Chapter III

Sikh Journalism and Social Reform

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References
Sikh Journalism and Social Reform

The Sikh Journalism worked strongly for bringing about religious reforms. It also started movement for social reforms, with equal sincerity and wisdom. In fact, the Sikhism was born to do away with those misconceptions which had hindered the idea of human brotherhood. That is why Sikhism developed its religious conceptions in such a way as made possible the restructuring of the society, free from the distinctions of caste, class and social status. It also aimed at putting an end to anti-social values, and at establishing a social order based on ethnic equality. Therefore, the Sikh journalism, on the one hand, wrote articles against the violation of the established code, on the other, it strongly opposed those social evils which had been eating into the vitals of our social fabric. For example, certain such social evils as casteism, superstitions, dowry, child marriage, illiteracy, ban on widow-marriage, increasing addiction to drugs (intoxicants), gambling, etc., put obstacles in the way of social development. The Sikh journalism analysed these problems from the religious and scientific perspective, so that an awareness could be made ensured in the society, to reform them. The changing situation called for this awakening.
After the end of Sikh rule and the annexation of Punjab by the British many Sikhs discarded their faith and merged with Hindus. In the mean time Christianity which was a new religion for India and which had the backing of a great political power, also started its missionary work. Under its influence, many Sikhs also gave up their faith. Consequently, the numerical strength of the Sikhs which was around ten millions during the Sikh rule, fell 18,53,428, in 1881. It was a matter of grave concern for the Sikhs. It was also obvious that the Sikhs were unable to retain the higher values of Sikhism and therefore, the people were leaving the faith in a large number. 'Under the influence of Brahmanism, the Sikh society used to perform Brahmanical rites on the occasions of birth, marriage and death. Woman came to be considered inferior to man, in keeping with Manu's ideology. Use of wine and tobacco was common. The Sikh society moved away from the Sikh ideals.' In this way, the social set-up of the Sikhs also became the same as it was of the Hindu society, prior to the founding of Sikhism. In such a situation the Sikh press took upon itself the responsibility of bringing about social reforms. A letter was published under the title 'Cry of a Sikh' in the 'Khalsa Samachar'. From it, we can have an estimate of the contemporary Sikh social situation:

... The promising Sikh Youth have been playing in the hands of Brahma Samaj, Dev Samaj, Arya Samaj, Islam, Christianity and other such religious (it is a reference to Sikhs change of religion). The rich heritage of this brave community is being robbed mercilessly by the selfish, deceitful and the
greedy people. Carelessness, lack of far-sightedness, illiteracy and superstitions are eating into its vitals. Disunity, groupism, pride and such other evils cause its defeat every point. Intoxicants and such other things are destroying this pious religion.

The way the editor responded to this letter is indicative of the sincerity, with which the Sikh press was fulfilling its obligation to awaken the Sikh society. In his reply, the editor went to the extent of calling the Sikh nation dead:

Those with whom you want to share your agonies are already dead. Then who would listen to you?

It is obvious that the problems, the Sikhs had been facing during the days of its infancy, now became a virtually challenge during the British rule. The Sikh society had to face them once again, and the Sikh journalism was busy in providing awareness to the Sikh society, in this struggle. The role of the Sikh press was almost akin to that of Sikh Gurus, i.e. to provide enlightenment to the people, who were in the darkness of ignorance. The only difference was that the Sikh press started its job with the support of the hymns uttered by the Gurus. The Sikh journalism analysed these problems, evaluated them and tried to comprehend them fully so that these problems could be rooted out and an ideal society established.

All these problems did not arise all of a sudden. In fact, they had a long history and many causes behind them.
Therefore it becomes necessary to study their background so as to evaluate the efforts made by the Sikh press to bring about reformation. These problems can be categorized as under:

1) Problem of Caste-System
2) Problem of Woman-Status
3) Marriage System
4) Social and the problem of intoxicants.

(i) Sikh Journalism Vis-a-Vis the problem of Caste:

The Indian society was divided into four categories: Brahman, Khatri, Vaish and Shudra, on the basis of work. However, this social division gradually so deteriorated that a person from the Nair caste could go to a Brahman but not touch him. A Tian, who distilled toddy liquor, had to remain 36 steps off him. A Malain (Panan or exorcist) was supposed to remain even 3 or 4 steps farther away. A Pulain (agriculturist and untouchable) remained 96 steps away. In a nutshell, it guaranteed the highest status to the Brahman. Manu declares that a Brahman is as high as a god, whether he is educated or not, whether he is good or even bad.

The Sikhism had to face the degenerated social situation in its early years, because of the caste system and untouchability. Therefore, one of the major aims before Sikhism was to put an end to the evil of caste system. Inequity had been the order of the day because of the strong roots of caste system. Consequently, the higher castes could
exploit and torture the people belonging to the lower castes. It was something deadly ruinous to humanity. But the most unfortunate thing was that 'this caste system had a religious sanction of the Vedic Brahmanism.'\textsuperscript{11} It is thus evident that the idea of caste system was the product of Brahman psyche, which made a rule that 'men are and shall remain high or low because of their birth, and not because of their good or bad deeds.'\textsuperscript{12} Such conceptions gained further strength from the theory of Karma; which is based on the idea that every person enjoys the rewards or undergoes sufferings, in keeping with the deeds done by him in his previous life. In this way, the element of violence in the hatred of the higher castes towards the lower castes became invisible, and the 'Brahmanism' never gave up the pretension of non-violence.

If we study the history of India, we learn that after Buddhism, which had ceased to exist in India a long time back, Sikhism was the only religion which succeeded in establishing a distinct kind of society outside the caste system. It is true that the 'Bhakti movement,' before the advent of Sikhism, had made commendable efforts in this direction. But it did not prove to be very effective. The only reason behind this failure of the 'Bhakti movement' was "the absence of a constructive thinking in the re-structuring of a new society."\textsuperscript{13}

The idea of social equality was an ideal thought. Therefore, idealism needs to be properly organized if it is to be used for the welfare of society; otherwise, idealism
would boil down to nothing as it happened with the Bhakti movement. Sikhism laid a strong foundation of a society based on social equality. That is why, the efforts put in by the Sikh Guru bore rich fruit. Alongwith it, the struggle launched by the Sikhs for their political right also strengthened the foundation of Sikhism. The well known journalist, Hira Singh Dard remarked:

"Ramanand, Kabir and Chaitanya, who were the prominent leaders of the Bhakti movement, made a significant contribution towards the cause of religion and social reforms. But none of them travelled as widely as Guru Nanak, to collect vast knowledge and personal experience. Nor did they got out of the sphere of religion to contribute towards the resolution of social and political questions."

In this way, the struggle launched at the political front by the Sikhs was also aimed at social reform.

