪੜਾ ਹੈ। ਮੇਰਾ ਜਿਨ ਬਾਤੋਂ ਸੇ ਸਬੰਧ ਹੈ ਮੈਂ ਉਸ ਕੋ ਜਾਨਣਾ ਚਾਹਤਾ ਹੂੰ ਆਪ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਖੁਲਾਸਾ ਲਿਖ ਕਰ ਭੇਜਨੇ ਕੀ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰੇਂ। ਮਾਲੀ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਦੋ ਸਾਲ ਸੇ ਅਧਿਕਾਰੀਓਂ ਨੇ ਬੰਦ ਕਰ ਰੱਖੀ ਹੈ। ਸ਼ਤਰੂ ਪਰਬਲ ਹੈ। ਉਸ ਨੇ ਅਬ ਤਕ ਪੀਛਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਛੋੜਾ। ਉਸ ਕੇ ਆਦਮੀ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਪੀਛਾ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹੈਂ। ਕੁਛ ਤਅੱਜਬ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਬ ਮੌਕਾ ਪਾਵੇਂ ਔਰ ਉਚਿਤ ਸਮਝੇਂ ਕਿਸੀ ਸ਼ਸਤਰ ਯਾ ਵਿਸੁ ਸੇ ਅਪਨਾ ਕਾਮ ਤਮਾਮ ਕਰੇਂ। ਬਾਵਲਾ ਕਾ ਸ਼ਤਰੂ ਕੇ ਹਾਥ ਸੇ ਕਿਆ ਹਾਲ ਹੁਆ।

ਨੋਟ—ਇਹ ਉਪਰਲੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਉਸ ਜਗਾ ਤੋਂ ਆਈ ਹੈ। ਨਕਲ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਭੇਜੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਦਾ ਉੱਤਰ ਆਪ ਦੀ ਸਲਾਹ ਮੁਜਬ ਦੇਣਾ ਹੈ। ਆਪਸ ਵਿਚ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਕਰਕੇ ਇਕ ਦੋ ਸਜਣ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਮਿਲਣ ਲਈ ਆ ਜਾਣ ਜੀ। ਇਕ ਜਵਾਬ ਦਾ ਡਰਾਫਟ ਜੋ ਮਾਸਟਰ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਬਣਾਇਆ ਹੈ, ਆਪ ਦੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਗੋਚਰ ਨਕਲ ਭੇਜੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਇੱਕ ਬੇਸਿਜ਼ ਫਾਰ ਡਿਸਕੱਸ਼ਨ ਹੈ। ਬਾਕੀ ਜੋ ਆਪਸ ਵਿਚ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਮਗਰੋਂ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਓਹੋ ਹੀ ਜਾਣਾ ਹੈ ਆਪ ਆਪਸ ਵਿਚ ਅੱਛੀ ਤਰਾਂ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਕਰ ਲੈਣੀ ਤੇ ਫੇਰ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਦੇਣੇ ਜੀ। (ਦੋ ਸਜਣ ਆਣ ਦੀ ਖੇਚਲ ਕਰਨ ਜੀ)।

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Camp Rookwood,  
Simla,  
August, 1925.

My dear Col. St. John,

The passing of the Gurdwara Bill into law, under the able and statesmen like guidance of Sir Malcolm Hailey, to the general satisfaction of the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, inspires a hope that the Akali agitation in the Panjab may quiet down, so far, at all events, as the plea of gurdwara reform is concerned.

Whether the measure will also smooth the general Sikh situation is a matter in the lap of the gods. One chapter of the Akali history may, however, be taken as closed. It will, therefore, not be out of place to bring to the notice of the Government of India, the part played by Patiala's Ruler and His Highness' Government during the past ten years or more in successfully combating the Akali menace and co-operating whole-heartedly at great sacrifice with the Punjab Government in dealing with the general Sikh situation which has caused serious anxiety and has at times disturbed the peace and order in the country.

With this object, I am desired to enclose herewith a note containing a brief account of the most important among the numerous services rendered by Patiala from time to time, and to request the favour of their being brought to the notice of the Government of India for such recognition as they desire.

Yours sincerely,  
(Daya Kishan Kaul).

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Services rendered by Patiala in combating the dangerous Sikh agitation and the Akali movement in the Punjab in recent years.

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Forces behind the Sikh Ghadar Movement, 1914.

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In the Punjab Sikh Ghadar Movement of 1914, which Sir Michael O'Dwyer mentions in his book 'India as I knew it,' the activities of the Sikh anarchists secret prompting and support from Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha. Even in his father Maharaja Hira Singh's life time he had, as Tikka Sahib, shown a distinct tendency for political notoriety and for anti-British propaganda. His deep associations with political extremists had moulded his character and aspirations to such an extent that he even disregarded and disobeyed the advice of his own father, who was a staunch friend and

ally of the British. After the demise of his father, he had a free hand. He had developed a strong dislike for the British Government and was ready at all times to secret help anti-British movements. His sole ambition was to become the recognised head and leader of the Sikh nation and eventually another Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. This aspiration obviously guided his activities in social, educational and political lines and the extensive propaganda which he carried on at considerable cost. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was able to combat and check the Ghadar movement, by adopting measures in which Patiala helped considerably by arresting some of the dangerous America-returned emigrants and restricting the movement of, interning, such of them as were residing in the Patiala State. In doing so, Sir Michael O'Dwyer found out that the Maharaja of Nabha was in association with the undesirables and consequently wanted to save him from evil consequences. But every time that exception was taken to his conduct, the Maharaja of Nabha ascribed it to the differences that existed between him and the Ruler of Patiala.

The growth of extremists propaganda among the Sikhs.

In 1917, the anti-Chief Khalsa Diwan press, which had been brought into existence by Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha, was busy in vilifying Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia and his activities, which were directed to purely social and educational matters. During that period the 'Sikh Review', of Delhi, the 'Khalsa Akhbar' and the 'Panth Sewak', three extremist Sikh papers and chief constituents of the anti-Chief Khalsa Diwan Press were, to everybody's knowledge, financed by Nabha. These dangerous political activities of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh were rapidly creating a most difficult situation for the Punjab Government; and in pursuance of the old traditions of devoted and whole-hearted co-operation with the Imperial Government and in order to ease the situation in the Punjab at that juncture, Patiala agreed, at the instance of Sir Michael O'Dwer, to compromise, at great sacrifice, with the Maharaja of Nabha so as to remove the latter's excuse for associating with objectionable extremist bodies under the guise of safe-guarding his

interests. Notes of this particular incident will probably be found in the old Agency office records. In spite of this, the secret propaganda of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh, for gaining favour and popularity with every anti-Government Sikh organisation continued till it succeeded in bringing down the Chief Khalsa Diwan in the public estimation so low that its members began to be sneered at as the huntsmen of the British Government.

It was about this time that S. S. Cavesseur shifted from Delhi to Lahore and started with the financial and moral support of Nabha, the weekly "New Herald" in order to foment the Rowlett Bill agitation which was soon followed by the serious riots of April 1919, the Martial Law regime and the Amritsar session of the National Congress, in which Cavesseur succeeded in bringing into existence the so-called Sikh League. It was on this occasion that the newly organised band of Sikh extremists like Cavesseur and his associate Harchand Singh of Layallpur brought about an alliance with the leaders of the Indian National Congress.

The assistance rendered by Patiala in the form of protecting communications and guarding the Railway lines during the Panjab disturbances, in co-operating with the Punjab C.I.D. in locating S. S. Cavesseur who was then hiding in Nabha territory and the estate of Bhai Arjan Singh of Bagarian to evade his arrest, and in actually arresting Master Mota Singh in Patiala territory and making him over to the Punjab Police, in complete disregard of the extradition rules, etc., are facts well known to the Government of India. In addition to all this the Political Agent was kept constantly and fully informed of all anti-Government movements which were then on foot in the Punjab.

### **The Khalsa College trouble.**

It was about October 1920 that serious trouble arose in the Khalsa College Amritsar under the influence of the Sikh extremists and as a result of the Nabha propaganda. The Professors struck work and serious agitation prevailed. The College and local authorities were unable to remedy the mischief. His Highness the



Maharaja of Patiala's intervention was sought by leading men on both sides and, with the approval of the Panjab Government, His Highness undertook to mediate in the matter. He went down to Lahore and, by his personal influence and at great inconvenience and trouble to himself, he was able to bring about a satisfactory settlement which restored peace and order in the College.

### The S.G.P.C.

The inception of a central Gurdwara Committee was at this time exercising the minds of the extremist Sikhs who were in revolt against any Government interference in Sikh institutions, particularly the Khalsa College and the Golden Temple Amritsar. While dealing with the question of the Khalsa College, His Highness was approached by some leading Sikhs and asked to use his good offices in bringing about, at the same time, a satisfactory settlement of the question of control of the Golden Temple which had been somewhat complicated by the agitation created by the more vociferous members of the extremist section of the Sikh community. Again, with the approval of the Panjab Government and in consultation with Sir Edward Maclagan, the then Governor of the Province, His Highness exerted himself in this behalf and with great difficulty brought about an arrangement whereby a committee consisting of 50% elected members and 50% members nominated by the Sikh states was to control the affairs of the Golden Temple. The election was to be on territorial basis so as not to give predominance to men of any particular shade of thought or locality. This committee was duly inaugurated and His Highness returned to Patiala, feeling that the trouble had been averted for the time being. Soon after, however, the extremist section of the Sikhs, under direct prompting from Nabha and under the leadership of S. S. Charan Singh Shaheed, who was then a paid Durbari of Nabha State, flooded the committee with an addition of 75 members of their own choice, with the result that the nominated members were outvoted and were gradually elbowed out. His Highness was prepared to intervene again to set matters right but he was not

asked to do so and he did not wish to proffer his assistance unasked.

### **The Nankana tragedy.**

As an immediate result of the formation of this new committee came the aggression on the Gurdwaras culminating in the tragedy at Nankana. It is worthy of note that before this tragedy occurred, His Highness had furnished the Punjab Government with his views, in the form of a note, on the question of the control of Gurdwaras and had also explained to His Excellency the Governor of the Panjab his solution of the trouble which had been brewing over Nankana Gurdwara.

### **The Golden Temple Keys affair.**

Later on when the difficulty connected with the possession of the Golden Temple Keys was perplexing the Punjab Government, and the Gurdwara Committee, by now a formidable body under the name of S. G. P. C., was creating all kind of complications, attempts were made to find a way out of the difficulty. Patiala offered help and co-operation with the Punjab Government in this connection. The Prime Minister, Patiala, and the Agent to the Governor-General had conferences with His Excellency the Governor and other responsible officers of the Punjab Government. The Punjab Government, however, in disregard of this offer of help, decided to hand over the keys of the Darbar Sahib to the S. G. P. C. through the civil court in which the suit for possession was pending and Patiala was asked to exercise the influence and improve the situation only in regard to the general question of the reform of Gurdwaras but not to associate in any manner with the question of the Golden Temple keys.

### **Attempts to reform the Gurdwara Movement.**

With the Akal Takht Amritsar under the control of the S. G. P. C., no propaganda was likely to bear fruit. Nevertheless, in order to render such help to the Punjab Government as was possible, a propaganda was set on foot with a view to influence the Akali movement so as to separate the Gurdwara reform completely from political work. The plan contemplated was to secure a

majority of such members in the S. G. P. C., as would prefer to do purely religious work without opposing the Government. Being given to understand that Master Mota Singh was a man who enjoyed the confidence of the Sikh community generally, an attempt was made to approach him through Bhai Ram Singh Dharowalia and Teja Singh Bhuchar who promised loyal co-operation and held out the hope that, if Mota Singh once agreed to the proposal, the success of the propaganda would be assured. At considerable risk, Bhai Ram Singh saw Mota Singh after the Royal amnesty granted to him along with others in 1919 on the termination of Martial Law, when the latter was absconding to evade his arrest in the well known Akali conspiracy case of 1921. He succeeded in removing from his mind the misunderstanding against Patiala which had arisen on account of Patiala's action against him in the past and Patiala's constant co-operation with the British Government to quell Akali activities which were then trampling the law under the pretext of religious sanction. The S. G. P. C. preachings were widespread and attractive for the simple-minded but fanatic Sikh; and so well camouflaged behind the ostensible Dharmic pretensions was the deep-rooted political propaganda that the Sikh inhabitants of the state lost their balance of mind and started recruitment of members for the S.G.P.C. and collection of funds for it. By persistent counter propaganda, passing of special legislation, and organising a state Gurdwara Committee with adequate staff, which, of course, involved heavy expense, every possible effort was made within the State to dissuade Sikhs from joining or financially supporting the movement, and to save the State gurdwaras from passing into the possession of Akalis, thus affording considerable help in easing the general situation in the Punjab.

### **Fatehgarh Sahib incident.**

In December 1921 when one Gurdwara after another was being seized in rapid succession by the Akalis and there was a great rush on Fatehgarh Sahib, His Highness at great risk went out personally

to attend the Jormel, (convention) at Fatehgarh Sahib and by his great personality succeeded in exerting a healthy influence on the Akali extremists of his own State and abroad, which went a long way in checking the all-sweeping wave of Akali raids on gurdwaras.

### **Efforts to reclaim Mota Singh.**

Later on, as a result of the influence brought to bear on him, Mota Singh agreed to sever his connection with all politics and to confine his activities exclusively to religious work. He contemplated changing the personnel of the then S.G.P.C. and starting solely the work of the purification of the gurdwara. This information was conveyed to the Punjab Government but they were not prepared to accept Mota Singh's assurance or to use him in any way for a counter propaganda against the S. G. P. C. The proposal consequently did not assume any definite shape. Nevertheless, Patiala, through its trusted agents, continued to influence Mota Singh with a view to prevent him from breaking into violence. Meanwhile in June 1922, Master Mota Singh was arrested and Teja Singh Bhuchar became unfriendly with Patiala under the influence of the Maharaja of Nabha and Bijla Singh—the well known Akali extremist and anarchist—who was then wanted in the Lahore Conspiracy case and was being harboured by the Maharaja of Nabha, started giving troubles on the borders of the Patiala State.

### **Agitation in Malwa : Its suppression.**

About this time an Akali office was opened at Dhuri in the Patiala State, which practically became the centre of the activities of the Akalis of the Malwa tract. This institution was affiliated with the central S.G.P.C. and gained great political importance in the Phulkian States. Patiala, in the teeth of opposition of the Sikh public of the State took drastic measures against the office bearers of the Dhuri Dewan, who were arrested and prosecuted under various political offences. His Highness' Government appointed a special bench of magistrates vested with special powers to try those cases. This action resulted in the complete dislocation of the Akali

organisation in all the Cis-Sutlej Sikh districts in the Punjab and in the Patiala State. Similar action was taken in connection with the Heron Gurdwara in Patiala and in other cases of Akali agitation.

### **Bijla Singh's activities and his eventual reclamation.**

Meanwhile Bijla Singh anarchist, mentioned above, had become a terror for the Patiala State subjects by organising raids and dacoities in Patiala territory. It was discovered that Bijla Singh had in view an extensive scheme of murdering the high officers of the Patiala State and plundering the State treasuries and that he and his party were equipped with a plentiful supply of arms from the Nabha State and with bombs. All the expences of this party were being paid by Nabha. All this information was furnished to the Punjab C.I.D. who were, however, unwilling to take steps to arrest Bijla Singh unless he was found in British territory, even though he was wanted in the Akali Conspiracy case. Efforts were therefore made to win over Bijla Singh from the anti-Government and criminal propensities and the necessary agencies were employed by Patiala to secure this end. Eventually with the approval of the Government of India, Bijla Singh was persuaded, through Bhai Ram Singh, on assurance of pardon, to surrender himself to Patiala. Bijla Singh surrendered, and he and the whole of his party were brought under complete control and solemn assurances were taken from them for their future good behaviour.

### **Efforts to arrest the Babr Akali gang.**

It is necessary, at this stage, to return again to the Akali activities in the Punjab. After the arrest of Mota Singh, his party in the Doaba selected for their leadership one of Master Mota Singh's lieutenants named Kishan Singh Gargaj, an absconder, who rapidly devised means to throw the province into throes of general confusion and anarchy. At the outset, the party adopted the designation of Gargaj (awe-inspiring) but later, in furtherance of their avowed object, the gang assumed the more terrorising name of Babr Akali Jatha, whose brutal outrages are too well known to need

any comment. Even here, Patiala was ready as ever with its loyal co-operation to check this dangerous development. Bhai Ram Singh was consequently deputed to tackle Kishan Singh and he approached him for the first time, through Babu Santa Singh (another important member of the Babr jatha), in August 1922. Through further efforts, Kishan Singh Gargaj became agreeable to change his anarchist propaganda and to turn into a loyalist if Patiala would grant him subsistence and occupation as was being offered to Bijla Singh. Negotiation in this connection were still going on with the Agent to the Governor General, Punjab States, when Kishan Singh was arrested in the Hoshiarpur district. After this Bhai Ram Singh, with the permission of the authorities, interviewed, in Jullundur Jail, Kishan Singh who agreed to disclose all the facts and enable the arrest of all the members of the dangerous Babr gang provided that he was not given away but was convicted under section 124 A. of the I.P.C. and imprisoned for a year or two. The higher authorities appreciated the proposal but it was not accepted by the Punjab C.I.D. Had this proposal been adopted, the whole Babr jatha would have been easily arrested with the help of Kishan Singh, and the loyal residents of the Doaba and the Police would have been saved from all that followed.

Not-with-standing the disappointment at not being able to push the very important and valuable assistance in the conversion of Mota Singh and Kishan Singh to a successful issue, Patiala still continued to help the Imperial cause, and the Agent to the Governor-General was kept informed on the important steps taken from time to time. At this juncture, the Commissioner of Jullundur asked Patiala informally if Bijla Singh could assist in the arrest of the members of the gang who had embarked on a career of violent crime. Accordingly, in consultation with Bijla Singh, two secret agents Jagat Singh and Sunder Singh were deputed to get into direct touch with the most important members of the Babr jatha and their services were placed at the disposal of the Punjab C. I. D. It was through the efforts of these two Patiala men that Babu Santa Singh and Ram Singh, members of the Babr jatha, were arrested by the Police. In addition to

these arrests, both these Patiala informers managed to pass most accurate and timely information to the police to facilitate the arrest of the outlaws but unfortunately some-how-or other many golden opportunities were lost. This short account will show that direct work was done by Patiala in the Imperial interest in rounding up the Babr gang, besides keeping  $8\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of the Sikh population of the Phulkian States under control and preventing them from harbouring or sheltering the 'Babrs', a practice which was then very common because of every Sikh feeling himself in duty bound to do so. This action naturally weakened the anarchical movement in the Punjab by depriving it of so many facilities which the anarchists expected to enjoy at the hands of the large and concentrated Sikh population of the Patiala State.

### **Annoyance of Akali papers.**

The extremist Akali newspapers were greatly annoyed with Patiala over its persistent attitude of co-operation with the Government of India and hurled, every day, most poisonous, foul and insulting epithets against Patiala ; the *Kirpan Bahadur*, *Akali* and *Akali te Pardesi*, etc., were most violent. At this very stage Patiala was forcibly drawn into most disagreeable but all absorbing conflict with Nabha. Yet it fought single-handed against the Akali menace with persistence and at great sacrifice.

### **Second Attack on Khalsa College.**

Towards the end of 1923 fresh trouble was created in the Khalsa College by some of the members of the S. G. P. C. The help of His Highness of Patiala was again sought and he ungrudgingly provided personal help, constant advice, encouragement and financial help to the College Committee, through the medium of Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia which saved the college once more from falling into the hands of the extremist Sikhs.

### **Measures taken to control seditious activities.**

Consequent on Nabha's separation from his State in December 1923, it was discovered that the political atmosphere within the

state was being injuriously affected by the constant deputation of S.G.P.C., emissaries from Amritsar to seduce the State Akalis to hold political Diwans, in which most objectionable and seditious speeches were delivered against the British and His Highness' Government. Consequently certain lines were chalked out to cope with the situation in accordance with the existing law. At this stage, however, the policy adopted by His Highness' Government was simply to apprehend the ring-leaders and real prompters of the movement. In the great annual diwan held at Fatehgarh Sahib in the last week of December, 1923, many speeches were delivered in a spirit of reckless defiance of the law. Most of the speakers belonged to British territory and some of them made themselves scarce, but those who could not escape over the border were hunted down and prosecuted. As was to be expected, this acted as a red rag to the bull and, in a fit of threatening restlessness, the local Akali leaders prompted by the paid preachers of the S. P. G. C. hastily organised a succession of political diwans in various affected centres, with the avowed object of overawing His Highness' Government and infusing courage and enthusiasm among their rank and file. In view of the higher vituperative language which was being indulged in by the agitators, chiefly against the British Government it was then considered necessary to augment the existing law by a special "Shahi Farman" which forbade all seditious activities in any form or manner whatsoever, whether against the Patiala Raj or against the British Government, on pain of severe penalties including forfeiture of property. Accordingly all the important speakers who delivered inflammatory and seditious speeches in those diwans were arrested, challenged, convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, fine and confiscation of property. These political prisoners were lodged in an isolated subsidiary jail which was specially established for them at Bhatinda. This action naturally invited most severe criticism from the Gurmukhi and Vernacular Press of the Punjab but all the same it had a salutary effect and thenceforward the number of Akali diwans began to decrease and very few prosecutions under section 124 A. or 188 of the I. P. C. and 108 of the C. P. C., were found



necessary.

With a view to stop the publication of seditious articles in different papers, which contained most pernicious and unwarranted attacks against the British and His Highness' Government, vigorous efforts were made by the Patiala C. I. D. to obtain a clue as to the real writers of those articles. By secret enquiries and recourse to up-to-date methods of censorship, correspondents of the Gurmukhi papers like "Babbar Sher", "Akali", "Kirpan Bahadur", "Pritam" etc., were located, their accomdation addresses for such correspondence found and original copies of articles intercepted in a very clever but quiet manner. This gang was eventually challaned under section 124 A., and 120 B., I. P. C. convicted. Action was also taken against certain Akalis who sold seditious pamphlets against British Government in Patiala and who were in direct touch with editors of papers referred to above, and Jiwan Singh and Partap Singh, the well known booksellers of Amritsar who deal mostly in seditious Gurmukhi literature and national publications.

On receiving information through the State C.I.D. that certain Sikh students of the Mohindra College Patiala were secretly participating in the Akali propaganda by way of reciting self-composed political poems and collecting funds for the S.G.P.C., Qaidi Sahayak Fund, etc., etc., the movement was nipped in the bud and the students who had taken leading part in the activities were expelled from the State.

