Chapter II

Religious Preaching and Sikh Journalism

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Religious Preaching and Sikh Journalism

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

It might not seem proper in the modern age to limit journalism to the field of religious preaching alone, but an analysis of the religious and social milieu we are talking of, would reveal that such an attitude of journalism was not then improper. 'The propagation of Christianity, Western education and the influence of European culture were being accepted to such an extent in India that all the religious faiths of Indian origin felt that they were under some fierce attack. Consequently they started making immediate efforts to counter this move.'
At such a juncture, it was not possible to oppose the foreign power at the political level. The Sikh society also did not consider itself capable of doing so. It was because only a short while ago they had lost their empire, and they also did not possess at the moment the requisite power structure to change the existing political set-up, as the British had established their firm foothold in the whole of India. Under influence of the renaissance movement going on in the entire Indian Sub-continent the Sikh society also adopted it and declared religious reformation as the object of Sikh journalism.

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

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

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

The Sikh journalism was not ignorant of this situation. It was aware of everything and was endeavouring to bring about a reformation. The 'Khalsa Akhbar' always denounced the evil practices that had crept into the Sikh faith. The psychological state of the priestly class has been well
portrayed in the contemporary journalism. When the head Granthi of 'Sri Darbar Sahib', Bhai Jawahar Singh, died in 1886, a large number of people claimed for this post ridiculously.

In this context, the 'Khalsa Akhbar' of 2nd Oct. 1886 writes:

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

The newspaper also expressed its regret that none of these candidates expressed his concern for the preaching of the Sikh tenents. It is thus obvious that the job of the priests now came to be meant solely for material gains. It is this context that Sikh journalism had to take up the cudgels for propagating the Sikh faith. It fully prepared itself to make even the extreme sacrifice for this noble cause. It got prepared even to earn the wrath of the government. The Sikh journalism determined not to accept the presence of a British in the committee on Sikh religious affairs. The 'Khalsa Akhbar' of 1st Jan. 1887 narrates the event as under:
What a height of injustice it is that the shrine belongs to the Sikh panth, but the president of its committee is an English Deputy Commissioner. Has a Sikh ever been made President of Committee of a Church or a mosque? Why a Deputy Commissioner has been imposed as the president on the Gurdwara committee. No religion or society can survive unless its principles or of those who are entrusted with the responsibility of preserving these principles are nice." Such a sarcastic comment in the paper was justified because the government seemed more inclined towards worsening the management instead of improving it. As a result of this tendency a convict was appointed as the priest of 'Sri Darbar Sahib'. The person was not respected at all in the society, and the anger given vent to by the Sikh journalism at that time was natural. The government was also aware of it, but it continued doing so because of its anti-Sikh policies:

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

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

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

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

It is said that the priests asked the Sarbrah to give an account of the gurdwara income and
expenditure but the latter refused. In the end, the priests had to take to the legal course.  

After two years in 1888, the same paper says:

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

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

The Sikhs had emotional attachment with the family of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. Maharaja Daleep Singh's re-induction into Sikhism is symptomatic of this. Daleep Singh did his best to return to India with a view to regain his lost empire, but failed. At least he left England for France, from where he went to Russia. He died in Paris on 22 Oct. 1893. The Sikhs had already felt injured religiously, it was now a political blow to them, and it aggravated their rage against
At this juncture, the press should have plunged into the political field, keeping in view the simmering feelings of anger on the Sikh community. They should have taken this opportunity to lead the people politically, but nothing of the sort happened. The newspapers continued to overlook the political aspects. There could be two reasons behind it. Firstly, the movements going on in the contemporary society were primarily reformative and not political in nature. Consequently, it is the renaissance movement of the Sikhs that remained in the fore-front. Secondly, 'the religious and political leadership of the Sikhs was in the hands of feudals or landed aristocracy at that time.'¹⁴ Therefore, the middle-class consciousness, which generally causes political revolutions came quite late to the Sikhs.

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

The Sikh journalism adopted this path so that the achievement of reformative ideals may become certain and
easy. We can analyse this effort by dividing it into four sections:-

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

(1.) The Attitude of Sikh Journalism towards the Violation of the Sikh Code.

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

The Sikh journalism made both kinds of people the subject of their discussion. It pointed out the drawbacks of these people and tried to reform them. The 'Gurmukhi Akhbar' of 8 Magh, 1943 Bikrami published the following notice at page second:
We have learnt that there is a proposal to put up the portraits of the ten Sikh Gurus in the Darshani Gate of the Golden Temple. We wonder at this proposal because idol-worship is a taboo in Sikhism. There are hundreds of instances in the Sikh scriptures in support of this argument. We hope that Sardar Man Singh will think deeply over it, before carrying out the project.

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

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

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

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

Besides, the Sikh press published articles against the practice of idol-worship. They declared idol-worship against the Divine will. They regretted the increasing worship of idols and human beings in Hinduism because, as a result of this, the gullible masses fell a prey to the charm of the pretentious and greedy 'saints' and were thus misled. The papers tried to clear the misconceptions of the masses. Numerous
questions, raised in the columns of these papers about the human Gurus, were answered. These answers tried to prove that this practice was anti-Sikh. One of these letters said that when there is no way-out without the Guru, why not own a Guru and make our life a success. In reply to this, the paper said:

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

Another factor, responsible for violation of the 'gurdwara maryada,' was the mismanagement of the shrines. The Sikh journalism felt it its sacred duty to fight it out. In 1886, the 'Khalsa Akhbar' published tragic statement about the mismanagement of the sacred shrine at Tarn-Taran. This statement revealed how hooliganism was resorted to by the drunken people within the sacred precincts and how the womenfolk were dishonoured. 'So much so that the dances by prostitutes were arranged in front of the Darshani Gate.' All these matters were raised and bitterly denounced by the Sikh Press. But the management of shrines had so much deteriorated that situation did not change for the better, even after 12 years of the press had taken note of it. It becomes obvious from the reiteration by the 'Khalsa Akhbar'
in 1398, what it had said 12 years ago:

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

1. Some time ago a Muslim-boy who is the son of a man of status was to undergo the ceremony of circumcision. The carpets and canopies were loaned to him for the ceremony from the shrine;

2. Within the precincts of the shrine, where no one who is a non-believer in Sikhism can preach his ideas, such people are misguiding the Sikhs.

3. It has also been observed that certain priests are also non-believers, and they do not bow their heads before the Gurus Granth Sahib.

4. Only a few priests observe fully the Sikh code of conduct;

5. Every evening in the shrine after the recitation of the rahiras (the evening prayer) a Sikh within Shri Darbar Sahib listens to Vishnu Sarasnam from a pamma. What a pity that no priest has ever tried to prevent it. Dear Khalsa ji, what else is it if it is not the inexcusable violation of the accepted code? Has all this been happening since the days of the Guru?

