CHAPTER II
LALA LAJPAT RAI: HIS LIFE AND TIMES

The individual is a product of his society, and reflects the ideas prevalent in it at the time. The social milieu influences the thoughts and character of a man. The great man, his response to the environment, and his reactions reflect his mental makeup and perspective. He is known by his attitudes towards society, his actions and reactions make him different from others. Lajpat Rai being a part of the colonial Punjabi society reflects the ideas, values and concepts of his times. To understand his ideas we may first look at Lajpat Rai's milieu - his family environment, education, socialization, and his concerns, and actions in a variety of fields. This will help us in understanding his perceptions and his perspective. Lajpat Rai's deep concern for education, his love of reading, imbibing new ideas, his wide outlook and capacity to adapt new thoughts are directly related to his own upbringing.

I
Lajpat Rai's ancestors, Aggarwal banias by caste, followed the religious path of the Swetambar Jains. They initially lived at Malerkotla but later, shifted to Jagraon, a small town located on the route to Ferozepur from Ludhiana. His grandfather, Rallumal, was a shopkeeper, and had also served as patwari in a neighbouring village for some time under the British. Lajpat Rai often mentioned that his grandfather worked painstakingly and was a courageous man. He was described as short-statured, very intelligent, wise and sociable. He embodied 'all the virtues and failings' of a shopkeeper. He was good at making friends and was always ready for a journey. He could read and write only Mahajani and was fond of making money in all possible ways as per the code of the bania class. He was staunchly religious and performed religious duties twice a day. He was fond of the company of sadhus and was very

1. Information on Lajpat Rai's grandfather is collected from V.C. Joshi ed Lajpat Rai Autobiographical Writings Delhi: University Publishers 1965. 11 and Story of My Life Lala Lajpat Rai New Delhi: D.A.V. Public Issue Foundation University Publisher 1966. Also see Feroz Chand Lajpat Rai: Life and Work 1978

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hospitable to them. He was a sociable person and a dutiful businessman.
Lajpat Rai's grandfather led a successful life by any standards of the colonial era and passed on a heritage of hardwork, religiosity and intellectual discussion to his children.

Lajpat Rai found his grandmother different from other women. She was 'righteous, pure hearted, hospitable, generous and simple'. She had never used a lock in her lifetime and, was not fond of jewellery or of dressing up. Since she could not count beyond twenty she was thought to be incapable of keeping money, so her husband never gave her much. She was very generous and used to distribute her belongings among her neighbours. She was fond of playing with children, and joined them in their play and games and even ate with them.

In his Autobiographical Writings Lajpat Rai mentions that his grandmother occasionally had peculiar kind of fits and it was believed that the spirit of his grandfather's deceased sister had entered her body. The whole family used to gather around her at these times to consult her and have their queries answered. Lajpat Rai found this part of her character abnormal and found no explanation for it. In fact, he found it difficult to discover the cause of this phenomenon. He recalled that his grandmother foretold the future and his family had great faith in her. Neither of his grandparents were formally educated but were trained as per tradition. His grandmother was the housewife of a typical patriarchal family, and played a hard working yet subdued role in the family. She was generous, simple, faithful and devoted to her family. She was ignorant of world outside the home and remained content within her world.

Lala Lajpat Rai's father, Munshi Radha Krishan was born in 1845. He was educated in a Persian school established by the British at Jagraon. The head teacher was a Maulvi, very firm in his religion, honest, righteous and

3. For detail see V.C. Joshi ed. The Story of My Life 11-12
4. Dhanpat Rai The Story of My Life Lala Lajpat Rai also see V.C. Joshi ed. Autobiographical Writings
5. On the day when British defeated the Sikhs in the battle of Mudki in Ferozepur Districts on 18 Dec., 1845
devoted to religious observances. His character influenced all his pupils and moulded their outlook. Though all of them did not formally accept Islam they remained Muslim by conviction. He was a good student and always stood first in his class, in the final examination at the normal school he stood first in the whole of Punjab. He was awarded maximum marks in mathematics and physical science. Throughout his life he loved learning and this remained a significant part of his personality. For the first 22-30 years of his life he was a believer of Sunni Islam. He used to recite namaz and observe ramzan and even cultivated acquaintances among the Ullamas and Maulvis. Lajpat Rai’s father was a teacher and the first of a batch trained by the British Government in its Normal School at Jagraon and later on from Delhi. Radha Kishan was a Munshi and when Lajpat Rai was born he was earning Rs. 25 a month. For 12 or 13 years he got no increment because he was not in the good books of inspectors or headmaster and he remained a Persian teacher. Even when in his 70s Munshi Radha Kishan read day and night and consumed all the books, pamphlets and journals in Urdu, Hindi or Gurmukhi that he could handle. When he could not find a new book, he went back to his old favourites. He was very fond of religion and history. He was well-informed about Islam, Hinduism, Christianity, Jainism and Buddhism. In general, he was a keen student of religious literature. He read the Quran and the Upanishads a number of times.

Lajpat Rai’s father taught him not merely the three R’s but religion also. He used to read parts of the Quran. Radha Kishan was a great admirer of Islam. As a child Lajpat Rai learnt to recite parts of the Quran, the Namaz and observe the Ramzan fast with his father. His father succeeded in imparting to him a broader, religious outlook and a deep curiosity. From him Lajpat Rai inherited a love of books, a hunger for reading and a fondness for the study of

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<td>Jagraon</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>7,431/174/7,605</td>
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<td>1911</td>
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6. Census Reports Part II. Tables VIII, Part 2 of 1901, IX of 1891, XIII of 1881 and 1911

7. He joined the education profession at a meagre salary of Rs.25 per month. For detail see V.C. Joshi Lala Lajpat Rai Writing and Speeches Vol. I
history. Munshi Radha Kishan opened the windows of Lajpat Rai's mind to wider experiences, and ideas. He planted the seed of intellectual enquiry, academic debate and a constant search for knowledge in the young Lajpat Rai.

Lajpat Rai's mother Gulab Devi was born in a Sikh family. They used to recite the Japji, wore long hair and worshipped the Guru Granth Sahib, and also observed Hindu ritual and festivals. She served his father and was tolerant of her husband's inclinations to Islam, putting up with his Islamic ways. She did however, clean the utensils used by his father's Muslim friends in fire. She never objected to his father bringing food cooked in a Mussalman's house, and even meat, to her own house. She just wanted to make him happy. She loved her husband and children very much and small things upset her. Lajpat Rai remembers that his mother used to cry over his father's religious 'improprieties' for her household. Sometimes she did not taste food for days out of sorrow and kept her children in her lap at all times. She always tried to conceal his religious 'enormities and improprieties'. His father condemned Hindu religion, custom, ritual, gods and goddesses and never allowed pooja in the house. His mother somehow managed to discharge all the duties observed by orthodox Hindu families, the poojas, the shraddhas, without his father's knowledge, usually in his absence. She used to shut the door in his absence and follow traditional observances before his return. Lajpat Rai recalled his father scolded his mother when he came to know about her idol-worship. Lajpat Rai found his mother a 'poor creature' weeping and suffering in silence, but admired her shrewdness and forbearance. Gulab Devi was illiterate but she managed her house well despite a meagre income of Rs. 25 per month and never allowed her budget to exceed Rs. 35 a month. As far as the role of his mother is concerned he wrote 'I owe a great deal to my mother, who gave me constant lessons in charity, generosity and hospitality. Looking back to my childhood, it gives me great pleasure to remember how my good mother felt delighted whenever an