From the Sikh newspapers of the earlier days, we can very well know that the Sikh press was fully conscious of the inequalities resulting from the caste system. This division of society on ethnic grounds was against the religious tenets of the Sikhism. So, it was but natural that the Sikh press should voice its protest against it, especially because it was the need of the hour. It upheld the view that to accept one caste (or class) as superior to others castes amounts to encouraging the oppression of our fellowmen at the hands of the privileged few. It asserted that such an attitude was bound to harm the ideal of human equality. In this context 'The Khalsa Akhbar' wrote;
It has been written in the Simritis that all the other three Varnas are subservient to the Brahman.17

The Sikh papers opposed the concept of master-servant relationship-existing among people, on the basis of castes. Following this policy, the Sikh press called upon the Sikhs to denounce the society which patronised the social inequalities. Even the Sikhs who happened to believe in this caste system were equally denounced by the Sikh press and such Sikhs were denounced to have lost their faith in the teachings of Sikhism.18

The Sikhs passing through such a phase had so far failed to decide, whether they were part of Hinduism or had an independent entity of their own. We had a detailed discussion on the issue of independent entity of the Sikh in the preceding chapter.

The Sikh press contributed to the weeding out the evil of caste-system and for founding a true and pious Sikh social order, by taking a stand on establishing the independent entity of the Sikhs, and by declaring that the presence of caste system among the Sikhs was anti-Sikh. In this context the Khalsa Akhbar, wrote:

If we ponder over the situation, we learn that the loss which the Sikhs have suffered and are suffering from Hinduism is indescribable. The Khalsa will save itself from this loss only when it asserts its distinctive flag and seeks shelter with the Tenth Guru.19

While talking of the attainment of this aim, (i.e. founding of the Sikh Society), the Sikh press sometimes adopted the tone of an opponent of other religions and their social
orders that hindered its aim. This indicates its sincerity towards its ideal of the establishment of an ideal society. Such a tone naturally pinched other religions and societies. By pointing out this pinching tone, the Sikh press was sometimes labelled communal. However, the ideas of religious orthodoxy expressed by the Sikh journalism powerfully countered this allegation.

While efforts were being made to found a society based on equal rights for all, a misconception arose that the Sikhs are communal. It will be pertinent to thrash out the misconception here and now. This misconception, born out of ignorance, dealt a fatal blow to the reformatory role of the Sikh religion and of the Sikh press. The results of this blow could have been dangerous for the whole of mankind. Fundamentally, the Sikhism did not depend on the loyalty or aspiration of any individual, family, sect, tribe or feudal aristocrat. It was a movement which aimed at struggling for the basic rights of the poor and the oppressed. An example of the ignorance or lack of wisdom of the contemporary Hindu papers towards Sikhism and its reformatory attitude is given here. An article was published in the 'Khalsa Akhbar'. It said, "the Sikh religion being preached everywhere. As a proof of it, there are the Janeus worth 21 tolas in weight (which came from Pothohar in May 1899) which were taken off by those who accepted the Sikh baptism." Referring to this news, the editor of the 'Arya Gazette' (25th May 1899) expressed
its lament in these words:

What an irony! Guru Gobind Singh laid down his life in defence of the Hindus symbols of Janeu and top khot (Choti). However, these days a few regenerated Sikhs are all set to break off the Janeus. One of them brought a few days ago Janeus worth 21 tolas in weight. This bold news is being widely commended.

It is also necessary to state here in this context that the Janeu of Alam Singh was taken off by Shri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib himself, because if he had kept it on, he would have remained a Brahman. Looking at this event from the superficial level only, one may term it communal; but actually it was a step towards a healthy and constructive approach as the 'Sikhism considers all mankind as one.' It was also a step towards the ideal society with equal rights for all.

It was stated in Bachitar Natak that Guru Tegh Bahadur Ji made the supreme sacrifice to protect the Janeus of the Hindus. It symbolised the social awakening which enabled man to stand against the tyranny of the tyrant. The Sikh Press also spoke in a similar tone:

Shri Guru Gobind Singh Ji Maharaj forbade Aurangzib to break off the Janeus, and provided defence to the weak Aryan people...

If the Hindus threw away their Janeus to embrace Sikhism, it was under the influence of the Sikh ideology, and not under threat of force. Undoubtedly, Sikh of the Guru never commits tyranny. To illustrate it, 'Khalsa Samachar' said:
During the entire period of the Sikh rule, no one was ever converted to Sikhism under threat of force. On the other hand, high offices during the Sikh rule remained mostly with the Hindus and the Muslims. As the paper was writing it, it envisioned the ideal society, which is the first requirement of the Sikhism. According to a Sikh Scholar, 'the Sikhs fought against the social and political oppressions not because they were the supporters of Brahmanism, but because they felt that moral, religious and spiritual progress is not possible under the threat of a social, religious and political force.' In other words, the Sikhs stood up for the creation of an atmosphere favourable for healthy social growth. For this purpose, they willingly went in for an armed struggle also.

History stands witness that people from the so called lower castes who were initiated into Sikhism were given equal rights within the Sikh society. Following this policy, the Sikh press also advocated the idea of removing caste inequalities in the Sikh society. It started preaching in this direction so that the social consciousness is awakened among the people and, thus, it made its contribution to the cause of social regeneration.

About 100 Sikhs from Gujranwala, some of whom were affluent and honorable members of the city signed with pious hearts that henceforth they will not treat any baptized Sikh as untouchable.

A movement was also launched by Sikh journalism to
bring the untouchables into the Sikh fold. Keeping in mind the struggle of the freedom of India, this policy of converting untouchables into Sikhs might seem a new tactic to the people who viewed it from the political perspective. But the fact is that it was a big leap towards the establishment of a society, based on equality. And this was given a wide publicity in the press. Mahatma Gandhi also published a strongly-worded essay on this theme in his paper 'Young India.'

It can thus be said with certainty that the Sikh Press has always been waging a relentless struggle for the eradication of the caste distinctions. The religious principles on which the Sikh journalism was based saw the caste system as a social evil. The Hindu society in which caste system enjoys a religious sanction always opposed the Sikh press. That is why the Hindu papers tried to prove the Sikhs as communal because of the questions raised by them on caste system. The Sikh journalism tried to counter this and to prove themselves secular. It also talked of the establishment of a social order where there would be complete harmony and human equality. Unfortunately, it did not succeed fully in this mission because of the opposition both from within and with out.