### **Co-operation in connection with the Jaito affair.**

Apart from local political troubles, the march of Akali jathas on Jaito, often through Patiala territory, necessitated constant and vigilant watch being maintained over State subjects with a view to discourage the wave of enthusiasm which permeated the Sikh peasantry at the time. Another notification, under the express orders of His Highness, was issued by the Home Minister, in February 1924, prohibiting the Patiala State subjects from associating with the Shahidi Jathas at Jaito. Eventually suitable action was taken against those who participated in the movement. An offer of co-

operation with the Nabha Forces at Jaito at the political juncture was accepted by the Government of India and Patiala troops were deputed to assist the Nabha authorities at Jaito. The conduct of these troops was repeatedly admired by the Nabha Administrator who on several occasions expressed his views in letters of thanks addressed to the Prime Minister, Patiala. In May, 1924, vide confidential D. O. letter No. 1014-C dated 20.5.24, certain suggestions by the Prime Minister, Patiala to improve the situation at Jaito, were placed in the hands of the A.G.G. for the consideration of the Government of India.

The attitude of the Punjab C.I.D. had changed in the meantime and the loyal co-operation of Patiala began to be appreciated by the Punjab Government.

#### **Another conspiracy unearthed.**

A conspiracy was discovered in 1924, in which certain Akalis, particularly Santa Singh alias Lakhmer Singh of Kalaur, Police Station Bassi, who had received a life sentence in the second Lahore Conspiracy case of 1914 but was released in 1919 owing to Royal Clemency. Dr. Bakhshish Singh, a well known bomb-manufacturer and their associates holding extremist views, had laid out plans to commit political murders beginning with Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia, Colonel Minchin and the Prime Minister of Patiala (Raja Sir Daya Kishan Kaul). They had collected dangerous fire arms, etc., for the purpose. Their residential quarters were raided recovering swords, guns, chavis, cartridges, one bomb and some political literature. It was also found that certain Sikhs of Majha, who entertained anarchical views, were also affiliated to this party. Accordingly a case under section 302/120 B., I.P.C., was registered and the accused were sent up for trial and convicted. This secret gang, which was likely to develop into a revolutionary organisation and become a peril to society like the Babr gang of Doaba, was then broken up in time.

Action was also taken against the paid propagandists of the S.G.P.C. employed for disseminating seditious literature and reciting inflammatory poems.

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## SUMMARY

To sum up, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and his Government have fully maintained their long established tradition of active whole-hearted co-operation with and loyal assistance to the British Government during the last troublesome decade of Punjab history especially in connection with the anarchist and extremist movements among the Sikhs. From the Sikh Ghaddar conspiracy and the Rowlett Bill agitation onwards, the Maharaja of Nabha has lent his moral and financial support to seditious agitation in general and the Sikh extremist and anarchist activities in particular; this enhancing the difficulties of the task before the British and Patiala Governments. Patiala has offered its active assistance and ungrudging co-operation in combating the Sikh Ghaddar conspiracy of 1914, the political agitation in 1917, the seditious activities of 1919, the extremist attacks of 1920 and 1923 on the Khalsa College, the growth of extremist propaganda among the Sikhs, from the creation of the S.G.P.C. down to the Jaito affair, in purging the gurdwara reform movement of its political character, in attempting to reclaim hardened political offenders like Mota Singh and Kishan Singh, in actually reclaiming fire brands like Bijla Singh and his gang, in turning the tide of political aggression by the extremist Akalis at Fatehgarh Sahib, in suppressing agitation in the Malwa, in planning the arrest of whole Babr Akali gang, in providing information calculated to lead to the arrest of individual members of the jathas and in actually securing the arrest of at least two of them, in discovering conspiracies to murder directed against British and Patiala Officers, in generally initiating measures for fighting the Akali menace in consonance with policies adopted by the Punjab Government and persisting with them even when that Government saw fit to alter their policy. It goes without saying that in doing so, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala made himself thoroughly unpopular from time to time with the extremist and more vociferous section of the Sikhs which had been practically leading the whole Panth and has been gaining steadily importance—a situation which

always involves a risk of alienation of the Sikh subjects of the State from their Ruler. Much more so has been the case when after being encouraged to take up a stern attitude he has been left in a tight and awkward corner by a change in the policy of the Punjab Government. It has therefore been no easy task for His Highness to maintain his prestige and capacity to exert a healthy influence over the community.

The Patiala police have considerably helped the Punjab Police in every possible manner in all the political cases handled by them, particularly in the Sikh leaders trial case and the supplementary Babr Akali case. The State C. I. D. have always kept a watch on the political tendencies of all suspicious Akalis. To quote a recent instance, vigilant watch was exercised in connection with the Nagar Kirtan processions and suitable action was taken to put an end to the activities of persons who took the initiative in collecting Panj-Paisa or Panj-Anna funds or in the celebration of Nabha day. The vigilance of the Patiala C. I. D., has gained enormously in its efficiency since Khan Bahadur Sardar Liaqat Hayat Khan, C.B.E., assumed charge of the Department and work of the Patiala Government in this direction has been greatly facilitated by the sympathetic attitude of His Excellency, Sir Malcolm Hailey's Government and the mutual confidence and co-operation of the Punjab and Patiala Criminal Investigation Department.

**Confidential**

### **Political agitation in Patiala State**

Your Highness,

I. The impending settlement of the Akali question in the Punjab prompts me to submit to Your Highness the following brief note on the political situation in the Patiala State and to suggest the desirability of recognising the services of deserving persons

with a view to encourage them and others, thus fortifying ourselves against all future contingencies :-

2. Towards the close of the year 1923, soon after I had assumed charge of the Home Department, I discovered that while political agitation in the State was growing apace, being fanned by the extremists propaganda in the Punjab, the only agency we had to cope with it. viz., the C. I. D. lacked discipline, training and proper control which reduced its utility to minimum. This, obviously was a most unsatisfactory position from an administrative point of view and called for immediate reform. Accordingly with Your Highness' approval, transferred the C. I. D. from the Central Police office, to the Home Department under my direct control, effected certain necessary changes in the personnel of the Department and placed it in charge of an experienced officer, who lost no time in setting things in order.

Having thus equipped ourselves with a more disciplined and better controlled C. I. D., we set ourselves to enforce the law and stem the tide of political unrest which was rapidly spreading throughout the State. By Your Highness' command, a definite and clearly defined policy was laid down for the guidance of the executive staff and an intensive campaign was launched against political agitators, who backed by the resources and enthusiasm of the S.G.P.C., were daily gaining a firm hold over the imagination of the unsophisticated masses.

The great annual Diwan held at Fatehgarh Sahib in December 1923, at which numerous Akalis were present and many seditious speeches were delivered in a spirit of reckless defiance of the law, gave us the desired opportunity to set the law in motion. Such of the leading firebrands as did not escape over the border were hunted down and prosecuted. As was to be expected, this acted for the time being as a red rag to the bull and in a fit of threatening restlessness the local Akali leaders prompted by the emissaries of the S. G. P. C., hastily organised a succession of political diwans in various effected centres with the avowed object of overawing the Patiala Government and infusing courage and enthusiasm among

their rank and file. But we were not unprepared for these developments and the executive staff very vigorously and most successfully grappled with the situation which was menacing enough to tax their energies to the utmost. Apart from local political troubles, the march on Jaito of Akali jathas, often through Patiala territory, necessitated constant vigilance being maintained over state subjects with a view to discourage the wave of enthusiasm which permeated the Sikh peasantry at the time.

In view of the highly vituperative language which was being indulged in by the agitators, chiefly against the British Government it was considered necessary at this stage to augment the existing law by a special "Shahi Farman", which forbade all seditious activities in any form or manner whatsoever whether against the Patiala Raj or the British Government on pain of severe penalties including forfeiture of property. Armed with extra weapon, which proved so efficacious against local seditionists, the C. I. D., on whom fell the brunt of the work in connection with the political agitation made several important arrests and before long over a score of the worst offenders were duly accounted for and lodged in a subsidiary jail specially started for them at Bhatinda. During the course of the trials and even after convictions some of the more recalcitrant among the accused resorted to hunger strikes carrying their co-prisoners with them. These attempts at coercing Government into undue leniency, which were undoubtedly inspired by outside agencies, however failed ignominiously leaving our policy absolutely unchanged.

The policy adopted by the Patiala Government in dealing with the Akali agitation with a firm hand has simply justified itself by the results obtained. By the end of 1924 the situation had been brought completely under control and seditious talk against the British Government and the Patiala Raj practically ceased within the limits of the State. The extremists have ever since been making frantic efforts to revive the agitation but, so far, with little effect.

With the tightening of the screw, however, some of the more restless spirits, finding themselves helpless within the jurisdiction of the State, started migrating to British territory and joining "Akali jathas" organised by the S.G.P.C. Every possible effort was made to stop this movement, too, in spite of our difficulties in dealing with State Subjects committing offences beyond our reach.

### Revolutionary plots.

3. The heavy work devolving on the C. I. D. in connection with the political agitation was accentuated by the necessity for constant vigilance over the deeper currents of the Akali movement which had brought into existence such dangerous revolutionary organisation as the "Babbar Akali" gang of the Punjab. Secret information obtained by the C. I. D. led to the discovery of a dangerous plot in Kalaur, P. S. Bassi, District Patiala, against the lives of some highly placed Government officials, who were known to be hostile to the Akali movement. The Superintendent of Police, C. I. D. personally raided the houses of the suspects and succeeded in recovering a bomb and some firearms, also some objectionable political literature. The case was successfully investigated and resulted in the conviction and sentence of the conspirators to various terms of imprisonment. A similar conspiracy among prisoners in the Central Jail, Patiala was nipped in the bud.

4. Several State officials and many non-officials have contributed to the success of our policy in regard to the Akali agitation and I feel in duty bound to request Your Highness, gracious permission to submit my recommendations for rewards in favour of such persons as have rendered conspicuous service to the Patiala Government in this grave political crisis and who have not already been rewarded at the last "Basant Durbar".

I beg to remain,  
Your Highness'  
Most obedient Servant  
Sd/ Liaquat Hayat Khan  
Home Minister  
Patiala Government

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Telegram

22-9-25.

No. 348 from Baloke dated 22-9-25 hours 17-40 mts.  
Secretary Sharomani Akali Dal  
Amritsar

Keeping in view incident of 20th instant, I have ordered suspending Bhai Pheru *Morcha* from today. Don't send more *jathas* here.

Arjan Singh.

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Gopy of the letter from S. Teja Singh Ghawind to  
Bhai Nand Singh Jathedar.

੨੬-੯-੨੫.

ਸ੍ਰੀਮਾਨ ਪੰਥ-ਰਤਨ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਭਾਈ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਸ: ਨੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀਓ ।

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ, ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਿਹ ।

ਸ੍ਰੀਮਾਨ ਜੀਓ ਦਾਸ ਨੂੰ ਕਲ ਪੂਰੇ ਪੂਰੇ ਭਾਈ ਫੇਰ ਦੇ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ ਮਲੂਮ ਹੋਏ ਹਨ । ਵਿਚਾਰ ਪਿੱਛੋਂ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਵਿਖੇ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਪੱਤਰ ਲਿਖਣ ਦਾ ਹੌਸਲਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ, ਉਹ ਵੀ ਇਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਕਿ ਚਿਰਕਾਲ ਤਕ ਅਕੱਠੇ ਰਹਿਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਪਿਆਰ ਵਧਦਾ ਗਿਆ । ਮੇਰੇ ਮਨ ਵਿਚ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਇਤਨੀ ਇਜ਼ਤ ਤੇ ਮਾਣ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੈਂ ਹੀ ਜਾਣਦਾ ਹਾਂ । ਇਹ ਪੱਤ੍ਰ ਮੈਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਹੋਸੀਅਤ ਵਿਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਲਿਖ ਰਿਹਾ । ਨਾ ਹੀ ਕੋਈ ਹੋਸੀਅਤ ਰਖਦਾ ਹਾਂ । ਸਿਰਫ ਭਾਈ ਸਮਝ ਕੇ ਅਪੀਲ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਭਾਈ ਫੇਰੂ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਮਾਮਲੇ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਮਯਾਬ ਬਨਾਉਣ ਵਿਚ ਪੂਰੀ ਮਦਦ ਦੇਣੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਪੂਰਨ ਮੰਨਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ । ਮੇਰੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਖਿਆਲ ਵਿਚ ਸ: ਅਰਜਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਹੋਰਾਂ ਜੋ ਕੁਝ ਇਸ ਵਕਤ ਦੀ ਹਾਲਤ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਕੇ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ ਠੀਕ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ । ਮੇਰੇ ਖਿਆਲ ਵਿਚ ਜੇ ਆਪ ਇਸ ਵਕਤ ਐਸੇ ਹੀ ਮੌਕੇ ਤੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਤਾਂ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਵੀ ਇਹੀ ਪੌਜ਼ੀਸ਼ਨ ਲੈਂਦੇ । ਪਿਆਰੇ ਭਾਈ ਜੀਓ, ਜਿਸ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੂੰ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਮੋਰਚਾ ਵਗੈਰਾ ਲਾਉਣ ਦੇ ਹੱਕ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਕੀ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਹਟਾ ਦੇਣ ਦੇ ਭੀ ਹੱਕ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਨ । ਜੇ ਸੋਭਾ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ ਤਾਂ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ, ਜੇ ਬਦਨਾਮੀ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ ਤਾਂ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ । ਵਰਕ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਜੁੜ ਕੇ ਹੱਕ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਹੋਏ ਹਨ, ਵਰਨਾ ਕੰਮ ਕਿਸ ਤਰਾਂ ਚਲ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ । ਕਈ ਮੌਕੇ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਕੁਝ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਕੇ ਕਰਨੇ ਪੈਂਦੇ ਹਨ । ਭਾਈ



THE SHIROMANI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE

Communique No. 39.

The S.G.P.C. in its working Committee held on January 4th 1926 adopted the following resolution :—

The question of the appointment of Ministers of the Punjab Government was considered and it was decided that the S.G.P.C. should not interfere with it and that following statement be issued to the Press :—

The opinions which some responsible members of the S.G.P.C. have expressed through the public press regarding the appointment of Ministers of the Punjab Government were their personal opinions. S.G.P.C. is absolutely neutral in this matter.

Jaswant Singh Jhabalia  
General Secretary,  
S. G. P. C.

Amritsar :  
5th January 1926.

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To  
The General Secretary,  
Shiromani G. P. Committee,  
Sir,

Eversince I was elected President of the S. G. P. C. last month I have been daily feeling that I am not doing that much of work which I previously used to do that which the needs of my Committee require from me under the present circumstances. This is mainly due to the state of my health, although there are other factors also which detract my mind from close application to the business of the post of the President and member in charge of the Law Department. I have deeply considered over the matter as to whether I could conscientiously discharge the duties of either post if I am relieved of the others but I have come to the conclusion that I am unfit to bear the strain of either. Such being the conclusion, I do not think it honest to keep the offices,

the duties of which I cannot efficiently discharge and the responsibilities of which I can not shoulder. I shall however continue to be a member of the S. G. P. C. and give such advice and suggestions as may be asked for time to time. When leaving Amritsar, I made over charge to the Vice-President. I have not taken back formal charge so continue to work as the President until the General Committee meets when formal election of the President can take place.

Your etc., etc.,  
Mehtab Singh  
21. 2. 26.

Rejected by W. C. on 22. 2. 26.

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੨੬-੨-੨੬

ੴ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਿਹ ।

'ਅਕਾਲੀ' ਅਤੇ 'ਅਕਾਲੀ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸੀ' ਅਖਬਾਰਾਂ ਪੰਥ ਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਸਮੂਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦੀ ਭਲਾਈ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਮੁੱਖ ਆਦਰਸ਼ ਹੈ । ਅਸੀਂ ਸਦਾ ਪੰਥ ਦੀ ਬਿਹਤਰੀ ਲਈ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਵੀਚਾਰਾਂ ਪਰਗਟ ਕਰਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਹਾਂ । ਪੰਥ ਦਾ ਮੌਜੂਦਾ ਦੁਖ ਭਰੀ ਹਾਲਤ ਦਾ ਅਸੀਂ ਇਹੋ ਇਲਾਜ ਦਸਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਸੰਟਰਲ ਬੋਰਡ ਦੀ ਚੋਣ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਸ੍ਰ. ਗੁ. ਪ੍ਰ. ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਨਵੀਂ ਜਨਰਲ ਚੋਣ ਕਰ ਲਈ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਾਕਿ ਪੰਥਕ ਜਥੇਬੰਦੀ ਪੱਕੀ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇ । ਪਰਸਪਰ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਦਾ ਇਹ ਸਿੱਟਾ ਨਿਕਲਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸ੍ਰ. ਗੁ. ਪ੍ਰ. ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੇ ਜਲਦੀ ਤੋਂ ਜਲਦੀ ਨਵੀਂ ਜਨਰਲ ਚੋਣ ਕਰਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਚੋਣ ਸਬ-ਕਮੇਟੀ ਮੁਕੱਤਰ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਬਾਬਤ ਅਜ ਦੇ ਪਰਚੇ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਸੇ ਹੋਰ ਥਾਂ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦਾ ਐਲਾਨ ਪਰਕਾਸ਼ਤ ਹੋ ਚੁਕਿਆ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ 'ਅਕਾਲੀ' ਤੇ 'ਅਕਾਲੀ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸੀ' ਅਖਬਾਰਾਂ ਕਿਲੇ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਆਏ ਸੱਜਣਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਮੌਜੂਦਾ ਮਤਭੇਦ ਬਾਬਤ ਐਡੀਟੋਰੀਅਲ ਲੇਖਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਡਾਰੈਕਟਲੀ ਜਾਂ ਇਨਡਾਰੈਕਟਲੀ ਪਰਚਾਰ ਕਰਨਾ ਅਜ ਤੋਂ ਬੰਦ ਕਰਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ । ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਬਾਹਰੋਂ ਆਏ ਦੋਹਾਂ ਖਿਆਲਾਂ ਦੇ ਗੁਰਮਤੇ ਅਤੇ ਦੋਹਾਂ ਖਿਆਲਾਂ ਵਾਲੇ ਸੱਜਣਾਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਦਸਖਤੀ ਚਿੱਠੀਆਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਨਾਉਂ ਹੇਠਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ਤ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ ਜਾਣਗੀਆਂ, ਪਰ ਦੋਹਾਂ ਖਿਆਲਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਦੀਵਾਨਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਹੋਈਆਂ ਤਕਰੀਰਾਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਛਾਪੀਆਂ ਜਾਣਗੀਆਂ ।

Mangal Singh  
26-2-26

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From  
The Secretary,  
Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.  
To  
The Secretary,  
Punjab Provincial Congress, Committee,  
Lahore.

Amritsar Dated 13th March, 1926.

No, Special/3.

Sir,

There is a balance of about Rs. 14,000/- on account of Akali Prisoners' Relief Fund in your hand. As the accounts have to be adjusted and the money is needed, I shall be obliged if you will please pay the amount to S. Bhagat Singhji Secretary Law Department (S.G.P.C.) on behalf of the S.G.P.C.

He has been duly authorised to accept payment and give necessary receipt for the same.

Yours sincerely,  
Mohinder Singh Sidhwan  
General Secretary  
S.G.P.C. Amritsar.

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੧੩-੩-੨੬.

From Secretary Gurdwara Management  
Sub-Committee

ਸ: ਤੇਜਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਸਮੁੰਦਰੀ

ਮਿਤੀ ੧੩.੩.੨੬.

ਸਪੈਸ਼ਲ/੨

ਪਰਮ ਕਿਰਪਾਲੂ ਜੀਓ

ਆਪ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਯਾਦ ਹੋਊ ਕਿ ਸ਼੍ਰੋ. ਗੁ. ਪ੍ਰ. ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦਾ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰਾ ਰੁਪਿਆ ਬਿਨਾ

ਸੂਦ ਸ: ਮੱਘਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਲਾਇਲਪੁਰੀ, ਸ਼੍ਰੀਮਾਨ ਬਾਬਾ ਕਿਹਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਆਦਿਕ ਸੱਜਣਾਂ ਪਾਸ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਜਮਾਂ ਕਰਾਇਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਸੀ ਇਸ ਸ਼ਰਤ ਤੇ ਕਿ ਜਿਸ ਵਕਤ ਮੰਗਿਆ ਜਾਵੇ ਵਾਪਸ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ। ਮੈਨੂੰ ਹੈਂਡ ਓਵਰ ਕੀਤੇ ਗਏ ਰੀਕਾਰਡ ਤੋਂ ਪਤਾ ਲਗਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹਾਲ ਤਕ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰਾ ਰੁਪਿਆ ਬਾਕੀ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਭੀ ਖਬਰ ਲਗੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਬਾਵਜੂਦ ਮੰਗ ਕਰਨ ਦੇ ਇਹ ਰਕਮਾਂ ਵਾਪਸ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਗਈਆਂ, ਇਸ ਲਈ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਾਰਥਨਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸੱਜਣਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਅਪਨੀ ਵਲੋਂ ਰੁਪਿਆ ਵਾਪਸ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਲਿਖਣ ਦੀ ਕਿਰਪਾਲਤਾ ਕਰੋ ਤੇ ਜੋ ਐਕਸ਼ਨ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਲਵੋ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਦੱਸਣ ਦੀ ਖੇਚਲ ਫਰਮਾਉਣੀ।

ਦਾਸ

ਮਹਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਿਧਵਾਂ

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From S. Tara Singh, B. A., LL. B., M. L. C., Fleader, Moga, to  
General Secretary, S. G. P. C., Amritsar.

Moga, 15th April 1926.

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I thank you very much for putting me in charge of the Law Department of the S. G. P. C. You have also written to me that I will receive a monthly allowance of Rs. 500/-. I believe that this is a temporary appointment as S. B. wished to take rest on account of his illness. It is really a difficult task to migrate to Lahore for so short a period and upset my whole local work. S. G. P. C. has advertised for some lawyers. I am quite prepared to leave only if the S. G. P. C. appoints me a lawyer to conduct cases before the Tribunal on Rs. 1000/- p. m. on the announcement of the personnel of the Tribunal. Before this I will only draw an allowance of Rs. 500/- as decided by you. if my position is safe and continuous, I shall have no hesitation. You had also told me that I would be given first chance for the appointment of a lawyer on 1000/- but I would like to take my position legally safe so that I may be in a position to give my full time and energy to the work. Thus I will gain stability, continuity and certainty. I hope you realise my position. If I receive an order of appointment to this effect, as passed by your working Committee which has full power, I will join next day. This should be made clear that I have been appointed by

S. G. P. C. lawyer on Rs. 1000/- but I will draw the salary only from the date of the announcement of the Tribunal and before that I will be given only Rs. 500/- as an allowance. On the receipt of your order, I will join forthwith.