8. Information on Lajpat Rai's mother is collected from V.C. Joshi ed. Story of My Life Lala Lajpat Rai 14-16 and Feroz Chand Lajpat Rai: Life and Work
9. V.C. Joshi Lajpat Rai Autobiographical Writings 14
10. Feroz Chand Lajpat Rai: Life and Work
11. Ibid 15-16

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astrologer could tell her that her son would be charitably disposed. Her daily life was a constant lesson to me in charity and hospitality.' Lajpat Rai further wrote 'The basic spiritual qualities of his character and genius for constructive work were inherited from his mother'.

She was so busy with household duties and rearing her children that she hardly got any free time and could not even study, as his father had wished, due to her devotion and dedication to her family.

Lajpat Rai's family legacy was one of a wide intellectual outlook, a thirst for knowledge and a love of reading. It provided a background to the basic concept of the major religions of the region. He had first hand experience of a variety of religious traditions from his childhood. The liberal religious background of his parents helped him to adopt a cosmopolitan and sympathetic attitude towards other faiths. He did not excel in academics, but his consistent attempts to learn and grasp more and more, gave him a clear edge over most of the nationalist leaders. Intellectual debate and discussion was also an integral part of his early life. To him this was a well imbided method of learning. A second method in his quest for knowledge was through extensive reading like his father. His childhood also brought him close to the ideals of charity, consideration and working for humanitarian causes. His father's deep and life long interest in learning was also a significant part of his upbringing. Lajpat Rai's family environment provided him with first hand knowledge of British administration and its educational system. His early years had amply prepared the foundation for his vocation in life. In some ways however, specially where gender roles were concerned, he absorbed the traditional norms for females. In other ways he was a non-conformist and unconventional individual.

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12. V.C. Joshi ed. Lajpat Rai Writings and Speeches Vol. I New Delhi: University Publisher 1977. xiii
13. J. K. Sharma ' Lala Lajpat Rai's view of Ancient India' Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect 282
Lala Lajpat Rai was born on 28 January 1865, in Dhudike village of Ferozepur district. He was part of a family of ten brothers and sisters, though he is rather silent about them in his writings. He received his elementary education from the schools wherever his father was posted and his primary education at a Persian school at Ropar in Ambala district, although there were Hindi, Sanskrit, Arabic and Gurumukhi schools as well. He always stood first in his class except during his final year due to health problems. He was admired and loved by his lecturers. Lajpat Rai wrote 'I had never learnt Sanskrit and did not know even the alphabet of Hindi. With Gurumukhi I have no acquaintance to this day. The whole of my boyhood had been taken up by the study of Urdu, Persian and Arabic'. At this time the proportion of Muslims in the Punjab was the maximum and Lajpat Rai belonged to this Muslim dominated society and was inclined towards Muslim learning and literature.

At the age of thirteen he passed the middle school examination and received a monthly stipend of seven rupees to study at Lahore. He lived in the hostel. From Lahore he went to Delhi and was a student there for nearly eight months. Here his teachers were pleased with him but the climate did not suit him and he returned back to Lahore because of ill health. After six months stay at Lahore his father was posted to Shimla. Since it was an expensive place to live, his father left the family at Jagraon. In 1880 Lajpat Rai joined the Mission High School at Ludhiana and was granted a scholarship, but once again he could not continue for more than two or three months due to illness, and left Ludhiana too. At last his illness ended and he prepared for the Entrance (Matriculation) Examination in two months in November 1880. He went to Lahore to appear in the examination. In 1881 he passed the examination of Punjab University as well as Calcutta University. For both University examinations he had taken up eight subjects – English,

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14. Information on Lajpat Rai's Birth is collected from V.C. Joshi ed *Autobiographical Writings and Story of My Life Lajpat Rai*. Also see Feroz Chand Lala Lajpat Rai: *Life and Work*
15. According to the Gazetteer of the Ambala District, 1892-93. There were 59 Persian, 21 Hindi, 9 Sanskrit, 14 Arabic and 13 Gurmukhi.
16. V.C. Joshi *Lajpat Rai Autobiographical Writings* 1966. 78
Mathematics, History, Geography, Persian, Arabic, Physical Science and Urdu. He passed successfully in both examinations.

When he joined college in 1881 at Lahore, he was about 16 years old and was the youngest of all the students in his class. He received a stipend of three rupees a month from the University. Initially, he had come with the idea of studying for the degree, but on the advice of friends he joined the Law School. He use to pay Rs. 2 as tuition fee in the Government College, Rs. 3 in the Law School and Rs. 1 as the hostel fee. His father could manage only eight or ten rupees a month and he had to live within that amount. Books were expensive, he used to buy them second-hand or depended on his friends. He lived very economically as he knew that his parents were under going great hardship for him. The first year he worked hard and qualified for Mukhtiarship (Junior pleader). In the second year however, he was unable to take the examination because of severe bouts of jaundice and malaria.

In January 1883 he had taken the licence for Mukhtiarship and went to Jagraon to start legal practice. In 1884 he shifted to Rohtak where he earned about Rs.200 per month but felt the humiliation because he was not a graduate and could not teach in a school but was a mere Mukhtiar. In 1886 he passed the pleader’s examination and shifted to Hissar to practice as a Vakil in the district court. He again attempted the law examination in December but was not successful. From 1886 to 1892 he worked in Hissar (as a Vakil). During this time he made an effort to fill the gaps in his education. He read many books on social, religious and political problems besides general literature. He also made several efforts to learn Sanskrit, but did not succeed because his professional work made him tired. He was among the best lawyers at the Bar. His income went up to Rs. 17000 per year and was never less than 10000. Lajpat Rai writes 'his work in Hissar was that of a

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17. B.M. Sagar in his paper 'Some Reflections on the early life of Lala Lajpat Rai writes 'In his examination on Arabic Grammar he left the answer book blank, but his teacher gave him 13 marks out of 15, perhaps because the teacher understood the blank paper to be a political assertion rather than an expression of competence' Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect
18. B.M. Sagar writes 'Lala Lajpat Rai paid two hundred rupees and purchased his vakilship certificate. This candid piece of information comes from Lajpat Rai's The Story of My Life
19. For detail see V.C. Joshi ed. Story Of My Life Lala Lajpat Rai.
20. Dhanpat Rai The Story of My Life 19
pioneer. He briefly reviews his Hissar days as 'My earnings were beyond my expectations. I was respected by the people, I had a vast field before me for public work. The officials were also pleased with me, and if I cared, I could please them more and gain all those things hankering after which so many educated men sell their souls. For me those things were within easy reach. I could have got them without selling away my conscience... my six years at Hissar were really a period of preparation for the time ahead. Here I earned a fair amount of money, I filled the gaps in my education and passed through the first stages of public life and learned the value of perseverance in public life. Here also I made some friends whose friendship has been a great solace and source of strength for me all my life. Here I built up health too. And again it was here I got two children-son and daughter whom I love better than my other children.'