(2) Sikh Journalism and Women Upliftment:

Sikh journalism had been as active for the uplift of women, as it was for the cessation of caste system. Several series of essays, stories and other material were published. They portrayed the position of contemporary woman, and
exhorted the society to pay heed to the uplift of woman. As a result of these efforts by journalism, the efforts to bring about the social reforms gained momentum and strength. For instance, 'Punjabi Bhain' was a prominent paper which solely worked for the uplift of women. Before acquiring full information about women uplift and the efforts made by Sikh press in this direction, it is necessary to know all those things which led to the degradation of their status in the society, and thus lowering their dignity. In fact, the reasons behind all this can easily be traced if we evaluate the ancient social values. We will have to look back to the times since when the social restrictions on women started tightening.

At first when the Aryans reached India, the women enjoyed social rights at par with men, but it was for a very brief period. Later on, in the social order based on caste system, which was established by the Brahmanism, her place in society began to deemed lower than that of amn. Manu declared the whole women-folk subservient to men. The tradition of man being called the 'Lord husband' of his wife was established. It was the first step towards the subservience of woman. So much so, the women of higher castes were also given a lower position in society. This further strengthened the male dominance over woman. This led to the founding of a male-dominated society. In such a situation her world was confined only to the four walls of the house. Afterwards many
misconceptions about woman also became part of the male-dominated society and this gave birth to evil of the child-marriage, ban on female education, ban of marriage of widows, dowry system, the practice of sati and many other immoral and inhuman social evils. The worst tyranny perpetrated on woman was when a female-child born to her was killed at the time of birth. So much so that even some religious scriptures express grief at the birth of a daughter, who as they considered it a harbinger of some calamity.

The social position of woman can be gauged from the proverbs prevalent in our society, which dismiss her as imbecile and inferior to man. For instance, about the intellect of woman, it is said that 'her wisdom lies in her heel or behind her pigtails.' Similarly, it is said that 'woman is a great calamity.' To prove her inferior to man, she is said to wear off along with the shoes of man. It was natural to consider them imbecile because of their illiteracy, but mainly it was because of the Brahmanic policy which prohibited her from studying the Vedic literature. Consequently, her social status was no better than that of a Shudra. At the religious level, this fact is attested by the Bhagavadgita. However, in Sikhism woman has been given a place of honour. Guru Nanak Dev Ji says,

"So Kioo Manda Akhiya,
Jit Jamhe Rajan." (Why call one unlucky who gives birth even to kings)
In fact, it was the Brahmanical class only which was responsible for this unjust treatment with women. The economic dependence of woman is also one of major factors that led to the dominance of man over woman. The illiterate woman would willingly bear suppression as she was fully convinced that man was sole prop of her life. Her social sphere became so narrow that it was virtually impossible and unthinkable for her to seek an independent economic existence. Born and brought up in such a situation, she became whimsical under certain unseen fears. Some selfish men created some superstitions which caused her further downfall in the darkness of ignorance where she felt further convinced of evil spirits, witchcraft, fasts etc. She was in the tight-grip of all these blind and unfounded beliefs. Even the menfolk could not save themselves for long from entertaining such superstitious beliefs. In fact, they also developed faith in them. At a time, when the whole society had fallen a prey to wrong rituals and superstitions and thus fallen down from the religious plan, the Sikhism originated in the form of a strong reformative movement. So, it became a prime function of Sikhism to lead as well as to criticise the society. The Sikh journalism spared no pains to fulfil this mission of the Sikhism.

If we turn the pages of Sikh history to assess the place of women in society, we find that the Sikhism provided them a status equal to men. That is why in Sikhism she enjoys equality with man. History stands witness that both men and women always joined hands to ensure success to the Sikh
revolutionary movements. 'Mai Bhago Ji' reorganized the Jatha of those Sikhs who had deserted Guru Gobind Singh Ji at Anandpur. In fact, she led Battle of Muktsar. The Sikh journalism, blessed with such a rich heritage, could never remain mum on seeing the deteriorated position of woman in the contemporary society, in which she was a victim of fear and ignorance. The 'Khalsa Samachar' narrated the social status of women in the following words:

She was meant to do all the odd jobs at home by prohibiting her from performing religious functions, she was turned a beast. The result of such unjust treatment was that she became physically and mentally very weak. They were reduced to mere skeletons, tottering at every step. Superstitions grepped them as the cobwebs and layers of dust do in a deserted house.

The paper also write about how women were exploited by the greedy and deceitful people.

At such times, the pretentious do as they wish. The parasitic Brahmans and pretentious sadhus further discourage her by telling of imaginary stories and superstitions. Thereby, they put her on a track where their kind hearts could easily bear the impress of those imaginary tales.

Women got used to their life within the four walls of the house, which they had been leading since long. So, they did not feel their agonies much. Their lives were overshadowed by ignorance and illiteracy. The Sikh journalism started encouraging women education. Its result gradually came into limelight. With a view to uplifting woman the first step that the 'Sikh organisations' took in this direction was
to provide opportunities of education to girls, so that in the times to come, they might become aware of their rights, and fight for them. In the beginning, the books published for the cause of the improvement the status of women, were of course read by men, but women were least aware of it. Illiteracy among women was the only problem. So, it was of paramount importance that they should be able to read those books. Keeping it in view, the Sikh journalism accelerated its efforts to spread education among women.

In the 'Punjabi Bhain' (April 1909), an article was published under the heading "Our Rights and Appeal to the Panth". In this article, the demand to give women equal status as in the past, was raised. The sacrifices and great contribution made by those great women (Mai Bhago, Sundari, Maharani of Jind etc.) of Sikh History were referred to. These women had fought in the battle-field along with their menfolk. In that article, the contemporary plight of women was also discussed and man was held responsible for her predicament.

We have lost love for education and religion. We have lost love for each other. So we have become ignorant of our duties and rights. We have become so ignorant that we have no knowledge of our rights. Who is to blame for this? Not we, but the male leaders of our community.

The paper was quite outspoken about the discrimination against women in the Sikh society. In this context, it says:

We have spent not hundreds or thousands but lakhs of rupees on high schools and
colleges for providing education, and for their full comforts for building up the social image of our sons. So conscious are we about the rights of our sons. But what have we done for those hapless women who have been enslaved for long for want of education?  

It is a fact that the discrimination between the male and female child persisted for a long time, and as it does continue to exist to some extent even today. The credit goes to the Sikh journalism for taking up the cause of women. To ensure equal status to them, the Sikh press helped in the establishment of schools for girls at Ferozepur (Kanya Maha Vidyalaya), Kairo (Khalsa Bhujangan) and Bhasaur (Vidya Bhandar). These schools provided preliminary education to women of the Punjab. The 'Khalsa Dharam Dipak had had the vision of starting Khalsa Schools for girls in each city. This vision came to be realized within the coming few years, and the number of such schools went up to 134, till the partition of the country in 1947.