It thus becomes obvious that press was no doubt determined to bring about reforms, but the task was not that easy. The priests even quarrelled among themselves over the question of fleecing the devotees. They also abused one another on this issue. In this way, these people violated the sanctity of the shrines. The Sikh press took strong notice of such incident and expressed their regret over it. These incidents definitely dealt a setback to the faith of a common Sikh.
At this time, the Sikh press denounced every such person, howsoever important he might have been, as violated the Sikh code, and the maryada. Those who consciously went the wrong way were strongly warned; and those who did so unconsciously were prevailed upon to take to the right course. In the 'Khalsa Akhbar' of 15th July 1898, a Sikh wrote a letter to the editor, protesting against the night-long recitation of songs in praise of the Hindu gods and goddesses, at a 'Jagratā', which was sponsored by Sikh gentleman. The writer used very strong words for the Sikh who had hosted this 'Jagratā':

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

It was just one instance of the religious violation by an ordinary Sikh, which was taken note of by the press. And, the notice taken was also not very strong. Had such a lapse been on the part of some religious leader, the action would have been much stronger. In the 'Ahlulwalia Gazette', published from Amritsar, there appeared a news regretting that Gopal Singh, the mahant of Akal Bunga performed the naming ceremony of his son (named Balwinder Singh) according to the vedic rites which were conducted by the Arya Smajists. The Khalsa Akhbar took a strong notice of it. It said:
One would simply pity the attitude of some Sikhs. While they are trying to prove their identity distinctly from the Hindus: how do they accommodate an Arya-Samajist mahant in the precinct of its Gurdwara.

The newspapers brought this to the notice of the reader. The result was, that voices of protest started coming from all directions. The demand of the removal of this mahant was also raised. The resolutions were passed to this effect. One such resolution was passed from the 'Hazur Sahib'.

Besides, several 'Singh Sabhas' also passed resolutions against this sacrilege. In the same vein the 'Khalsa Samachar' of 12th March 1900 took notice of another incident: the god Ganesa was worshipped at the 'Takhat' at the time of the engagement of the son of the 'Sevadar' of a temple at Patna. There are several such instances which refer to the evil practices in the Sikhism. To oppose them was one of the most important means adopted by the Sikh press, for the propagation of Sikhism. It is because so long as wrong was not proved wrong, it was sure to continue leading the people astray.

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

For the past some time, a custom has gained ground among the Sikhs that they put a burning lamp and some other sweets, etc., in a Salvar, and in this way, they offer the arti. We call
it a corrupt practice. This kind of arti was offered by some non-Sikh people before their idols. It is written nowhere that this practice should be adopted in Sikhism. Such a practice has rather been openly denounced.

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

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

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

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

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

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

It can be said with certainty that while talking of religion, the Sikh press distinctively fought out those misconceptions because of which the Sikhs were going astray. It is just possible that the wrongly set tradition, might have degenerated to such an extent that no reformation could be possible. However, the Sikh journalism was able to detect and cure malady at its very initial stage. When the newspapers presented the 'wrong' in its true perspective, the
remedy was sure. So we can say that the Sikh journalism in its beginning, tried to correct the deteriorating or already deteriorated religious maryada and largely succeeded in its mission. From the reformative viewpoint, these steps were not many, but they were certainly very useful. It was the result of these basic endeavours made by Sikh journalism that a more powerful struggle was launched by the Sikhs to bring about certain reforms.

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

The reformative movements in the Punjab sought, on the one hand reforms in their own tradition, and, on the other, brought into limelight the corruption in other traditions. It was a more complex and difficult matter for the Sikhs, because the very existence of Sikhism was in danger. The people of other faiths refused to accept the independent and distinct identity of the Sikhism. It was declared to be a branch of the Hinduism. The most importance reason behind this way of thinking was the unconscious induction of certain Hindu practices in Sikhism such as offering arti in the Harmandar Sahib, the Katha of the Gita in certain Sikh shrine, installation of the idols of Hindu gods and goddesses in the circumambulatory path in certain gurdwaras. Consequently the Sikhs went astray and started considering their gurdwaras no more than the Hindu temples. When the Sikh press took up
the cause of denouncing all this and preaching the Sikh faith, it was not absolutely unnatural for the Hindus to oppose this endeavour. It was because of this that publications like 'Ham Hindu Nahin,' 'Nakli Sikh Prabodh,' 'Patrayav Palan' etc., were brought out. These books propagated the Sikh tenets, proclaiming the Sikhism to be a distinct faith.

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

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

Moreover, several such other Hindu practices such as shraddh, worship of ancestors and rites connected with birth marriage take the Sikhs away from the path shown by their Gurus. The marriage of Sikh girls to Hindu boys was also one such matter which hurt the sikhs. The Sikh girl, after marriage, could not observe the 'Sikh rites' freely
and was made to observe the 'Hindu rites' and ceremonies. Let us stress the point here that all this was being done not because of any secessionist feeling, but keeping in view the hard fact that the Sikh ideas and tenets were born at a time when Hinduism and other traditions were victim of so many evils. The newspapers of those days have been saying it openly that the Khalsa cannot hope to rise high by merging with the Hindus. Besides, the papers had been declaring that the Hindus were converting to the 'Arya Samaj', since they did not seem to have faith in their own religion. How could then the Khalsa merge with the Hindus?

Even today the major difference between Sikhism and Hinduism is their attitude towards caste system. Hindus are divided into four castes. Among them the Brahmans occupy the highest place; whereas the other three are subservient to the Brahmans. The Sikhs do not believe in the caste system. All the Sikhs are equal and there is no ethnic inequality. The newspapers used to ask the Sikhs if they would like to be the slaves of Brahmans. Guru Gobind Singh created the Khalsa and secured for its members a place higher than that of the Brahmans. If the Sikhs merged with Hinduism, it would mean accepting the superiority of the Brahmans. Will the Sikhs accept it? Of course not. In this way, the Sikh press distinguished between Hinduism and Sikhism, and tried to preach the Sikhism. Fulfilling its obligation thus, it warned the Hindu society not to mislead the Sikhs. At the
same time it advised the Sikhs to follow the Sikh tenets and strengthen its roots. But the efforts of the opponents to bring the Sikhs into the fold of Hinduism still persisted. However, the Sikh press continued its efforts to prove the distinct identity of the Sikh faith. It went on preaching this ideology. Letters from correspondents continued to appear in the newspapers. These contained appeals to the Khalsa Panth:

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

At that time movements such as 'Brahmo Samaj', 'Arya Samaj', 'Dev Samaj', 'Jamait-i-Ahmadiya', 'Nirankari', 'Kuka', and 'Singh Sabha' were going on in the Punjab. But among these, it is only the 'Arya Samaj' and the 'Singh Sabha' movements as gained great popularity in the Punjab. Both of them denounced idol-worship. In the beginning, many educated Sikhs supported the 'Arya Samaj'. 39 But later on, when some derogatory remarks about the Sikh scripture and the Sikh Gurus were found in Arya Samaj publication, the 'Satyarth Prakash', 40 the Sikh broke off their relations with the 'Arya Samaj'. The Arya Samaj missionaries used to make direct attacks on Sikhism. 41 At the eleventh annual session of the 'Arya Samaj' on 25th Nov. 1888, at Lahore, Pt. Gurdatt,
Lala Muralidhar, Swami Swatmanand, and Pt. Lekh Ram not only confirmed the anti-Sikh views expressed in the *Satyarth Prakash* but passed direct derogatory comments on Shri Guru Nanak Dev Ji and Shri Guru Gobind Singh Ji. They even showed disrespect to the *Shri Guru Granth Sahib*. What happened later, on 3rd June 1900, shook the entire Sikh community. At the 'Wachhowali Arya Samaj', Lahore, before an audience of hundreds of people the hair of 30 baptized Sikhs were shaved off. This incident infused a spirit of anger among the Sikhs. The Sikh press expressed a deep sense of anguish over it. The 'Khalsa Akhbar' of 6th June 1900 expressed its regret over the incident and termed it fatal for Sikhism.

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

Under such circumstances, it became imperative for the Sikhs to remould their policy keeping in view the changed religious environment, so that efforts could be made to save Sikhism from harm being caused or that could possibly be caused. One thing was, however, certain that a certain kind of opposition had taken place between the Hindus and the
Sikhs at least in the field of journalism. The 'Khalsa Akhbar' and the 'Khalsa Samachar,' the two prominent newspapers of the Sikhs, used to rebut the allegations made by the Arya samajists. Many times, their tone became bitter and sarcastic. In this way, in the field of journalism in Punjab, with the pace of ideological war, bitterness also increased.

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

1. There is praise of the Vedas in the Guru Granth Sahib.

2. The job left incomplete by Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh Ji was completed by Swami Dayanandji etc.  

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now listen to the gossip spread by Walji Bhai. The word 'Nanak' was not there in the Punjab. Had Walji been a Punjabi could he even go to this length of falsehood? The words 'Nanak' and 'dadak' are pure Punjabi
and rather ancient, certainly older than, Guru Nanak. The word 'nanak' means the parental home of the mother, whereas, 'dadak' stands for the parental village of the father. Strangely, there is no substitute in Punjabi for the word 'nanak' in the sense of mother's parental home or village.

In this context, the newspaper further explains:

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

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

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

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

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

The Sikh journalism giving a call for the Sikh renaissance, wanted to do away with the religious ignorance among the Sikhs. The movement for reforms in religious shrines, that was born later on, is indicative of the success of the propaganda launched by it. However, we shall take it up a little later. But the disunity among the Sikhs dealt a set-back to the cause it has taken up. It also affected adversely the work of preaching the Sikh tenets. Whereas, the Khalsa Panth should have worked as a single entity for propagating their faith, it worked at the group level,
with each group treading its own path. At the same time, the mutual incrimination among these groups led to hatred and bitterness instead of the unity of purpose. There might have been a considerable role of the British government, in creating such a situation. They bought some greedy people and thereby caused disaffection and disunity in the Panth. In the Sikh press, the people, who instead of thinking well of the Panth tried to harm it, were addressed with such epithets as "the treacherous of his house". According to Suba Singh, the journalism at this stage had to fight the intra—Singh Sabha battles as well. Of the two groups in the panth, one was led by Giani Ditt Singh, Jawahar Singh, Bhai Gurmukh Singh and Kanwar Bikram Singh who did not tolerate the influence of orthodox Hinduism on the Sikh faith. In the second group was Baba Khem Singh Bedi who acted in an un-Sikh-like manner. That was why, the group of Khem Singh Bedi was often opposed by the 'Khalsa Akhbar' of Lahore and the 'Sudharak'.

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

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

It was the result of this groupism that the Khem Singh group managed to get Bhai Gurmukh Singh excommunicated from the
Akal takhat.55 When the 'Gurmukhi Akhbar' reappeared on 13 April 1893 at Amritsar, Giani Avtar Singh Wahiria was the editor. He was a supporter of the Amritsar Singh Sabha.56 So, in the field of Sikh journalism, it caused a sort of 'war of the words' between the 'Gurmukhi Akhbar' and the 'Khalsa Akhbar' — a spokesman of the Lahore Singh Sabha.

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

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

Khalsa Panth, come out of your inertia and see that you have not yet thought of any betterment of your community."58
Most of the editorials were composed with the sole object of unifying the community.

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

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

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

a) To tell people of the degradation in Sikhism.

b) To voice concern over the lack of preachers.
c) To resolve the questions, about religion, raised in the readers letters.

d) To preach religion among the youth.

e) To inspire for preaching at festivals and other get-togethers.

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

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

The same can be said of the Muslims. They consider the propagation of their faith as their religious duty. About the Sikhs, it is said that they have made a mess of their lives by giving way to material indulgence and gaiety. The Sikh community was given the epithets of 'community in slumber' and 'inert community'. This certainly caused
anxiety and restlessness among the people. However, this very anxiety could lead the community to the path of progress. The awakening among the Sikhs was but natural because on the one hand, there was a rich Sikh heritage of the great martial race, and on the other, there was bitter attack of the Sikh Press on the community for going astray.

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

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

The Sikh press was also aware of the fact that those who were educated or at least literate could easily get some benefit from such writings. But to save those, who were illiterate and who lived in the far-off villages, from being led astray and to put them on the path of Sikhism, it was necessary to send out preachers to enlighten them. That is why, the Sikh journalism stressed the need of the preachers.
In this connection, the 'Khalsa Samachar' also published an essay entitled "Why are the preachers Needed So Badly?" This essay included the view expressed by Max Mueller in his speech delivered in 1873 at the Westminster Abby in London, stressing the importance of preachers in the field of propagation of religion.

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

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

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

It was the result of the efforts made by the Sikh press that the learned Sikh preached in the Sikh gatherings and congregations. They shed light on the significance of the 'Gurbani' and of the five K's, and the Sikh code of conduct. The letters eulogizing the efforts put in by the preachers
were often published in these papers, so that more Sikhs volunteered for preaching the sacred tenets. These papers also published the name of places where preachers had not by then reached, so that preachers could go there, for the purpose of spreading the word of the Guru:

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

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

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

Dear Editor, what is the method adopted to initiate a Muslim into the Sikh faith? In which hymn has Guru Gobind Singh written to convert Muslims into Sikhism? When a Muslim has already undergone the ceremony of circumcision, how can he ever become a Sikh.
Why don't the Christian missionaries bring the Muslims into their fold? Why do you convert Muslims to your faith? In my opinion, the Muslims converted into Sikhs be named 'Sunnat Khalsa.'

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

1) ----- We convert not only Muslims, but men and women of every country and the method is of baptism to bless them with the Amrit of the Sword.