From the 1890's to his death in 1928 Lajpat Rai was active in several arenas in a variety of ways. In the social sphere he was associated with a number of organisations like Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, The Yateem Khana at Ferozepur; Meerut and Lahore; Imdad Qahar Zadgan, Imdad Bhonchal, Aggarwal Ashram, Lahore; Lok Sewa Dal, Lahore; Achoot Udhar Mandal, Lahore and Punjab. He was also active in a number of educational institutions besides the D.A.V. College like Sain Dass High School, Jalandhar; Ibtidai Tailimi League, Lahore; Boarding School, Lahore; National College, Lahore; Swami Shradhanand All India Memorial; Dwarka Dass Library; Radha Krishan High School, Jagraon; Tilak School, Lahore and Gulab Devi Memorial Trust. He was equally concerned about the condition of workers and participated in an International Labour Conference at Geneva. He worked for Punjab National Bank, Lahore; Jaswant Rai Company, Karachi; Cotton Ginning Factory, Khanna; Krishna Ginning Factory; Gobindgarh; and Lakshmi Life Insurance Company, Lahore. His activities in the political sphere is also of great significance. He was among the active leaders of the Indian National Congress, later elected member of Municipal Committee, Hisar; a member of the Hindu Mahasabha, Home Rule League (America) and also the Legislative Assembly.

Lala Lajpat Rai, 1905

Gulab Devi Ji
Wife of Lala Lajpat Rai
His interests were so varied and complex that it becomes a difficult task to unravel all the strands. He continued to read and write extensively. He was immersed in the work of Arya Samaj but found the energy to take up additional social causes related to famine and care of orphans besides his overriding concern for education. He was also drawn to politics and saw it as an instrument to bring about social change. All these were overlapping activities, and only Lajpat Rai's unusual passion and energy for social issues could contain and sustain these numerous concerns simultaneously and consistently.

Books played a very significant role in Lajpat Rai's early life. His extensive reading in school, college and later helped to mould his thoughts and ideas. Lajpat Rai was at the Government School where the *Waquot-i-Hind* was taught. He felt 'that book created in me the feeling that Mussalmans had subjected the Hindus to great tyranny. Gradually the respect for Islam that I had acquired from early training began to change into hatred because of studying the *Waquot-i-Hind*. When he came to Lahore after completing his school education at 16, his mind turned away from Islam and attached to Hinduism and Hindus. This was also the result of two volumes written by Lala Mulk Raj Bhalla *Shahid Ganj* and *Bir Ganj*.22 The books that left deep impression on Lajpat Rai's mind in his early life were *Qasis-i-Hind* and *Shah Nama* by Firdausi. His father taught him Persian and with him he read *Sikander Nama* and *Shah Nama*.

Lajpat Rai was fond of a number of Urdu books like *Rasum-i-Hind*, *Qasis-i-Hind*. He was very fond of Maulvi Muhammad Hussain's *Qasis-i-Hind* Part II which eulogised the valiant deeds of the Rajputs, Ala-ud-din Khilji's raids on Chittor, Humayun's tribulations and Akbar's conquests. He wrote 'it was from Maulvi Muhammad Hussain's *Qasis-i-Hind* that I first learned to admire Hindu valour. I developed quite a passion for *Qasis-i-Hind*, whose influence on my life has always been very strong.23 He was very much influenced by Muhammad Hussian Azad who took the initiative of the modernising of Urdu literature and produced the first comprehensive and systematic history of Urdu literature. He also found the Urdu translation of

22. V.C. Joshi *Autobiographical Writings* 1966. 76-77
23. Ibid 77
Draper's classic conflict between Religion and Science interesting. He wrote a book in Urdu entitled Tahqiqe Mazahib i.e. Inquiry into Religious. He had written a tract Risalah-i-Tanasukh comparing Sir Syed Ahmad Khan with Hindu philosophers. Lajpat Rai had also written an Urdu booklet of 150 pages Bir-Charitra. This was a selection from Todd's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan and was about the value of historical study.

Several people Lajpat Rai came into contact with left a deep impression on him and gave direction to his thoughts and activities. Lajpat Rai had great respect for Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. He remembered that 'from childhood I was taught to expect the opinions of the white-beared Syed of Aligarh... 'Your writings in the Aligarh Institute Gazette and your speeches in council and other public meetings were constantly studied by us and preserved as a sacred trust by my revered parents'. Lajpat Rai acknowledged, 'he was a man of high character and dedicated to ideals and sought to serve his people in an unselfish spirit'. At college his classmates were Lala Shiv Nath and Lala Chetan Anand with whom his friendship had started at Delhi. They had also came to Lahore for their studies and lived in the same compound. His first friend among the Punjabi students at college was Lala Chatur Bhug. At Lahore, Lajpat Rai also met Pandit Shiv Narain Agnihotri and Lala Bhiwani Das. Lala Bhiwani Das was his father's student and therefore much attached with him, even helping him in preparation for the examination. His association with Pandit Guru Dutt and Lala Hans Raj was a deep and lasting one. Guru Dutt was from the beginning a man with wide, varied and comprehensive interests and Lajpat Rai had a lot to learn from him. During his student years at Lahore, his classmates included Pandit Guru Dutt Vidyarthi, M.A., Rai Shiv Nath, Engineer, Dewan Bahadur (Raja) Narendra Nath, M.A. and Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni. His teacher Professor Babu Sashi Bhusan in Maths and Professor Arjun had great affection for him. In 1895, Lajpat Rai met Bal Gangadhar Tilak who remained a continuous inspiration for him. He remained closely associated with Jaswant Rai as well. In 1904, he

24. Feroz Chand Lajpat Rai Life and Work 7-8
25. Ibid 15
26. Ibid 50-56
27. Ibid 20
alongwith Jaswant Rai launched 'The Punjabee'. In 1905 June he met Mr.
Shyamji Krishan Verma, an Indian revolutionary in London, Mr. Hyndman the
British radical leader, Sir Henry Cotton an active member of the British
Committee of the Indian National Congress, Sir Willliam Wedderburne the
Chairman of the British Committee of the Congress and the Maharajah of
Baroda. Lajpat Rai was greatly influenced by their ideas and action.