The Sikh journalism had realized in its very infancy its responsibility towards female education and started making efforts in this connection. In 1886 when the 'Khalsa Akhbar' of Lahore was lithographed, it published an essay series as titled "Istri Sikhia". It was in the form of a dialogue between two female characters, Budh Kaur, an educated woman and Kubudh Kaur, an illiterate woman. Through this serial, the importance of education among women was brought out. The main aim of this essay was to make women conscious of the importance of education. In this way, different Sikh
papers worked for this noble cause at different levels. The 'Panjabi Bhain' felt proud in saying that "whole country is now providing education to women. Everybody is supporting this cause. The people now support it physically, morally and financially." The enthusiasm among the people for female education can be judged from the fact that in 1899, Bhai Takhat Singh of Ferozepur toured the islands, and collected a sum of 58 thousands and put the 'Sikh Kanya Maha Vidyalaya' on sound financial footing.

In the context of education, it will be pertinent to point out here that the Sikh journalism encouraged not only the female education, but also impressed upon the Sikh young men to get the best education in order to adopt the progressive thinking of other communities.

The Khalsa is interested in its progress, but has not received a good education as the people from other communities do. This is the cause of our backwardness.

The Sikh press gave great importance to education, because it is education alone which can inspire a man to struggle for his rights and independence. No doubt, much more efforts were required for female education, and the propaganda— to make the Sikhs realize its value, through newspaper was in full swing. It was a result of such efforts of the Sikh press that illiteracy could be substantially combated and progressive social consciousness generated.
Problems caused by Ignorance/Illiteracy:

Backwardness of women in the field of education was a social problem, in itself. But this problem showed its more menacing form when many new problems were born out of it. Consequently, women found themselves caught in the webs of superstition. While the Sikh press largely succeeded in talking the basic problem of female illiteracy, it fairly succeeded in its goal to resolve its corollaries as well. It is not that these were the problems of women alone. To some extent, men were also victims of it. Bishan Singh of Aurangabad raised a question in the 'Khalsa Akhbar'.

Dear Editor, when a son is born to a Sikh, Sutak is observed at that home. When the mother comes out of her room, she is bathed with cow's urine, water of the Ganga and milk. She is also made to eat cow-dung and to drink cow-urine. Is it a Sikh rite?

The question raised above reveals that these social practices reflected aberration of the Sikhs from the Sikhism. Had people been aware of the Sikh tenets, such problems would not have arisen because such superstitions have been categorically denounced in the basic tenets of Sikhism. In fact, the Brahmans had introduced this Sutak at the time of birth (or death) so as to earn easy money for themselves. When this misconception took roots in the Sikh society also, it was necessary for Sikh journalism to clear it. The Sikh press openly opposed this concept of Sutak:
Let it be known to my dear brothers that this ceremony is not accepted in Sikhism. But this evil practice has crept into Sikhism from the Puranas of Hinduism.

Journalism does not stop merely at giving a bit of information about the problem. Rather it tries to reach the root of it, and tries to gather such facts as prove its correct contention from the scientific viewpoint. The 'Khalsa Akhbar' treats it scientifically, and says:

When we find it mentioned in the Old Hindu scriptures, we learn the reason behind it. The people of those days were not as wise as the people of today who can manufacture fine quality of soap and detergent. These ancient people considered the Cow-Urine a detergent. Similarly, the water of the Ganga also turned detergent because of the bones mixing with it. Milk was added to them to do away with the dryness. It also ended bad odour. However, the Khalsa feels pleased after drinking Amrit instead of urine, and eating Karah Prasad instead of the dung. The Sikh who does not feel repulsion at taking dung and urine is an atheist.

It is clear from the above argument that the Sikh journalism believed advancing in rational argument to solve the problem and not by meaningless opposition.

Another social evil was the exploitation of the people in the name of religion. Sikh press always provided information about it, to fight this evil out. The 'Khalsa Samachar' wrote about a cheat who had run away with other people's money:

In Hoshiarpur, a devi came along with her relatives. People offered money to her. When a large amount was collected, she stealthily ran away. Great is the Goddess.
The papers published letters received from far off places about such incidents. This sort of publication was, in fact, aimed at bringing about social reform. The letter from one, Bhai Hari Singh of Chak Ramdas, in Shahpur district, which was published in the 'Khalsa Akhbar' ran as under:

A few days back three girls came from the city of Bhera Kunjan in the guise of goddesses. They were named Vaishno Devi, Ambika Devi and Sital Devi. Hundreds of Hindus from the city and from outside went to them to seek their blessing. It is said that cash, jewellery and clothes worth about Rs.2,000/- were offered to them. However, the people lost their money, but got nothing in return. One of these 'goddesses' promised to cure the eye-problem of the daughter of Hakim Devi Dayal. Devi Dayal gave one suit and Rs.5/- in advance, and promised to pay Rs.150/- after his daughter was cured. That 'goddess' continued to pour cane-juice in her eyes, but to no relief. At last Devi Dayal snatched whatever he had given her, and he publicly spoke against them.

As a result of this policy adopted by the Sikh Press, masses were awakened against such impostures and swindlers. The society till then, had largely been a victim of such practised upon them, especially because of their ignorance and hence their inability to use their own mind in such situations. The Sikh press enlightened the people to start thinking for themselves, and to stand against such trickery. An instance of it can be seen in the news published in the 'Khalsa Samachar':

Patiala:—Bhai Chhajju Singh writes to say that a Brahman got hold of a stone idol and named it Basant Devi. Many women came to pay obeisance. It turned out to be a good source of income for him. One day, we argued with him. He surrendered and disappeared with his idol.
In this way, the efforts made by the Sikh journalism to bring about social reforms, especially weed out the evil of superstition and blind faith, succeeded in prompting the Sikhs to adopt a progressive policy and to start analysing the contemporary problems, on the basis of facts.

(3) Sikh Journalism and Reform in Marriage System:

The Sikh press opposed from the very beginning the system of marriage performed according to Hindu rites, because this was something against the Sikh tradition. Among them were certain rites, meant especially to benefit the Brahmans. With a view to reform such a marriage system, the Sikh press publicized the new Sikh system of marriage. According to this system, the couple sat in the presence of 'Sri Guru Granth Sahib', the hymns of Lavan were recited, prayer said, and the blessings of the Guru sought. Such marriages were relatively simple and cheap, and were free from the useless rituals invented by the Brahmans. However, the old marriage system still prevailed in the Sikh society. People could not completely break away from it. In this context, the 'Khalsa Samachar' wrote:

When we look at the Sikh system of marriage, we learn that it is covered under the same Old Hindu Marriage Act.63

The existence of that reformed and civilized society, based on justice and equality, as it was founded by the Sikhism could surely survive if those evil rites and rituals, (invented in the name of religion) which disturbed the social
balance directly or indirectly, were changed. It was possible only if the society fully adopted the Sikh system of marriage. Some Sikhs did adopt, to some extent, the system of 'Anand Karaj' and this enjoyed the full support of the Sikh Press. The marriage performed according to the Sikh tradition were encouraged. In this context, the 'Khalsa Akhbar' (August 1886) wrote:

We give this news with great pleasure that a marriage took place in a Namdhari family of Mohalla Muchalian, Lahore, on 15 August 1886. These Sikhs were Ramgarhias. First a havan-Kund (sacrificial fire) was prepared. Around it sat many Sikhs. All of them recited hymns from the Guru Granth Sahib. Even the bride and the groom also recited hymns with their parents. Then the couple was made to circumambulate the fire. The hymn Lavan was read out from the Scripture. Instead of the vulgar songs by women on the occasion, Bhai Makhan Singh and his wife, Mulo, sang the hymns from Guru Granth Sahib.

