

Role of Gadrites in Babbar Akali Movement and India's Freedom Struggle

By Dr. Baljeet Singh Sahi and Dr. Gurcharan singh aulkh

Gadarite's (Ghadarite's) dreams had great significance and made their impact in the history of India in general and particularly in the history of the Punjab. Gadarite's were the first to raise a standard of rebellion against the British Imperialism to throw away the yoke of slavery from the United States of America and Canada.

The Punjab Province (after 1947, it has been divided into two parts-western Panjab lies in Pakistan, whereas the eastern part is in India) was a great source of immigration to the United States and Canada.

The first immigrants arrived in Vancouver (British Columbia) to celebrate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee on June 20, 1897. The Punjabis were fascinated at the sight of vast fields and rich forests, affluence and prosperity of the new world. It is estimated that between 1899 and 1920 about 7348 Asians migrated to Canada. The number of Indians in Canada in 1901 was 2312 and in the U.S.A. it was 6313 which subsequently increased to thirty thousands.

1 .Sahensasha, 6.S., Gadar Party Da Ithihas, Vol. I, Jalandhar, 1961, P.20.

The flow of migrants was not always steady. In 1905 only 45 Indians reached Canada while the number rose to 2623 in 1908. In British Columbia alone the number of Indians was 258 in 1904 whereas their strength in 1908 was 5175². The number rose to 10000 in 1910. The emigrants mainly went either to British Columbia (Canada) or to California (U.S.A.). About Ninety percent of migrants to Canada settled in San Francisco. The reasons are not far off to seek. The climate of these two places was very akin to that of Punjab. This fact cannot be precluded as one of the reasons. Another was that of economic hardship. The economic

downturn in India during the early 1900's witnessed a high level of emigration. In Panjab, the government introduced a bill which affected the newly colonized lands opened by the canals in the Western Punjab. This circumvented the rights of the peasants as well as provided for higher rates on Bari Doab. This led to a grave discontent among the Jat Sikhs and made the Punjab a fertile soil for revolutionary seed³. The nationalist leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh made the peasantry politically conscious.

The soul stirring song Pagri sambal oe' Jatta Pagri sambal (Take Care of your turban) written by Banke Dyal added to their zeal.

The agrarian agitation had brought the economic issue to the fore. It was a warning to Punjab government but it took no steps to ameliorate the lot of the Punjabis. Some of the hard-pressed and enterprising Punjabis, mostly the Sikhs, decided to emigrate in search of better opportunities leaving others behind, to keep the flame of revolution burning⁵.

The influx of the Punjabis to Canada and the U.S.A. led to the increased number of emigrants. This increase in number whipped up the anti-Indian feelings and the Indians became victim of discrimination⁶.

It is estimated that in 1908 about 5000 Indians had entered Canada out of which 99% were Punjabis and out of them 90% were Sikhs. Many were studying at various universities all over America. Those Punjabi Hindu and Sikhs went to Canada, as it was under British rule. They worked there as labourers. Some of them crossed the border and settled on the west coast of Pacific in the cities of U.S.A. like Portland, San Francisco, San Jose, Los Angeles.

2. K.M. Pannikar, The Problem of Greater India, p.248

3. Khuswant Singh A History of the Sikhs, Vol.II P.159

4. Barrier, N.G. The Punjab Disturbances of 1907 vide the Modern Asian Studies No. 1, Vol 1967, pp-353-83

5. Satya M. Ray Punjabi Heroic Tradition, Patiala, 1970, p.28

6. Aulakh, G.S. (Dr.) Babbar Akali Movement, A Historical Survey, 2001, Delhi, p.37

The Canadian government decided to curtail this influx with a series of laws which were aimed at limiting the entry of South Asians into the country and restricting the political rights of those already in the country. The Punjabi community had

hitherto been an important loyal force of the British Empire and the community had expected equal welcome and rights from the British and commonwealth governments as extended to British and white immigrants. This led to growing discontent, protests and anti-colonial demonstrations. Faced with increasingly difficult situation the community began organizing itself into political groups. A large number of Punjabis who moved into the United States also encountered similar political and social problems.

The anger and wrath against Punjabi emigrants, and especially, against Sikhs was acute as they were hardworking and were always ready to work for less wages as compared to the migrant labourer from China and Japan⁷.

The white labourers compelled their government to restrict entry of immigrant labourers. All sorts of excuses were made to debar the entry of ships which carried Indians. Many examples can be cited.