In 1914 when Lajpat Rai was in England, he met Indian revolutionaries
like B.K. Sarkar and Dr. Chandra Kant Chakravartv. At San Francisco he met
Ram Chandra, leader of the Ghadar Party. Lajpat Rai then traveled to Japan
in July and met Abani Mukerji, the Bengal revolutionary, Bhagwan Singh, P.N.
Thakur and Ras Behari Bose. He successfully carried out propaganda work in
America in favour of Indians, published pamphlets and addressed in public
meetings. Lajpat Rai writes 'his visit to Japan was very useful for his career
and in his visit to a Japanese University for a lecture, he was honoured.28 In
the United States in 1915, he met Annie Besant the Home Rule Movement
leader. During his short stay in London (December 1919-1920) Lajpat Rai met
his socialists friends, Hyndman, Henderson, Ramsay, Macdonald, Lansbury,
Col. Wedgwood, Ben Spoor M.P. and others.29 He described himself as an
Indian patriot wishing for the freedom of his county.30

In the early 1880s Lajpat Rai listened to the English speeches of Babu
Surendranath Bannerji on Mazzini. 'It made a deep impression on my tender
heart and I determined that all my life I would follow the teaching of Mazzini
and serve my nation.' I made Mazzini my guru and so he continues to be to
this day.31 Lajpat Rai's first Guru was Mazzini and not Dayanand. In 1896,
Lajpat Rai published biographies of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Shivaji.

Lajpat Rai grew up in a milieu that had been transformed by colonial
rule. He had been educated in the new western system introduced by the
British and he was deeply influence by the pioneers of new thought and socio­
religious reform movements. His contact with reformers and political leaders

28. J. S. Dhanki Perspectives on Indian National Movement : Selected
Correspondence of Lala Lajpat Rai New Delhi: National Book Organization
1998. 1
29. Letter to H.W. Huebtsch January 28 1920
30. V.C. Joshi ed. Story of My Life Lala Lajpat Rai 206
31. Ibid 56-60

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had a profound impact on the young Lajpat Rai. These influences heightened his social consciousness and social responsibility and he moved to activity in the social, religious and later political sphere. This influence 'took the form of some distinct characteristics: first, it instilled in him a calvinised spirit which encouraged him to seek spiritual fulfillment through dedication to a career of 'this worldly' activity; secondly, it prepared a receptive background for an intense patriotism that flowered into a major vocational pre-occupation in his adult life: and last but not least, it helped shape an 'inner directed' individual, whose moral poise was never shaken during the course of a demanding, quite often painful and over the long run fruitful involvement in the nationalist struggle'.

III

Lajpat Rai devoted his life to two broad areas – the social and the political. His early focus was primarily on the Arya Samaj and social issues while the 20th century saw a shift in his major concern to politics. He first joined the Brahmo Samaj in February 1881 on the persuasion of Pandit Agnihotri. The Brahmo Samaj did not attract Lajpat Rai for long and he was not a very active member. He only read a paper on one occasion, the anniversary of the Brahmo Samaj. He seems to agree with Lala Sain Das's observation that he had 'stepped into a trap in ignorance' and his 'real path lay in a different direction'. The soul nurtured on Islam in infancy, and beginning adolescence by seeking shelter in the Bramho Samaj, began to develop a love for the ancient Hindu culture in the company of Guru Dutt and Hans Raj. This widened his horizon and he began his national life. The Brahmo Samaj at that time was marred by controversies among the three parties of this Samaj. Lajpat Rai read a lot about these controversies and this changed his mental attitude about it. 'I was not yet eighteen. My education was also

32. Ravinder Kumar 'A context of Lala Lajpat Rai studies' Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect 4
33. V.C. Joshi ed. Story of My Life Lala Lajpat Rai 24
34. Ibid 25
35. V.C. Joshi Autobiographical Writings 26

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very meagre. So these things bewildered my mind, which knew no rest and he turned away from the Brahmo Samaj.\textsuperscript{36}

Lajpat Raj moved towards the Arya Samaj in November/December, 1882 and was its member for 32 years. He joined the Arya Samaj under the suggestion of Lala Sain Dass. Lajpat Rai wrote that he joined the Arya Samaj because of its noble principles and ‘my life has been purified by doing service for it’.\textsuperscript{37} To Lajpat Rai, ‘the Arya Samaj wanted to benefit mankind in general and add to their progress’. During his time in the Samaj, Lajpat Rai acquired its ‘Hindu’ outlook and its glorification of Aryan culture. He believed that, ‘it was the Arya Samaj that taught me to love the Vedic religion and to be proud of Aryan greatness. It was the Arya Samaj that linked me with the ancient Aryas and made me their admirer and devotee. It was the Arya Samaj that instilled into me the spirit of Truth, of Dharma and of Liberty. My organizing capacity too, I owe to the Arya Samaj. It was the Samaj again that taught me that society, dharma and country command our worship and that those shall inherit the kingdom of Heaven who make sacrifices to serve these’.\textsuperscript{38} He believed that ‘I learnt all my lessons in public life from and in the Arya Samaj’.\textsuperscript{39} He was busy raising funds for the Samaj for which he went to United Provinces, Saharanpur, Meerut and Farrukhabad. He edited the ‘Regenerator of Aryavarta’ and the ‘Desh Upkarak’ in Urdu. In 1883 Lajpat Rai wrote for the columns of the Rafiq-I-Hind an Urdu weekly published from Lahore. He was made Secretary of the Rohtak Arya Samaj in 1884 and raised funds for the Lahore D.A.V. College and strengthened the local Arya Samaj. He decided to totally devote himself to the Samaj but could not because he had nobody to support him financially. He worked with Lala Chandu Lal, the President of Samaj, Lala Hari Lal, brother of Chandu Lal and Pandit Lakhpat Rai who were amongst the ‘best servants’ of the Arya Samaj.

In the Arya Samaj, he was soon tired of doctrinal disputes and factional rivalries, and his interest gradually crystallized in education. His religious interest sharpened his social conscience. Lajpat Rai writes ‘I tried to preserve

\textsuperscript{36} V.C. Joshi ed. \textit{Story of My Life Lala Lajpat Rai} 29
\textsuperscript{37} Dhanpat Rai \textit{The Story of My Life Lala Lajpat Rai} 27
\textsuperscript{38} V.C. Joshi ed. \textit{Story of My Life Lala Lajpat Rai} 32
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid
my neutrality in the conflict but my natural inclination was towards the college section. That was the stage at which I found the internal squabbles of the Samaj when I arrived in Lahore in April, 1892. Even before I had moved to Lahore, I had been appointed Correspondence Secretary to the College Managing Committee in 1891, and I used to address letters on behalf of the College to the different Samajes and to other sympathizers of the College. In the election of office-bearers in 1892, I was appointed Secretary, and as soon as I arrived in Lahore I got busy with my duties. In his own words, the causes of the squabbles between the groups was because of Lala Hans Raj's personal unpopularity, the question of vegetarianism and the acceptance of Swami Daya Nand's teachings as infallible. The college section to which Lajpat Rai was inclined, stood for freedom of conscience was opposed on principle to the infallibility of Daya Nand and permitted meat eating. Another area where differences arose was on the teaching of Sanskrit. During this time, Lajpat Rai remained at Hissar, where he was active as Member and Secretary, Hissar Municipal Board (1889-1992). As secretary of Lahore Samaj in 1892, he tried to preserve his neutrality. Lajpat Rai was clear that no overhauling of education at school or college should be made on the 'Mahatma' lines. 'I was entirely opposed to the 'Mahatmas' plans regarding the College and believed that if these were acted upon the College would go to dogs. There would be no students left and no money forthcoming. At that stage I believed the College to be the biggest and the most important item in the Samaj programme.' At this time too, education was the main concern for Lajpat Rai. He said 'principles and not bricks and stone constitute the Samaj. We joined the Samaj to reform our lives and to serve the people, not to take possession of houses' and remained entirely opposed to quarrelling or fighting. Lala Hans Raj found that Lala Lai Chand was inclined towards Lajpat Rai, he too gave his support and 'it was resolved by general concensus, that we should start work separately from the other party.'