This system of marriage indicates the change brought in the marriage system under the Sikh reform movement. In the light of the modern Sikh system of marriage, this system of Gurmat marriage does appear a bit old. However, this oddity was but natural in the initial stages. In fact, reforms in this respect had begun as early as 1808, when Sahib Dayal Ji got his marriage performed with Kirtan and ardas only. This type of change in the marriage system earned the wrath of the Hindu society, which opposed it tooth and nail. The Sikh society did not bother for this opposition. So, the Sikhs adopted the new system in large number. The Sikh Press also encouraged this 'Anand Karaj' system, as it was also a part of
its policy of bring about reforms. In order to fulfil its obligation towards the society, the Sikh press published all the letters that made a special mention of the marriages took place according to the Sikh rites. Thus a new enthusiasm was born to adopt the Sikh system of marriage, one such letter in the 'Khalsa Akhbar' stated:

In this village (Badowal, Ludhiana district), it has been the first privilege to perform a marriage according to Sikh Maryada. It was the marriage of the son of Babu Dhain Singh celebrated on 11th Jan. 1899. The recitation of the Scripture was completed; all the ceremonies were performed according to Sikh rites; and nothing non-Sikh like took place.  

Some people with communal leanings were not happy at all at this reform in the marriage system. It is because their vision, even on this subject, had been dimmed by communal feelings. They failed to read the spirit of social reform in it. That is why they proclaimed that marriages of the Sikh Gurus were performed according to the Vedic rites. Thereby, they tried to prove that the Gurus were true devotees of the Vedas. So much so that propaganda begun to be made in this respect by some Sikh Arya preachers. The Sikh press also had to face this challenge. The Editorial of the 'Khalsa Akhbar' entitled "The Untruthful Allegations on Sikhs by Arya Samajists," spotlighted this confrontation. It said,

Bhai Jagat Singh (an Arya preacher) tries to prove that marriages of the Sikh Gurus were performed according to the Vedic rites. His aim is to proclaim them as followers of the Vedas. Bhai Santokh Singh (another Arya preacher)
writes, with reference to a Granth named 'Suraj Parkash,' that if the Sikh Gurus followed Vedic rites in their marriages, the Khalsa should follow suit . . . .

After referring to the objection raised by some people the editor categorically counters it with an assertion:

Until a man completes the construction of his new house, he lives in his old, dilapidated house. Similarly, so long as the Sikh Gurus had not completed their mission and the Khalsa had not got its final form, may be the old prevailing Vedic Custom was allowed to continue. However, when the Mansion of the Khalsa panth became ready, there was no reason why the old Huts of Vedic rites be not discarded . . . .

As a result of such militant postures adopted by the Sikh journalism, the forces that were inimical to Sikhism started using violence while opposing the Sikh marriage system. This can be estimated from a news that appeared in the 'Khalsa Akhbar,' of 14th April 1899:

Phagun 16, 1955 Bikrami was the marriage day of Bhai Chet Singh's daughter. Those who were inimical to Sikhism had already been arguing against the Sikh system of marriage. But when the marriage party arrived, they used so much force that even the bride's fraternity gathered on the occasion ran away . . . .

Many such events took place at the times of Sikh marriages. News about them prominently appeared in the press. Fed up with this sort of behaviour of the opposition, some Sikhs did not bother and performed the marriage in keeping with the Sikh tradition. The news of such devoted and bold Sikhs were given prominence in the papers so that others might also feel encouraged to emulate it:
Nathowal district Ludhiana:- On 9th May, 1899, the marriage of Bhai Hira Singh's daughter (Bhai Punjab Singh's (Platoon No.14) sister) was performed according to the Sikh rites. Although it was opposed very strongly, yet Punjab Singh remained firm in his resolve, and said that they would do nothing that went against the Sikh tradition.

Passing through these circumstances, the Sikh press adopted a new ideology under which marriages of the Sikh girls in Hindu families were opposed. Some people termed this approach communal, but the Sikh press upheld that it was the only way to reform the Sikh marriage system. Later on, this step proved to be a move towards the establishment of the social order, prescribed by the Sikhism. With a view to make the society conscious of this new ideology, Sikh press began to publish articles stories and poems dealing with the subject.

In an editorial of the 'Khalsa Samachar,' the agony of a woman, born in a Sikh family and married to a non-Sikh, was narrated. In her new home, she was asked to give up 'Gurbani' in favour of 'Gaitri'. Thus, she was humiliated on the religious level. All this was fatal for the movement launched for the uplift of women. Referring to the loss to the community, the said women in that article states:

That is the reason why the Sikhs do not prosper. They degenerate. Mine is not an exceptional case. There are thousands like me who suffer much more.

In order to motivate people against the practice, the 'Khalsa Akhbar' once employed the dramatic device of a dialogue between a mother and her daughter. Thus it brought to fore
the condition of a girl who was not happy at her in-laws home, because they were Brahmans, whereas she came of a Sikh family. By birth, she was related to 'Gurbani,' but at her in-laws she found herself a slave to the Brahmans. Her husband was a drunker, and he asked her to give him company. During this conversation, the daughter asked her mother that it would have been better if she had been killed at her birth, rather than married in a Brahman family. Undoubtedly, such events were part of real life at that time and these were brought into limelight by the Sikh press to achieve the end of social justice for women. An estimate of the influence of this tone can be made from the fact that not only the Sikhs but some Hindus also resolved, under this influence, to perform marriages according to Sikh rites.

On the Dussehra day, the marriage of the daughter of Lala Vir Bhan was performed according to Sikh rites. The family of Lala Sahib has vowed to perform all social obligations as per Sikh tenets.