2) ----- Guru Gobind Singh Ji has said in one of his hymns that all human beings are one (Manas Ki Jaate Sabhaye Akay Kar Janbo). So, he created this Amrit or baptism of the sword for the entire mankind. We bring others to the Sikh fold, and this hymn supports our action.

3) ----- If a man is already circumcised, it does not matter because his offspring will not undergo this ceremony. Amrit of the Sword is to bring the man into the Sikh fold, and the circumcision is of earlier date. When that person gives up his earlier faith, circumcision does not stand in the way.

4) ----- We convert Muslims for the propagation of the tenets of the Guru and to enable them to secure liberation.

5) ----- If the ceremony of circumcision continues, i.e. if their children also undergo this ceremony, then they should, in the manner of the Bandai Khalsa, be named Sunnati Khalsa. But why to call them circumcised if they do not circumcise themselves?

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

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

My age at present is 27 years, but knowledge of my own Sikh faith came to me from June 1902 through Bhai Didar Singh Ji, (Updeshak, Khalsa Updeshak fund dhan) who asked me to subscribe to the tracts by the Khalsa Tract Society and
Khalsa Samachar, in fact, he wrote a letter on my behalf without my consent. When these tracts started arriving, I did not feel like reading them in the beginning, but as I read one or two of them, their contents so deeply impressed me that love for religion went on increasing day by day. After reading exegesis of Japuiji, Jaapji, Shabad Hazare etc., I felt so much thrilled that I cannot put this feeling in words.

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

The only reason behind this sinful lapse is the fact of my being clean-shaven person. Had I been a Sikh (i.e. Keshadhari), I did not have committed this sin, so I make an appeal that I be initiated as a Sikh. All my sins be pardoned and I may be under the protection of the Guru, so that I could be saved from any other sins.
In reply to the above letter, the editor of the 'Khalsa Akhbar' published a few lines which were as under:-

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

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

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

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

"- - - (8 April 1903) A Sikh office-bearer and a Sahajdhari had a dialogue with Pt. Waryam Singh. They resolved their misconceptions about mundan (ceremonial shaving off the hair), idol-worship, havan, and the evening arti, and embraced Sikhism. They also promised that immediately on reaching home they will ask all
members of their families to come to the Sikh fold. Then Bhai Gurdas also vowed to take the Sikh initiation. He also promised to give up saying arti at home.\(^74\)

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

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

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

After the first decade of the 20th Century, the Sikh journalism raised many new questions pertaining to religious matters. They can be termed as a part of its preaching plan
as they were raised to achieve religious freedom. Among them were included several religious matters, such as matter-about the wall of Gurdwara Rikabganj, matter of sword, matter of reforming the gurdwara management, Gurdwara Act, etc. In the field of journalism, all these matters not only gave birth to many possibilities but also enabled the Sikh press to stand up to the British Government for its unjust and wrong policies. This can be called the greatest achievement of Sikh journalism of that era, because it was this tone of the press which led to the birth of 'Political Journalism'.

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

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

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

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

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

After the war was over in 1919, Punjab was put under the martial law as a result of which 'the problem of wall' remained unresolved. The tragedy of 'Jallianwala Bagh' further fuelled the anti-government sentiments. The matter of the Gurdwara Rikabganj was again raised. The 'Sacha Dhindora' which was the spokesman of the views of Master Sunder Singh, started publishing strongly-worded essays against the government, on the question of the demolition of the wall. It regenerated the same enthusiasm among the Sikhs. In May 1920,
the 'Akali' was started. In its inaugural number, the five demands of the Sikhs were listed. One of those demands was the reconstruction of the Gurdwara wall. In this way, the feeling of protest against the government which had remained suppressed for about 7 years, since 1914, once again burst out. Talking of the contribution made by the 'Akali' in this direction, Hira Singh Dard says, "it was in consequence of the propaganda carried out by this paper that the question of the Gurdwara Rikabganj wall became the pivot, round which revolved the entire Sikh agitation." An estimate of the efforts put in by Sikh journalism can be made from the fact that Sardul Singh Kaveeshar sought, through a notice in the Sikh press, 100 volunteers, who could reconstruct the wall even at the risk to their life. In response to this appeal in the newspaper, more than 700 men of all religions volunteered, within a fortnight, to join this suicide squad. The Jatha was supposed to leave for Delhi on 1st December 1920, but Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of 'Nabha' warned the government of the impending danger in the developing situation and advised it to reconstruct the wall. The government acceded to this suggestion and reconstructed the wall before the first batch of volunteers could reach Delhi. In this way, the Sikh agitation compelled the British Government to construct the wall. Referring to this victory of the Panth, Hira Singh Dard says that 'perhaps the government might have hoped to please the Sikhs by fulfilling their long-pending demand, but the Sikhs took it as their first victory.' In fact,
it was the first victory of the Sikh press as well. This strengthened the possibilities of the success of Sikh journalism, which had sprung up with the advent of the 'Akali'. During all this while, Sikh journalism raised its voice for the Sikhs. This victory was more significant for the 'Akali' because it was the first achievement of the struggle started by it in this direction. Inspired by this, many new papers were launched, and in all of them the political aspect gained prominence. In this way, we can say that the question of the wall of the Gurdwara Rikabganj was one such matter as held that place of significance in Sikh journalism, which motivated it on the one hand to take the task of preaching religion, and on the other, the ideology suggestion to form political orientation, so that it could safeguard the political rights of the Sikhs. It was the result of this ideology that the Sikh waged the war of Independence against the government.

(B) **Affair of Sword:**

Sword is a religious symbol of the Sikhs. It is a weapon given to them by Guru Gobind Singh Ji. It is one of the 5 K's bestowed upon the Sikhs by the Guru. To wear it ever is also an edict of the Guru Sahib. However, after the annexation of the Punjab by the British, a complete ban on keeping arms was imposed. Ban was also imposed on keeping the Sword. However, the Nihangs who invariably keep a long sword and spear with them did not pay heed to this ban. So the police
used to question the Sikhs wearing the sword. Sometimes such Sikhs were arrested, too. When the Sikhs were made to face such difficulties on the question of wearing 'Kirpan', the question of securing the freedom to do so cropped up. The Sikh organizations passed resolutions to this effect. At last, the government accepted it as a religious symbol. The Sikhs were now free to wear Kirpan, but the question of its size still remained unresolved. The government allowed wearing the nine inch long sword. But the Sikhs wanted this restriction on size to go.86

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

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

The question as to the length of the sword remained unresolved till 1922-23. At last the government gave full freedom to the Sikhs to wear the Sword. However, it was not granted as a religious right, but as an award to the Sikhs in lieu of the service rendered by them during World War I. The Sikh press which viewed it as a matter of religious freedom
Sword is one of the 5 K's, every Sikh is supposed to keep as religious symbols. But the Sikhs had been denied the right to wear Kirpan for some time past. Those who wore Kirpan were put behind the bars. Ultimately when the government gave the freedom, it was not as a religious freedom but as an award for the service rendered by the Sikh community in the first World War. Inspite of all this the Sikhs are still tortured and imprisoned for wearing Kirpan. The excuse taken is the large size of the sword.