In 1906 a ship was granted permission to enter Vancouver harbour and it had to seek permission at Victoria Harbour in Oct. 1906. The Canadian Coasts were closed for Indians vide order-in-council in 1908, though much orders were annulled by the courts. In 1908, the Canadian government tried to lure Indian immigrants to settle in the Island of Honduras. This proposal was vetoed by Indians and they passed resolution against the scheme in the Gurudwara of Vancouver. Though the Secretary of Home, Govt. of Canada tried to entrap some of Indian representatives but he did not succeed⁸.

The Indians were debarred to work in factories. Victoria Municipal Committee decided not to give employment to any Indian.

In 1910 Canadian Privy Council order No. 920 was passed which envisaged that the immigrants must come by continuous journey and on through ticket from the country of their birth or citizenship and they must have 200 dollars in cash as well. These restrictions made entry of Indians in Canada impossible as in these days no direct ship sailed to Canada. Even those who had migrated to Canada were not allowed to call their families.

7. Khuswant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, 1966, p.169

8. Waiz, S.A., Indians abroad, Bombay, 1927, p.650

9. Ibid, p.661

This compelled the immigrants to start simultaneous struggle against Immigration Act as well as against the colonial rule. Since most of the immigrants were Sikhs, the earliest organizations were established to build Gurudwaras which soon came up in the cities like Vancouver and Victoria, etc¹⁰. It is not surprising, therefore, that work against the British Imperialism was started in those countries mainly by the granthis i.e. the scripture readers in the Sikh Gurudwaras¹¹. The Punjabis had to fight hard against the government. During 1911 to 1913 seventeen thousand Chinese and Japanese alongwith families were allowed to settle in Canada and contrary to this not a single Indian was allowed to bring his family¹².

A deputation of immigrants consisting of Nand Singh Sihra (a Ramgarhia Sikh of Phillaur), Bhai Balwant Singh Khuradpur, ex-soldier and granthi of Vancouver Gurudwara and Bhai Narain Singh first reached London and after that they met viceroy of India in Delhi on Dec. 20, 1913, but got no relief¹³. When the deputation went to the Punjab, the then Governor of Punjab Sir Michael O Dwyer compelled them to go back empty-handed¹⁴. Then episode, of Komgata Maru broke the bone of the camel. It was a ship chartered by Baba Gudit Singh of Sarhali on 20th March, 1914 to satisfy the condition of the Canadian Privy. Council order No. 920. There were 376 passengers out of whom 346 were Sikhs. The ship was not allowed entry and was compelled to leave Canadian waters on 23rd July, 1914¹⁵. The police insisted that passengers should board the train bound for the Punjab. Only 50 men and 2 children boarded the train. About 203 were arrested, 32 absconded and 19 were killed. Baba Gurdit escaped the police net¹⁶.

The conditions of the Sikhs in U.S.A. were not different. The Indian Immigrants were attacked by the white labourers on Sept. 5, 1907. Indians were attacked in Bellingham Saw Mills in the State of Washington. Then again on Jan. 25, 1908 the Indian workers were forcibly loaded into street cars, driven to the wilderness of the forest and left there. The victims approached the English Counsellor for the redressal of the grievances but to no avail. One such attack was organized by the American workers against the Japanese workers.

10. Satya M. Rai, Punjabi Heroic Tradition, Patiala, 1978, p.34

11. Nahar Singh, Documents Relating to Bhai Maharaj Singh p(ੴ)

12. Partap Singh, Giani, Akali Lehar Da Itihas, Amritsar, 1975

13. Sehansara, G.S. Gadar Party da Itihas, P.69

14. Sir Michael O Dwyer, India as I knew it, P.191

15. Sehansara, G.S., Gadar Party Da Itihas, p.130
16. Josh, Sohan Singh, Hindustan Gadar Party, New Delhi, 1976, p.156
17. Sehansara, G.S., Gadar Party Da Itihas, p.90

The latter complained to their government which took such a serious cognizance of the situation that the American government had to pay compensation and assured that Japanese would be protected in future. It dawned upon Indians that nobody cared for them because they were slaves.

There were other incidents of discrimination as well. Once Sant Teja Singh of the Mastuana and Sohan Singh Bhakna went for lunch in an American restaurant in the city of Portland. The owner of restaurant refused entry and told them that the Indians and dogs were not allowed. They took their food in a Japanese restaurant.

Again Sohan Singh Bhakna went alongwith his friend to find work in a mill. The superintendent of the mill said "There is a lot of work but not for you". Instead I feel like shooting you" When they asked the reason, he said "You are 30 crores. Are you sheep or human beings? If you are human beings why are you leading the life of slaves? Go back to your country and get it free. After achieving freedom when you come to America, I will be the first to welcome you."