The point that strikes us here is that the opposition by the Sikh journalism was not directed against any particular community but against the evil practices which were invented by the vested interests for selfish motives. This type of selfish ideology was also against the humanity at large. We should also clear one thing more here that it was not necessary to be baptized for having faith in the Sikhism. The presence of a large number of Sahijdhari Sikhs in the Sikhism proves this fact. Referring to the Sahijdharis, the press hold that they have a deeper faith in 'Guru Granth Sahib'
than even the baptized Sikhs have. Therefore, it can be said that this war waged by the Sikh journalism was not communal, but ideological and issue-based.

It thus becomes obvious that the Sikh journalism expected (or demands) reforms in the entire social fabric through mass awakening. It was against imposing the religious orthodoxy of a particular sect over the other sections of society. It greatly denounced those people who held high position in the Sikh organizations, but adopted an anti-social and immoral behavioural pattern. For instance, the 'Khalsa Dharam Dipak' strongly condemned the non-Sikh rites performed by a Ragi at the time of the marriage of his son and exposed him by writing:

Ragi Dhian Singh arranged a woman-dancer, on the occasion of his son's marriage. The marriage ceremony were performed as per non-Sikh rites. Even then he enjoys a place of honour in the Sikh society.

Another great hindrance in popularizing the Anand karaj system (Sikh system of marriage) of marriage was that it was unacceptable to the law. Officially, only the marriage performed as per Hindu and Muslim rites were accepted as legal. That is why a marriage conducted according to the Sikh maryada was reviled by the Arya Samajists and Sanatani Hindus. Under these circumstances, it had become necessary to secure legal approval for the 'Anand marriage'. Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of 'Nabha' took the initiative in this regard. He presented a bill to this effect, in the Imperial
Council (Legislative). It later on secured approval as 'Anand Marriage Act.' in October 1909, through the efforts of Sunder Singh Majithia. The Sikh press strongly condemned those Hindus who had passed resolutions against the Bill. It also expressed its pleasure at the legislation of this Act.

Some More Problems About Marriage:

According to the custom of Bal-Vivah or child marriage, the children were married when they were still infants. In fact, this evil custom was symbolic of the thinking that a daughter is a burden on her parents. 'The Brahmanism had given a religious sanction to it.' In higher castes, it was considered a sin, if the girl was not married before she attained puberty, and child-marriage represented the family's high social status. The 'Khalsa Samachar' condemned this thinking, and denounced the marriage of a child at a time when it was actually the time to play, study or learn. In this context it wrote:

Menfolk refuse to think. They go to the pandit to seek his opinion. And he proclaims that if daughter is married at 7, she is a goddess; if married 11, she is a virgin, and if she crosses 12, the father is a sinner.

The Sikh press has also held women, along with men, responsible for this evil custom. Although it was woman's submissive nature that was largely responsible for it, yet she partially shared the blame. The women not only accepted this cruelty on themselves but also remained either indifferent or supported the same tyranny when it was perpetrated on their
daughters. In such a situation, talking of the mother's attitude towards her daughter, the 'Khalsa Samachar' said that on such occasions mothers generally said "Marry her soon and be free from the burden." Such mental make-up of women was fatal for all of them. Killing a daughter at the time of her birth also reflects such a mental make-up.

In fact, child marriage is an anti-social activity followed for the fulfilment of some selfish motives. It is also an irresponsible behaviour towards the sensitive feelings of the children. In the modern scientific age, it has been well established that in their childhood, these newly married girls are neither physically nor emotionally prepared for it. It has also been established by psychological studies that any imposition on or oppression of the child at the young age becomes a major obstacle in its all-round development.

Infused by their religious teachings and the scientific viewpoint, the Sikh journalism always opposed the child-marriage. It declared this custom against the society, the community and the country. It stated: 'unfortunately, it is quite popular in our country. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Jains: all are victims of this evil." The Sikh press took up the challenge to reform this evil practice of child-marriage. The 'Khalsa Samachar' wrote:

The wise men should vow not to marry their daughters at least before they are 12.

In the modern age, it might seem a folly to call this step a social reform. But it remains a fact that such a suggestion was
the outcome of a reformative thinking. At that even society felt it difficult to accept this suggestion. The practice of marrying children at quite an early age had been current for such a long time that it happened to change the very thinking of the society. People felt that it was a matter of deep shame for the parents if their daughters failed to get married by the time they were 10 or 12. Such parents had to hear taunts of the neighbours and others. Living in such a backward society, one had to honour such practices blindly. That is why, the Sikh press had been asking people to join the Sikhism, in order to liberate themselves from such futile rites, and thus form an ideal social structure.

Sati and the ban on widow marriage were two more social evils which were decidedly a curse for women. As a result of the ban on the marriage of widows, those hapless women had to pass their days in complete isolation. The practice of sati was the other horrifying facet of this ban. In keeping with this practice a widow had to burn herself to death along with the dead body of her husband, whether she was willing or not. It is interesting to point out that while this evil practice was stopped by Guru Amar Dass Ji, among the Sikhs,87 The Hindus continued viewing it with a sense of respectability. It was mainly practised to retain casteism or to raise the social status because this practice was primarily prevalent among the ruling Khatri class. Later on, it was denounced by all reform movements.88 Consequently the 'Sati Act', was passed in
1829 and it was thus declared against the law. Since sati had been declared illegal before the inception of the Sikh journalism, not much written words on this subject are found in the Sikh papers.

The Sikh emulated the Hindus in imposing ban on widow marriage. This was bound to deal a set-back to the equal social status of women in Sikhism. Fearing that her position might again become as bad as it was in ancient times, efforts were considered essential to effect some change. Therefore, the Sikh press often published its views on the cessation of this ban. In this context the magazine 'Phuleran' (August 1926) wrote:

There is now no argument against widow marriage. Generally, articles are published in papers in favour of it.

The Sikh journalism was against the evil of dowry also. It advocated simple marriage (we have already discussed 'Anand marriage') in which no money transactions took place. Fight against this problem by the press and the society was not on the same scale then, as it is being fought today. At that time it was simply presented as a social evil. So, it does not find much mention in the papers either.

Sikh journalism was also against the marriages in exchange and marriages for money. Marriage in exchange means giving daughter to a family and in return, taking their daughter as the daughter-in-law. Although no dowry was exchanged to in such marriage, yet this practice was considered unhealthy as it amounted to no more than a bargain. Sikh
ideology deprecated such marriages of exchange. To pay for a daughter-in-law to her father was also an evil. It was also sinful from the Sikh point of view. So, both these things were opposed by the Sikh journalism because to buy women in terms of cash or in terms of human life, amounted to insulting and enslaving women. In this context, the 'Khalsa Samachar' wrote:

It is not a secret that many evil practices have crept into the Khalsa Brotherhood. To remove them, well-wishers of the Panth should strive strenuously. But there are certain things which are not only against the law but their presence is a matter of shame for us. One of them is to pay for taking a bride, and the second is marriage in exchange.91

The paper has also tried to go into the reasons behind it. One possible reason could be that a widow was married off to a widower for the consideration of money. Those who could not afford payment, settled for marriage in exchange.