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

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

(c) Matter of Bringing Reforms in Gurdwaras.

The war waged by the Sikhs for religious freedom under the Gurdwara Reform Movement is unique. Inspite of constant opposition and oppression by the British Government, the Sikhs won many such battles which are really unparralleled.
That is why this movement attracted the attention not only of the Punjab but of the whole of India. The role of Sikh press in this struggle has been significant because the necessary guidance to the community was provided by the leaders through the Sikh press only.

We have already discussed about the management in the gurdwaras as to how the very existence of Sikhism was being risked by the greedy mahants and priests who violated the Sikh code in the gurdwaras. Many of the shrines had been reduced to mere personal estates of the mahants. It had thus become imperative to form a central organization of the Sikhs to control the shrines, so that multi-dimensional reforms could be made in the shrines, and the Sikh code rehabilitated. It was for this purpose that the 'Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee' was formed. It started the agitation to bring all Sikhs shrines under its control. This movement was named the 'Gurdwara Reform Movement'. The English were terrified at this movement. And it was under this feeling of terror that they patronized the mahants. It was the result of government patronage to the mahants that the tragedy at 'Nankana Sahib' took place. The government made all possible efforts to suppress this movement. This policy of the government became clear during the agitation of 'Guru Ka Bagh', 'Morcha Bhai Pheru', 'Jaitu agitation' etc. All this is meant to convey the idea that under this Reform Movement the Sikh came into direct confrontation with the British Government.
The Khalsa Panth had already felt concerned on the matter of Gurdwara management, in Sept. 1918 the first such case before it was that of the 'Gurdwara Babe di Ber', Sialkot, where a 'patit' (degenerated person) was appointed Sarbrah. A man who had shorn his hair and who openly violated the Sikh code was appointed as a religious preacher for the Sikhs. The Sikhs strongly resented it. They called a gathering of the Khalsa on 5th Oct. 1920, and through a resolution appointed a 13-member committee of the Sikhs to look after the management of the shrine. Realizing the gravity of the situation, the Commissioner of the Division reached the place and proclaimed that the government has no intention of interfering in the religion and religious affairs of the Sikhs; they are fully free to manage their shrines, as they wish. The Sikhs felt encouraged by this development. Resolutions were also passed for the freedom of the Shri Darbar Sahib, but the government continued to evade the issue saying that the elections will be held according to the new constitution and newly elected members will propose changes in the management of the Darbar Sahib. So, situation remained the same.

On 12th Oct. 1920, the Khalsa brotherhood of Amritsar held its annual session in the 'Jallianwala bagh'. It was decided that, 'in a diwan, the so-called low-caste people will be granted the baptism of sword and thus made one with the high-ups, they will then be taken to Golden Temple'. As against it,
the mahants and priests of the Darbar Sahib got it proclaimed to the beat of the drum against this diwan saying that no Sikh should attend it. But in spite of it, the diwan was held and baptismal ceremony was also performed. Next day when these newly baptized Sikhs were taken to the 'Shri Darbar Sahib,' the mahants ran away. So, sevadars had to be appointed from among the gathered congregation. Afterwards, a committee was also formed with the consent of the Deputy Commissioner. In this way, the 'Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee' (S.G.P.C.) came into being. Its first session was held on 12th Dec. 1920 at the 'Akal Takhat'. After that the shrines at 'Panja Sahib', (Hasanabdal) Peshawar and the 'Gurdwara Khara Sauda' were also brought under the control of the community, (Panth). 'At a gathering at Amritsar on 24th Jan. 1921, a resolution to form Akali Dal was also adopted. In this way, the 'Shiromani Akali Dal' came into existence.

Among the papers launched at this time in the field of Sikh journalism, the prominent were the 'Ranjit', the 'Khalsa', the 'Jathedar', the 'Pradesi Khalsa', the 'Akali Te Pradesi', the 'Gargajj Akali', the 'Babbar Sher', the 'Kirpan Bahadur'. They advocated the cause of the Gurdwara Reform movement. However, there were some papers which supported the Chief Khalsa Diwan, and thus implicitly supported the opponents of the movements. Such papers advocated the government's view. 'The Sikh press knew it well that the greatest obstacle in its way was the government, which viewed the Gurdwara Reform Movement from a political perspective.' It was the result of this kind
of attitude adopted by the government that the struggle launched for religious purposes soon turned into a strong political movement. We shall talk about it later. The government became more and more harsh with the Sikh press. 'All efforts were made to suppress the Sikh journalism, the editors of the 'Akali' and other newspapers were arrested. The securities of printing presses were confiscated and Sikh journalists were persecuted.\(^{95}\) In such a situation, the papers started coming out edited by dummy editors, the real editor was thus saved from the arrest and in his place the dummy editor went to prison. Inspite of such unfavourable conditions, the Sikh journalism remained determined and firm on its goal:

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

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

Great is the Lord that once again the same old spirit has started prevailing among the Khalsa, and that the community has felt the need to reform their shrines. No doubt, it
was a matter of shame that the shrines should belong to the Khalsa, but the sevadars over there should indulge in corrupt practices ...  

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

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

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

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

Obviously, this group was afraid of opposing the government in a direct or indirect manner. In other words, we might say that supporters of the government were there in this group. That is why the papers belonging to this group adopted such a policy as seemed pro-Sikh, but, in fact, it was anti-Sikh.
Speaking in a similar vein, the 'Nayak* says that the aim of bringing about reform in the management of Sikh shrines is ideal, and the Sikh who does not agree to it is a sinner, but the means adopted by the Sikhs for the realization of this ideal are dangerous and harmful for the Sikhs.\textsuperscript{100} This paper also opposed the papers which were actively involved in the 'Reform Movement'. In a reference to the 'Akali', this paper launched a tirade of allegations against it and wrote:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The tragedy was bound to create an upheaval in the Sikh world. It also created a wave of protest throughout Punjab. The Urdu paper 'Zimindar' called the Muslims, who had participated in this gory tragedy, as shameless people, "O shameless Muslims! You use guns and swords against those who
had gone to 'Nankana Sahib' to fulfil their religious obligation. This carnage brought in its wake many challenges to the Sikh press. The 'Akali' and some other newspapers accepted this challenge and proclaimed the government to be fully responsible for it.