Sincerely yours,  
Sd/- Tara Singh.

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ਕਾਨਫੀਡੈਂਸ਼ੀਅਲ

ਮਿਤੀ ੧੯ ਅਪ੍ਰੈਲ, ੧੯੨੬

ਨੰ: ੨੫/ਸੀ

ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ,  
ਮੰਮਿਤਸਰੋ।

੩੦ ਜਨਵਰੀ ੧੯੨੬ ਵਾਲਾ ਇਜਲਾਸ ਉਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਜਦ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁ. ਪ੍ਰ. ਕ. ਦਾ ਦਫਤਰ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸੱਜਣਾਂ ਦੇ ਪਾਸ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਜੋ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦੇ ਕਰਤਾ ਧਰਤਾ ਹਨ। ਇਸ ਇਜਲਾਸ ਦੇ ਏਜੰਡੇ ਵਿਚ ਆਮ ਚੋਣ ਦਾ ਸਵਾਲ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ। ੩੦ ਜਨਵਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਕੁਝ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਰੋਸ ਵੱਜੋਂ ਉਠ ਵੀ ਆਏ ਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਆ ਕੇ ਅਪਨੀ ਇਕ ਵੱਖਰੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਬਣਾ ਲਈ। ੩੧ ਜਨਵਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਸ: ਅਮਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਝਬਾਲ ਨੇ (ਜੋ ਕਿ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦੇ ਪਰਸਿੱਧ ਆਗੂ ਹਨ) ਸ: ਹਰਬੰਸ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਸੀਸਤਾਨੀ ਨੂੰ ਜ਼ੋਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਕਿ ਚੋਣ ਦਾ ਸਵਾਲ ਅਤਿ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਇਸ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਪੰਥਕ ਝਗੜੇ ਮੁਕ ਸਕਦੇ ਹਨ। ਅਕਾਲੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦੀ ਪਰਬਲ ਇੱਛਾ ਸਮਝ ਕੇ ਤੇ ਝਗੜੇ ਮੁਕਾਣ ਦੇ ਖਿਆਲ ਨਾਲ ੩੧ ਜਨਵਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੇ ਮੈਂਬਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਗੈਰ ਹਾਜ਼ਰੀ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਚੋਣ ਦਾ ਗੁਰਮਤਾ ਬਹੁਤ ਭਾਰੀ ਬਹੁਸੰਮਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਪਾਸ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਉਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਸੇਵਕ ਦਾ ਖਿਆਲ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਪ ਅਗਸਤ ੧੯੨੬ ਤਕ ਮੌਜੂਦਾ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਮਿਆਦ ਹੈ ਕੁਝ ਸਮੇਂ ਤਕ ਸ਼ਾਇਦ ਕੈਦੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਸਵਾਲ ਵੀ ਹੱਲ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇ ਤੇ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸ਼੍ਰੋ. ਕਮੇਟੀ ਭੀ ਉਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਤਕ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਖਿਲਾਫੇ ਕਾਨੂੰਨ ਜੱਥਾ ਨਾ ਰਹੇ, ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਪਿੱਛੋਂ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੇ ਸੇਵਕ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦੀ ਇੱਛਾ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਅਰਥਾਤ ਝਗੜਾ ਮੁਕਾਵਨ ਦੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਚੋਣ ਲਈ ਅਪਨੀ ਵੀ ਇੱਛਿਆ ਪਰਗਟ ਕਰਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਪਰ ਇਹ ਖਿਆਲ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਰਹਿੰਦਾ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਜਦ ਭੀ ਚੋਣ ਦਾ ਐਲਾਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਤਦ ਹੀ ਕੈਦੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਸਵਾਲ ਘੱਟੋ ਘੱਟ ਕੁਝ ਚਿਰ ਲਈ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਖੱਟੇ ਵਿਚ ਪੈ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ, ਇਸ ਲਈ ਚੰਗਾ ਹੈ ਜੇ ਅਜੇ ਕੈਦੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਸਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਹੱਲ ਛੇਤੀ ਹੀ ਅਢਿਆ ਜਾਵੇ, ਅਸੀਂ ਕਹਿ ਸਕਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਜੇ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦੇ ਆਗੂ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਮਿਲ ਕੇ ਹੱਥ ਵਟਾਉਂਦੇ ਤਦ ਕੈਦੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਸਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਹੱਲ ਦਾ ਕਾਫੀ ਭਰੋਸਾ ਸੀ,

ਵੱਲੋਂ ਇਕ ਬਾਕਾਇਦਾ ਜਲਸਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ੧੪੫ ਦਫਾ ਹੇਠ ਚਲ ਰਹੇ ਮੁਕਦਮਿਆਂ ਸਬੰਧੀ ੫੦੦੦/-/- ਰਿਸ਼ਵਤ ਲਈ ਇਕੱਠਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਇਹ ਵੀ ਪਤਾ ਲੱਗਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੈਜਿਸਟਰੇਟ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਰੁਪਿਆ ਦੇਣ ਤੇ ਭਰੋਸਾ ਦਿਵਾਇਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਦੋ ਤਾਰੀਖ ਨੂੰ ਮੁਕਦਮੇ ਦਾ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ। ਮੈਂ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਭੀ ਚਿਤਾਵਨੀ ਕਰਵਾਂਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਮੁਕਦਮਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਫੈਸਲੇ ਨਾਲ ਸਾਡਾ ਰੀਜ਼ਰਵ ਪਿਆ ਜਮ੍ਹਾਂ ਰੁਪਿਆ ਵੀ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਰਹੇਗਾ। ਆਸ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਕੋਈ ਯੋਗ ਪਰਬੰਧ ਕਰੋਗੇ।

ਚਿੱਠੀ ਦੇ ਪੁੱਜਣ ਦੀ ਖਬਰ ਦੇਣਾ।

ਦਾਸ—

ਅਸ. ਮੈਨੇਜਰ.

ਨਕਲ ਸਕੱਤਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ,  
ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਕ., ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ।

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## Confidential

Lahore, 6th May 1926.

S. Bhagat Singh asked the Chief Secretary at 11 A. M. over the phone as to when he could see me. The reply came "whenever he comes". So I saw him at 1 P. M.

I. He took notes regarding Kullar and Kahuta Schools. I told him that their grants in aid were stopped or detained owing to some workers of the school having taken part in entertaining the Shahidi Jathas etc. The Management has since changed hands, the Gurdwara Act had been passed and there was no earthly reason why grants should not be given and continued for the future. The Educational authorities had admitted in their remarks that the tone of the school had improved and that the Management Committees were constituted of good men and were working in a satisfactory manner. The D. C. wants the school workers to satisfy Baba Gurbaksh Singh. He may be a friend of the Government, an Arch Sudharist and all that, but he, and his father before him, have been at longer heads with Sangats and enemies of the

Singh Sabha Movement for the last forty years and we can never satisfy him. The Government may choose whether after the passage of the Gurdwara Act, it wants peace with people working the Act or war with them for the sake of Baba Gurbaksh Singh. The reply to this and other connected questions was that he shall look into the matter and all that could be done will be done to help the schools if they were in favour of working the Bill. He said that departmental papers have been with the Governor and that the matter will be brought to his notice.

2. I showed a copy of letters to the Home Secretary and told him that double fines had been realized from 3 men of Chak No. 63 Jhang Branch, Lyallpur District. He said that my letter had been sent to the Home Secretary on 22nd April, i. e., only two weeks ago and that the name of the court was not mentioned and that must be the reason for the delay in not sending me the reply. He said he shall write and expedite the matter but if I wanted the matter to be attended to at once I should furnish him with the name of the Court.

3. I told him that one Charan Singh of Tehsil Fateh-Jang, Dist. Campbellpore, had suffered the sentence and yet his property had been recently attached. He asked me the name of his village, the Court by which he was convicted and the Court which has attached the property. I told him that Bhagat Jaswant Singh, my informant, had not furnished me with these details. He said, on details being furnished, steps will be taken to withdraw the proceedings.

4. I told him that proceedings were being taken against men for old offences before the passage of the Act. He said none will be taken. I told him yesterday Nand Singh of Amritsar Distt. was arrested for a Diwan in Beas Ilaqa. He asked me who had furnished me the information. I told him my friend Bhagat Jaswant Singh. He said he was not arrested yesterday but 10 days ago. His companions were arrested and convicted, he was absconding and had been arrested now in due course, when found.

I told him that such prosecutions for old affairs after the passage of the Act only kept the bitterness alive. He said, he will write to the D. C. Amritsar and tell him that Mehtab Singh wants the case to be withdrawn, what has he to say in the matter. He remarked that obviously there seemed to be no reason why the case should not be withdrawn.

After this he asked me about my health and I told him that liver complaint has been now added to hernia. He wished me good health and recommended to me to rest at some hillstation after five years strenuous war with the Government. On coming out of the Chief Secretary's Office, S. Randhir Singh of Kallaswalla, M. L. C., met me coming out of the room of the Education Minister. He told me, "Sardar Sahib, in compliance with your cammands I have just seen the Education Minister about the Kullar School and put the case before him very strongly. I have told him that the Sikhs of Kullar can satisfy any body but not Baba Gurbaksh Singh, their old enemy. The Education Minister has told me that he will write and tell this to the D. C., and that the local pleaders and Raises at Rawalpindi should see the D. C. and tell him this also". I thanked S. Randhir Singh and urged him to advance the case in future also and let me know what he is doing in this matter.

Mehtab Singh

No. 687/5/C Member in charge.

Lahore, Dated 8th May 1926.

Forwarded to the General Secretary S.G.P.C. for information.

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To

HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA BAHADUR OF NABHA  
DEHRADUN

35/C

Your Highness nominated candidate for S. G. P. C. election.



Your case being very special I am desired to enquire if your Highness except nomination.

Sender ;

Daulat Singh,  
Missionary College, Amritsar.

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Telegram

MAHARAJA SAHIB BAHADUR OF NABHA  
DEHRADUN

Reference previous telegram your Highness' name proposed for Shiromni Committee. Your Highness case very special wire if your Highness accepts nomination.

38/C  
24.5.26.

Shiromni Committee,  
Daulat Singh  
Missionary College, Amritsar.

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27. 5. 26.

To  
The Secretary,  
S. G. P. C.,  
Amritsar.

Sir,

Herewith I am sending the original copy of the statement issued by S. Narain Singh Vakil of Gujranwala and myself as preliminary request to both parties in the Gurdwara movement now at Variance. You will kindly do the needful by publishing this statement broadcast and helping in the work of bringing about peace.

Yours etc., etc.,  
Teja Singh  
Professor.

Khalsa College,  
27. 5. 26.

SEAL.

No. 4143/16

Dt. 27.5.26.

Press : Akali, Akali-te-Pardesi, Desh Bhagat, Sher-e-Punjab,  
Tribune C and M gazette.

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27. 5. 1926.

### STATEMENT

In response to an invitation by telegram sent to the Arbitrators, we two came together at the Khalsa College on the evening of 26th May 1926 to consider the advisability of adopting certain measures preliminary to the starting of actual work of arbitration. In order to prevent the aggravation of trouble and to create the necessary atmosphere of calmness and peace, we think it absolutely essential to make the following request to the parties at variance :—

(1) The general election of the S. G. P. C. should be postponed indefinitely. If the Arbitrators are unable to give award within 15 days of the first meeting, the work of election may be resumed from the point where it was left, with the same list of elections registered and candidates nominated up to date, etc.

(2) All party agitation, whether in press or Platform, should be suspended. In pursuance of this, we are wiring to the leaders present at the Diwan held at Sargodha to desist from taking part in it or continue any propaganda against each other and also prevent men of their parties from doing so.

(3) All propaganda about holding the Sarbat Khalsa conference should be suspended.

Teja Singh  
27.5.26.

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**WIRE**

For peace, general elections of Shiromni Committee should be suspended, as also propaganda holding Sarbat Khalsa conference and party controversy in press and Platform. Suspend immediately partaking hostile party propaganda and prevent others of your party from doing so. Announce this broadcast. A detailed statement handed over to Shiromni Committee, Akali Dal and Press.

Teja Singh  
27-5-26.

Secretary Sikh Diwan Sargodha  
President Sikh Diwan Sargodha  
Giani Sher Singh  
S. B. Mehtab Singh  
S. Amar Singh Jhabal  
Cavesseur  
Baba Gurdit Singh  
Press.

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From The Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar.  
To The Secretary, Shiromani Gurdwara Committee, Amritsar.  
No. 74 of 15. 6. 1926.

Dear Sir,

In confirmation of our conversation this morning, I write to thank you for promise that no bodies of Sikhs would be despatched to Rawalpindi to help the Sikhs there.

I am informed from official sources that the situation at Rawalpindi is well in hand and that order has now been restored. You will agree with me that the despatch at the present moment of any bodies of Sikhs to the scene of the riot would merely aggravate feelings without helping to restore the peace, which, as I have said, is assured.

I would be glad if you would inform me if you intend to take any action contrary to your assurances given this morning, and I would be obliged if you would inform the Sikhs of Amritsar city that they should remain quiet and await news from responsible sources.

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42-C

D. C. Amritsar.

With reference to your letter No. 74 dt. 15. 6. 1926 I have the honour to inform you that S. G. P. C. on hearing of the heart rending news from Rawalpindi wanted to send medical aid for the wounded, but on the receipt of message on phone from there that the situation was reassuring and that no aid was necessary in that way, it dropped that idea.

Besides this, the S. G. P. C. never intended to send any jathas from here nor it intends now to do so.

Mohinder Singh Sidhwan  
General Secretary.

18. 6. 1926.

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੨੬-੬-੧੯੨੬

ਅਤਿ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ

ਸਕੱਤਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ,

ਗੜਗੱਜ ਦੀਵਾਨ ਤੇ ਸੰਟਰਲ ਗਾੜਾ ਦੀਵਾਨ

ਸਾਡੇ ਦਫਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਪੁਜੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਅੱਜ ਜਾਂ ਕਲ੍ਹ ਨੂੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੇ ਕਬਜ਼ਾ ਲੈਣ ਦੀ ਆੜ ਵਿਚ ਹੱਲਾ ਹੋਣ ਵਾਲਾ ਹੈ, ਜੇ ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਰਤੀ ਭਰ ਵੀ ਸਚਾਈ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਬੜੇ ਜ਼ੋਰ ਨਾਲ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਦਤ ਕਰ ਦੇਨਾ ਅਪਨਾ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਫਰਜ਼ ਸਮਝਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਇਹੋ ਜਿਹੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਪੰਥਕ ਜਬੇਬੰਦੀ ਲਈ ਸਖਤ ਹਾਨੀਕਾਰਕ ਸਮਝਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਤੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਹੋ ਚੁੱਕੀ ਦੀ ਇਕ ਹੋਰ ਮਿਸਾਲ ਕਾਇਮ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ, ਅਤੇ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਦੀ ਬੇਅਦਬੀ ਤੇ ਖੂਨ ਖਰਾਬਾ ਵੀ ਆਪ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਹੀ ਸਮਝਿਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ। ਆਪ ਦੇ ਅਜਿਹੇ ਜ਼ਿਮਾਵਾਰ ਜਥੇ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਇਹੋ ਜਿਹੀ ਪੰਥਕ ਅਸੂਲਾਂ ਦਾ ਭੰਗ ਕਰਨ

ਵਾਲੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਦਾ ਹੋਣਾ ਕਦੇ ਵੀ ਸਲਾਘਾ ਯੋਗ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਤੇ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਤੇ ਸਾਰਾ ਪੰਥ, ਆਪ ਵਿਰੋਧ ਆਵਾਜ਼ ਉਠਾਵੇਗਾ।

ਜੇ ਇਹ ਖਬਰ ਝੂਠੀ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਆਪ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਭਰੋਸਾ ਦਿਵਾਓ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਵਲੋਂ ਕੋਈ ਇਹੋ ਜਿਹੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਅਤੇ ਨਾ ਹੀ ਆਪ ਦੀ ਇਹੋ ਜਿਹੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਮਤੀ ਹੈ।

ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਵਿਖੇ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸੱਜਣਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਜਿਹੜੇ ਇਹੋ ਜਿਹੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਜਤਨ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਮਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਖੋਚਲ ਕਰਨੀ, ਤਕਿ ਇਸ ਬਿਖੜੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਪੰਥ ਕਿਸੇ ਹੋਰ ਔਕੜ ਵਿਚ ਨਾ ਫਸ ਜਾਵੇ।

ਉਤਰ ਵਾਪਸੀ ਦੇਣ ਦੀ ਕਿਰਪਾਲਤਾ ਕਰਨੀ।

ਦਾਸ,  
ਠਾਕਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜਨਰਲ ਸਕੱਤਰ,  
ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ।

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7-7-26.

### PRESS COMMUNIQUE No:

Unfair advantage has always been taken of the silence adopted by the S. G. P. C. over certain matters in view of the panthic welfare. Communications verbal and in writing have taken place directly or indirectly between the Government officials and the workers of the S. G. P. C. to obtain the unconditional release of the Gurdwara Reform prisoners still in jail. The S. G. P. C. has observed silence because its attempts did not fructify owing to certain causes for which the responsibility does not lie on its shoulders.

Sir John Maynard once before and a second time now has spoken words in the Punjab Legislative Council which have created a good deal of misunderstanding in the minds of the Sikh public. A number of communications have been received by the S.G.P.C. workers from the members of the public, who do not understand

the tactical show that Sir John Maynard has tried to create in favour of the Government at the expense of certain workers of the S. G. P. C. There is no truth whatsoever in the statement that the Government is not releasing the remaining prisoners in order merely to protect the honour of S. B. Mehtab Singh and his colleagues. As a matter of fact, the S. G. P. C. has assured the Government in various ways that the release of prisoners will strengthen the hands of the present workers in working the Gurdwara Act and will not cause any obstruction to it. As a sample, the following letter placed in the hands of His Excellency the Governor of Punjab on 27th April 1926 by Sir Ganga Ram will show the real state of things and the position taken up by the S.G.P.C. workers all along with regard to the release of prisoners :—  
My dear Sir Ganga Ram,

In continuation of our conversations and in response to your express desire for the release of the rest of the Gurdwara prisoners including Sardar Kharak Singh, I wish to tell you that you may assure His Excellency the Governor on behalf of the S. G. P. C. through me that the Gurdwara Act is being sincerely and wholeheartedly worked by our Committee and that the release of the above-mentioned prisoners, far from obstructing the proper working of the Act, will strengthen our hands and further facilitate the working of the Act by satisfying Sikh feelings. I do, therefore, earnestly desire that the Government would release the prisoners as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Mehtab Singh

for the President S. G. P. C.

The comment on this letter is unnecessary. The S. G. P. C. has very unwillingly published this letter to satisfy the misunderstanding created by the speech of Sir John Maynard now a second time. The Sikh public should be on its guard and should not be misled by speeches like this made by the Government members

in order to carry on its deliberate policy with regard to the Sikh situation.

Secretary,  
Shiromni Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee,  
Amritsar.

Dated Amritsar 7.7.26.

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ਕਾਨਫੀਡੈਂਸ਼ੀਅਲ

ਨੰ: ੪੨/ਸੀ/੫-੮

ਤਾਰੀਖ ੫ ਅਗਸਤ, ੧੯੨੬.

ਸ਼੍ਰੀਮਾਨ ਯੋਗ ਪੰਥ ਰਤਨ ਜੱਬੇਦਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਸ: ਖੜਕ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ,

ਪਰਮ ਕਿਰਪਾਲੂ ਜੀ,

ਆਪ ਚਿਰ ਤੋਂ ਦੁਖੜੇ ਸਹਾਰ ਰਹੇ ਹੋ, ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਦਯਾ ਕਰੇ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਜਰੇ ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਹੀਰਿਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਆਸਾਂ ਸਫਲ ਹੋਣ। ਆਸ ਹੈ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਕਸ਼ਟਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਭੀ ਆਪ ਛੇਤੀ ਹੀ ਸਹੀ ਸਲਾਮਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਬਾਹਰ ਆ ਕੇ ਪੰਥ ਦੀ ਬਿਗੜੀ ਹਾਲਤ ਨੂੰ ਸੰਭਾਲੋਗੇ।

ਸ਼੍ਰੀਮਾਨ ਜੀ, ਆਪ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਪਤਾ ਹੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਗੁ. ਪ੍ਰ. ਕ. ਦੇ ੧੧੮੬੬੬੮-੧੦-੧ ਦੇ ਦੋ ਫਿਕਸਡ ਡੀਪਾਜ਼ਿਟ ਹਨ। ਮੌਜੂਦਾ ਹਾਲਤ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਕ. ਦੇ ਭਾਰੇ ਪੰਥਕ ਖਰਚ ਲਈ ਤੇ ਪਰਬੰਧ ਵਿਚ ਆ ਰਹੇ ਨਵੇਂ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਜਾਇਦਾਦ ਦੀ ਸੰਭਾਲਨਾ ਲਈ ਅਜ ਕਲ ਮਾਇਆ ਦੀ ਜ਼ਰੂਰਤ ਹੈ। ਚਿਰ ਤੋਂ ਯਤਨ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲ ਕੇ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਡੀਪਾਜ਼ਿਟਸ ਪਰ ਅਤੇ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਲੋੜੀਂਦੇ ਕਾਗਜ਼ਾਂ ਤੇ ਦਸਖਤ ਕਰਵਾ ਲਏ ਜਾਣ ਪਰ ਮੌਕਾ ਨਾ ਮਿਲ ਸਕਿਆ।

ਸੋ ਹੁਣ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਵਿਚ ਸ: ਅਰਜਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਹਾਜ਼ਰ ਹੋਣਗੇ। ਸੋ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਖੋਚਲ ਫਰਮਾਉਣੀ।

ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਦਾਸ—

ਸਹੀ/ਅਵਤਾਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਐਕਟਿੰਗ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ

ਮੁਹਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ, ਜਨਰਲ ਸਕੱਤਰ,

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**Agreement between Hindus and Sikhs regarding Bhai Pheru**

We the representatives of the Sikhs and Hindus parties in

Council do agree that Bhai Pheru is a Sikh Gurdwara and should remain in schedule No. I. No amendment will be moved against its remaining in schedule I.