In fulfilling its responsibility, the Sikh press does not stop at this. Rather it evaluates the loss the community is suffering and is likely to suffer as a result of it. The loss is not one, but many. (1) The rich old men spoil the life of young girls. (2) Young boys maintain good reputation to earn the hand of a good bride, but as a result of this custom they do not bother about their reputation and fall prey to several bad habits, presuming that they will somehow get a bride. (3) The couple fails to be on cordial terms with each other, resulting in mental tension. (4) Sometimes because of money consideration some young boys were tempted
to marry girls who were far older than they. These evil practice could deal a deadly set back to the reform movement.

It was not just one paper which adopted this sort of attitude for the resolution of these problems. In fact, the entire Sikh press had been active in this field. The Papers not only apprised the people of the gravity of these problems, but also asked them to send to them their views, in this regard.

These lines have been written so that the Khalsa gives its opinion on them, so that the ideas may take some concrete shape.

It can thus be said that the Sikh journalism, which facing the problems about marriage, advocated marriage according to Sikh rites. It also strongly condemned the evils of child marriage, ban on widow remarriage, dowry, marriage in exchange, and marriage in lieu of money. While tackling these problems the Sikhs and the Sikh press had to face opposition from the Hindu society. However, this opposition could not hinder the pace of the reform movement launched by the Sikh journalism. It achieved success in its mission and moved ahead.

(4) Sikh Journalism and the Problem of Drugs:

God has made such a beautiful and harmonious synthesis of body and mind that human life is considered the greatest blessing of God. It is also said that even Devas aspire for human life. But intoxicants make human life a curse. They make both body and mind weak and make man helpless. Man's intellectual and physical powers decline and life becomes a burden for him. Therefore, the Sikhism strongly, condemned
the use of intoxicants.  

The use of intoxicants weakens man's sense of discrimination, and he can't distinguish between good and bad. In such circumstances, the possibility of man's moral degeneration increases, as a consequence of which many more evils may possess us. Such evils create enmity among mankind, and harm the society, community and country. The Sikh reform movements have preached for prohibition because 'Sikh society was also a victim of it.' The Sikh press also published literature against the evil of drinking and other intoxicants. Many such books as 'Sharab Khana Kharab', 'Sharab Nikheda,' were published to underline the evil of drinking.

No doubt, Sikh journalism had launched serious reform movement against caste system, women upliftment, etc., but there is no evidence to suggest that it, launched any such movement against intoxication. Of course, some articles on the subject did appear occasionally here and there. Once the 'Khalsa Akhbar' wrote:

They got Kingdoms, feudal chiefships and other achievements. Some wasted it on wine and the other on women.

A serious efforts against the evil of drinking was however, made in 1946-47, by the 'Sant Sipahi'. In January 1947, the 'Sant Sipahi' proclaimed that writers should send their articles stories, poems, etc., against the evil of drinking, for their publication. The writers were also assured that the best write-up will be rewarded as well as
honoured. It was certainly a commendable effort. Some solid work was also done in this direction but it could not go on for a long time, because of the uncertain situation in the country.

Similarly, there have been seen some anti-gambling references in these newspapers. The 'Panth Mitro' (1904) referred to the custom of gambling on the 'Dewali' eve, and wrote:-

These days many of our men and women especially in Amritsar and Lahore, gamble during the Diwali days. Among these gamblers there are not only the ignorant, but some well-educated granthis and secretaries of Ashrams. They say that those who do not gamble during the Diwali days are reborn, getting the life of a donkey.

The paper also referred to a woman who lost in gambling the keys of her jewellery-box, and later murdered her rival who had won the game. Thereafter, she felt so ashamed that she committed suicide by drowning. Thus, this evil of gambling ruined two happy families.

It was the policy of the Sikh press which compelled people to revise their opinion about this practice by the publication of news about drinking, gambling, etc., the papers presented them as gross social evils and warned the society to beware of them.

In the end, it can be said that in the social reform movement initiated by the Sikh journalism, the formation of a casteless society was always talked of. The Sikh journalism
always acknowledged the movement for the liberation of women as reflective of progressive thinking. It talked of providing opportunities to women for improving their status in society through education. The way it forcefully spoke against the marriage rituals and rites especially invented for the benefit of the parasite Brahmans was also an attempt at ameliorating the lot of women. It was a result of this reform movement that the Punjab, which earlier had no school for girls, now had a network of such schools. Alongwith the spread of education among women, these papers also impressed upon men-folk the need to receive education, so that after acquiring good education they could raise the prestige of their community. The Sikh press made drinking and such other social evils as the targets of bitter criticism. In this way, it can be asserted that the Sikh journalism did succeed in its mission and successfully provided a better leadership to the society.
References and Annotations

1. Gurbachan Singh Talib (ed); Sansar De Kujh Mukh Dharam, (Anu: Dr. Darshan Singh), (Sodhak: Dr. Bhai Jodi Singh), Vioint Vikas Vibhag (Pb.), Punjabi University, 1977, p. 175, and Khalsa Samachar, 13th May 1903, p. 7.

2. Gurbachan Singh Talib, Sansar De Kujh Mukh Dharam, Ibid., p. 175.


4. Letter; Khalsa Samachar, 19th Nov. 1902, p. 3.

5. Editor, Khalsa Samachar, 19th Nov. 1902, p. 3.


10. 'The foremost aim before Sikhism was to preach the ideal of human freedom and equality.'


"ताह है ननक यात्रा विनोद आदि उदाहो विचार वे परमीय अलमें है तो कैसा अपने अना परमज्योति है अना विभिन्न सच्चिदानन्द सीता वन विनिमय रवि विनिवृत्ति तर जू विनिमय है इतना तर ते इतना हो ते इतत: तर विनिवृत्ति है इतना तर विनिमय है इतना तर विनिवृत्ति है।"


16. "पहूँच तु युगान्त सबसे प्रथम है अनु" (वाल अजु मिक: ३-१५७)

i.e. In the Divine Court, deeds and caste, are asked for; this is the essence of the word.

17. Editorial; *Khalsa Akhbar Lahore*, 13th May 1898, p. 3.

"परिवृत्ति मिल विभिन्न विनिमय है वर विनिवृत्ति तर तर विनिमय है।"

18. See: Editorial; *Khalsa Samachar*, 14th Jan. 1903, p. 3.
Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 16th Dec. 1898, Article--Hindu and Khalsa, p. 4-5.
"The first we know of him are his discourses against the Khalsa and his
support of the Hindus. He has now been in the city for some
weeks and we have seen him on several occasions.