Whenever the Indian workers took stand, they compelled the white mob to run. Some white workers attacked the Sikhs in a factory in Washington. Ghaniya Singh Maur aimed his pistol at the attackers and performed his job fearlessly¹⁸. Another Punjabi, Vir Singh also faced the mob valiantly. Pakhar Singh became a terror for the whites', when he attacked white farm-owner at his abusive behaviour thrashed him mercilessly and cut his horse to pieces by his sword²⁰.

The maltreatment and discrimination brought the stark reality to their faces that a slave has no life worth-living. They were insulted even in the homeland and in foreign countries as well. They were not considered as human beings. The State of their mind has been captured in the following words:

In our mother land, from pillar to post we are thrown,
In the foreign lands we get no refuge, none is our own,
We aliens have no hearth and home
We cannot say this is the country by which we are known²¹.

19. Jaswant Singh Jas, Baba Sohan Singh Bakna, 1968, Jullundher, P.69
20. Gagan Pakistani, Samdarshi, July Sept 1989 p .48
(Parvasi Punjabian Da Adikh Muhandra P.48)
21. Bhagat Singh Bilga, Unsearched pages of Gadar Lehar p.32
Gadar Lehar De unfole Varke
Desh pain Dhakke, Bahar Miley Dhoi Na
Sada Pardesian da desh koi na

The people had come all the way from Punjab and elsewhere leaving their home and hearth, for a dignified livelihood. Now their demeaning status, arbitrary racist immigration laws turned them into an incendiary human stuff ready to change this state of affairs.

The latent discontent, surging against the British and the will to change their condition in the racist milieu, got focused in one idea to get freedom for the country whatever the price. Only people from a free country, it was felt, could live in dignity and fight for their rights in alien land. This became a credo with the Indian immigrants who toiled hard in lumber Mills in the States of Washington and Oregon and on the farms in California. The situation was so desperate for immigrants that their inner fury against the British came to the fore, the idea of their mobilization was mooted. Nearly everywhere, everyone who had come from India rallied round the idea of freedom of the country. The idea of Justice, freedom and equality smote their consciousness. This led to the formation of a society leading to the formation of 'Hindustan Association of Pacific Coast'. popularly called Gadar Movement. Thus, die was cast and history was made.

Formation of Ghadar Party and aftermath

The story of the formation of Ghadar Movement is long and winding. From the very beginning those Indian emigrants who reached England, Canada (Vancouver, etc) New York and Seattle who came in search of livelihood were also imbued with patriotic fervor and were in forefront of struggle against slavery.

In 1905, Gopal Singh and Amar Singh reached America. In 1906, Tarak Nath Dass and Ramnath Puri of Khem Karan reached there. Ramnath Puri was a Govt. employee in India. He published a pamphlet against the government. To avoid arrest he escaped to U.S.A. He issued a circular of freedom” on reaching there.

At this juncture of time “Indo-American Society” and “New York Bar Association” gave support to Indians through papers and lectures. They also established “India House” to extend help to Indian patriots and students who arrived there. The students who reached U.S.A. on the invitation and with the help of these societies included Sri Surendra Mohan Bose, Sant Teja Singh Mastuana and Hari Singh Cheema.

The rebel of the British Government like Tarak Nath Das, Ram Nath Puri. Thakur Dass Dhuri, Malauvi Barkat - Ullah of Bhopal became members of this society after their arrival in New York²².

When in 1909 “Indo – American Society” was disbanded and India House was closed, the students who earned money doing some work in Industrial east, shifted to western coast. Hari Singh Cheema went to Chicago, Teja Singh to Vancouver, Surendra Mohan Dass and Tarak Nath Dass to Seattle, Thakur Dass Dhuri to St. Joan (Oregon), Ram Nath Puri to California Maulavi Barkat - Ullah left for Japan after getting appointment as Lecturer in Arabic in Tokyo university. During this period, the Indian emigrants started “pamphlet war”. In 1907, a pamphlet “Khalsa” urged the Sikhs to lead the struggle for freedom against the British. In 1909 “ Maro Farangi” was brought out and “Bhaibandh” in Panjabi was published to throw light on racial discrimination Tarak Nath Dass brought out “Desh Sewak”. As a result of these pamphlets the Indian immigrants began to discuss their problems in groups.

22. Sohanasara, G.S., Ghadar Party Da Itihas p.28”

23. Khuswant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, Vol.II p.174

It was in Canada where organizations were set up. The pioneer of this organisational set up was Sant Teja Singh. “Khalsa Diwan Society” was founded in Vancouver and Sant Teja Singh built a Gurudwara there in Vancouver with the cost of \$25000 in 1909. The branches of this society were established in Victoria, Abbotsford, New West Minster, Frazer Mills, Coombs, Ocean Falls, etc. more Gurudwaras were built in Victoria and other cities²³.