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40. V.C. Joshi ed. *Story of My Life Lala Lajpat Rai* 59
41. Ibid 55-56
42. Ibid 63
43. Ibid 65
The new Anarkali Samaj was then founded in 1892. Lajpat Rai was made President and he started *Bharat Sudhar*, the paper that was regarded as the party's organ and was considered to be the most important programme. In 1892 to support his deep concerns, he started a monthly journal named *Daya Nand Anglo-Vedic Samachar* and one of the issues he focused on was to highlight the work done to popularize Sanskrit and Hindi by the College. He was a contributor to the *Bharat Sudhar* and *Arya Messenger* and was the General Secretary of the College Committee.\(^44\) During his second year of college Lajpat Rai began to get involved with public life. The first instance of his activity was the Urdu-Hindi controversy. On the question of Hindi he writes with 'early training and parental teaching... I had spent years in the study of Persian and was fairly well acquainted with Urdu. As I became convinced that political solidarity demanded the spread of Hindi and Devanagri, I brushed aside all personal considerations and started propaganda for Hindi.'\(^45\) He got a memorial signed by 1000 students and went to Ambala in this connection where he gave a speech advocating Hindi. At this time, he did not even know the Hindi alphabets. His first foray into public life was cut short by the Principal of his college since students were not allowed to take part in any agitation.\(^46\) His outlook began to take 'nationalist' colour due to his association with Pandit Guru Dutt. He writes, 'The tiny barge of the Arya Samaj was at that time to me the barge of Hindu nationality. At that time it was a solitary barge. But during the last 32 years Hindu nationality has acquired such strength that today we find a mighty fleet, in which the Arya Samaj is but a unit – a very distinguished unit albeit.'\(^47\) He felt, however, the Arya Samaj was yet in its infancy. Its members in the beginning were for the most part educated people who had learnt lessons in independence of character and in patriotism from the western literature. They had gathered under the banner of Swami Das having been influenced by the new

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\(^{44}\) V.C. Joshi ed. *Story of My Life Lala Lajpat Rai* 70
\(^{45}\) Ibid 80
\(^{46}\) Ibid 28
\(^{47}\) Ibid 31
movement. A few amongst the old Sanskritists joined in. Even the few who joined perhaps did so for selfish reasons.48

By the late 1890's Lajpat Rai's activities expanded to new social concerns related to the terrible famine of 1897 and later 1900 which taxed his entire energy and gave him opportunity for social reform. Lajpat Rai initiated a movement for orphans of this calamity and founded a new society at Lahore. The Lahore Hindu Orphanage in which the Sanatanists and Brahmo Samajists also cooperated. Lajpat Rai's concerns for the orphans was largely due to the activities of the Christian missionaries and in response to their work.49 Lala Lajpat Rai was actively engaged in famine relief work in North India (1896-97), in Rajputana (1899-1900) and in Kangra Earthquake Relief Work (1905). He not only gave his own money and time, he persuaded others to do the same, and so he set up a volunteer care for relief work in 1905. He perceived himself as peaceful worker in the cause of education of the people of India, organizing and distributing charity, and working on constructional lines within the law.50 Despite his full schedule, he found something missing. His mind was not content and he was seeking something else to meet his intellectual capacities and his zeal for bringing about social changes. He now focused on the political arena to fulfill his social objectives.

Lajpat Rai was hardly twenty-three, when he made his first foray into national politics. In 1888 he wrote 'open letters' to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the great Muslim educationist of Aligarh, in which he charged him with going back on his earlier views on Hindu-Muslim unity and Indian nationhood.51 Lajpat Rai came in contact with the Congress for the first time in 1888. He was impressed by the wave of liberty spread by the Congress.52 He remained indifferent towards the Congress because of 'the opinion of my Arya Samajist friends'.53 Arya Samajists friends here meant Rai Mul Raj who was staunchly opposed to the Congress and other Arya Samaj leaders who did not want themselves to be involved in politics. Lala Sain Das and Lala Lal Chand

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48. V.C. Joshi ed. Lajpat Rai Autobiographical Writings 47
49. Ibid 77
50. B.M. Sagar 'Some Reflections on the Early Life of Lala Lajpat Rai' Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect 25
51. J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga ed. Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect 2
52. V.C. Joshi ed. Story of My Life 85
53. Ibid 88
wanted to be strong enough to stand on their own legs and learn the 'lesson of self-help, self-confidence and self-respect' and after 1889 Lajpat Rai did not attempt any session of the Congress until 1892.\textsuperscript{54} In 1893 he joined the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress and made a few speeches at the Congress Session at Lahore. Between 1893 and 1900 however, he again did not attend any session of the Congress as he had been seriously ill in 1897-1898. At this juncture the Congress session at Bombay decided to send a deputation to England. Lajpat Rai was one of the members of this deputation. In 1904, he visited Ceylon. After a few days the Indian Association elected him as a delegate for a deputation to England to place the claims of India before the political leaders of England. He returned to Lahore on 22\textsuperscript{nd} November 1905 and attended the 1905 session of the Congress at Benaras. Lajpat Rai opposed the resolution for welcoming the Prince of Wales to India and enraged the old leaders. He addressed the Congress on the last day and was admired by the delegates. In 1905 when Lajpat Rai was not yet forty, he was heard with respect in the higher echelons of the Congress. This was no mean achievement.\textsuperscript{55} He actively supported the agitation against the partition of Bengal.\textsuperscript{56} At the Calcutta session of 1906 which was presided over by Dadabhai Naoroji the four resolutions on self-rule, \textit{Swadeshi}, national education and boycott were adopted. These resolutions were prepared by the subject committee, which included Tilak as well as Lala Lajpat Rai.\textsuperscript{57} After the 1907 Surat session of the Congress a declaration for the attainment of 'Self-government like the other self government members of British empire' was also signed by Lajpat Rai.