Ltd., New Delhi, 1982, p. 159.


"The first we know of him are his discourses against the Khalsa and his
support of the Hindus. He has now been in the city for some
weeks and we have seen him on several occasions.

Ltd., New Delhi, 1982, p. 159.

Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 20th Oct 1899.

"He is the first to give discourses against the Khalsa and his
support of the Hindus. He has now been in the city for some
weeks and we have seen him on several occasions.

Khalsa Samachar, 4th Feb. 1903, p. 3.

"He is the first to give discourses against the Khalsa and his
support of the Hindus. He has now been in the city for some
weeks and we have seen him on several occasions."
...


43. Ibid.

44. Under the influence of Singh Sabha Movement, Sikh Society made efforts to improve her lot.


47. Ibid.


49. Khalsa Dharam Deepak, Batala, 15th March 1906, p. 5.


51. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 21st August 1886, p. 6-7.


54. See: Editorial, Khalsa Samachar, 3rd Dec. 1902, p. 3.

56. \[ नाे हुँदू अत्यन्त हुँ हमें देखे तरहि \]

नैहं अत्यन्त हुँहुँ है उसे अते तरहि।

(कवि आनन्द, मः : ----)

57. \[ Bikram Singh Ghuman, Assa Di Var, Ik Sahitk Adhivan, \]


58. \[ Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 25th Jan. 1901. \]

"पढ़ने कार दर्शन पुस्तिका हितने के ने मिय बो बहुद अविद हितने ज्ञात है हिती हिते कल्यानी वर्काले कॉन्से हिते भ बोंदे है ते विद्य सत दे भुज्जन हित है।"

59. \[ Editor, Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 25th Jan. 1901, p. 5. \]

"मर हित्या भ है प्रसन्न हित पस्तिका ने विडते है। उसे उस दिम ज जरत जे दिय पुस्तिका सुहावने है ते विय किय हेमें हित हितने हितने ने अखाद तरह है ने नेर सिद्द है हितिया-२ सर्वुच अनुप्रेरणा हित हित है श्रद्ध तरह भ वर्त नामक हितने दर्शन हो है, हिति दुय तरह ने पुरुष जय हितने हितने ने ज्ञात नामक ही हितने ने इतिहास अविद अविद हितने ने इतिहास अविद अविद हितने हितने ने इतिहास अविद अविद हितने ने इतिहास अविद अविद हितने हितने ने इतिहास अविद अविद हितने हितने ने इतिहास अविद अविद हि

59. \[ Editor, Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 25th Jan. 1901, p. 5. \]

"मर हित्या भ है प्रसन्न हित पस्तिका ने विडते है। उसे उस दिम ज जरत जे दिय पुस्तिका सुहावने है ते विय किय हेमें हित हितने हितने ने अखाद तरह है ने नेर सिद्द है हितिया-२ सर्वुच अनुप्रेरणा हित हित है श्रद्ध तरह भ वर्त नामक हितने दर्शन हो है, हिति दुय तरह ने पुरुष जय हितने हितने ने ज्ञात नामक ही हितने ने इतिहास अविद अविद हितने ने इतिहास अविद अविद हितने ने इतिहास अविद अविद हितने हितने ने इतिहास अविद अविद हितने हितने ने इतिहास अविद अविद हितने हितने ने इतिहास अविद अविद हितने हितने ने इतिहास अविद अविद हितने हितने ने इतिहास अविद अविद हि

60. \[ News, Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 5th May 1899, p. 1. \]

"प्रसन्न वित्या ने की देखे अद्यावधि है। उसे शहीदे हैं। येह उस देखी है देखी अद्यावधि है शहीदे हैं।"

63. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 15th July 1898. p. 3.

64. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 21st August 1886, p. 5.
Dr. Man Singh Nirankari, Sikh Dharam Te Sikhi (In Yatharthak Vishleshan), Lok Sahit Parkashan, Amritsar, 1981, p. 70.

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Editorial, Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 10th Nov. 1899, p. 3.

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Ibid.

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Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 14th April 1899, p. 6.

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70. Khalsa Samachar, 15th Nov. 1902, p. 12.


73. Khalsa Akhbar Lahore, 26th May 1899, p. 6.

74. Editorial, Khalsa Samachar, 18th Feb. 1903.

75. Khalsa Samachar, 3rd Dec. 1902, p. 3.


77. Dr. Man Singh Mirankari, Sikh Dharam Te Sikhi, Lok Sahit Parkashan, Amritsar, 1981, p. 70.

78. Ibid.


80. Ibid.
81. The History and Culture of the Indian People (Vol. II), Bharaytla Vidya Bhawan, 1894. P. 561.

82. Khalsa Samachar, 1st January 1900, p. 6.

"अब नृत्र दोनों सेवने बृज सो मैं पुजा करो, अब नृत्र सादे बन दिं एक
देव दोगो सो लिखाये गौ देवो, तू 11 दो लक्षण से क्षुद्रे बन रहे तु
लिख दे तू हिंदू लोग उर गये।"

83. Ibid.

84. Professor Joginder Singh, Sikh Dharam Te Sikh Panth, Preet Parkashan, New Delhi-5, 1971, p. 127.

85. Fulera, August 1926, p. 67.

86. Khalsa Samachar, 1st January 1900, p.

"लिखाये पुजा दो उर लिखा लिखा चादर किया दिन 12 दिन से पहले लें यो जन.
नबस से बनाये।"


88. Reform Movements—Kuka Lehar, Singh Sabha Lehar, Brahmo Smaj Lehar, Arya Smaj Lehar etc.


90. Fulera, July-August 1926, p.

"लिखा लिखा है लिखा लिखा दुर्गा किया चादर से ननबर है उस से क्षुद्र से
नबस पहले लिखा लिखा है ननबर दो लेने देंगे।"

91. Khalsa Samachar, 6th May 1903, p.

"ननबर दो उस दुर्गा किया चादर लें लिखा लिखा सबह देवीं का दुर्गा पहले।"
92. Khalsa Samachar, 6th May 1903.

"वेद नर्स दिख कराए निश्चित यह वि अभाव उच्च अवध 2 राति दिनें वन दें जा वि क्रम पृथक पुढ़ वि जे वि रात वन जा जहे।"


95. Khalsa Samachar, 19th November 1902, p.

96. Khalsa Samachar, 19th November 1902, p.


98. Jamima, Khalsa Akhbar, 18th March 1903.

"संक, अग्नि प्रत्यक्ष हिन्द दोभ, 
भाग दुख उपहर है दूरलोक दुर्गो----"


"संक मैं देख दिखाया वह दिख दिख अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अव� अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अव� अव� अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अव� अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अव� अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अव� अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अव� अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अव� अव� अवध अव� अवध अव� अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध अवध