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

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

Naturally, the mahants felt encouraged and they held their own gathering in which they made numerous allegations against the Akalis, e.g. they extort money from the people,
they attack the sadhus and extort money from them, and their aim is not reformation but possession of the shrines etc. The Sikh journalism familiarized the Sikh masses with such happenings and warned them to be careful so that a holocaust like the one at Nankana Sahib does not recur:

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

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

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

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

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

If the Mahant at Nankana Sahib fired at them, they pacified those shots by taking them on their chests. If they were minced by spears, axes etc., they made no protest. If they were
burnt alive in ovens or tied to the trees, instead of uttering a cry of pain they uttered the name of God.\textsuperscript{116}

(ii) \textbf{Struggle for the Keys (Chabian Da Morcha)}:

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

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

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

The manner the government declares these religious congregations as political gatherings and hence illegal, can be best illustrated by the court decree passed by Mr. F.A. Canar, the Additional District Magistrate of Amritsar, which
he passed in the case of Kharak Singh, Mahtab Singh, and others. He has written that 'there is no doubt about it that any discussion in Amritsar district about the keys is bound to fire the people. Therefore, whosoever spoke on the subject cannot be without any political motives. So any such gathering can not be called purely religious.'

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

(iii) Morcha Guru Ka Baoh:

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

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

When the 'Gurdwara Reform Movement' attempted to re-establish the Sikh maryada in these shrines, it was observed that the Mahant here was not a man of good character. So a jatha of 50 Sikhs was sent there by the S.G.P.C. The jatha held a Diwan and successfully persuaded the Mahant to hand over the management to the S.G.P.C. He himself offered to work under the S.G.P.C. after receiving the Sikh baptism. He also agreed to give up all his concubines except Ishri, with whom he would marry according to the Sikh rites. Ultimately, things took the desired turn on 8th Feb. 1921. However, after the unfortunate holocaust at Nankana Sahib and the encouragement from the government, the entire situation changed. On 5th August 1921, the Mahant got 5 sikhs arrested on the charge of stealing timber. The Mahant had the backing of the government, as all this was happening under orders of the Deputy Commissioner. After this incident, a chain of the arrest of a group of five-volunteers
daily started. A Diwan was held on 25 August. The Akalis were lathi-charged with a view to stopping them from converging to the place. Their hair were also desecrated. On hearing of this news, a large number of Sikhs started moving towards 'Guru Ka Bagh.' The government had raised check-posts on the way, and thus there started a chain of torturing and oppressive acts of the government on the Akalis. However, the peaceful perseverance by the Akalis was exemplary. Every day a jatha of the Sikhs proceeded to the 'Guru Ka Bagh' after pledging the Akal Takhat, to remain peaceful throughout. The jatha was so mercilessly beaten that every member of it fell down unconscious. The Sikh Press openly denounced the tyranny perpetrated by the government at that time. Propaganda in favour of the agitation picked up so that the people could know the reality of the situation:

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

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

Khalsa Ji, imprisonment is really a minor thing as against suffering martyrdom by
getting burnt alive or getting minced.
Remember the martyrs of Nankana Sahib and somehow reach Guru Ka Bagh. 

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

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

It was the grace bestowed by him, That many deserts turned into green fields.
The enemy still does not let us rest in peace, He is proud of his large armies.
He who was nourished with our own blood, Tries to annihilate our belief (faith). 

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

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

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

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

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

At Jaitu, the police and armed forces sealed all routes leading to the diwan. Eatables were not allowed in. Once again the government threw a challenge, similar to the one at Guru Ka Bagh. The oppression and torture of the Sikhs stated once again. The news about it often appeared in the papers. The Sikh papers were banned in the 'Nabha' state which meant that the government was aware of the direct influence of the Sikh journalism on the psyche of the masses. As against it, the papers which supported the government policy were distributed free of cost. The Sikh religious sentiment was hurt all
the more when the 'pathis' reading the scripture were pulled away by policemen which amounted to disruption in the continuous recitation of the holy granth. This sacrilege was strongly reacted to the Sikh press:

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

It so influenced the Sikh community that once again it was filled with enthusiasm. Although the government declared the S.G.P.C. and the Akali Dal as illegal,\textsuperscript{135} the S.G.P.C. did not bother for the ban and started sending Jathas of 25 each. It continued for about 5 months.\textsuperscript{136} The first Shahidi Jatha of about 500 people reached (on 21st Feb. 1924) the 'Faridkot' state via Tarn-Taran, Naushahira Pannuan, Sarhali, Pakho, Zira, Talwandi, etc. When the jatha moved towards 'Tibbi Sahib' at about noon the government security forces fired at them resulting in the death of some and injury to many. The rest were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. The incident shook the entire community, but the Shahidi-Jathas continued to pour in at Jaitu. The total number of these Jathas is said to be 16.\textsuperscript{137} The Sikh press gave hair-raising accounts of the cruelty and tyranny perpetrated on the sikhs. 'Akali te Pradesi' gives details of this oppression:

-----To make them under go the process of sitting down and standing up at regular intervals.
——to make one sit entirely naked, on the cot with both legs wide apart, of the longer side in the frame of cot.

——to hang the Sikh upside down and keep him so until he fell unconscious;

——to put the filth in their mouths;

——to make them forcibly smoke or to throw smoke at them;

——to pull off the hair of the head, the beard and the moustache;

——to pull off or burn the hair on their private parts;

——to make the young lads undress and to have sex with them;

——to thrust rod in the anus; and

——to torture them by applying hot iron-rods on their bodies.138

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

The tyranny perpetrated on the religious Akalis in the Nabha state might not have happened in any barbarian state . . . .
The government cannot digest the religious freedom of the Sikhs . . . .139

During the time of this agitation and after that many questions were raised by scholars and leaders saying that this
agitation was well beyond the purview of the S.G.P.C. We shall talk of it in detail, in the next chapter. But one thing is obvious that it had to suffer indescribable oppression of the government. That is why, the Sikh press viewed this agitation with sympathy.

(D) Gurdwara Act and Sikh Journalism:

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

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

When the final draft of this Bill became public in 1925, the Sikh press did not express its considered views on it, but 'the non-Sikh papers called it a victory of the Sikhs as well as of the fundamental principles of the Reform Movement.' These papers went to the extent of saying that after a long war, the government had ultimately surrendered to the Akalis. The papers of the Mahant Party, the 'Hind', felt so upset that it wrote in bold letters, "Times have changed for the worse in the Punjab. All values have been topsy turned." It was natural for the Mahants to feel so upset. But it never meant that the Sikh press was fully satisfied with the Bill and was hence silent. On the other hand, it had put forward some conditions for its acceptance. These conditions were related to the resolution of all religious
matters of the Sikhs, such as removal of the ban on the S.G.P.C. and the Akali Dal, the unconditional release of Akali detainees, the removal of police-posts from Sikh villages, the removal of ban on Kirpan, the reinstatement of the Akali lands (and Jagirs) confiscated by the government. All these matters were directly concerned with the Sikhs.