The Sikhs agree that when the whole case of property pertaining to this Gurdwara has been finally decided in view of the undertaking they have given in the Council for the preservation of Smadhs, they will be prepared to separate the Smadh from the Gurdwara proper and hand it over to the Udasis. This document is to be kept secret till that time.

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The undertaking given to the S.G.P.C. by the Sikh candidates  
before their election as M.L.C.

I solemnly declare that :—

(a) I shall abide by the mandate of the S.G.P.C. with regard to all matters placed before the Punjab Legislative Council concerning the welfare of the Panth or of the Community and if necessary I shall resign my seat.

(b) I shall not accept any post in or under the Government without the permission of the S.G.P.C., or try to derive any benefit from my position in the Punjab Legislative Council for myself or my relatives.

(c) If for any reason, at any time, I find myself unable to carry out the mandate of the S.G.P.C., I will resign my seat.

(d) I shall conform to the condition of being an orthodox *Amritdhari* and wear the Sikh symbol, Kirpan, as required to be kept by the members of the S.G.P.C. under the Committee's rule No. 7.

Sd/- Candidate.



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The Private Secretary,  
to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib,  
Patiala.

Dear Sir,

There are various matters pending before the Shiromni Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee which have connection with Patiala State. The affair re. Malvai Bunga at Amritsar, Bunga in Kesgarh Sahib at Anandpore Sahib and the London Gurdwara are some of these besides other important matters.

In my opinion a meeting between His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur of Patiala and some of the workers of the S.G.P.C. will facilitate the settlement of these matters. If you can therefore arrange an interview for the purpose, Sardar Kartar Singh Diwana, Captain Ram Singh (both of Patiala State) myself and one or two other of my colleagues will come over to Patiala to meet His Highness to discuss matters, I shall feel obliged for any early reply.

Yours faithfully,  
Mehtab Singh  
Dt. 4-2-1926.

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16-2-26

REPORT OF INTERVIEW  
of

The Representative of the S.G.P.C. with H.H. the Maharaja  
Bhupendra Singh  
Sahib of Patiala on 16-2-26.

1. The interview lasted for about 4 hours from 2 P.M. to 6 P.M. His Highness treated us with great courtesy and discussed all the matters at length and in frank manner.

2. After some preliminary remarks about the relations of the Phulkian States and especially of Patiala with the Panth, His Highness proceeded to discuss the Malwai Bunga case. We explained how the

S.G.P.C. had liberated a great deal of the property of Bunga from people to whom it had been alienated and entrusted and endowed by the Phulkian States and wishes to manage it for the benefit of the public. At first His Highness was very reluctant but at last agreed provisionally that a document should be drawn up declaring the Bungas as having been endowed by the Phulkian State for the benefit of the public and that the right of appointing the manager was vested in Phulkian States and that the S.G.P.C. may be appointed as the manager to manage the Bunga and its property according to an agreed scheme of management. His Highness said that the final decision would be made in the next interview sanctioned in the first week of March or thereabouts.

3. **Kesgarh Sahib.** The Jagir of Kesgarh Sahib and the Patiala Bunga, Anandpur, had been withheld for the last many years. On our asking for its renewal and the payment of arrears, His Highness ordered the papers to be called for and assured us that all the dues would be paid and the Jagir renewed.

4. **Kartarpur Sahib protection works.** High Highness assured us that he would pay the S.G.P.C. the balance of donation of Rs. 2,25,000/- originally granted by him for the protection works.

5. **London Gurdwara.** We explained to His Highness that although we had received an application for affiliation from the Khalsa Jatha London, the S. G. P. C. was not inclined to take the responsibility of completing the building and maintaining the Dharamsala as the S. G. P. C. could not afford the funds necessary for keeping it in proper condition worthy of the institution. Therefore, we requested His Highness to take the responsibility and supply the finances. His Highness seemed dis-satisfied with the behaviour and activities of some of the persons who had been on the management, and said that he told them that he would withdraw his name and stop all financial aid. His Highness, however, agreed to continue his help and connection, if the Dharamsala was properly managed. He wished to consult once more the Board of Trustees, some of whose members are Sardar Man Singh, Vakil, Sardar

Bashesar Singh, etc., and to let us know his definite decision in the next meeting.

6. We reminded His Highness of his Ardas of Rs. 40,000/- at the time of *Kar Sewa*, which had not been yet paid. His Highness acknowledged it as a debt to the Guru which he considered a duty to pay, and said that he would do so after settling the annual budget and the retrenchment proposals under consideration.

7. **Control of State Gurdwaras :** His Highness admitted that it was his duty to improve and systemise the management of Gurdwaras within the state. He would try to make the management as good as possible, but he would not allow any outside interferences in his state.

8. **Central Board :** We requested that for the Central Board the Durbar may nominate a fair proportion of persons who commanded the confidence of the *Sangat* of the State. His Highness was very sensitive on this point and said that he would not agree to creating a precedent for encroaching upon his powers of an absolute ruler. At the same time His Highness complained of the inadequacy of the representation given to the State. On our pressing, he (agreed to) discuss it with his cabinet.

9. We then appealed to His Highness to assuage the hearts of his Sikh subjects and the Panth by ordering the release of all prisoners in the State connected with the Gurdwara movement, now that the Act has been passed. His Highness very graciously and promptly said to Sardar Bahadur "Alright, brother, I release them". His Highness was kind enough not to make any stipulations. On the contrary on our request he agreed to most favourably consider the question of restoring confiscated rights and privileges, if any, to these persons. In our presence His Highness commanded the Private Secretary to ask the Home Secretary to present a full list of such prisoners the next day and take the orders of His Highness before evening. We told His Highness that we could not stay at Patiala another day on which His Highness assured us that orders would certainly be issued the next day and we need have no anxiety. We

expressed our gratitude to His Highness for this prompt and pleasing response to our appeals.

In this connection we might mention that His Highness bitterly complained that the Akalis in the State have been carrying on political propaganda against him. We replied that was not one of the objectives of the S.G.P.C. nor in any way connected with its programme of Gurdwara Reform. The S.G.P.C. could in no way be responsible for the actions of any irresponsible individuals. But we have no doubt in our minds that the persons whose release we have asked for are genuine Gurdwara prisoners and not connected with conducting any propaganda against His Highness.

10. At the end of the conversation His Highness said that after the fall of the Lahore dynasty, the Phulkian States have been the foremost Sikh power and complained that yet some of the old standing phrases and expressions about his ancestors used in the every morning *Ardasa* while offering *Karah Parshad* for Patiala rulers at Harmandar Sahib and Mukatsar Sahib had been dropped without any reason, and that this hurt his feelings. We assured His Highness that we did not know anything about it and that the S.G.P.C. would make enquiries and take necessary action. Then His Highness asked us if S.G.P.C. would have any objection to his constructing a suitable building for the Gurdwara Retha Sahib in U.P. We said, apparently there could not be any objection by anybody to this religious service by His Highness.

11. His Highness mentioned that some local Sikhs of Moga were agitating against the Khalsa School there endowed by His Highness for the benefit of Sikh population there, and that if they had any grievances, they ought to have approached His Highness first. We said that we would request Sardar Tara Singh, M.L.C., to personally see His Highness and place the views of the local Sikhs before His Highness. Sardar Tara Singh has been informed about it. After some expressions of mutual cordiality, we took leave of His Highness and left Patiala the same night.

No. 21/C filed  
26-3-26.

Mehtab Singh  
Kartar Singh Diwana  
Bawa Harkishan Singh.



## LIST OF AKALI PRISONERS CONFINED IN THE SUBSIDIARY JAIL : BHATINDA.

Sr. No.	Name of prisoner with parentage and residence.	Register No.	Age.	Crime	Total Sentence.	Remaining Sentence.	Date of Release.	Fine	Sentence in lieu of fine.	Property confiscated or not.	Remarks.
1.	Shamsher Singh s/o Dharam Singh of Nagri (Sangrur)	1	42	124/A I.P.C.	3 yrs.	1 yr. 2 m. 26 d.	2.2.84	Rs. 500/-	9 months	Confiscated	6 Months more for jail offence.
2.	Bhagwan Singh s/o Rur Singh of Longowal P. S. sunam.	3	36	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	
3.	Diwan Singh s/o Khem Singh of Gidri P. S. Payal.	4	40	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	
4.	Mehar Singh s/o Prem Singh of Charnaba P. S. Sunam.	6	38	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	
5.	Kehar Singh s/o Anokh Singh of jaipura P. S. Payal.	7	22	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	
6.	Chanan Singh s/o Hazura Singh of Jaipura P. S. Payal.	8	40	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	
7.	Sant Singh s/o Kishan Singh of Patiala	9	34	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	
8.	Gurmakh Singh s/o Kahala Singh of Dalelingwala P. S. Mansa.	14	24	do	2 yrs. 6 months.	do	do	do	do	do	
9.	Pakhar Singh s/o Jawahir Singh P.S. Dirbha	30	36	188/IPC	6 mths.	9 m. 23 d.	29.8.83	do	6 month	do	
10.	Kahan Singh s/o unknown of P. S. Dirbha	31	65	do	do	1 m. 12d.	18.12.82	Rs. 200/-	do	not confiscated	Now undergoing sentence in lieu of fine
11.	Panjab Singh s/o Khazan Singh (Sangrur State.)	32	65	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	do
12.	Gurmakh Singh s/o Hira Singh of Nidampur P. S. Bhawanigarh.	33	26	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	do
13.	Hazura Singh s/o Harnam Singh of Mauran P. S. Mansa.	34	28	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	do
14.	Partap Singh s/o Budh Singh Residence unknown.	35	55	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	do
15.	Pritam Singh s/o Kishan Singh of Gajar.	36	28	do	do	do	do	do	do	do	do
16.	Gurmakh Singh s/o Gurdit Singh of Dirbha P. S. Dirbha.	38	52	124A/IPC	9 months	do	do	do	do	do	do
17.	Amar Singh s/o Lehna Singh of Bhawanigarh	40	22	do	6 months	2 m. 17 d.	23.1.83	Rs. 100/-	4 months	do	3 months more for jail offence.
18.	Kahala Singh s/o Dhaba Singh of Gajurmajra P. S. Bhawanigarh.	41	52	do	9 months	3 m. 13 d.	23.2.83	do	do	do	do
19.	Jagir Singh s/o Unknown of Beguwal P. S. Bhawanigarh.	42	23	do	do	2 m. 17 d.	23.1.83	do	do	do	Now undergoing sentence in lieu of fine.

R. R. D.  
20.2.26M. S. (U. S.)  
25.2.1926.

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17-2-1926

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ਪਟਿਆਲਾ,  
੯ ਫਰਗਣ, ੧੯੨੬.

ਮਹਿਲ ਮੋਤੀ ਬਾਗ,  
ਨੰ: ੧੨,  
ਤਾਰੀਖ ੧੭ ਫਰਵਰੀ, ੨੬.  
ਮਾਨ ਯੋਗ ਕਿਰਪਾਲੂ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਜੀ,  
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਫਤਿਹ ।

ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਜੀ ਤੇ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਦੀ ਅਰਜ਼ ਮੂਜਬ ਜੋ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਪਟਿਆਲੇ ਹਾਜ਼ਰ ਹੋ ਕਰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ੧੦੮ ਹਜ਼ੂਰ ਮਹਾਂਰਾਜ ਅਧਿਰਾਜ ਮਹਿੰਦਰ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਅਟੱਲ-ਪ੍ਰਤ ਪੀ ਪਟਲੇਸ਼ਵਰ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਪਵਿੱਤਰ ਸੇਵਾ ਮੇਂ ਕੀ, ਉਸ ਪਰ ਜੋ ਸ੍ਰੀ ੧੦੮ ਹਜ਼ੂਰ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਫਰਮਾਨ ਸਾਦਰ ਫਰਮਾਯਾ, ਉਸ ਦੀ ਨਕਲ ਮਏ ਫਰਦ ਕੈਦੀਆਂ ਜੋ ਰਿਹਾ ਕੀਤੇ ਗਏ ਹਨ, ਇਤਲਾਹ ਲਈ ਆਪ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਵਿਖੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਭੇਜੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ ।

ਆਪ ਦਾ ਸ਼ੁਭ ਚਿੰਤਕ,  
ਸਹੀ/ਕਰਨਲ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ  
ਡਿਊਢੀ ।

ਸ: ਬਹਾਦਰ ਸ: ਮਹਿਤਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ,  
ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਗੁ. ਪ੍ਰ. ਕਮੇਟੀ,  
ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ।

139

D.O. No. 3968/P

Patiala,

C.F.  
12/C

2nd March, 26.

13-3-26.

Dear Sir,

I acknowledge your confidential letter of the 25th February 1926. His Highness is leaving for Central India this week. It is,

consequently, I regret to state, not practicable to fix a date for Sardar Bahadur S. Mehtab Singh's interview till His Highness' return to Patiala in the last week of this month.

Kindly request S.B.S. Mehtab Singhji to come on the 29th March for an audience at Patiala.

Yours truly,  
(Sd) Rafiq M. Khan  
Private Secretary  
Patiala.

To  
Sardar Mohinder Singh Sidhwan  
Secretary, The Shiromni Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee,  
Amritsar.

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140

Copy of the letter to the Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

13/C

Dated 19-3-26.

With reference to your letter No. 3968/P Dt. 2-3-26. I have the honour to say that an important meeting of the General Committee of the S.G.P.C. has been fixed for the 28th inst. and may be prolonged to 29th. I will be exceedingly obliged if you very kindly bring this to the notice of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur and arrange for another date for the interview with His Highness.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble and to be favoured with an early reply.

Yours sincerely,  
Mohinder Singh  
General Secretary

Please address on the following  
Mohinder Singh Sidhwan,  
C/o Pardesi Malwa Press,  
Amritsar.



141

No. 5377/P

Patiala,  
27th March, 1926.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter 13/C dated the 19th March I have the honour to reply that His Highness the Maharaja Adhiraj will be pleased to give your Committee an interview on the 4th or 5th of April next. Kindly let me know beforehand the time and date of your arrival at Patiala.

Yours truly,  
(sd) Rafiq M. Khan  
Private Secretary,  
Patiala.

To  
S. Mohinder Singh Sidhwan  
C/o Malwa Pardesi Press,  
Amritsar.  
File 22/C  
30-3-26.

142

The Private Secretary,  
To His Highness the Maharaja-Adhiraj,  
Patiala.

1st April, 1926.

23/C

With reference to your letter No. 5377/P dated the 27th of March 1926, I have the honour to inform you that Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mehtab Singh, Sardar Kartar Singh Dewana, Bawa Harkishan Singh, Captain Ram Singh and one or two other gentlemen will reach Patiala by 9 A.M. train on the 5th of April 1926 for an interview with

His Highness the Maharaja Adhiraj.

Yours sincerely,  
M. Singh Sidhwan  
General Secretary,  
Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee,  
Amritsar.

Address for further correspondence :—

Mohinder Singh Sidhwan,  
Ram Chandee Court, Cooper Road,  
Amritsar.

143

From Sardar Arbel Singh, Secretary, Gurdwara Committee Kapurthala  
To Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh, President, S. G. P. C.

Randhir College,  
Kapurthala,  
20th February, 26.

My dear Sardar Sahib,

S. Dalip Singh was here yesterday and he duly conveyed to the Chief Minister your desire to see His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur.

The Chief Minister has directed me to inform you that His Highness will be pleased to see you on the forenoon of Thursday the 4th March.

It would be advisable for yourself and friends to reach here some time on the evening of 3rd March.

Kindly acknowledge the receipt of this letter by the first mail, and also please inform me of the names of the friends who will accompany you here and the time by which you will be arriving.

With good wishes.

6/C 22. 2. 1926.

S. B. S. Mehtab Singh, Bawa Harkishan Singh, Bhai Payara Singh and S. Balwant Singh will be coming to have an interview with H. H. on 4, 3. 1926.

144

From General Secretary S. G. P. C.

To Prof. Arbel Singh Ji, M. A.,

Randhir College, Kapurthala.

25th February.

Dear Sir,

Thanks for your letter dated 20th February 1926.

In reply I have the honour to inform you that the following gentlemen will leave Amritsar by Calcutta Mail on the 3rd of March 1926, and will alight at Jullundur City :-

S. B. S. Mehtab Singh

Bawa Harkishan Singh, M. A.

Bhai Piara Singh

Sardar Balwant Singh

and one or two other gentlemen.

145

D. O. From Sardar Arbel Singh to S. B. Mehtab Singh.

Randhir College,

Kapurthala,

13. 4. 26.

My dear Sardar Bahadur,

The Diwan Sahib is not in Kapurthala

As soon as he returns here I will speak to him on the subject. I happen to know that the thing will be decided on or about the 16th. So I shall write to you on the 17th or about. I trust it shall be as you desire.

With good wishes.

24/C

146

From S. Mohinder Singh Sidhwan, General Secretary S.G.P.C.

To Prof. Arbel Singh, Kapurthala.

**Confidential**

22nd March

My dear Professor Sahib,

I am sending herewith by special messenger a formal letter

addressed to His Highness re. the Gurdwaras' Defence Fund, with covering letter for the Diwan Sahib. Kindly have these delivered and try to get us a very favourable and early reply, if possible before the 26th.

Bawa Harkishen Singh will stay for a few days waiting your reply with interest.

147

**Confidential.**

From S, Kartar Singh Diwana, President S. G. P. C.

To Khan Bahadur Diwan Abdul Hamid Sahib, M. A., O. B. E., C. I. E.,  
Chief Minister, Kapoorthala,

15/C

22nd March (26)

My dear Diwan Sahib,

May I request you to kindly present the enclosed letter to His Highness and get his orders at your earliest convenience, for I understand that His Highness is going abroad very shortly? Under the commands and with the full approval of His Highness you have so often during the past five years exerted yourself in the interests of Gurdwara Reform and Panthic welfare and have brought credit upon the Kapoorthala State. I do hope that you will also try your best now to get a good contribution for the sacred object of the Gurdwaras' Defence Fund, which may inspire other benefactors with emulation.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Kartar Singh Diwana

President,

Shiromani G. P. Committee.

148

**Confidential**

From S. Kartar Singh Diwana President S. G. P. C.

To His Highness Shri Maharaja Jagatjit Singh Sahib, Bahadur.

G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., Kapurthala.

14/C

22nd March (26)

May it please your Highness,

A number of representatives of the S. G. P. C. had an interview

with your Highness the other day in order to convey to your Highness the deep appreciation of the S. G. P. C. of the great sympathy evinced by the Kapoorthala Darbar for the reform of the Sikh Gurdwaras and for the consistent efforts made by the Darbar to help in the solution of the Gurdwara problem and to bring about amicable relations between the Sikh community and the British Government. They also brought to the kind notice of your Highness the fact that very large funds would be required by the S. G. P. C. to prosecute and defend law-suits and proceedings regarding the numerous Gurdwaras and endowments that are to be brought under Panthic control according to the provisions of the Gurdwara Act and that the S. G. P. C. had opened a Gurdwaras' Defence Fund for the purpose solely and wished that the begining should be made by your Highness. Your Highness very kindly assured our representatives of your desire to help in this important matter. May I hope that your Highness will be pleased to make a contribution worthy of the great House of Baba Jassa Singh and favour me with a reply before Your Highness leaves India ?

I may be permitted in the end to thank your Highness for the courteous and cordial reception given by your Darbar to our representatives.

149

From Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh, President S.G.P.C.

To Sardar Bahadur Indar Singh, Faridkot.

No. 2/C

My dear Sardar Bahadur ji,

I and some of my co-workers on the S.G.P.C. wish to meet and discuss matters concerning the Panthic welfare with you. I shall feel obliged if you will kindly fix some place, date and time after Shahidi fair Nankana (22nd instant) at which we could see and talk over matters with you.

Yours very sincerely,

S/d- Mehtab Singh

13-2-26.

150

**Confidential** D.O. No. 2828-U

From Sardar Bahadur Indar Singh.

To S. B. Mehatab Singh, President, S.G.P.C.

Faridkot,

Dated the 21st February, 1926.

Dear Sir,

In acknowledging receipt of your letter No. 2/C dated 13-2-1926 I regret that I am unable to invite you and your conferers to visit Faridkot State as it might be misinterpreted, the State being under minority.

Yours sincerely,  
Indar Singh.

9/C

C/F

Noted.

151

**Confidential.**

From Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh, President S. G. P. C.

To the President, Faridkot State, Faridkot.

25th March (26)

19/C

In continuation of the Previous correspondence I beg to say that the representatives of the S. G. P. C. desire to see you with the express object of securing the release of Akali prisoners now in Faridkot jail in connection with the Gurdwara Reform Movement of which S. G. P. C. had been advocate and the custodian. The object of the interview being open, express and above board, no possible misunderstanding can arise by your granting such an interview and nor does the minority of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur affect the matter in question in one way or the other as the Akalis in question were convicted and are being detained in the State

jails during the tenure of the council of Administration of which you are the President. Hoping that you will very kindly consider the matter and send a favourable reply to my request.

152

To  
The President,  
Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee,  
Amritsar.

Dear Sir,

Keeping in view the political plight of the country and having great regard for the S. G. P. C's services to the Public. I hereby promise that I will not sell foreign cloth fifteen days from hence. I further promise that in future I will rigidly carry out the wishes of S. G. P. C. in this behalf.

Yours faithfully,  
Sd/ Nasir-ud-din  
Manager,

1st Nov. 30.

Muslim Cloth House, Lahore.

153

Amritsar,  
12.3.1934.

My dear Kishan Singh Ji,

I wrote to you an urgent letter a few days ago to come and help me in Patiala inquiry, but you have not replied yet. Bundles of urgent and valuable papers are reaching me. I believe we shall be able to sack the devil of Patiala. The only thing needed is reliable friends to arrange the papers. S. Thakar Singh has not come so far. The inquiry committee has been delayed by two days and they will reach on 15th Morning. We hope your boy will be out of danger till then. Even if there be some danger to the life of the boy, you can leave him for the sake of the Panth and entrust him to God's care. You can well imagine my plight. I am surrounded

by persons whom I cannot trust, whilst I am in a position to strike a fatal blow at the enemy of the Panth. if some paper is lost, you will certainly be blamed for not coming to my rescue in time. Kindly see your way to come and stay here for a fortnight.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd/- Tara Singh

Certified to be true copy  
Sd/- Kishan Singh Master  
Kapurthala.

signed in my presence.