Lajpat Rai was actively involved with the Swadeshi movement from 1905-1907. Along with Ajit Singh he pioneered the organization of a nationalist agitation during the Swadeshi movement of the first decade of the twentieth century he played a leading role in the Punjab in the educational boycott under the Non-coopreation movement. Lajpat Rai described

\textit{54. V.C. Joshi ed. Story of My Life 89
55. B.M. Sagar 'Some Reflections on the Early Life of Lala Lajpat Rai' Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect 26
56. Ibid
57. T.R.Sharma 'Understanding Lala Lajpat Rai: Issues of Method and Substance' Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect 17-18}
Swadeshism as a right step towards self reliance. He made extensive tours and was actively engaged in educating the public about the political situation and the Swadeshi resolution. On 13 and 14 January 1907, in his address at Sialkot, Lala Lajpat Rai asked his 4,000 strong audience to assist the Swadeshi movement by boycotting all foreign goods, in particular foreign sugar. At Lyallpur on 21 and 22 March 1907, he expressed satisfaction on the unity of Hindus and Muslims: 'our whole strength lies in standing side by side and remaining united ... Take this vow of union on your Koran and Shastras and no power on earth can humiliate you'.

Lajpat Rai succeeded in getting support from a number of Punjabi Muslims, and they joined the Swadeshi demonstrations and supported schemes to improve the economic condition of the people. The movement developed into an all round boycott of British goods, British courts and British administration. The Swadeshi, or use of indigenous goods was soon extended to cover every thing Indian-thoughts manners and beliefs. The net result was that a number of schools, Swadeshi shops, native newspapers, indigenous banks and textile mills came into existence in the Punjab.

Lajpat Rai wanted people to participate in public life and he was concerned with the creation of political consciousness among people. He adopted the method of writing on political issues as one means of doing this. He also held rallies, meetings, processions and gave speeches, to create public consciousness on political issues.

In the early 1900's he contributed to provincial and national politics. He was ranked among the first three leaders of the nationalist movement prior to the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in the 1920's. He had reservations about Gandhiji's non-violent movement as a means of national liberation and later on he criticized Gandhi for letting the country down by the withdrawal of the Non-cooperation movement.

The 1920's saw Lajpat Rai becoming an integral part of the political scene in the Punjab. Lajpat Rai could not contest the election of 1923

59. Ibid 39
60. B.M Sagar 'Some Reflections on the Early Life of Lala Lajpat Rai Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect 25-26
Demise of Lala Lajpat Rai
17th November 1928
because of disqualification on account of his imprisonment but was involved with the election campaign. He supported the Swaraj Party and acted as a bridge between the Hindu Mahasabha and the Swarajists. The success of the Swarajist candidates in the elections was hailed as a personal triumph of Lajpat Rai. He was now more convinced about the need of organizing Hindus on communitarian lines and advocated the need of a Hindu Sangathan. To popularize the Sangathan all over the country, Lajpat Rai visited Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Assam and South India and impressed upon the Hindus the need of an organization of their own to protect and safeguard Hindu interests. As President of the 8th session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Calcutta in April 1925, Lajpat Rai laid down a lengthy programme and strongly argued for Shuddhi. At this time he completely aligned himself with the interest of the Hindu community which was further underlined in the Punjab Provincial Conference.

In December 1925 Lajpat Rai contested the by-election to the Central Assembly as an independent candidate. After his victory he joined the Swaraj Party but within a year he broke with it on the policy of walk out. He then joined Madan Mohan Malaviya in the formation of the Independent Congress Party, with himself as its President and Malaviya as its General Secretary. It merged subsequently with the Responsive Cooperation Party.

Lajpat Rai contested the 1926 elections also as an independent candidate. The members of the Punjab Provincial Committee condemned Malaviya and Lajpat Rai for organizing the Independent Congress Party. The Lajpat Rai - Malaviya combination worried Motilal Nehru and he wrote to Jawaharlal Nehru apprehensive that they were trying to capture the Congress. Lajpat Rai won from two constituencies. His loyalty to the Hindu community was his major concern at this time. He took hardly any interest in the Unity conference of all political parties held at Simla in August 1926, to effect communal activity. He stood aloof from the subsequent meetings of the

62. Amandeep 'Communitarian Politics in the Punjab: Understanding Lala Lajpat Rai's Role' Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect 85
63. Ibid 86
64. Ibid
65. Ibid
66. Ibid 87
67. Ibid 89

53
All Parties Conference a Calcutta in 1927. Lajpat Rai, by now had lost influence in the Congress and needed to re-establish himself. In the same year the Nehru Report revived his interest in national politics. He called it a monumental work. On Lajpat Rai’s persuasion the Hindu Mahasabha accepted the Report and passed a resolution in favour of it. At the Etawah the Hindu Conference Lajpat Rai declared it as ‘the future Constitution of India’ as it provides ample guarantee for the minorities. He once again put all his energies in the activities of the Congress. He built up a powerful campaign for the boycott of the Simon Commission in the Punjab. When the commission arrived at Lahore on 30 October 1928, he led a procession against it. He received a lathi blow from the police near the Lahore Railway Station. He died of a heart attack on 17 November 1928. The doctors were of the opinion that the police attack had accelerated his death if not caused it. This was considered to be his final contribution to the nationalist cause.

Lajpat Rai had remained a Karam Yogi throughout his life. His ascent to the apex in national politics at such a young age invites comparison with two of his great contemporaries, Gokhale and Jawahar Lal Nehru. It is important to remember that Gokhale enjoyed the patronage of Mahadev Govind Ranade and Jawahar Lal Nehru started with Gandhi Ji. Lajpat Rai had no such advantage and climbed to the top of the political ladder on his own. It has been pointed out that there was one difference between Mahatma Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai: one philosophized in large terms self-consciously, the other got his small jobs done.

He was an intellectual in politics, but he was a thinker as well as a doer. He did not hesitate to differ with his colleagues on the points of principle, though at the same time he avoided controversies that disrupted or damaged functioning. Lajpat Rai’s association with various political parties seems to reflect his search for answers to the issues important to him, but in vain.

68. Amandeep ‘Communitarian Politics in the Punjab: Understanding Lala Lajpat Rai’s Role’ Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect 88-89
69. The Tribune 21 November. 1928
70. Amandeep ‘Communitarian Politics in the Punjab: Understanding Lala Lajpat Rai’s Role’ Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect 89
71. B.M. Sagar ‘Some Reflections on the early life of Lala Lajpat Rai’ 24
72. Ibid 2-3
When we trace the life of Lajpat Rai, we find that he had been an intelligent hard working, award winning student. From the beginning he had a deep interest in reading. He knew the importance of education and continued to imbibe new ideas from wider spheres. Lajpat Rai seems to have been in the habit of seeing good and bad situations. He perceived his imprisonment at Mandalay as an opportunity provided him by God for religious exercise, meditation, study and literary work, advising himself to feel gratitude and set-aside anxiety, care and ambition and make the best use of this opportunity.73

Lajpat Rai’s common sense is ‘revealed in his view that revolutions are impractical and end in failure. He advised revolutionaries in the pay of Germans to use a part of their money for the education of the people of India, in which he saw India’s future, and used another part in setting up colonies in Latin America for political refugees from India, as this would internationalize India’s political influence. Clearly, Lajpat Rai was a long term investor, looking far into the future, thinking of concrete actions that would produce definite results later on rather than immediate political gains’.74 On each problem he thought deeply and often thought aloud. He was one of the most articulate of India’s political leader and was continuously expressing his views in newspaper articles, pamphlets and even books. He was a great communicator, who sought to educate his countrymen not only on the fight for freedom, but on the many vexing problems facing the country under colonial rule. He was unusually clear about the aim of his life. He was like a sponge, absorbing different ideas coming his way and acquiring knowledge day by day as he wanted a change, not only in India, but a global change. His ideas were constantly restructured and with his own clarity emerged a picture of a new India. His initial interest in social reform as part of Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj did not bring satisfied action. Lajpat Rai joined the Arya Samaj because of ‘the patriotic zeal of its members, their ambitions of restoring Aryavarta to its ancient glory.’ He was not however satisfied with the ideas and methods of other associations and wanted to reform and reconstruct society through education.