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

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

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

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

The gist of the Bill was published in the papers of 23, 24 &
25th April 1925. Reflecting over it and keeping in view the contemporary situation, the S.G.P.C. passed a resolution. In this resolution, amendments to rectify the lapses in the Bill were proposed, and the remaining demands were also presented, in a formal way:

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

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

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

At the same time, the paper expressed its shock over the
cases of litigation, which had been lost and said:

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

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

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

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

On the whole, the Sikh journalism did not see eye to eye with this Act. The morcha of Daska in August 1931 is indicative of this dissatisfaction. The Sikh journalism called the verdict, given by a Muslim Judge in the case of 'Daska' Shrine, a deep conspiracy. The process of volunteering arrests started once again during this agitation. Although
the rival party in this case comprised of the Hindus, yet a section of the Hindus was with the Sikhs. In this context, a statement of 130 Hindus appeared in the 'Maji' and some other papers:

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

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


5; —do— p. 95.


"इन सूचना जो नेव अंग्रेज न देखे जो विस्तार और पृष्ठभूमि
विभिन्न प्रकार के निदेश बनाने के काम है— यह वैद्य निम्न लोगों के हैं कि हरे दिन से
विभिन्न लोगों से अंग्रेज और पृष्ठभूमि विभिन्न खिलने के रूप में उन नेव जो निम्न
tे दुखे हैं जो अंग्रेज और पृष्ठभूमि विभिन्न विभिन्न है।"

8. Bhai Sahib Bhai Vir Singh, Amarlekh, Bhai Vir Singh Sahit
Sadan, New Delhi, 1982, p. 20. (Artical published in Khalsa
Samachar in 9th April, 1900.)


"हे पुस्तक तुम पढ़ ए अमृत सिख फिर बूढ़े से दुख दुखित है हि
हूँ अनंतर नौ शेषें नौ उठे सभी निंदा नौ शे उठे बहुत लहर सब्र कल्पणा किरण है तै
दूरे फिर सामान्य है दुखित है है दुखित है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखी है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है दुखित है है
“हेतु यदि हो तो नयी हो भुजन बनाने के अंत में हम अपने सबसे स्थायित्व से धीरे-धीरे खुदा भावनाओं से निकलते हैं।”


15. Ibid., p. 7.


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

22. See: Khalsa Samachar, 18th Dec. 1899, p. 2.


25. See: Khalsa Samachar, 8th April, 1903, p. 9.


27. Khalsa Samachar, 12th March 1900, p. 5.


"..."
बादुम बन लिंग त के अब उनका प्रदर्शन के रूप में धर्म और उनके भविष्यक निर्देश दे दिया है।


"पहले लिंग के दोनों निर्देशकों में फालतू व्याख्याता के स्वरूप में स्वीकार किए और धर्मण बन आए। निर्देशकों के ही स्वरूप में हैं यह निर्देशकों के ही स्वरूप में। वर्तमान समय के लिए इस निर्देशकों के ही स्वरूप में। वर्तमान समय के लिए इस निर्देशकों के ही स्वरूप में। वर्तमान समय के लिए इस निर्देशकों के ही स्वरूप में।"

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


"ने नमक स्तर लेऔ के अंतर्गत हो गइंग है जो भूम के रूप में इतिहास है अन्य भूम के रूप में इतिहास है वह भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है वह भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है। भूम के रूप में इतिहास है।
37. See Editorial, Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 13th May 1898, p. 3.
38. Letter; Khalsa Akhbar, 16th Dec. 1898, p. 5.
43. —do—, p. 17.
45. See: Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 26th May 1899, p. 6.
"Editor's Answer to a letter; Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 26th May 1899, p. 6.

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

47. Letter; Khalsa Samachar, 4th Dec. 1899.
48. Editor, Khalsa Samachar, 24th June 1903. p.3.

"बुध स्वतः के ले तो है गोवे 'स्वतः' तर निष्क्रिय है दिके दिने दिल सतीं मै रविज्ञ सज्ज। ते तर तो निराध है। निष्क्रिय न्व नध निःप्रेष तू सुनहों वरत केरत उर तूम हैं 'स्वस्तिक' तः पूजण देख।"

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

"बुध रक्षको उल्लो सो अन ड फ़िजर बड़े। रक्षक रक्षक नीतिः हिंदू है स्वच्छ सो। ने नवी डाँड़ी तो पूर्णिय हुँज़ उर बैठो, अन नवकं ज अनेक अम्मा तर पैठ। निष्क्रिय न्व रक्षक, रक्षक हे लखन देख नीतियं बुध अनुद बुधकं तह, बुध रक्षक हे तो हे हे नाम हे पड़े हे हे हे। रक्षक अनुद हे बैठे हे रक्षक निष्क्रिय हे बैठे अन अनेक है नि भ्रम हे बैठे अन रागें पूर्णिय हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हे हेवहीं।"

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

"ते ले युष्म तो अव ते हे हूँ तक्ष्यक ल दुर्घ ते हे तो, अव अतो हूँ निष्क्रिय ले देश दुर्घ दिक्य। अपन दिन काढ़ वर्षे हे ब्रह्मलोक चाहे से अष्ट कुस्तक के दिन किर वर्षे, अपन युष्म हे निलिये हूँ तक्ष्यक ल अम्मा, निष्क्रिय न्व निष्क्रिय हिंदू है तौरे हैं दुर्घ तौरे हैं हूँ तक्ष्यक से तख्तवन ने दिखाने म तहसल अवत म तहसल है।"

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

"उत्तमों बिल्कुलः प्रवचन बुधुम अनिष्टः देखः दिक्य दिखाने दिखाने सो, निम नल स्वतः अवोत विवाह विवाह विवाह निकालने तो, निम नल स्वतः 'पाणि तलने तो। दिक्य निस्फाल सो हे हूँ प्रवचन दे प्रवचन, बुधुम प्रवचन दे प्रवचन दे प्रवचनुऽ प्रवचनुऽ हे वरत अवर दिक्य वरत अवर दिक्य वरत अवर दिक्य वरत अवर दिक्य वरत अवर दिक्य दिक्य दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे दिक्य हे
52. Editor; Khalsa Samachar, 11th March 1903. F.3.