Ganda Singh

Director of Archives.

28.4.56.

## 155

ਬਿਆਨ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਨਿਰੰਜਨ ਸਿੰਘ, ਪਿੰਡ ਮਉਲੀ, ਡਾਕਖਾਨਾ ਫਗਵਾੜਾ ਰਿਆਸਤ ਕਪੂਰਥਲਾ, ਟੀਚਰ ਰਾਮਗੜੀਆ ਹਾਈ ਸਕੂਲ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਜੋ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਨਾਹਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਐਡੀਟਰ 'ਗੁਰਸੇਵਕ', ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਦੀ ਇਛਾ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ੧੫ ਅਪ੍ਰੈਲ ੧੯੩੭ ਨੂੰ ਲਿਖ ਕੇ ਦਿੱਤਾ।

### ਜੈਤੋ ਮੋਰਚੇ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਮੇਰਾ ਬਿਆਨ

ਮੇਰਾ ਜਨਮ ਪਿੰਡ ਮਉਲੀ ਰਿਆਸਤ ਕਪੂਰਥਲਾ ਦਾ ਹੈ। ਪੰਜ ਸਾਲ ਦੀ ਅਵਸਥਾ ਵਿਚ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਭੁਆ ਜੀ ਪਿੰਡ ਬੋਪਾਰਾਏ, ਡਾਕਖਾਨਾ ਸ਼ੁਕਰ, ਜ਼ਿਲਾ ਜਾਲੰਧਰ ਵਿਚ ਆਪਣੇ ਕੋਲ ਲੈ ਆਏ। ਮੇਰੀ ਮੁਢਲੀ ਵਿਦਿਆ ਏਥੇ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋਈ। ਸੰਨ ੧੯੨੩ ਤਕ ਮੇਰਾ ਬਹੁਤਾ ਸਮਾਂ ਏਸੇ ਹੀ ਪਿੰਡ ਵਿਚ ਲੰਘਿਆ। ੧੯੨੩ ਵਿਚ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਨਾਭਾ ਗੌਰਮਿੰਟ ਦੀ ਮਰਜ਼ੀ ਨਾਲ ਤਖਤੋਂ ਉਤਾਰੇ ਗਏ। ਉਨ੍ਹੀ ਦਿਨੀਂ ਮੈਂ ਬੋਪਾਰਾਏ ਰਹਿੰਦਾ ਸੀ। ਉਥੇ, 'ਅਕਾਲੀ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸੀ' ਅਖਬਾਰ ਆਉਂਦਾ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਨਾਭਾ ਉਤੇ ਗੌਰਮਿੰਟ ਵਲੋਂ ਹੋਏ ਧੱਕੇ ਵਿਰੁਧ ਧੜੱਲੇਦਾਰ ਲੇਖ ਲਿਖੇ ਹੋਏ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਸਨ। ਮੈਂ ਅਖਬਾਰ ਆਦਿ ਤੋਂ ਅੰਤ ਤਕ ਆਪ ਪੜ੍ਹਦਾ ਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਕਈ ਇਕ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੜ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਸੁਣਾਉਂਦਾ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਸੀ।

ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਨਾਭੇ ਦੇ ਮੁਆਮਲੇ ਨੂੰ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੇ ਤਤ ਫਟ ਹੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਹੱਥ ਵਿਚ ਲੈ ਲਿਆ ਤੇ ਐਲਾਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਕਿ ਸਿਖ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਥਾਂ ਪੁਰ ਥਾਂ ਮ: ਨਾਭੇ ਦੀ ਹਮਦਰਦੀ ਵਜੋਂ



Copy of entry No. 86 from the Jagir Register pertaining to Shaheed Gunj Lahore Distt.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Description of present holder				Details of Jagheer etc.						Description of Grant				Opinions					
Sr. No.	Name	Age	Father's name	Caste	Residence	Talooqah and Purgnah	Name of village or quantity of land or number of wells	Estimated annual value	Cash allowance	Total of land and cash	Name of original grantor.	Date of original grant	Name of original gaurantee and the state of occupancy with relationship of successive occupants.	Nature of Grant.	Abstract of Sund or evidence as to possession.	Explanatory remarks with detail of shares.	Of the settlement Officer.	Of the Commissioner	Of the Financial Commission.

86	Jeewan Singh	70	Chagah Singh	Rora	Shahid Ganj, Zilla Lahore.	Talooqa Purgna Lahore.	Claimed by Mafidar. Moonde Gujran 2 Ghoos 3 Kanals (2 Acres) obtained by measurement 2 Ghoose 6 Kanals 8 Marlas.	5	..	5	Claimed grant Sardar Lehna Singh Bhungee.	About a century.	Original gaurantee Chagah Singh 50 years. Jeewan Singh the present incumbent 50 years.	Endowment support of a Gurdwara at Shaheed Ganj.	No Sund is produced but the village Lamardar attests the possession on from half a century. The Lambardar states this to be a grant of Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia made 50 years ago.	Gurdit Singh Sharer.	This land has been held maf for a long period. Mr. Davis recommended that it should be maintained in perpetuity for the support of the Gurdwara.	I would grant in perpetuity for support of the Gurdwara.	I concur. Sd. J. Lawrence.
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Note: Jeewan Singh is a Granthi in charge of a Sikh institution called the Shaheed Gunj in the Suburbs of Lahore.

He holds village and land valued at an estimated amount of Rs. 650/- of which Rs. 150/- worth of land has been maintained in perpetuity.

ਮਾਸਤ  
ਸਿੰਘ  
ਲਿਖ ਕੇ

ਮਵਸਬਾ  
ਮੁਣੇ ਕੋਲ  
ਬਹੁਤਾ ਸਮਾ  
ਮਰਜੀ ਨਾਲ  
ਤੇ ਪੁਦੇਸੀ  
ਧੋਕੇ ਵਿਰੁਧ  
ਪੜਦਾ ਤੇ

ਮਣੇ ਹੱਥ ਵਿਚ  
ਮਦਰਦੀ ਵਜੋਂ



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# Letters from inside the Lahore Fort

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ਸਿੰਘ ਸੇ ਬਿਆਨ ਕੀ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਇਨ ਸ਼ਰਾਇਤ ਪਰ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਮਦਦ ਕਰਨੇ ਕੋ ਤਿਆਰ ਹੈਂ, ਉਨ ਕੀ ਬਾਬਤ ਯੇਹ ਅਰਜ਼ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਅੱਵਲ ਤੋ ਹਿੰਦੂਉਂ ਕੀ ਬਾਤ ਮੁਸਤਨਦ ਬਾਤ ਵੁਹ ਸਮਝਨੀ ਚਾਹੀਏ ਜੋ ਕਿ ਪੰਡਤ ਮਾਲਵੀਆ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਤਰਫ ਸੇ ਆਵੇ। ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੋਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਪੰਡਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨੇ ਤੋ ਆਪ ਸੇ ਕੋਈ ਸ਼ਰਤ ਕਾ ਜ਼ਿਕਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਆ। ਹਮੇਂ ਤੋ ਮੁਕੰਮਲ ਯਕੀਨ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਪੰਡਤ ਜੀ ਹਮ ਕੋ ਹਿੰਦਉਂ ਸੇ unconditional ਮਦਦ ਲੇ ਕਰ ਦੇਂਗੇ। ਵੁਹ ਕਬੀ ਉਨ ਕੋ ਸ਼ਰਤੇਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਨੇ ਦੇਂਗੇ। ਅਗਰ ਬਗਰਜ਼ਿ ਮੁਹਾਲ ਕੋਈ ਸ਼ਰਤ officially ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮੈਂਬਰਾਨ ਪੰਡਤ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਮਰਜ਼ੀ ਸੇ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰੇਂਗੇ ਤੋ ਉਸ ਵਕਤ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਸੋਚ ਕਰ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕਰ ਲੇਨਾ।

In short our opinion is that we need the co-operation of the Hindus as well as the Government to solve our problem. Let us first make sure of Hindu support, then the councillors (Sikh and Hindus) will invite Government to fulfill its pledges and co-operate. We will then find out on which grounds Government is prepared to help. It will be for us to decide how far we can meet the Government's terms or not. The securing of Hindu support first will have effect on the attitude of the Government too. *In the meantime do not allow any weakening in your pressure of jatha movement. This is the critical and psychologimoment.*

(6) ਪੰਡਤ ਜੀ ਕੇ ਡਰਾਫਟ ਬਿਲ ਮੇਂ ਜੋ ਤਬਦੀਲੀਆਂ ਕੀਂ ਉਨ ਕੀ ਬਾਬਤ ਯੇਹ ਅਰਜ਼ ਹੈ ਕਿ Gurdwara Tribunal ਕੇ ਮੈਂਬਰਾਨ ਤੀਨੋਂ ਹੀ ਕੇਸ ਧਾਰੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਚਾਹੀਏ। ਵਰਨਾ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਕੌਮ ਮੇਂ ਸੋਰ ਮਚ ਜ ਏਗਾ, ਔਰ ਆਇੰਦਾ ਭੀ ਕਈ ਕਿਸਮ ਕੀ ਪਚੇਦਗੀਆਂ ਪੜਨੇ ਕਾ ਡਰ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਲੀਏ ਆਪ ਪੰਡਤ ਜੀ ਸੇ ਬਜ਼ੋਰ ਅਰਜ਼ ਕਰੇਂ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਬਾਤ ਮੇਂ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਅਰਜ਼ ਕੋ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਮਾਨੇਂ ਔਰ ਲਫਜ਼ ਯੇਹ ਹੋ ਜਾਏ, ਕਿ Three Sikhs as members—one to be appointed by Government to represent the minorities. ਦੀਗਰ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਔਰ ਸਿੱਖ ਅਰਜ਼ ਕੁਨਿੰਦਗਾਨ ਕੀ ਬਜਾਏ ਸਿਰਫ worshipper ਹੋ ਜਾਨਾ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ। ਵੈਸੇ ਪੰਡਤ ਜੀ ਕਾ draft ਬਹੁਤ ਅੱਛਾ ਹੈ।

ਨੋਟ—ਮਜ਼ਕੂਰਾ ਬਾਲਾ ਅਰਜ਼ਦਾਸ਼ਤ ਸਿਰਫ ਏਕ ਮਸ਼ਵਰਾ ਹੈ। ਬਾਕੀ ਜੈਸਾ ਮੁਨਾਸਬ ਸਮਝੇਂ ਸੋਚ ਕਰ ਔਰ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਜੋਗਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਔਰ ਦੀਗਰ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਕੇ ਸਾਥ ਮਸ਼ਵਰਾ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਮੁਨਾਸਬ procedure ਅਖਤਿਆਰ ਕਰੇਂ।

ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਮਾਨ ਕੋ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਕੌਂਸਲ ਵਾਲੀ ਮੀਟਿੰਗ ਮੇਂ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਬਲਵਾਏਂ। ਆਪ ਭੀ ਮਹਾਤਮਾ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਸੇਹਤ ਔਰ ਇਤਫਾਕ ਕੇ ਲੀਏ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖ਼ਤ

ਸਾਹਿਬ ਕੇ ਆਗੇ ਪਰਾਰਥਨਾ ਕਰਵਾ ਕਰ ਦੇਹਲੀ ਕੋ ਤਾਰ ਦੇਂ ਔਰ ਅਖਬਾਰਾਤ ਮੇਂ ਸ਼ਾਇਆ ਕਰੇਂ ।

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ਸਵਾਲ ਨਾਭਾ ਤੇ ਗੁਰਦਵਾਰਾ ਬਿਲ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਤਜਵੀਜ਼ਾਂ

1. It is to our advantage to get the legislation with the co-operation of the Government.

(a) In that case it will be necessary to call a Round Table Conference to frame the Bill and wait upon the Government. The Conference must have representatives of all parties.

(b) It will mean complete reconciliation.

(c) Release of prisoners.

(d) Appointment of a Council of Regency at Nabha. The Government will not give any written undertaking but almost all the prisoners will be released and even few whom they wish to detain will be released on their personal assurance to co-operate.

2. The Bill to be presented with the Hindu Sikh agreement. The Hindus require undertaking on the following points :

(a) Vote of no-confidence.

(b) The election of the President.

(c) Assurance of full support in all party questions of which *Raja Narinra Nath* is the head.

Change of tactics.

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ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

ਚੀਫ਼ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦੀਵਾਨ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਤੇ ਫੁਟਕਲ ਤੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਸਬੰਧੀ

(1) ਅਕਾਲੀ ਡੀਫੈਂਸ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਕੀ ਮਾਲੀ ਹਾਲਤ ਨਿਹਾਇਤ ਮਾਯੂਸਕੁਨ ਬਤਾਈ ਗਈ ਹੈ । ਇਨ ਕੇ ਪਾਸ ਇਸ ਵਕਤ ਆਪਣੇ ਫੰਡ ਮੇਂ ਕੁਛ ਨਹੀਂ ਬਲਕਿ ਵੁਹ ਮਕਰੂਜ਼

- (1) Copy of Negotiations File
- (2) Jaito Affair tracts and Congress Report
- (3) Gurdwara Reform Handbill by S. Kartar Singh, M.A.
- (4) Guru Ka Bagh Congress Report
- (5) Truth about Nabha

(6) ਆਪ ਕੋ ਏਕ ਖਤ ਵਸੂਲ ਸੁਦਾ ਅਜ ਬਾਬਾ ਕਿਹਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਅਰਸਾਲ ਹੈ । ਆਪ ਇਸ ਕੀ ਬਾਬਤ ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਸੇ ਡਿਸਕਸ ਕਰ ਲੇ ।

(7) ਮੁਕਦਮਾਤ ਕੇ ਮੁਤੱਲਕ ਰੈਜ਼ੋਲਿਊਸ਼ਨ ਕੀ ਨਕਲ ਕੇ ਆਪ ਕੋ ਜਲਦੀ ਭੇਜਨੇ ਕਾ ਇੰਤਜ਼ਾਮ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹੈਂ । ਦਰਖੁਆਸਤ ਦੀਗਰ ਹਾਸਲ ਕੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ ।

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### ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

(1) ਡਰਾਫਟ ਬਿਲ ਕੇ ਮੁਤੱਲਕ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਕਿਆ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕੀਆ ਹੈ ਔਰ ਹਾਲ ਤਕ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਮੁਤੱਲਕ ਕਿਆ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਕੀ ਹੈ । ਡੀ. ਡੀ. ਵਾਲੇ ਸੱਜਨ ਕੀ ਬਾਬਤ ਆਪਨੇ ਕਿਆ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕੀਆ ਹੈ । ਮਿਹਰਬਾਨੀ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਆਪ ਯੇਹ ਇਤਲਾਹ ਜਲਦੀ ਭੇਜੇਂ ।

(2) ਭਾਈ ਪਰਤਾਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੱਥੇਦਾਰ ਸਰਹਾਲੀ ਔਰ ਭਾਈ ਈਸ਼ਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਮੌਜਾ ਰਾਏ ਮੁਤੱਲਕ ਅਜਨਾਲਾ ਨੇ ਜੋ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਸਾਧੂ ਸਿੰਘ ਮਜਿਸਟਰੇਟ ਕੀ ਅਦਾਲਤ ਮੇਂ ਮੁਆਫੀ ਮਾਂਗੀ ਹੈ ਉਸ ਕੀ ਹਕੀਕਤ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਕਰੇਂ । ਯੇਹ ਤਾਕੀਕਾਤ ਕਰੇਂ ਕਿ ਵੁਹ ਸ਼ਖਸ ਕੌਣ ਹੈਂ ਔਰ ਆਇਆ ਉਨਹੋਂ ਨੇ ਉਨ ਅਲਫਾਜ਼ ਮੇਂ ਮੁਆਫੀ ਮਾਂਗੀ । ਅਗਰ ਹੋ ਸਕੇ ਤੋ ਉਨ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਕੋ ਸਮਝਾ ਕਰ ਆਮਾਦਾ ਕਰੇਂ ਕਿ ਵੁਹ ਆ ਕਰ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਕੀ ਹਜੂਰੀ ਮੇਂ ਪੰਥ ਸੇ ਮੁਆਫੀ ਮਾਂਗ ਲੇਂ ।

(3) ਜਾਲੰਧਰ ਕੇ ਸੇਵਕ ਜੱਥਾ ਕੀ ਬਾਬਤ ਮੁਫੱਸਲ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਕਰੇਂ ਕਿ ਯੇਹ ਕਬ ਬਨਾ ? ਉਸ ਕੀ ਕਿਆ Constitution ਹੈ ? ਕਬ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਉਹਦੇਦਾਰਾਨ ਕੀ ਇਨਤਖਾਬ ਹੂਈ ? ਕਿਸ ਦੀਵਾਨ ਯਾ ਜਲਸਾ ਮੇਂ ਪਬਲਿਕ ਕੋ ਇਸ਼ਤਿਹਾਰ ਯਾ ਅਖਬਾਰ ਕੇ ਜ਼ਰੀਆ ਉਸ ਕੀ ਖਬਰ ਦੀ ਗਈ ? ਆਇਆ ਕੋਈ ਉਸ ਕੀ ਕੋਈ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਅਖਬਾਰਾਤ ਮੇਂ ਛਪੀਂ, ਵਗੈਰਾ, ਵਗੈਰਾ । ਕੌਨ ਸੀ ਖਿਦਮਾਤ ਇਸ ਜੱਥਾ ਨੇ ਪੰਥ ਕੀ ਕੀਂ । ਅਕਾਲੀ ਔਰ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸੀ ਮੇਂ ਇਸ ਜੱਥਾ ਕੇ ਮੁਤੱਲਕ ਮਜ਼ਮੂਨ ਨਿਕਲਵਾਏਂ ।

(4) ਸਰਦਾਰ ਸੁਰੈਣ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੂਬੇਦਾਰ ਜੀ ਕੋ ਆਪਨੇ ਰੁਖਸਤ ਦੇ ਦੀ ਹੈ ਯਾ ਉਨ ਕਾ ਅਸਤੀਫਾ ਮਨਜ਼ੂਰ ਕੀਆ ਹੈ ?

(5) Negotiations File ਕੀ ਨਕਲ ਜੋ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਭੇਜੀ ਹੈ ਉਸ ਮੇਂ ਮੰਦਰਜਾ ਜ਼ੈਲ ਕਾਗਜ਼ਾਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈਂ । ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਆਪ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਜੋਧ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਸੇ ਉਨ ਕੀ ਨਕਲ ਫੋਰਨ ਹਾਸਲ ਕਰੇਂ । ਸੋਮਵਾਰ ਕੋ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਹਮੇਂ ਮਿਲ ਜਾਏ । ਸਰਦਾਰ ਜੋਗਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਕੋ ਜੈਸਾ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਕੋ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਤਹਿਰੀਰ ਕੀਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਆਪ Confidential File ਕੀ ਮੁਕੰਮਲ ਨਕਲ ਅਰਸਾਲ ਕਰੇਂ ।

(1) Confidential Agreement of 28th April

(2) Our Amendment in that

(3) Letter of Bhai Jodh Singh in reply to resolution of 1st May to Government

(4) Two letters of Bhai Jodh Singh dated 26th or 27th May to Government

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ੴ ਸਤਿ ਗੁਰਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

ਸ: ਮਾਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਵਕੀਲ ਦੀ ਜ਼ਬਾਨੀ ਕਈ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਗੱਲਾਂ

(1) "ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ" ਕੇ ਮੁਤੱਲਕ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਰਾਏ ਮਾਂਗੀ ਥੀ । ਗੁਜ਼ਾਰਸ਼ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹਮ ਕੁਲ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਸੇ ਜੋ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਮੇਂ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਰਾਏ ਪਰ ਅਸਰ ਡਾਲ ਸਕਤੇ ਹੈਂ ਵਾਕਫ ਨਹੀਂ, ਇਸ ਲੀਏ ਕੁਦਰਤੀ ਤੌਰ ਪਰ ਹਮ ਦਰੁਸਤ ਰਾਏ ਬਤਾਨੇ ਸੇ ਕਾਸਰ ਹੈਂ । ਲੇਕਨ ਜੋ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਇਲਮ ਮੇਂ ਹੈਂ ਉਨ ਕੀ ਬਿਨਾ ਪਰ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਯੇਹ ਰਾਏ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਇਸੀ ਮੇਂ ਫਾਇਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਅਖਬਾਰ ਕਿਸੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਸੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪ ਕੋ ਆਈਡੈਂਟੀਫਾਈ ਨਾ ਕਰੇ ਬਲਕਿ ਇਸ ਕਾ ਤਰਜ਼ੇ ਅਮਲ ਐਸਾ ਹੋ ਕਿ ਮੁਲਕ ਕੀ ਤਮਾਮ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਇਸ ਕੀ ਕਦਰ ਕਰੇਂ । ਜਬ ਗਾਂਧੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਔਰ ਸਵਰਾਜ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਕੀ ਜੈਸਾ ਕਿ ਖਤਰਾ ਨਜ਼ਰ ਆਤਾ ਹੈ ਆਪਸ ਮੇਂ ਜੰਗ ਛਿੜ ਜਾਏ, ਤੋਂ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਰਾਏ ਯੇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਮੁਲਕ ਕਾ ਫਾਇਦਾ ਦੇਖਤਾ ਹੂਆ ਔਰ ਸਹੀ ਆਵਾਜ਼ ਉਠਾਤਾ ਹੂਆ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਪਾਰਟੀਓਂ ਮੇਂ ਸੁਲਾਹ ਕਰਾਨੇ ਕੀ ਕੋਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਕਰੇ ।

(2) ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਸੇ ਕਹੇਂ ਕਿ ਵੁਹ ਮਿਸਟਰ ਦਾਸ ਕੇ ਪਾਸ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ

(8) ਜੋ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਜੱਥੇ ਨਾਭਾ ਰਿਆਸਤ ਮੇਂ ਕੈਦ ਹੈਂ ਉਨ ਕੀ ਬਾਬਤ ਹਮੇਂ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੂਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਨ ਸੇ ਨਿਹਾਇਤ ਵੈਸ਼ੀਆਨਾ ਸਲੂਕ ਕੀਆ ਜਾਤਾ ਹੈ, ਜਗਹਾ, ਸਿਹਤ, ਖਾਨੇ, ਕਪੜੇ ਕਾ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਕੋਈ ਇੰਤਜ਼ਾਮ ਨਹੀਂ। ਸਰਦਾਰ ਗੁਰਬਖਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ ਦਹਿਲਵੀ ਜੋ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਸਾਥ ਕੈਦ ਹੈਂ; ਉਨ ਕੇ ਭਾਈ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਖੁਸ਼ਹਾਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਜੱਥਾ ਨੰ. 3 ਮੇਂ ਕੈਦ ਹੈਂ ਵੁਹ ਲਿਖਤੇ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਪਾਸ ਕਪੜੇਂ ਕੀ ਨਿਹਾਇਤ ਤੰਗੀ ਹੈ। ਜੇਲ੍ਹ ਸੇ ਕੁਛ ਮਿਲਤਾ ਨਹੀਂ। ਕਛਹਿਰੇ ਜੋ ਹੈਂ ਵੁਹ ਪਹਿਨਨੇ ਕੇ ਲਾਇਕ ਨਹੀਂ, ਅੰਰ ਸਲੂਕ ਹਮ ਸੇ ਨਿਹਾਇਤ ਬੁਰਾ ਹੋਤਾ ਹੈ। ਇਨ ਕੇ ਕਪੜੇ ਵਗੈਰਾ ਲੇ ਜਾਏ ਗਏ ਥੇ। ਲੇਕਨ ਜੇਲ੍ਹ ਵਾਲੋਂ ਨੇ ਮੁਲਾਕਾਤ ਕਰਾਨੇ ਯਾ ਕਪੜੇ ਲੇਨੇ ਸੇ ਇਨਕਾਰ ਕਰ ਦੀਆ ਹੈ। ਐਸਾ ਹੀ ਹਾਲ ਦੂਸਰੇ ਭਾਈਓਂ ਕਾ ਹੈ। ਆਪ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਮੇਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਭਾਈਓਂ ਕੀ ਖਬਰ ਲੇਂ ਅੰਰ ਜੋ ਤੰਗੀ ਕਪੜੇ ਵਗੈਰਾ ਕੀ ਹੈ ਉਸੇ ਦੂਰ ਕਰਨੇ ਕਾ ਇੰਤਜ਼ਾਮ ਕਰੇਂ। ਪੰਡਤ ਮਾਲਵੀਆ, ਨਹਿਹੂ ਸੇ ਨਾਭਾ ਜੇਲ੍ਹੋਂ ਕੇ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਬਿਆਨ ਕਰੇਂ ਕਿ ਵਹਾਂ ਜੱਥੋਂ ਕੇ ਸਾਥ ਜਿਨ ਕੋ ਕੋਈ ਬਾਕਾਇਦਾ ਸਜ਼ਾ ਭੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੂਈ, ਜੋ ਸਿਰਫ ਕਸਟਡੀ ਮੇਂ ਹੈ, ਐਸਾ ਸਲੂਕ ਹੋਤਾ ਹੈ। ਲੈ. ਅਸੈਂਬਲੀ ਕੇ ਜ਼ਰੀਆ ਗੌਰਮਿੰਟ ਸੇ ਸਵਾਲਾਤ ਵਗੈਰਾ ਕਰਾਏਂ। ਅਖਬਾਰੋਂ ਮੇਂ ਮਜ਼ਮੂਨ ਭੀ ਇਸ ਕੇ ਮੁਤੱਲਕ ਸ਼ਾਇਆ ਕਰਾਏਂ। ਸਰਦਾਰ ਗੁਰਬਖਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੇ ਭਾਈ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਰਾਮ ਨਗਰ ਜ਼ਿਲ੍ਹਾ ਗੁੱਜਰਾਂਵਾਲਾ ਕੇ ਹੈਂ। ਉਨ ਕੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਜੇਲ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਜ਼ਰੀਆ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਈ।

ਆਪ ਯੇਹ ਹਮੇਂ ਲਿਖੇਂ ਕਿ ਨਾਭਾ ਕੀ ਜੇਲ੍ਹੋਂ ਮੇਂ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਜੱਥੋਂ ਕੇ ਕਿਤਨੇ ਆਦਮੀ ਸ਼ਹੀਦ ਹੂਏ ਹੈਂ। ਹਮਾਰਾ ਖਿਆਲ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਮਾਮਲਾ ਕੇ ਮੁਤੱਲਕ ਹਮ ਪੂਰੀ ਤਵੱਜਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇ ਸਕੇ ਅੰਰ ਨਾ ਕਾਫੀ ਇਸ ਮਾਮਲਾ ਕੇ ਪੂਰੀ ਪਬਲਿਸਿਟੀ ਮਿਲੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਤਰਫ ਹਮੇਂ ਮੁਨਾਸਬ ਤਵੱਜਾ ਦੇਨੀ ਚਾਹੀਏ ਅੰਰ ਪੂਰੇ ਪੂਰੇ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਪਬਲਿਕ ਕੇ ਸਾਮਨੇ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰਨੇ ਚਾਹੀਏ।

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ਸਲਾਹ ਮਸ਼ਵਰੇ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਸਲਿੱਪ।

Everyone is welcome to his views and we forward these views to you for your best consideration. We have never sent you any views on any important subject without consulting the house and without the consent of the majority. It is no use entering into arguments or giving our own opinion until you think it necessary to ask us.



(See letter of Risaldar Sunder Singh and six others dated September 16, 1924.)

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### ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

ਆਪ ਕਾ ਖਤ ਮਿਲਾ ਕੁਛ ਹੈਰਾਨੀ ਸੀ ਹੁਈ ਕਿ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਵਾਲੇ ਜੋ ਕੁਛ ਅਰਜ਼ਾ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਕਹਿਤੇ ਥੇ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਰਫਤਾਰ ਪਰ ਜੱਥੇ ਸਾਲ ਭਰ ਖਤਮ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਂਗੇ ਅਬ ਉਨ ਕੀ ਯੇਹ ਹਾਲਤ ਹੈ-ਬੈਰ-ਤਫਸੀਲ ਕੇ ਸਾਥ ਤੋ ਫਿਰ ਅਰਜ਼ ਕਰੇਂਗੇ। ਕਿ ਮੁਆਮਲਾਤ ਕੇ ਹਲ ਕੇ ਲੀਏ ਕਿਆ ਕੁਛ ਕਰਨਾ ਚਾਹੀਏ, ਲੇਕਨ ਦੋ ਤੀਨ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਬਾਤੇ ਫੌਰਨ ਆਪ ਕੀ ਖਿਦਮਤ ਮੇਂ ਪਹੁੰਚਾਨੀ ਲਾਜ਼ਮੀ ਹੈਂ :-

(1) ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਜੱਥਾ ਹਸਬ ਐਲਾਨ ੧੮ ਤਾਰੀਖ ਕੋ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਰਵਾਨਾ ਹੋਨਾ ਚਾਹੀਏ। ਜਿਸ ਤਰਹਾ ਭੀ ਹੋ ਖਾਹ ਆਪਣੇ ਮਲਾਜ਼ਮ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰੋਂ ਮੇਂ ਸੇ ਭੀ ਆਦਮੀ ਭੇਜਨੇ ਪੜੇਂ। ਇਸ ਜੱਥਾ ਕੋ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਰਵਾਨਾ ਕਰੇਂ ਤਾਕਿ ਫਿਰ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਸਵਾ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਸੋਚਨੇ ਔਰ ਮੁਨਾਸਬ ਤਦਬੀਰ ਅਖਤਿਆਰ ਕਰਨੇ ਕੇ ਲੀਏ ਵਕਫਾ ਮਿਲ ਜਾਏ। ਸਰਦਾਰ ਅਮਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਝਬਾਲ ਸੇ ਭੀ ਜੱਥਾ ਕੇ ਮੁਤੱਲਕ ਮਸ਼ਵਰਾ ਲੇਂ ਔਰ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਤਿਆਰ ਕਰਨੇ ਮੇਂ ਖਾਸ ਇਮਦਾਦ ਲੇਂ।

(2) ਆਪਣੇ ਤਮਾਮ ਕਾਰਕੁਨਾਨ ਕੋ ਹੈਡਕੁਆਰਟਰਜ਼ ਮੇਂ ਫੌਰਨ ਇਕੱਠਾ ਕਰ ਲੇਂ। ਸਰਦਾਰ ਰਾਜਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੋ ਬਜ਼ਰੀਆ ਤਾਰ ਬੁਲਾ ਲੇਂ। ਔਰ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੋ ਤਾਕੀਦ ਕਰੇਂ ਕਿ ਸ਼ਿਮਲਾ ਜਾਨੇ ਸੇ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਆਪ ਕੇ ਪਾਸ ਅਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਪਹੁੰਚ ਕਰ ਮਸ਼ਵਰਾ ਵਗੈਰਾ ਮੇਂ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਹੋਵੇਂ। ਸਰਦਾਰ ਅਮਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੋ ਭੀ ਫੌਰਨ ਬੁਲਾ ਲੇਂ ਔਰ ਉਨ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਅਸਹਾਬ ਕੋ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਤਰਫ ਸੇ ਦਸਤ ਬਸਤਾ ਅਰਜ਼ ਕਰੇਂ ਕਿ ਅਗਰ ਉਨ ਕਾ ਗਰੀਵੈਨਸ ਯੇਹੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹਮ ਅੰਦਰ ਸੇ ਕਾਮ ਮੇਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਦਖਲ ਦੇਤੇ ਹੈਂ ਤੋ ਹਮ ਫੌਰਨ ਮਸ਼ਵਰਾ ਦੇਣਾ ਕਤੱਈ ਛੋੜ ਦੇਤੇ ਹੈਂ ਔਰ ਜਬ ਆਪ ਕੁਛ ਪੂਛੇਂਗੇ ਤਬੀ ਅਰਜ਼ ਕੀਆ ਕਰੇਂਗੇ। ਲੇਕਨ ਕੁਛ ਭੀ ਹੋ ਇਨ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਅਸਹਾਬ ਕੋ ਇਸ ਨਾਜ਼ਕ ਵਕਤ ਪਰ ਸ਼ਰੀਕ ਹੋਨਾ ਚਾਹੀਏ ਔਰ ਵੁਹ ਔਰ ਆਪ ਜੋ ਭੀ ਮਿਲ ਕਰ ਕਾਮ ਕਰੇਂਗੇ ਹਮ ਉਸ ਕੋ ਬਸਰੋ ਚਸ਼ਮ ਕਬੂਲ ਕਰੇਂਗੇ। ਵਰਕਰਜ਼ ਕੀ ਗੈਰ ਹਾਜ਼ਰੀ ਯਾ ਕਾਮ ਸੇ ਅਲਹਿਦਗੀ ਕਾ ਅਸਰ ਤਮਾਮ ਲੋਗੋਂ ਪਰ ਡੀਪ੍ਰੈਸਿੰਗ ਹੋਤਾ ਹੈ। ਜਿਸ ਤਰਹਾ ਭੀ ਹੋ ਯੂਨਾਈਟਿੱਵ ਔਰ ਐਕਟਿਡ ਔਰ ਆਲਵੇਜ਼ ਔਨ ਡਿਊਟੀ ਹੋ ਜਾਏਂ।

(3) ਨਨਕਾਣਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਕੇ ਵਾਕਿਆਤ ਕੋ ਬਹੁਤ ਏਹਤਿਆਤ ਸੇ ਵਾਚ ਕਰੇਂ ਔਰ ਦੇਖੇਂ ਕਿ ਅਗਰ ਅੱਛਾ ਮੌਕਾ ਵਹਾਂ ਮੋਰਚਾ ਕਾ ਮਿਲ ਜ ਏ ਔਰ ਇਨਬੁਜ਼ੀਐਜ਼ਮ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋ ਜਾਏ ਤੋ ਫਿਰ ਹਨ ਕੋ ਗੁੰਜਾਇਸ਼ ਹੋਗੀ ਕਿ ਆਪਣੀ ਤਾਕਤ ਕੋ ਜੈਤੋ ਔਰ ਭਾਈ ਫੇਰੂ ਸੇ ਮੁਨਾਸਬ ਤੌਰ ਪਰ ਡਾਈਵਰਟ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਨਨਕਾਣਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਪਰ ਕਨਸੈਨਟ੍ਰੇਟ ਕਰੇਂ ਔਰ ਇਸ ਤਰਹਾ ਏਕ ਤੋ ਜ਼ਾਹਰਾ ਕਮਜ਼ੋਰੀ ਨਜ਼ਰ ਨਾ ਆਵੇਗੀ ਔਰ ਦੂਸਰੇ ਕੁਮਿਟਮੈਂਟ ਥੋੜੀ ਹੋਗੀ ਯਾਨੀ ਆਦਮੀ ਥੋੜੇ ਦਰਕਾਰ ਹੋਂਗੇ ।

(4) ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਕੇ ਮੁਤੱਲਕ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਬਰ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਕੋਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਕਰੇਂ ਕਿ ਅਗਰ ਮੈਨੇਜਿੰਗ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਵਾਲੇ ਕੋਈ ਤਸੱਲੀਬਖਸ਼ ਸਮਝੌਤਾ ਨਾ ਕਰੇਂ ਤੋ ਵਕਤ ਨਾਜ਼ਕ ਸਮਝ ਕਰ ਸੁਧਾਰ ਕਰਨੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਦੋਸਤ ਐਜੀਟੇਸ਼ਨ ਕੋ ਤਾਹਾਲ ਗਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਸੁਧਾਰ ਕੀ ਖ਼ਾਤਰ ਡਰੌਪ ਕਰ ਦੇਂ । ਇਸ ਕੇ ਲੀਏ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਅਮਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਔਰ ਦੀਗਰ ਦੋਸਤ ਅਗਰ ਜ਼ਰੂਰਤ ਸਮਝੇਂ ਤੋ S.G.P.C. ਕੀ ਤਰਫ ਸੇ open appeal ਕਰ ਦੇਂ ਕਿ ਬਾਹਮੀ ਝਗੜੇ ਕੋ ਸਸਪੈਂਡ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਸਧਾਰ ਸਿਰੇ ਚੜ੍ਹਾਓ । ਜਿਸ ਤਰਹਾ ਭੀ ਹੋ ਬੇ ਇਤਫਾਕੀ ਕੋ ਦੂਰ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਕੌਮ ਕੀ ਤਵੱਜੁਹ ਏਕ ਤਰਫ ਲਗਾਵੇਂ ।

(5) ਬਾਕੀ ਤਜ਼ਾਵੀਜ਼ ਕੀ ਬਾਬਤ ਮਸਲਨ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬਿਲ ਯਾ ਮਾਡਰੇਟ ਕਾਨਫਰੈਂਸ, ਫਾਈਨੈਂਨਸਿਜ਼ ਵਗੈਰਾ ਬਰਾਏ ਹਲ ਤਮਾਮ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲਾਤ ਮਜ਼ੀਦ ਗੌਰ ਕੇ ਬਾਦ ਆਪ ਕੋ ਆਪਣੀ ਰਾਏ ਫਿਰ ਜ਼ਲਦੀ ਅਰਸਾਲ ਕਰੇਂਗੇ ।

(6) On the whole we need not lose presence of mind, for in such big and long lasting struggles crises do arise and there are rises and falls in the way. We have pulled through many such before ; now, with the grace of Guru, we will certainly pull through the present. Presence of mind, unity and faith are the essentials to success. We should not shut our eyes to hard facts and difficulties, but, at the same time, we should not be panic struck. Perhaps, we are in the last stage of the struggle and a little more patience and steadfastness, and goal will be reached. We agree that we should not confine ourselves to only one method or weapon but should try all possible means. Even if we meet with a temporary check or reverse, we will rise again with redoubled force, more difficult to defeat than before. We are not shutting our eyes to the differences among friends inside and the difficulties outside, but we are still hopeful and determined to fight more later.

(See letter of Sir Jogendra Singh dated October 4, 1924.)

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ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

(1) ਕਈ ਬਾਰ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਆਪ ਕੀ ਖਿਦਮਤ ਮੇਂ ਅਰਜ਼ ਕੀਆ ਜਾ ਚੁਕਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਜੇਲ੍ਹ ਵਾਲੋਂ ਕੀ ਕਾਇਦਾ ਕੇ ਮੁਤਾਬਕ ਕੋਈ ਜੁਮਾਵਾਰੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਨਾ ਸਿਰਫ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਜਗਾ ਔਰ ਅਹੁਦਾਦਾਰ ਮੁਕਰਰ ਹੋ ਚੁਕੇ ਹੈਂ ਬਲਕਿ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਭੀ ਔਰ ਮੁਕਰਰ ਹੋ ਚੁਕੇ ਹੈਂ ਜੋ ਕੁਛ ਹਮ ਨੇ ਆਪ ਕੀ ਖਿਦਮਤ ਮੇਂ ਅਰਜ਼ ਕੀਆ ਹੈ ਯਾ ਕਰਤੇ ਹੈਂ ਵੁਹ ਮਹਿਜ਼ ਮਸ਼ਵਰਾ ਕੇ ਤੌਰ ਪਰ ਹੈ ਔਰ ਆਪ ਕੀ ਮਰਜ਼ੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਗੌਰ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਇਸ ਕੋ ਮੰਜੂਰ ਕਰੇਂ ਯਾ ਕਿ ਨਾ ਕਰੇਂ। ਹਮ ਆਪ ਕੋ ਯੇਹ ਭੀ ਤਸੱਲੀ ਦੇਤੇ ਰਹੇ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਜੋ ਰਾਏ ਯਾ ਮਸ਼ਵਰਾ ਹਮ ਆਪ ਕੋ ਦੇਤੇ ਰਹੇ ਹੈਂ, ਰਮੇਸ਼ਾ ਹਮ ਇਸ ਕੀ ਜੁਮਾਵਾਰੀ ਤਸਲੀਮ ਕਰੇਂਗੇ। ਕਈ ਜ਼ਰੀਓਂ ਸੇ ਹਮ ਕੋ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੂਆ ਹੈ ਔਰ ਖਾਸ ਕਰ ਪ੍ਰੋਫੈਸਰ ਤੇਜਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਕਾ ਸਾਫ਼ ਬਿਆਨ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਬਾਹਰ ਕੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਮਹਿਜ਼ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਹਦਾਇਤ ਕੇ ਮੁਤਾਬਕ ਕਾਮ ਕਰਤੀ ਹੈ ਔਰ ਕਿ ਹਮ ਨੇ ਉਨ ਕੋ ਕੋਈ ਆਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਖੁਦ ਕਾਮ ਕਰਨੇ ਕੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਛੋੜੀ ਹੂਈ। ਆਪ ਯੇਹ ਜਾਨਤੇ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਯੇਹ ਸਰਾਸਰ ਗਲਤ ਔਰ ਖਿਲਾਫ਼ ਵਾਕਿਆ ਹੈ। ਯੇਹ ਭੀ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੂਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਔਰ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਅਮਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਮਹਿਜ਼ ਇਸ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਕੇ ਕਾਮ ਮੇਂ ਦਿਲਚਸਪੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਲੇਤੇ, ਔਰ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਅਮਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੇ ਅਸਤੀਫਾ ਭੀ ਇਸੀ ਵਜਾ ਸੇ ਦੀਆ ਹੂਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜੋ ਕਾਮ ਬਾਹਰ ਕੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਬਹਿਸੋ-ਮੁਬਾਹਿਸਾ ਕੇ ਬਾਦ ਭੀ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕਰਤੀ ਹੈ ਉਸ ਪਰ ਭੀ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਦਖਲ ਦੇਨੇ ਕੀ ਵਜਾ ਸੇ ਅਮਲ ਦਰਾਮਦ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਆ ਜਾਤਾ। ਹਮ ਸਿਵਾਏ ਇਸ ਕੇ ਔਰ ਕੁਛ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਹਿ ਸਕਤੇ ਕਿ ਯੇਹ ਇਤਰਾਜ਼ ਭੀ ਸਰਾਸਰ ਨਾਵਾਜਬ ਹੈ। ਹਮ ਕੋ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੂਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਕੇ ਪਾਸ ਕਾਮ ਕਰਨੇ ਵਾਲੋਂ ਕੀ ਕਿੱਲਤ ਹੈ। ਪਹਿਲੇ ਹਮ ਨੇ ਇਰਾਦਾ ਕੀਆ ਥਾ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਕੋ ਕੁਛ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਕੀ ਫਹਿਰਿਸਤ ਭੇਜ ਦੀ ਜਾਏ ਜਿਨ ਪਰ ਹਮ ਕੋ ਉਮੇਦ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸ਼ਾਇਦ ਵੁਹ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਾ ਕੁਛ ਨਾ ਕੁਛ ਬੋਝ ਆਪਣੇ ਸਰ ਪਰ ਲੇਨੇ ਕੋ ਤਿਆਰ ਹੋਂਗੇ। ਮਗਰ ਮੁਦਰਜਾ ਬਾਲਾ ਵਾਕਿਆਤ ਕੀ ਵਜਾ ਸੇ ਰੁਕ ਗਏ ਹੈਂ। ਅਗਰ ਆਪ ਜ਼ਰੂਰਤ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰੇਂ ਤੋ ਹਮ ਸੇ ਦਰਿਆਫ਼ਤ ਕਰ ਸਕਤੇ ਹੈਂ। ਦੀਗਰ ਅਗਰ ਸੱਚ ਹੋ ਕਿ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਅਮਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਔਰ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਮਸ਼ਵਰੇ ਕੋ ਐਸੀ ਹੀ ਨਿਗਾਹ ਸੇ ਦੇਖਤੇ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਜਿਸ ਕਾ ਉਪਰ ਜ਼ਿਕਰ ਕੀਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ, ਮਗਰ ਜਿਸ ਕੀ ਹਮੇਂ ਉਮੇਦ ਨਹੀਂ, ਤੋ ਹਮ ਸਿਰਫ਼ ਯੇਹੀ ਕਹਿ ਸਕਤੇ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਹਮ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਿਸਮ ਕਾ

ਚਿੱਠੀ ਔਰ ਟ ਏਪਿਡ ਕਾਪੀ ਔਫ ਡਰਾਫਟ ਸਾਥ ਲੇ ਕਰ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਪਾਸ ਜਾਏ ਔਰ ਮੁਫੱਸਲਾ ਜ਼ੈਲ ਦਲੀਲ ਦੇ ਕਰ ਉਸ ਸੇ ਏਕ ਔਰ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਇਸੀ ਤਾਰੀਖ ਕੀ ਲਿਖਵਾ ਲਾਏ ਤਾਕਿ ਵੁਹ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰ ਦੀ ਜਾਏ । ਕਾਪੀਆਂ ਜੋ ਆਪ ਲੇ ਜਾਏਂ ਵੁਹ ਟਾਈਪਡ ਹੋਂ । ਇਸ ਕਾ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਖਿਆਲ ਰਖੇਂ । ਹਮ ਉਸ ਕੋ ਕੋਈ ਨਯਾ ਵਹਿਦਾ ਤਹਿਰੀਰੀ ਯਾ ਜ਼ਬਾਨੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇ ਸਕਤੇ ਕਿ ਉਸ ਕੀ ਮਦਦ ਕਰੇਂਗੇ । ਹਮਾਰਾ ਰੈਜ਼ੋਲਿਊਸ਼ਨ ਪ ਅਗਸਤ ਵਾਲਾ ਕਾਇਮ ਹੈ ਔਰ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਹਮ ਪਾਬੰਦ ਹੈਂ । ਦਲੀਲ ਇਸ ਤਰਹਾ ਕੀ ਕਰਨੀ ਚਾਹੀਏ ।

### Line of argument

We have been asking you to make a statement about your forced abdication because we have to prove to the public and the court that it was not voluntary, and to prove this, we wish to use all the papers in our possession, but as far as possible not to use your first letter of July 1923 to S.B. Mehtab Singh, our President, because in that letter there are certain expressions which it is not to your interest to publish. Therefore, out of consideration for your interest, we have requested you to make a public statement, or, if you prefer, you may write the same letter, giving it the same date, omitting objectionable expressions, but clearly recording the forced and unjust character of your severance and grievances of the insult to senior Maharani Sahiba at the Pakka Bagh. As for an assurance from us, the resolution of the S.G.P.C. of 5th August is a clear public and honourable commitment to the extent possible for the Committee. It is not possible under the rules for the W.C. to say anything more or less than that now.