73. B.M. Sagar ‘Some Reflections on the early life of Lala Lajpat Rai’ Lala Lajpat Rai in Retrospect 28
74. Ibid 29
**APPENDIX-I**

**Lala Lajpat Rai 1865 - 1928**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 28, 1865</td>
<td>Lala Lajpat Rai, born at Village Dhudike in Ferozepur District, Punjab.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Admitted in District Board School.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Married to Radha Devi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Passed Middle School Examination.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1881</td>
<td>Admitted in Government College, Lahore; Joined Brahmo Samaj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1882</td>
<td>Joined Arya Samaj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1883</td>
<td>Edited 'The Regenerator of Aryavarta' and 'Desh Upkarak'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Passed Vakilship Examination and took practice licence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Started practice at Hissar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1888</td>
<td>Joined Indian National Congress at Allahabad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-1892</td>
<td>Secretary of Hissar Municipal Board.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1892</td>
<td>Settled in Lahore as Chief Court Vakil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Attended Annual Indian National Congress at Lahore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 May 1895</td>
<td>Opened Punjab National Bank Lahore; At Lahore met Balgangadhar Tilak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Started the Hindu Orphan Relief Movement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Attended Indian National Congress Lahore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1904</td>
<td>Launched newspaper 'The Panjabee' from Lahore with Lala Jaswant Rai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1905</td>
<td>Met Gopal krishan Gokhale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June-November 1905</td>
<td>Visited England.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1905</td>
<td>Delivered an address on occasion of the anniversary of Arya Samaj at Lahore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1906-7</td>
<td>Active in Swadeshi Movement and attended at Punjab Provincial Conference at Ambala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Published 'The Man in His Words'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May-November 1907</td>
<td>Arrested and deported to Mandalay The Story of My Deportation and The Story of Burma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1907</td>
<td>Presided at the All India Swadeshi Conference in Surat, Gujarat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1908</td>
<td>Lectured at Meerut and appealed for contribution for famine fund.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March-September 1910</td>
<td>Left for London and worked for the release of Tilak and other political prisoners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1911</td>
<td>Elected to the Lahore, Municipal Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1911</td>
<td>Formed the Elementary Educational League, Lahore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1913</td>
<td>Presided over the Depressed Classes Conference at Gurukul Kangri, U.P. Founded a High School at Jagraon in Lahore district.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 November 1914</td>
<td>Visited America.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Published 'The Arya Samaj : And Account of its Origin, Doctrines, and Activities, with a Biographical Sketch of the Founder'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1915</td>
<td>Published a pamphlet 'Reflections of the political situation in India'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Published 'The United States of America'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Published 'England's Debt to India : A Historical Narrative of Britain's Fiscal Policy in India' and 'Young India- An Interpretation and a History of The Nationalist Movement from within'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1917</td>
<td>Established the Indian Home Rule League at America.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Published a monthly Journal 'Young India' in America and book 'The Evolution of Japan and other Papers'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1919
Published 'The Political Future of India' and
Established the Indian Information Bureau of New
York and became its Director.

1920
Published 'The Problem of National Education in
India'.

September 1920
Presided over the Indian National Congress,
Calcutta.

December 1920
Founded the Tilak School of Politics.

December 3, 1921
Arrested at Lahore and sentenced to two
years' imprisonment.

August 23, 1923
During his jail term wrote 'History of India' and
'Maharaja Ashoka'.

1924
Published 'Ideas of Non Cooperation and other
Essays'.

1925
Published 'Hindu Muslim Unity : The Problem and
its Solution'.

July 1925
Founded weekly 'The People' in Lahore.

January 25, 1926
Joined the Swaraj Party and became its Deputy
Leader.

August 24, 1926
Resigned from the party.

September 12, 1926
Became the General Secretary of the Independent
Congress Party.

February 16, 1928
Moved a resolution in the Central Legislative
Assembly for non-cooperation with the Simon
Commission ; Published 'Unhappy India'.

October 30, 1928
Received injuries in the Lathi Charge by the police
in procession against the Simon Commission

November 17, 1928
Passed away at Lahore.
APPENDIX- II

How I Occupied Myself

The daily routine, I observed at Mandalay was as follows:

I generally got up between 5 and 6 a.m. and after attending to the calls of nature and washing myself I said my prayers. Finishing this, I took a cup of hot milk and went out for a walk. On return I occupied myself in religious reading which was out of the following books.

1. *Bhagwad Gita,* with the aid of an English translation and a Hindi commentary.
2. *Message of the Vedas,* a collection of Vedic hymns, with an English translation by Lala Vokal Chand, M.A.
3. *Yog Darshan,* with the aid of Hindi commentary.
4. Master Durga Prashad's *Selections of Vedic Hymns and Sacred Songs,* etc.
5. *The Taitreya Upanishad,* with a Hindi commentary.

After this I engaged myself in miscellaneous reading. Between 11 and 12, I had a bath and then took my breakfast. After this, I retired for an hour or two reading magazines, if I had any. I again studied upto 5 or 6 p.m. and sometimes wrote letters. Sometimes I took notes on Burma and did other writing work by way of change. At about 5 p.m. I went for my evening walk, from which I had to return before it was dark. On return, I generally took a cool drink and kept sitting in the compound for an hour, till I went up and took a bath before dinner. Dinner finished, sometimes I tried to read but often had to give it up in despair, as the number of worms and moths that gathered round the candle made it extremely unpleasant to sit before it. At about 9 p.m. generally, I went to bed. I was very irregular in my evening prayers, though I never let any evening pass without an informal recitation of Vedic hymns or bhajans.

* Written in 1906, this routine provides a glimpse of Lajpat Rai’s Scheduled days and the variety of activities packed into it, specially reading and writing.
Besides religious reading, the range of my studies at Mandalay was fairly wide. I finished every book that I could lay my hands on, however trivial its contents, or however ephemeral its interest. For me the greatest need was to keep myself occupied. I read a very large number of novels, which were of no real value, with the sole object of killing my time. All the same the following list of books read by me at Mandalay will show that I occupied my time very profitably in studying some standard works of literature.