"अब यह सब असझाए ने लिखा रहा ने छोटे ते ही ते ही ने नया जो जरूर न हो। तो जिसे अच्छे लगने तो उस लेखकों को पुरातों ने नववारा दिये रहे जा।

---- लोगों को नयी मामले दे दिशा तू लोगों को नया रखा जा रहा है। ऐसे लेखकों ने नववारा दिये रहे जा। तो जीते अच्छे लगने तो उस लेखकों को पुरातों ने नववारा दिये रहे जा।


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

"तब पर भी निश्चय अवम दें गज देह दें अवम धर्मसः ने लिखा है ने छोटे ते ही ने नया जो जरूर न हो। तो जिसे अच्छे लगने तो उस पुरातों रहे जा।

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


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

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

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


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

"पीढ़े के साथ ही एक दिन कहा गया था, दिशा दिशा मान था, तैले देख लोग सोने लगे, तो तैले देख लोग तेज़ बने, मीठा मीठा भोजन खाने लगे और दूसरा दूसरा भोजन खाने लगे। यह तो यह तो और सरल बना गया।"

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

"1. अब भारतवर्धन की जो रचना हुई व रचना की है विश्वविद्यालय के अन्दर इंग्लैंड में रचनात्मक के रूप में व्यापक रूप से व्यापकता प्राप्त हुई है।
2— उत्तर प्रदेश के भवन का नाम नगर विहार विहार लगे हैं। इसलिए भवन का नाम नगर लगा जाना है। यह आज के वक्त है बस यह बहुत सारे वक्त है विश्व का विश्वास इतिहास रहा है।
3— भगवान जी भक्ति से भक्ति रहे हैं व सहृदय देख कहा गया है विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय रहे है। फिर भक्ति का रूप ग्रहण करने के लिए विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही
4— अब भारतवर्धन की जो भक्ति से भक्ति है विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही विषय के ही


67. Letter, Khalsa Samachar, 14th Jan. 1903.

"Mere Khalsa Dast 27 Yr. 1902 me p. no. 74, Khalsa Akhbar, 16th Dec. 1893, p. 8.


"Mere Khalsa Akhbar, 16th Dec. 1893, p. 8.

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

"Mere Khalsa Akhbar, 16th Dec. 1893, p. 8.

"वे उसे ४ अठों लिख बुक जग बना या विविध विश्व सर्वोद निदेशा देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न देवी निम्न..."

72. See; Report, Khalsa Samachar, 3rd Dec. 1902, p. 5-9.

73. Editor, Khalsa Samachar, 28th Jan. 1903, p. 2.
"कि है जो कितने अब बुक जग बना या आपा है, यहाँ भी संगठन जग ने जय जय जय जय दिन निम्न है।"

74. 'Jathedar’s Diary; Khalsa Samachar, 6th May 1903, p. 11.
""-(१९०३) स्वयं ग्राहक दुकानदार है विद्वान दस नृति नृति दोहे। उसके, यहाँ समाध का हाथ पूरा हाथ पूरा हाथ पूरा हाथ पूरा बहुत हाथ पूरा हाथ पूरा बहुत हाथ पूरा हाथ पूरा बहुत हाथ बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहुत बहु..."


76. See: Editor; Khalsa Samachar, 14th Jan. 1903, p. 4-5.

77. Pamphlet, Akali Lehar, Sikh Missionary, Publication No.130, p. 10.


98. Editorial; Akali, 3rd Jan. 1921, p. 2.
प्रजा तोड़ धन विप्र किस्में दुख हूँ प्रगति रत्न है जो धर्म सिखे चढ़ते है कि विसे हूँ दुख दिलिए। उद्देश्य उन्हें सेवा सरकार उसमें से विद्रोह करे जिसे दुख दिलाते है जो धर्म हूँ दुख दिलाते है जब जिस क्रिया करने वाले जब जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व जिस क्रिया व
109. Pamphlet, *Saka Nankana Sahib*, Sikh Missionary College,
Publication No.6, Nov. 1987, p. 25.


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"..."


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

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

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

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

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


"मूँ दे घर फिर उँचाई से जन-जन दे रूप-रूप बाजी, अकालों करते हैं फुलाया।
कुछ ही लोग उन्हें शिकार करते, तब गोली तब गोली बन जाती है। ऐसे मान सही
स्वतंत्र बनाने को: नीचे-दीन नीचे कि-कि।"


"घाटा जा! तैल मतों पौधे भेड़ 3 भेड़ 3 भेड़ 2 3 लल तेंतुक तेंतु
तो दुनिया में तब-तब तेंतु तेंतु।। ने मान लीज दरवीज दे पौधों, हूँ जल भरते
तिय हिरे जूजे भरा पूँछ मोटे लो तो।"


"सांस्कृतिक दंग लो लो देखो
कुछ अपर विधा दिवस वरमिलत यह
बतो अभाव देखया तो जड़ो अर्पे
सांस्कृतिक दंग देखा अभाव यह
हैजे जाने तो देख लक्ष दिख
देख हूँ दुर्गला ल जय भरत यह
निकहूँ रूप दिख दे उजाड़ हो
देखो भटेख जाने स्वाभाव माना।"


"जूझ भारतीयों दे सविता दिस भेड़ों गुलाम तोग तोग तोग है जुझ है
भारतीय है दे सविता दिस भेड़ों वैदिक जैसे।। भगवान हूँ जल फिर जल हूँ जल
भरत हूँ देख कर भेड़ों जैसे मान भरत हूँ जल जैसे मान भरत हूँ जल जैसे देख कर भेड़ों जैसे।.
130. Because the Maharaja was a liberal and he supported the Sikhs—See: Punjab (Ed. Ganda Singh), Punjabi Sahit Academy, 1962, p. 227 and Akali Lehar (Pamphlet), Sikh Missionary College, Publication No. 130, p. 40.


"नैसे इतिहास ते पुलम हे दोहरा हे पने आईं। हे पने आईं हे दोहरा हे पुलम।"


"मासिक अदा अती उपयोग उपयोग अदा उपयोग अदा उपयोग अदा उपयोग अदा उपयोग अदा उपयोग अदा उपयोग अदा उपयोग अदा उपयोग अदा.

135. See; Pamphlet, Akali Lehar, Sikh Missionary College, Publication No. 130, p. 42.


137. Ibid., p. 555.

138. Akali Te Pardesi, 16th April 1925, p. 3.

"(1) दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता दुर्गाल वांता

135. See; Pamphlet, Akali Lehar, Sikh Missionary College, Publication No. 130, p. 42.


137. Ibid., p. 555.

138. Akali Te Pardesi, 16th April 1925, p. 3.

"टोम्टे हॉ हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ टोम्टे हॉ

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

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"विकल्प रणनीति विचार 3 नए नियम के अंतर तथा राजपत्र के जो तैयार करने से स्वतः विचार करने के लिए ध्यान करने वालों को बताना है कि यह नयी रणनीति विचारों के अंतर में नए नियम के अनुसार है। यह बताएगा कि इसकी तुलना के नए नियम के अंतर में नए नियम के अनुसार है। इसका लक्ष्य है कि आगे के दिनों में नए नियम के अंतर में नए नियम के अनुसार है।


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

"राजनीति दृष्टि के मैत्रीजय से भरित है जो कि इसके संबंध में नए नियम से टेलर दृष्टि के मैत्रीजय से भरित है। (Published in Kirpal Bahadur 25th Oct, 1931, p.4) इस ही संदर्भ में दृष्टि के अंतर में नए नियम के अनुसार है। इस संदर्भ में दृष्टि के अंतर में नए नियम के अनुसार है। इस संदर्भ में दृष्टि के अंतर में नए नियम के अनुसार है। इस संदर्भ में दृष्टि के अंतर में नए नियम के अनुसार है।