The Gurudwara at Vancouver played historic role in the freedom Movement and became a central place for Indians to chalk out their programme. The participants were mainly Sikhs in these organizations and they played historic role for the formation of Ghadar organization and the movement. Perhaps due to this many claim, the Ghadar movement was to a large extent” a sikh movement²⁴.

Despite this, it can be safely asserted that these religious organizations and Ghadar Movement were nationalistic and secular in outlook. The ideology of the party was strongly secular. Sohan Singh Bhakna rightly said “We were not Sikhs or Punjabis Our religion was patriotism”. The mouthpiece of the party “The Ghadar Newspaper” also brought into limelight party’s secular character. The ideology aims and dreams of Gadarites have been amplified in their literature. A poem

written by Harnam Singh Tundilat is enough to quote as an example. He writes: 'Death is better than the life of slavery and this is never to be forgotten. Even a country like China, which was once in deep slumber has awakened. Now it is time to awaken India with a beat of drum. We do not need Pundits or Qazis as we are not eager to see our boats sunk. The time of meditation is also over. It is time to wield sword now. After reading Gadar Paper we believe that time for rebellion is ripe. (Marna Bhala Gulami di Zindagi Ton, nahin Sukhan ih manon Bhulavne da. Mulak Jagia chin ghook sutta dhol vajiya Hind Jagavane da. Saanun Lorr na Panditan Qazian di, nahin sauk hai berry dubavane da. Jap Tap da wakt batit hoya, Vela aea gia Tegh Uthavane da²⁵ .

24. Harbans Singh, The Heritage of the Sikhs, Delhi, 1983 pp. 263-64.

25. Gadar Di Goonj No. 1 Couplet No. 5, Quoted by Dr. G.S. Aulakh, Veer Naik Kartar Singh Sarabha, Patiala, 1994 p.48.

The formation of Gadar Party was neither sudden nor spontaneous. Its origin can be traced in associations formed in Canada and later on its transformation into a movement took place in the United States.

In 1909, Harnam Singh Kahri Sahri and Guru Dutt Kumar (G.D.Kumar) reached Canada. They formed "Hindustan Association" with Bhai Bhag Singh as President, G.D. Kumar as Secretary and Bhai Balwant singh as its treasurer with G.D.Kumar's departure to Seattle (U.S.A.) the association came to an end and on Dec. 15, 1911 a new organization was established which was known as "United India League". In April 1913 this organization was strengthened with the arrival of Giani Bhagwan Singh. He gave the same slogan to the Indian emigrants in Canada which later on was given by Lala Hardayal in U.S.A. But the oppression of Canadian Government compelled them to cross over to U.S.A.

When the Canadian Sikhs were, thus, active in their struggle, the Sikhs in U.S.A. like Baba Jawala Singh Thathian, Santa wasakha Singh Dadher and others established "Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society and built Gurudwara at Stockton (California) in September 1912. Besides, they built a boarding housing and started Langar (Common Kitchen) for Indians who had no place to live and no job to earn food. They gave shelter to many a student who later on worked in Gadar Movement alongwith their compatriots who worked as labourers in the fields and factories²⁶. They used to take farms on lease and thus provided a common bond to students and workers This society thus became a nucleus and nursery of Gadar Movement²⁷.

In the beginning of 1912 Babu Harnam Singh Kahri Sahri and G.D. Kumar, who had their centre of activities in Seattle, visited Portland. Their activities centred round the idea of social reform and publishing some leaflets but they could not build any movement. Many other seasoned patriots such as Kishanji Verma, Madam Cama, Lala Hardayal, Tarak Nath Dasss and Sardar Ajit Singh were also unable to turn their ideas into any mass movement. Harnam Singh and G.D.Kumar interacted with Indian workers in mills around Portland. They discovered that they were not in favour of mere reformist programme. It was discussed and decided to form a revolutionary Association. Thus, "Hindustan Association Of Pacific Coast" was set up at Portland in 1912 where Bhai Harnam Singh Tundilat reached from Bridelveil, Pandit Kanshi Ram Marholi Ram Rakha Saroa from St. Joan and Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna and Udham Singh Kasel arrived from Monarc Hill.

26. Jagjit Singh, Ghadar Party Lehar pp.18, 22.

27. Dr. G.S. Aulakh, Veer Naik Kartar Singh Srabha, 1994, Panjabi University, Patiala pp.28-29.

Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, G.D. Kumar Pandit Kanshi Ram were elected President, General Secretary and Treasurer respectively.