(a) Of books dealing with Burma, the Burmans and Burmese History, I read:
1. _Burma under British Rule and Before_, by J. Nisbet, 2 volumes.
2. _Picturesque Burma, Past and Present_, by Mrs. Earnest Hart.
3. _The Burman, His Life and Nations_, by Schway yoe.
4. _Silken East_, by Oconnor in two volumes.
5. _Among Pagodas and Fair Ladies_, by Gaseoigne.
7. Fielding Hall's _A People at School_.
8. Fielding Hall's _The Soul of A People_.
9. _Census Report of British Burma_.
10. _The Administration Report of Burma for 1904-105_.

Besides these a number of small stories describing Burmese life, customs and manners.

(b) General books:
1. Justin M'Carthy's _Reminiscences_, two volumes.
2. Justin M'Carthy's _History of Our Own Times_, five volumes.
3. _History of Modern England_, by Herbert Paul, five volumes.
4. Duffy's _New Ireland_.
5. Herbert Spencer's _Autobiography_, two volumes.
7. Hallam's _History of Middle Ages_, three volumes.
10. _Ledger and Sword, A History of the East India Company_, two volumes.
12. Lord Robert's *Forty-one Years in India*.
13. Fielding Hall's *Heart of Man*.
14. Voltaire's *Candide*.
16. Harbilas Sarda's *Hindu Superiority*.
17. Dickinson's *Modern Symposium*.
18. Patterson's *Nemesis of Nations*.

(c) Novels (a few names only).

Charles Dicken's *Nickleby, David Copperfield, Oliver Twist; Barnaby Rudge; Low Lytton's Rienzi; Thackeray's Vanity Fair*, Geogre Elliot's *Mill on the Floss; Marie Corelli's Temporal Power*.

Besides, I read a large number of miscellaneous novels by Anthony Hope, Grant, Mrs. Crawford, Tolstoy, Churchill and others.

(d) Of Urdu and Persian books I had the *Dewan-i-Hafiz the Dewan-i-Zauq, Azad's Ab-i-Hayat, Azad's Nairang-Khial*.

(o) I used to get the following periodicals from home but only stray numbers were allowed.

*The Review of Reviews* (only one number allowed).
*The Nineteenth Century and After*.
*The Westminister Magazine*.
*The Fortnightly Review*.
*The Contemporary Review*.

*Hindustan Review* (2 or 3 numbers allowed).
*The Modern Review* (only two numbers allowed).
*The Vedic and Gurukul Magazine*.
*The Zamana*, an Urdu Monthly.
*The Makhzan*, an Urdu Bi-monthly.
*The Dev Nagri Pracharni Patrika*, a Hindi Monthly.
During my confinement I did a certain amount of literary work. I wrote :-

(a) A small book on Burma in Urdu based on notes taken from the books I read as well as on conversations with the Burmese Sub-Inspectors.

(b) An Urdu novel which I could not finish. I, however, wrote about 150 pages of foolscap size.

(c) A small paper in Urdu on current topics.

(d) A paper on the 'Message of the Bhagwad Gita' in English.

(e) An article on Social Reform in English.

Of these (d) has already been published in the Modern Review of March 1908 and has since then been reprinted as a tract.

I wish I had noted down the stray thoughts that arose in my mind in the course of my studies at Mandalay. Some of them were jotted down in the Diary but they are too brief to be copied here with any chance of being intelligible to the general reader.

My chief trouble in my exile was loneliness. I had never before felt so solitary. My revered friend Lala Hans Raj, Honorary Principal of the D.A.V. college, put his hand on the right chord when he said that having been sociable all my life, the present enforced solitariness must be very trying to me. Some of the European Sergeants on duty were kind to me and I sought their company now and then but, after all, what pleasure could their company give me? Firstly, the disparity between my education and position in life and theirs was too large to admit of their entering into my sentiments and feelings. Then our tastes differed very much. However, there is one thing in me, which stands me in good stead whenever I am put in new and strange environments, viz., my readiness to adapt myself to new circumstances. But even this adaptability could not reconcile me to an unqualified enjoyment of the company into which I was put. I was, therefore, much relieved to find two kittens in my bungalow. They were very pretty. One looked like a ginger-coloured tigress and the other had black spots. I began to feed them, and they became attached to me. Their company was thus a happy change.

Sometimes I spent a good portion of an hour in watching them playing with each other, licking each other and lying in each other's arms like twin sisters. Their attachment to each other was remarkable. For me, at least, it was a new experience. A few days later, I decided to make some additions to my little
household and asked some of the servants to bring me a pup. A few days before my departure I got one but it was not a pretty thing and on the morning of the day of my departure from Mandalay, I returned it to the owner, having been promised a better one by the sweeper of the house. In the roof of the staircase, amongst the beams and rafters, lived a family of Mynas who administered music to me but one of the Sergeants took a fancy for them. The mother being too astute, he could not get hold of her but removed the two young ones to his home. This was done in the absence of the mother, who on her return, not finding her little ones, became utterly disconsolate and filled the whole house with bitter cries and pathetic lamentations. She hovered round her nest for a few days and then left it in despair, never to return again. Thus I lost the company of these good birds by the cruelty of one of my gaolers, a man who had inherited the evil nature of both the English and the Indian and was entirely devoid of the good points of either.

On the morning of the 11th my two kittens had gone out for a ramble when I was removed bag and baggage to the railway station. There was no time to wait for their return as the Commissioner had told me that the special train was ready. The Superintendent and the Deputy Superintendent of Police wanted me to be quick. So the only pang that I felt in leaving that house was this forced separation from the two kittens. During my confinement I had been reading Byrons “Prisoner of Chillon”, and this little incident reminded me of these lines wherein he puts the following touching sentences in the mouth of the Prisoner at the time of his liberation:

“And thus when they appeared at last,
And all my bonds aside were cast,
These heavy walls to me had grown
A hermitage – and all my own!
And half I felt as they were come
To tear me from a second home;
With spiders I had friendship made,
And watch’d them in their sullen trade,
Had seen the mice by moon-light play,
Any why should I feel less than they?
We were all inmates of one place,
And I, the monarch of each race,
Had power to kill – yet strange to tell
In quiet we had learn’d to dwell,
My very chains and I grew friends,
So much a long communion tends
To make us what we are; – even I
Regain’d my freedom with a sigh.”

I do not think, however, I can close this chapter without laying myself open to a charge of ingratitude if I were to omit paying tribute to the two Masters, whose constant company was a source of great strength and consolation to me. Lord Sri Krishna, one of the greatest Indian Masters, conversed with me in words of practical wisdom, pitched in immortal strain; and the celebrated poet of Shiraz spoke to me of love and of the troubles that inevitably followed the course of the latter. My troubles I thought had been brought about by love (love of principles and love of country) and therefore, the appeals and wailings of Hafiz went straight to the core of my heart and were a source of solace to me. I enjoyed “Hafiz” in my imprisonment much more than I had ever done before in my childhood, when I read it with my father. Besides these, I owe a great deal to the company of other friends and teachers whose writings kept up my spirits and afforded me occupation in this my first experience of loneliness. No one need ever despair of himself, who can have access to the noble company of these master minds, who are ever at his service, in any and every condition of life.