The objectionable words in the original letter can be represented by your own enemies as an incitement to the Sikhs to rebel against the Government and so on. Therefore, they are to be omitted.

*NOTE.* The above is not to be written but used in conversation for argument. The revised draft is attached herewith.

ਹਮੇਂ ਅਭੀ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੂਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਦਿਹਲੀ ਸੋ ਪੈਸ ਮਸ਼ੀਨ ਟੂਟ ਗਈ ਹੈ ਔਰ ਖਿਆਲ ਕੀਆ ਜਾਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਅਖ਼ਬਾਰ ਤਕਰੀਬਨ ਹਫ਼ਤਾ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਨਾ ਨਿਕਲ ਸਕੇ । ਅਗਲਬਨ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਸ਼ਿਮਲਾ ਨਾ ਜਾ ਸਕੇਂਗੇ । ਲੇਕਨ ਪੰਥ ਕੀ ਮੰਜੂਦਾ ਹਾਲਾਤ

ਕੋ ਮੱਢੇ ਨਜ਼ਰ ਰਖ ਕਰ ਬਿਲ ਕਾ ਮਾਮਲਾ ਨਿਹਾਇਤ ਅਰਜ਼ਟ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਮੇਂ ਕੋਈ ਤਾਖੀਰ ਵਾਕਿਆ ਨਾ ਹੋਨੀ ਚਾਹੀਏ। ਇਸ ਲੀਏ ਅਗਰ ਜੈਸਾ ਕਿ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਖਿਆਲ ਹੈ, ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਸ਼ਿਮਲਾ ਨਾ ਜਾ ਸਕੇਂਗੇ, ਆਪ ਮੇਂ ਸੇ ਕੋਈ ਯਾ ਕੋਈ ਦੀਗਰ ਟਰਸਟਵਰਦੀ ਔਰ ਲਾਇਕ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਸ਼ਿਮਲਾ ਕੋ ਫੋਰਨ ਰਵਾਨਾ ਹੋ ਜਾਏ। ਯੇਹ ਨਿਹਾਇਤ ਜਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ।

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**ਸਮਝੋਤਾ ਤੇ ਸ਼ਰਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਤਜਵੀਜ਼ ਪੈਟਮੈਨ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਵਕੀਲ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਤੇ  
ਜਵਾਬ ਵਿੱਚ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ।**

ਕਲ ਆਪ ਕੋ ਵੁਹ ਇਨਫਰਮੇਸ਼ਨ ਅਰਸਾਲ ਕੀ ਗਈ ਜੋ ਮਿਸਟਰ ਪਿਟਮੈਨ ਨੇ ਦੀ ਹੈ। ਉਸ ਨੇ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਕੋ ਮਿਲ ਕਰ ਏਕ ਤਜਵੀਜ਼ ਭੀ ਕੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਅਗਰ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਔਰ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਤੇਜਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਮੁੰਦਰੀ ਅਸ਼ੋਰੈਂਸ ਕਰਾ ਦੇਂ ਕਿ ਅਗਰ ਐਸ. ਜੀ. ਪੀ. ਸੀ. ਕੋ ਰੀਕਾਗਨਾਈਜ਼ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਯਾਨੀ ਨਾਮ ਯੇਹੀ ਰਖ ਕਰ ਬਿਲ ਦੀਆ ਜਾਵੇ ਤੋ ਬਿਲ ਕੋ ਵਰਕ ਕੀਆ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਔਰ ਐਸ. ਜੀ. ਪੀ. ਸੀ. ਕੀ ਬਾਕੀ ਮਾਦਾ ਐਕਟਿਵੀਟੀਜ਼ ਕੇ ਲੀਏ (ਖਾਹ ਮਿਸ਼ਨਰੀ ਕਾਲਜ, ਸੁਸਾਈਟੀ, ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਫੰਡ ਵਗੈਰਾ) ਕੇ ਲੀਏ ਕੋਈ ਜੁਦਾ ਬਾਡੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਬਨਾਈ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ ਤੋ ਉਸ ਕੋ ਬਹੁਤ ਉਮੇਦ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਗੌਰਮਿੰਟ ਯੇਹ ਪੌਜ਼ੀਸ਼ਨ ਤਸਲੀਮ ਕਰ ਲੇਗੀ। ਮਿਸਟਰ ਪਿਟਮੈਨ ਸਨਸੀਅਰਲੀ ਔਰ ਪੂਰਾ ਜ਼ੋਰ ਲਗਾ ਕਰ ਮਦਦ ਕਰਨਾ ਚਾਹਤਾ ਹੈ, ਔਰ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਖਿਆਲ ਮੇਂ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਸਜੈਸ਼ਨ ਭੀ ਇਨਸਪਾਇਰਡ ਹੈ। ਵੁਹ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਔਰ ਆਪ ਕੀ ਮੁਲਾਕਾਤ ਕਰਾਨੇ ਕਾ ਜੁਮਾ ਲੇਤਾ ਹੈ ਔਰ ਕਹਿਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਲਦੀ ਕਰਨੀ ਚਾਹੀਏ। ਸਰਦਾਰ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਨੇ ਮੁੰਦਰਜਾ ਬਾਲਾ (ਜੋ ਅਬ ਨੀਚੇ ਦਰਜ ਕੀਆ ਜਾਤਾ ਹੈ) ਕਚਾ ਡਰਾਫਟ ਤਿਆਰ ਕੀਆ ਹੈ। ਜਿਸ ਕੀ ਨਕਲ ਆਪ ਕੋ ਅਰਸਾਲ ਹੈ ਤਾਕਿ ਆਪ ਕੋ ਸਾਰੇ ਮਾਮਲਾ ਕਾ ਕਲੀਅਰ ਕਨਸੈਪਸਨ ਹੋ ਜਾਏ। ਆਪ ਬਰਾਏ ਮਿਹਰਬਾਨੀ ਡਬਲਯੂ. ਸੀ. ਮੇਂ ਡਿਸਕਸ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਮਹਿਜ਼ ਦੋ ਸੱਜਨ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਔਰ ਅਰਜਣ ਸਿੰਘ ਯਾ ਦੋ ਸੱਜਨ ਜੋ ਮੁਨਾਸਬ ਸਮਝੇਂ ਯਹਾਂ ਤਸਰੀਫ਼ ਲੇ ਆਵੇਂ ਔਰ ਪਿਟਮੈਨ ਕੋ ਸੁਬਹਾ ਮਿਲ ਕਰ ਹਮ ਕੋ ਮਿਲ ਲੇਂ। ਯੇਹ ਡਰਾਫਟ ਸਿਰਫ਼ ਏਕ ਕੱਚਾ ਮਸੱਵਦਾ ਹੈ ਔਰ ਤਮਾਮ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਆਪ ਕੋ ਹਸਬ ਮਨਸ਼ਾ ਹੋਨੀ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਬਾਤ ਕੋ ਆਪ ਅਮਲ ਮੇਂ ਲਾਨਾ ਚਾਹੇਂਗੇ, ਵੁਹੀ ਕੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ।

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ਮਿ. ਪੈਟਮੈਨ ਦੇ ਨਾਉਂ ਅੰਦਰਲੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਵਲੋਂ ਸ: ਮਹਿਤਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ

Dear Petman,

With reference to our informal talk the other day, S. Teja Singh Samundari and I have consulted some of our colleagues now here with us. As I told you, in case the present S.G.P.C. is not

recognised in the papers of Gurdwara Bill and a new body is created to take charge of the Gurdwaras, there would be a risk of various kinds of complications arising. Many gurdwaras affiliated to the present S.G.P.C., very large funds and various branches of the S.G.P.C. work, connected with Sikh religious matters but not covered by the proposed Bill, will not pass to the new body in the ordinary course and will remain on either with the present S.G.P.C. or with some other body as the S.G.P.C. may decide now or at any other time. On the other hand if the present S.G.P.C. accepts and adopts the constitution proposed by the Gurdwara Act, no complication whatsoever arises and the S.G.P.C. remains with all legal rights and liabilities intact but tied up and bound by the new constitution, promulgated by the Act.

The S.G.P.C. by its rules duly registered can suspend or change its constitution by observing certain formalities and by securing 2/3 votes of its members present in a meeting called for the purpose as per rules 38 and 39.

We are very anxious to avoid the risk of having two bodies dividing the functions of the S.G.P.C. and earnestly wish that a single constitutional freely elected representative body of the Sikhs should retain and exercise all the functions. We think the Government would be as desirous, if not as anxious, as we are in this matter. If the Government and the S.G.P.C. arrive at an understanding, then it is not at all difficult for the S.G.P.C. to assure the Government that the S.G.P.C. undertakes to work the Bill and that it will carry out all the necessary formalities to accept and adopt the constitution—promulgated by the Act and to pass on all its rights and liabilities along with its assets, branches, etc., in all entirety to their successors elected in accordance with the provisions of the Gurdwara Act. This is our view and the view in our opinion of an overwhelming majority of the S.G.P.C. members.

In order to give such an undertaking to Government, however, we can only advise the outside workers to do so as they have the legal status of if they permit us we may do so. In any case a couple

of outside workers will have to see us for the purpose. If you think that the Government is in favour of a settlement then you may kindly arrange for such meeting and then we can tell you what sort of understanding can be given.

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Gurdwara Bill

Dear brothers,

(1) It is heard from an official source that the real intention of Government is to get the Bill only introduced in this session and then by some indirect means to get its consideration postponed to August. One can't say how far this is true. But this is for your information and any action that you might deem necessary to prevent this delaying.

(2) The signs are that perhaps there will not be much opposition from the Hindu side. But then may be an apprehension of Muslim opposition indirectly put up by Mian Fazal Hussain, either because two of his Bills have failed or because he would like that the Sikhs should approach him also. You may, if you approve of this course, request Dr. Kitchlew to see him personally and sound his views. Not only that but enlist his sincere support for the Bill. But you should move early in the matter.

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Bill

### Letter of S. Mehtab Singh ji

I do not know exactly what may have influenced the Executive committee to abstain from passing Resolutions rededecision to work the Bill. stopping Bhai Pheru Jatha, etc., along with or rather in precedence of the resolution about the imposition of condition on release. That would have strengthened the Committee's position enormously by convincing the world that our aim is constructive and we are anxious for a settlement. It would have made our agitation

for removal of condition on release more effective and at the same time definitely and clearly prepared the community for constructive work. Anyhow, if among the reasons actuating the committee, there was also a fear that some among us will on coming out work against the Bill, for they have threatened to do so on the 12th inst., then I give you this information. S. Teja Singh jee's speech was rather unfortunate for it belied his true feelings and opinions which he wanted to express. I have, on careful discussion with him, found his views as follows :—

(1) "This Bill does not fully reward all our enormous sacrifices, but considering all circumstances it is a victory for us. There are defects in it but not such that we may reject it or wreck it. I will work it and try to get it improved by remaining in the S.G.P.C. through constitutional means and by trying to convert the majority to my views. I am not and will not be for creating a split in the Panth and if I can not serve usefully by remaining in a position of responsibility, I will quietly retire to a position of less responsibility. But I will always continue to serve my Panth wherever I be."

You have perfect freedom from me to get the above verified from him if you think necessary. He admits that his words may have created some mis-understanding and that his definite and clear views are those described above by me.

I write this in order to help you to gauge the situation and make your decisions.

Bill

It is our imperative duty to convey to you our very strong feeling and clear opinion that a serious technical mistake has been committed in not making a definite declaration of our constructive policy—as for instance indicated in the draft resolutions already



submitted to you—along with or rather in precedence of the Resolution about conditional release. By not making such a declaration you are keeping friends and foes in surprise. That is, some Sikhs will be thinking that perhaps one of the possibility is that the Bill may be rejected, for the S.G.P.C. has not declared its mind. Foes and neutrals are criticising us for hesitating to accept a Bill framed and moved by us and meeting our essential demands. Our this apparent and alleged unreasonableness is also affecting people's opinion regarding our agitation for unconditional release. As it is admitted on all hands that whatever happen we are not going to wreck or reject the Bill, then the sooner is this position announced the better. Further, community's mind will be set at rest and the foe's mouths will be shut. Do you mean to make this declaration after the Government has given its final reply about the release? In event of Government absolutely refusing to yield, this declaration of ours will be considered a sad submission while making it now it will be considered a splendid stroke of statesmanship, wisdom and conciliation and sincerity and will also help in solving the release question. Those friends like Sardar Teja Singhji and others, whose authority we have not got to convey their opinion to you on their behalf, have in conversation here expressed their emphatic opinion from which we have got the clearest and most definite impression that their opinion coincides with the views expressed above and they also deem immediate action on these lines absolutely necessary. In fact one of them, a very important and responsible office bearer, has called the omission to do so "A blunder".

2. As to the exact procedure to be adopted now after a good opportunity of doing it in the last meeting of the Executive on the 13th instant has been lost, you are the best judge. One way is to make an announcement on behalf of the working committee, if it is impossible for the Executive Committee to meet immediately. In that announcement the resolutions passed on lines already suggested or on similar lines may be published in the following order :—

Resolution No. 1 as already suggest in the Note of 13th.

—do— No. 2 —do—

—do— No. 3 —do—

—do— No. 4 —do—

—do— No. 5—already passed by the Executive on the 13th about conditional release.

—do— No. 6—here place Reso. 5 of the note of 13th.

Whatever you do, do as soon as possible. This will strengthen the hands of your Councillors, and they will have a definite gesture from you to help them in tackling the Government.

3. In connection with this matter we also feel our duty to bring to your notice respectfully that large number of us feel aggrieved that while you have taken absolutely no action on the matter, i.e., the Bill, Bhai Pheru and Jaito affairs about which you asked our opinion and we gave you practically unanimous answer, on the other hand responsible members and office bearers among you have in public speeches produced a serious complication. And that is this :—on the 12th you were all pleased to promise us without our asking that the opinion given to you confidentially will not be divulged. Now, not only has our opinion been divulged but wholly incorrect version has been given to the public about our attitude towards the release question. You know we were not united on this question. But your speeches have committed all of us to a course which is not the course of all. We agree that perhaps you are using what seem to you to be best tactics But has it not occurred to you that in the event of Government remaining firm and certain person taking a particular course, your as well as our position would be most unhappy. People will say either you gave an untrue version to the public in your speeches or that some of us having given you our word have betrayed you and dis-honoured ourselves. This situation is much too serious and differences of opinion much too acute to be handled without deep thought and farsight.

One of us at least has insisted on sending his protest to you in

his own handwriting as herewith attached and has kept a copy. We are puzzled at the complications that have arisen and can think of only one line of action to suggest to you and that is as follows :—

(a) Take up immediately the work of declaring a clear decisive constructive policy which may impress Government, public and the community with your peace-loving intention. Begin acting upon this policy as soon as advisable and beneficial.

(b) Isolate the release "issue" from all entanglements, and, even in that issue, do not renounce the "open door" policy. Advance but always keep a way of honourable retreat open for yourself, if necessary. Our fight has clearly passed that stage when retreat was not even to be thought of. Now we must be ready for compromise concerning matters left unsolved.

(c) Put as much pressure on Government as possible and advisable but do not over do it. Remember you are dealing with an exceptionally clever and firm man who can not be won over merely by bluffing or obstinacy or unyieldingness.

Note. Kindly do not forget that we sincerely sympathise with all of you in your onerous responsibilities and know your devotion and sacrifices. Do not take this letter as harsh or ungrateful.

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From Resaldar Sunder Singh to Sardar Bahadar Mehtab Singh, President S.G.P.C. detained in Lahore Jail, dated July 17, 1925, see No. 101 page.

Objections of Sardar Bagh Singh Vakil of Gurdaspur to the draft of the Bill proposed for the Management of Sikh Gurdwaras. see No. 102 page.

Letter of Sardar Gurcharan Singh and others to Sardar Mangal Singh dated July 25, 1925, see No. 103 page.

Letter from 19 leaders detained in Lahore jail dated July 25, 1925 to the Working Committee of the S.G.P.C. at Amritsar, see No. 103 a page.

(7) ਬਿਲ ਵਾਲੇ ਮਾਮਲਾ ਮੇਂ ਪੰਡਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਸੇ ਜਲਦੀ ਜਲਦੀ ਹਿੰਦੂਓਂ ਕੇ ਸਾਬ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕਰਾਇਆ ਜਾਵੇ । ਇਸ ਮੇਂ ਵਕਤ ਜ਼ਾਇਆ ਨਾ ਹੋਨੇ ਦੇਂ । ਜਬ ਤਕ ਆਪ ਪੀਛੇ ਨਾ ਪੜੇਂਗੇ ਵੁਹ ਜਲਦੀ ਕਾਮ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰ ਸਕੇਂਗੇ । ਉਨ ਕੋ ਅਰਜ਼ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਹਮ ਸੇ ਮਿਲਾ ਦੇਂ ਤਾਕਿ ਹੰਮ ਭੀ ਉਨ ਸੇ ਡਿਸਕਸ ਕਰ ਲੇਂ, ਔਰ ਉਨ ਪਰ ਜ਼ੋਰ ਡਾਲੇਂ ।

(8) ਹਮ ਮੇਂ ਸੇ ਭੀ ਕੁਛ ਸੱਜਨ ਮਾਲਵਾ, ਦੁਆਬਾ ਵਗੈਰਾ ਅਲਾਕੋਂ ਕੋ ਚਿੱਠੀਆਂ ਅਰਸਾਲ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹੈਂ ਕਿ ਅਮਰੀਕਨ ਜੱਥਾ ਕਾ ਅਪਨੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਇਲਾਕੇ ਮੇਂ ਖੂਬ ਇਸਤਿਕਬਾਲ ਕਰੇਂ, ਔਰ ਭਰੇ ਦੀਵਾਨੋਂ ਮੇਂ ਇਲਾਕਾ ਕੀ ਤਰਫ ਸੇ ਏਕ ਏਕ ਮੁਕੰਮਲ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਜੱਥਾ ਪਰਨ ਕਰਾਏਂ । ਉਮੇਦ ਹੈ ਇਸ ਸੇ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਮੁਵਮੈਂਟ ਕੋ ਕਾਫੀ ਫਾਇਦਾ ਪਹੁੰਚੇਗਾ ।

(9) ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨੋਂ ਕੇ ਫਸਾਦ ਕੇ ਮੁਤੱਲਕ ਮੌਲਾਨਾ ਮੁਹੰਮਦ ਅਲੀ, ਹਕੀਮ ਅਜਮਲ ਖਾਨ ਔਰ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਸ਼ਰਦਾ ਨੰਦ ਨੇ ਏਕ ਮੀਟਿੰਗ ਦਿਹਲੀ ਮੇਂ ਹਿੰਦੂਸਤਾਨ ਕੇ ਤਮਾਮ ਲੀਡਰੋਂ ਕੀ ਗੌਰ ਕਰਨੇ ਕੇ ਲੀਏ ਬਲਾਈ ਹੈ । ਜਿਸ ਕੀ ਤਾਰੀਖ ਉਨ੍ਹੋਂ ਨੇ ੨੩ (੧੯੨੪) ਸਤੰਬਰ ਮੁਕੱਰਰ ਕੀ ਹੈ । ਐਸਾ ਨਾ ਹੋ ਕਿ ਸ਼ਿਮਲਾ ਸੇ ਤਮਾਮ ਅਸੈਂਬਲੀ ਕੇ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਜੋ ਸਵਰਾਜਿਸਟ ਹੈਂ ਇਸ ਤਾਰੀਖ ਪਰ ਚਲੇ ਆਵੇਂ ਔਰ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਰੈਜ਼ੋਲਿਊਸ਼ਨ ਗਿਰ ਜਾਏ ਯਾ ਪੇਸ਼ ਹੀ ਨਾ ਹੋ ਸਕੇ । ਇਸ ਕੇ ਲੀਏ ਅਗਰ ਤਾਰੀਖ ਤਬਦੀਲ ਕਰਾ ਸਕੇਂ ਤੋਂ ਦਿਹਲੀ ਮੇਂ ਕੋਈ ਦੂਸਰੀ ਤਾਰੀਖ ਮੁਕੱਰ ਕਰਾਏਂ । ਇਸ ਕੇ ਮੁਤੱਲਕ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮੰਗਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੀ ਮਾਰਫਤ ਮਾਲਵੀਆ ਜੀ ਸੇ ਇਸ ਕਾ ਇੰਤਜ਼ਾਮ ਕਰ ਲੇਂ ।

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This Nankana Sahib and Guru ka Bagh affair after all may be Godsend. Let them start. In the end, we should select one main central place for struggle we may put forward all the resources at one command. But, in the meanwhile, let us engage them at Nankana Sahib, and even at Guru ka Bagh, if they challenge us there also. The message of Narain Das to the Udasis and this recruit-order may be part of the same plan. Some safe and secure shop, house or land as near the Gurdwara as possible should be unostentatiously selected for the struggle. About house or shop nothing further need be said but if possible, land at the Gurdwara Jhatar or Butwala well, near the school, would be excellent sites. You should proceed to the spot and concert all necessary measures there. It should be kept in mind that no third party should be concerned ;

for instance, if there is a tenant, his interests can be purchased by formal release on payment. The issue should, as far as possible, be clear and clean to convince the public that we are invading no one's rights but the Govt. in pursuance of its policy, declared by the Governor at Amritsar, is interfering in the management and control of the Gurdwaras by taking away their income and taking possession of their property. We should start by small beginnings in order to watch where and to what extent the Govt. commits itself. Care should be taken that the property and the possession of any absent tenants are not interfered with by taking possession of their shops or houses and, therefore, no locks should be forced open. All this affair at Nankana Sahib should be controlled by some cool-headed and strong-minded responsible worker. Beside this, moderately worded but strong in facts and figures propaganda at extensive scale should be started. In fact, we would suggest to you to deeply consider the future possibility of our trying to get all our problem solved at Nankana Sahib or Guru ka Bagh and with that view to prepare the ground, if you agree with us.

2. As for accounts suit, the declared policy of the Govt. being hostile altogether and all suggestions of a peace or compromise having dropped down, there seems no use in defending such a case as this. At the same time, to put our word on the record, an application attaching the attested copy of audited account up to 31st March, 1923 should be presented to the Court, saying that books of accounts and other papers from which further accounts could be prepared have been seized by the police, and, therefore, the later accounts have not been audited and shall be audited in due course and produced in Court ; if so desired. After the declaration of the Governor at Amritsar followed by the contemplated action at Nankana Sahib and other places, the defendant has been forced into the belief that it is not possible under the present circumstances to expect justice and fair play. Therefore, the defendant is forced to take no further part in the proceedings which have been taken malafides and under abnormal circumstance at the instance of the Govt. After

putting in a well worded application to this effect, the applicant should retire from the Court.

3. As for the statement about negotiations, it is no use withholding it further, so S. Mangal Singh or S. Rajah Singh should formally publish them on their own behalf as an authentic statement.

We are glad to inform you that the contemplated action of the Govt. with regard to Nankana Sahib and Guru ka Bagh and other news conveyed in your letter, has again infused new spirit in the Sangat inside and the results and suggestions noted above sent to you with the approval of all except a few non-co-operators who do not take part in our proceedings in spite of our earnest entreaties. We think that you too should all unite and work with new vigour and determination as demanded by the ancient traditions of the Khalsa. By the way, we should like to know why S. Amar Singh has resigned now when nothing is being done against his views so far as we know.

As for Sujjan's affair, we shall address you later.

5. Try to obtain deposit money in the banks as they mature and earlier if possible. Present is the time for the Sikh energy and perseverance. You know that the Sikhs, unlike other communities are historically well known for their steadfastness in danger and adversity. Shake off all doubts and pessimism. The cause is true. Go forward and win ! God bless you ! Let all of you stick to your posts at head-quarters.

**Nabha affair.**

**Most Confidential**

Some suggestions to give an idea of an honourable settlement in the present circumstances. Kindly consider over these :

1. First ask for a Council of administration approved by H. H. (Not a Council of Regency, because in that case H.H. would have to formally abdicate in favour of his son and his own chance would be

lost for ever. He will never agree to this and will not abdicate. Nor is it desirable that any Rani should be made Regent, for that would create split in his own house. His future chances should not be destroyed.) This Council will be appointed by Govt.

or as a minimum

2. (a) A council of administration inspiring confidence in the Sikh Community that it will maintain the Sikh character of the State. The Government will appoint this Council. and (b) Removal of restrictions on the movements of H.H. in India or outside (except as regards entry into Nabha territory). and (c) freedom to H.H. to seek constitutional redress of his difficulties, if he so desire, in India or England. (d) H. H.s' private property not to be attached.

(Note—Secrecy is most important. At the same time continue to press for something more than the minimum, so that you may not at least get the minimum. Don't reveal your minimum easily and at once).

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1. You must have seen the resolution about an amicable settlement of the Akali situation which S. Gulab Singh intends to move in the Assembly. A copy is attached herewith. The first part is alright but the remedy suggested is vague and indefinite. Kindly ask him at once to consult Pt. Malviyaji or Nehruji and get an amendment moved to his resolution to the effect that a committee of conciliation or settlement, whose names should be mentioned in the amendment should be appointed by Governor-General in Council to bring about a settlement. The names should be suggested with the consultation of the two Pandits, and should be a really useful committee from our stand point. Perhaps you know that S. Jogendra Singh is also moving for the appointment of a Conciliation Board in the Council of State. An effort should be made with him, too, to get definite names suggested, and to see that the names suggested

in the Assembly and the Council of State are identical

2. Effort should also be made in consultation with Pandit Malviya and Nehru ji to get a resolution of condemnation of the Punjab Govt. moved for failing to solve the Gurdwara problem and also of the Govt. of India for failing to appoint an impartial committee of Enquiry for Jaito firing affair. An adjournment should be moved for this purpose.

3. Kindly urge S. Kartar Singh and Gulab Singh M.L.As very courteously to move and exert themselves much more than they are doing and see and canvass and influence the members of Assembly and Council of State in order to put all kinds of pressure on Govt. in the two Houses by asking questions, moving resolutions, adjournments, issuing a signed manifesto on Akali situation, holding a public meeting at Simla, etc., etc.

4. It is most necessary that S. Mangal Singh should go to Simla at once and stay there for some time and see members of both Houses with the help of Nehruji and Malviyaji and enlist support by enlightening them about our demands, the reasons of the failure of Birdwood negotiations, the repressive policy of the Punjab Government, etc. In short, he should organize the pressure that we wish should be put through the two Houses. He may there discuss with the great leaders like Malviyaji and Nehruji about his suggestion of presenting a Bill in the Assembly, though we think this is not practicable and every reasonable man will say, this Bill should be first passed in the Punjab Council and then extended to the rest of the country. S. Mangal Singh should take literature with him like—Gurdwara Movement hand bill by S. Kartar Singh, MLA, Jaito Tract recently printed at Madras, Statement about Birdwood negotiations, Note on our demands sent to Dass, etc.

5. S. Mangal Singh should specially see Nehruji and request him on behalf of the S.G.P.C. to give us all support and help in every way. As for Nehru ji's seeing Hailey or any other official, we are strongly of opinion that in the present blind mood of Govt. it is no use at all, rather harmful, and Nehruji or any other person



should intervene only when Government is in a proper mood and wants somebody to intervene. We are sure you will agree with us. Sardar Mangal Singh should impress Nehru ji about the moderation and reasonableness of our demands and the breach of faith committed by Government in the last negotiations. About the Bill, as Pt. Malviyaji has been entrusted with that work, anything that you want to do about it should be done with his consultation. But S. Mangal Singh should press Malviyaji hard to get the matter settled with the Hindu Councillors of Punjab immediately, so that we may through Hindu and Sikh Councillors throw a challenge to Govt. to give assurance about release of prisoners and then we will present the agreed Bill.

6. Re. Nankana Sahib—In your communiques and in the press lay great emphasis on the fact that the Judge in his order has clearly appointed the *Receiver for all lands pertaining* to the Gurdwara ? that not an inch of that property is entered in the name of the Mahant in the revenue papers as his private property, that the A.P.I. and Sudhar Committee is misleading the public by proclaiming that the Receiver has been appointed only for the private property of the Mahant ; that the Judge in his order has practically given his opinion that the Sikhs have not got anything to do with the Gurdwara and that it belongs to the Udasis ; that the Sudhar Committee is again deceiving the public by saying that there is no fear about the Gurdwara, for the Judge's remarks clearly show which way the wind blows. Kindly instruct the press to follow this line.

7. Kindly send us at once a copy of the letter of our Sajjan which he wrote to Sardar Bahadur from D.D. in July 1923. This is badly wanted at once.

Further about this matter will be written on receipt of the above.

Re. the constitution of the S. G. P. C. a copy in English is herewith sent.

(1) It is true, it does not provide for the representation of the Udassis as they are non-amritdharis. This question has been under consideration since a long time. The executive committee had passed a resolution for amending the rules about a year and a half ago, so as to give proper representation to the Udassis, as a special case in consideration of their services to the panth and the Gurdwaras.

(2) Re. the Namdharis. They are Amritdharis and already enjoy the franchise. Their insistence on separate representation is not well founded. Nirmalas, Nihangs, Sewapanthis and Nirankaris who are also Amritdharis have gladly thrown in their lot with the panth. They do get elected ; and if election does not give them satisfactory results, the deficiency is made up through co-option. There is no reason why the Namdharis should not fare equally well if they avail themselves of the opportunities thus provided. So far, they have generally refrained from participating in the elections. In two cases in the elections of 1921 and 1923 Namdharis who stood for a seat of one of their districts were elected alright. The S.G.P.C. however, has been co-opting some Namdharis so as to keep the number of their representation at 3 and these co-opted members have been leaders of Namdharis. The population of Namdharis in the last census is below five thousand, while roughly speaking one member of S.G.P.C. stands for about twelve thousands. So that the S.G.P.C. has been giving the Namdharis credit for a population for about 36 thousand ; that is more than 7 times their strength.

Recognition of direct separate representation for Namdharis would be a dangerous things, as it would be a precedent for splitting up the Panth into small camps ; specially when the Namdharis have so far been having no interest in the service of the gurdawaras. We would welcome a proposal which avoids the danger pointed out and at the same time satisfies the Namdharis without creating

opposition in other quarters.

3. In Section IV we have suggested a provision for deciding any possible Hindu-Sikh dispute about a public place of worship. As an alternative to this suggestion, we are prepared to discuss any forum of mutually acceptable arbitration, or any other proposal which may be acceptable to the Hindus as well as to the Sikhs.

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D. O. Letter No. 770

Dated 30-8-1923

My dear Mr. Craik,

I have taken no action about resuming Forest rights granted to the Namdharyee Sikhs by the Maharaja, so far. I have merely enquired from them the authority on which they hold the forest. As a matter of fact the forest was given to them by a verbal gift on the proposal of the Maharaja and they hold no written deed of gift or anything of that kind. I do not, however, intend to remove them for the present or indeed at all provided they refrain from bringing the Bir under cultivation. The matter is not at all urgent.

Yours Sincerely  
C.M.G. Ogilvie

H. D. Craik, I.C.S.,  
Governor's Camp,  
Punjab.

*List of Akali Prisoners Confined in the Subsidiary Jail Bhatinda  
and ordered to be released by the Maharaja of Patiala*

- 1 Shamsheer Singh s/o Dharam Singh of Nagri (Sangrur)
- 2 Bhagwan Singh s/o Rur Singh of Longowal (Sunam)
- 3 Diwan Singh s/o Khem Singh of Gidri, P. S. Payal
- 4 Mehar Singh s/o Prem Singh of Charnaba, P. S. Sunam
- 5 Kehar Singh s/o Anokh Singh of Jaipur, P. S. Payal
- 6 Chanan Singh s/o Hazura Singh of Jaipur, P. S. Payal
- 7 Sant Singh s/o Kishan Singh of Patiala
- 8 Gurmakh Singh s/o Kahla Singh of Dalel Singh wala, P.S. Mansa
- 9 Pakhar Singh s/o Jawahir Singh, P. S. Dirbha
- 10 Kahan Singh s/o unknown, of P. S. Dirbha
- 11 Panjab Singh s/o Khazan Singh (Sangrur State)
- 12 Gurmukh Singh s/o Hira Singh of Nidampur, P. S. Bhawanigarh
- 13 Hazura Singh s/o Harnam Singh of Mauran, P. S. Mansa
- 14 Partap Singh s/o Budh Singh, residence unknown
- 15 Pritam Singh s/o Kishan Singh of Gajar
- 16 Gurmukh Singh s/o Gurdit Singh of Dirbha, P.S. Dirbha
- 17 Amar Singh s/o Lehna Singh of Bhawanigarh
- 18 Kahla Singh s/o Dhaba Singh of Gajumajra, P. S. Bhawanigarh
- 19 Jangir Singh s/o unknown of Beguwal, P. S. Bhawanigarh

ਮੈਂ ਔਰ ਜਨਾਬ ਮਸੀਹ-ਉਲ-ਮੁਲਕ ਹਕੀਮ ਹਾਫਿਜ਼ ਮੁਹੰਮਦ ਅਜਮਲ ਖਾਨ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਾ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਸ਼ਰਧਾ ਨੰਦ ਜੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਸੇ ਸਤੰਬਰ ੧੯੨੨ ਕੋ ਤਕਰੀਬਨ ਢਾਈ ਬਜੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਬਾਗ ਕੋ ਰਵਾਨਾ ਹੂਏ । ਰਾਸਤੇ ਮੇਂ ਹਮੇਂ ਹਮਰਾਹੀਉਂ ਨੇ ਤਮਾਮ ਵੇਹ ਮੁਕਾਮਾਤ ਦਿਖਾਏ ਜਹਾਂ ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਸੇ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਅਕਾਲੀਓਂ ਕੇ ਜਥੇ ਕੋ ਰੋਕਾ ਔਰ ਮਾਰਾ ਜਾਤਾ ਥਾ ਔਰ ਅਬ ਰਾਸਤੇ ਮੇਂ ਰੋਕਨਾ ਮੋਕੂਫ ਕਰ ਦੀਆ ਗਿਆ ਥਾ । ਹਮ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਬਾਗ ਪਹੁੰਚੇ ਔਰ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਮੇਂ ਗਏ । ਉਸ ਕੋ ਦੇਖ ਕਰ ਫ਼ਾਰਗ ਹੂਏ ਤੋ ਉਸ ਕੋ ਕਰੀਬ ਦੂਸਰਾ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਥਾ ਉਸੇ ਦੇਖਨੇ ਗਏ । ਉਸੇ ਦੇਖ ਕਰ ਫ਼ਾਰਗ ਹੂਏ ਤੋ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਕੇ ਪਾਸ ਏਕ ਮੈਦਾਨ ਮੇਂ ਦੀਵਾਨ ਹੋ ਰਹਾ ਥਾ ਵਹਾਂ ਆਏ । ਥੋੜੀ ਦੇਰ



ਔਰ ਇਸਤਿਕਲਾਲ ਔਰ ਕੁਵਤਿ ਸਬਰ ਕਾ ਏਕ ਅਜੀਬ ਅਸਰ ਹੂਆ ਔਰ ਮੈਂ ਨੇ ਉਨਕੋ ਸੱਚੀ ਮੁਬਾਰਕਬਾਦ ਦੀ ।

(ਦਸਖਤ) ਮੁਹੰਮਦ ਕਿਫਾਇਤੁੱਲਾ  
ਯਿਹ ਬਿਆਨ ਮੌਲਾਨਾ ਕਿਫਾਇਤੁੱਲਾ ਨੇ ਆਪਣਾ  
ਤਹਰੀਰ ਕਰਦਾ ਔਰ ਦਰੁਸਤ ਤਸਲੀਮ ਕੀਆ ।  
(ਦਸਖਤ) ਮੁਹੰਮਦ ਤਕੀ

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From

Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni, M.A.,  
Rattigon Road, Lahore.

To

A. W. Mercer Esquire,  
Deputy Inspector General of Police,  
Central Range, Amritsar.

Lahore, 25th September, 1922.

Sir,

I received your letter of the 18th instant in due course, but as I had to leave Lahore for a couple of days immediately after, I am sorry I could not reply to it earlier.

I have said all that I know about the robbing by the police on the 4th instant, near the Chhina bridge, in two communications to the 'Tribune'. I had a list of certain persons who were among those said to have been robbed in the fields of their valuables and ornaments as well as cash. This list was given to me by S. Amar Singh, Editor of the *Loyal Gazette*. I had kept this list with me for about ten days and then handed it over to an Assistant Editor of the *Bande Matram*. I phoned the gentleman twice yesterday but he seems to be out of station. I believe you can obtain the list from S. Amar Singh.

I cannot understand what purpose our statements can serve to any one considering that hundreds of men were being chased far into the fields and robbed in broad day light and that an appeal made to the Superintendent of Police proved as fruitless as one to

the Tehsildar both of whom were present and were watching the whole thing. As I have said in the *Tribune*, I myself pointed out a particular horseman to Mr. Beaty and requested him to have the man searched for a white sheet which he had taken off the person of an onlooker who had been chased into the fields and which he had tied round his waste under his coat. Not only did Mr. Beaty pay no attention to my request, but he threatened me with the remark, "You are not an investigating officer, go and report to the Thana and see the result." A similar request made by Mr. Sundram, B A., LL.B. (Assistant Editor of the *Independent* of Allahabad), to the Naib Tehsildar about another man who also had been busy robbing people in the fields met with no better success. If these two officers of government deny our statements we know what to think of them whatever the Government may say to the contrary. On the other hand, if they speak the truth, you will not stand in need of any further enquiry.

Yours faithfully,  
R. R. SAHNI

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ੴ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹ ਹੈ ।

Rangoon

28-6-1934

My dear Sardar Sahib,

You will receive this letter of mine after you will have read that I have permanently and completely retired from all Panthic activities and that I shall not resume them at any future time unless some special need for me is felt by the Panth. Moreover, for some months, I shall live at some remote place unknown to my friends and relatives. The object is that I should hear no reasons of friends and no taunts of opponents.

At this parting I remember you not only as a friend but also as a patron who was so kind to me when I was a student. No doubt

Master Tara Singh to Sir Sunder Singh Majithia  
June, 28, 1934.

ਮੈਂ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪਣੇ  
Rangoon.

28-6-1934

My dear Sardar Sahib,

You will  
receive this letter of mine after you  
with ~~unwilling~~ have read that I have ~~firmly~~  
& completely  
retired from all panthic activities &  
that I shall not resume them  
at any future time unless some  
special need of mine is felt by  
the panth ~~at this passing moment~~  
For some months, I shall live  
at some remote place unknown  
to my friends & relatives the  
object is that I should have  
no reasons of friends & relatives  
of opponents.

At this parting  
I remember you not only as a friend  
but also as a patron who ~~was~~  
so kind to me when I was a  
student. ~~I will not~~ No doubt





I fell out with you occasionally, but your regard never diminished in my heart. I have a great regard for your qualities and love for your loving heart.

But I feel much remorse to remember that I wrote something about you which I should not have written. I remember two such things. One I corrected immediately afterwards and the other remains uncorrected. But this which remains uncorrected should not be corrected, for correction itself is its repetition. The fact is that I published this without knowing what it means. I understood it after it was published. An editor of a daily newspaper is overworked and he is apt to make such mistakes when some clever correspondent puts something cleverly. I am much ashamed for committing such a folly and I never dared to ask your pardon. But my heart has always been heavy. I am sure you are too magnanimous to remember such things, but to lighten my heart at this parting when I am turning a new leaf in my life, I beg you on bent knees to excuse me.

I am not giving you my address. So you cannot reply but I presume that you will forgive me even though you do not know what it is that you are forgiving. With faith in the greatness of your heart, I lighten my heart.

Yours sincerely

Tara Singh

Sardar Sunder Singh ji Majithia,  
Amritsar.



## ERRATA

Page	Line				
17	25	<i>Read</i>	Sardar	<i>for</i>	Sarbar
18	28		1923		1963
19	17		Imam		Imama
23	5		it		It
24	10	<i>Delete</i>	to	<i>after</i>	<i>keep</i>
28	Letter No. 16		<i>Should be dated</i>		7.1.24
29	22	<i>Read</i>	but	<i>for</i>	but
30	28		these		there
31	2		While		while
33	Letter No. 17		<i>should be dated</i>		8.1.24
34	14	<i>Read</i>	beatings	<i>for</i>	beetings
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45	27		minimum		minimus
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49	12		entirety		entirity
	19		submission		sub-mission
			orders		order
	31		prolongation		prolongatlon
54	17		understand		under-stand
			far		for
	20		officials		officiels
	22		opponents		apponents
	26		It		it
55	9		latter		letter
56	6		Swarajya		Swrajya
	25		you		to
	26		our		your
58	12	<i>Add</i>	,	<i>after</i>	Gidwani
	15	<i>Read</i>	Malaviyaji	<i>for</i>	Malvyaji
61	last		Malaviyaji		Malvyaji

Page	Line				
62	10	<i>Read</i>	idolators	<i>for</i>	idolerectors
63	13	<i>Add</i>	,	<i>after</i>	wearing
64	12		,		Government
	20		,		preliminaries
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	31	<i>Read</i>	disobeyed	<i>for</i>	dis obeyed
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65	5	<i>Read</i>	spring	<i>for</i>	Spring
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66	22		,		suffering
	23		,		sentences
68	5		,		order
69	<i>After line 18, add 30 as number of the document</i>				
19	<i>Read</i>	April. Present:	<i>for</i>	April, present	
70	<i>After line 16, add 31 as number of the document</i>				
71	"	" 8	" 32	"	
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82	25	<i>Read</i>	into	<i>for</i>	in to
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97	17	<i>Read</i>	have	<i>for</i>	heve
97	26		paths		path
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100	21		laid		Laid
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103	33		private		private
104	4		along		aloeg
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	24		their		there
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107	10	<i>Add</i>	full stop	<i>after</i>	there
109	16	<i>Read</i>	because	<i>for</i>	because
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111	1		cause		causes
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113	20		tonight		to night
115	4		things,		things.
118	2		Reading		reading
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122	22		Indian		indian
123	29		I		i
124	14		there		their
126	9		SGPC		SGPS
129	3		direction ,		direction.
	14		in		In
132	14		ਮਾਲਵੀਆ		ਮਾਲਵੀ
141	1		principle		principal
	2		principle		principal
	5		ਹਾਲਤ		ਹਾਰਤ
144	18		funds,		funds
146	22		include		Include
147	22		His		his
152	23		though		thought
153	4		procedure		proceedure
154	3		include		includ
157	6		Beazley		Beazlay
158	12		there		their

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161	24		it	It
163	2		sacrifice	sacrific
164	33		advice	advise
171	25		Believing	Beleiving
173	17		ਪੰਥ	ਪੰਥ
182	12		was	waa
184	11		facilities	facilities
	21		fought	tought
191	5	<i>Read</i>	Jaito	jaito
196	6		to	so
198	25		If	if
199	28		ਕਢਿਆ	ਅਢਿਆ
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	26		ਚਿੱਠੀ	ਚਿੱਟੀ
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252	6		ਤਹਿਰੀਕ	ਤਹਿਰੀਰ
272	20		ਜੋਗਿੰਦਰ	ਗੋਗਿੰਦਰ
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