Those days Kartar Singh Sarabha too had arrived and was staying with his co-villager Rulia Singh and worked in Astoria Mill. They set up office in rented building²⁸. Hardly after half a dozen meetings G.D.Kumar fell ill. Thakur Dass Dhuri who arrived Portland advised Sohan Singh Bhakna to send for Lala Hardayal from California. Lala Hardayal reached San Francisco in 1911. He was a Polymath who turned down a career in the Indian Civil Service. He started writing harsh articles in newspapers and to British Government decided to impose a ban upon his

writings. Lala Lajpat Rai advised him to go abroad. He went to Paris in 1909, moved to Algeria, then to Martinique, and then reached U.S.A. First he reached Boston and then went to California. He taught Indian Philosophy and Sanskrit at Leyland Stanford University and then shifted to the University of Berkeley.

He had developed contacts with Indian American farmers in Stockton, California. He encouraged young Indians to gain scientific education. With the help of Teja Singh, Tarak Nath Dass, Arthur Pope and funding from Jawala Singh, a rich farmer from Stockton, he set up Guru Gobind Singh scholarship for Indian students. He also established his house as a home for these students on the model of Shamji Krishna Verma 's India House in London. Amongst the six students who responded to the offer were Nand Singh Sihra, Darisi Chenchiah. Gobind Bahari Lal his wife's cousin. They lived together in a rented apartment close to the University of California, Berkeley.

Lala Hardayal, when contacted by Sohan Singh Bhakna and others promised to reach on December 25, 1912, but he arrived at St. Joan in March, 1913. After some spade work, and number of meetings in Bridleville, (March 31, 1913) Linton (7 April), Wina (April 14), it was decided to give a final shape. The most important meeting took place in a saw mill of Astoria on April 21, 1913.

The representatives from Portland, Wina, St. Joan, Linton and other places participated. Lala Hardayal spoke to the gathering and exhorted them to sacrifice everything for the freedom of the motherland. Sohan Singh Bhakna offered himself for the cause. The members gave generous donations for running the office of the party and the newspapers. Pandit Kanshi Ram donated ten thousand dollars in cash and a piece of land to the party. Now, it was decided to give a concrete programme to the emigrants to liberate the country. The office bearers of "Hindustan Association of Pacific Coast' were mostly same except G.D. Kumar.

28. Statement of Harnam Singh Tundilat

The following were elected:

President: Bhai Sohan Singh, Bhakna

Vice President: Bhai Kesar Singh, Thatgarh

General Secretary: Lala Hardayal

Joint Secretary: Lala Thakur Dass Dhuri

Treasurer: Pandit Kanshi Ram Marholi

This was also decided that 'Ghadar' Akhbar be also brought out. But Lala Hardayal who was entrusted with the task could not keep his promise due to health reasons. Then the work of the Ghadar was entrusted to Kartar Singh Sarabha who gave 200 Dollars received from home. He alongwith Harnam Singh Tundilat, Pandit Kanshi Ram took steps to bring out the first issue of Ghadar on Nov. 1, 1913.

Now there occurred only one change in the name of the association Hindustan was replaced by Hindi and thus nomenclature became 'Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast' which ultimately came to be known as Ghadar Movemnt. The alternative Indian organizations were Hindustan Association of the U.S.A. composed mainly of students and educated men and the other was the Sikh Khalsa Diwan with its headquarters at Stockton, California. Both got ideologically merged with Ghadar Party.

The Ghadar Party had its headquarters at 5 Wood street, San Francisco where it had a printing press. Apart from Lala Hardayal and Kartar Singh Sarabha who worked actively at the headquarters i.e. Yugantar Ashram, others who worked actively were Munshi Ram and Hari Singh Tundilat, the poet.

Yugantar Ashram became a centre of revolutionary activities. In the beginning Lala Hardayal and Lala Raghubir Dyal Gupta lived there. Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna remained busy in organizing the party. He toured farms and factories alongwith Bhagat Singh of Kachar Bhan, Kanshi Ram, Kartar Singh, Dukki and Kartar Singh Sarabha²⁹.

29. Sohann Singh Bhakna, Jiwan Sangram, p.45

The backbone of the movement were the peasants who had trickled in the U.S.A. and Canada from their distant land where they had been facing economic misery due to the inhuman policy of plunder. They had a reputation of being determined fighters. They were always proud of their heritage and the sacrifices their forefathers had made in their fight against the Mughal oppressors. They were imbued with the tales of Kukas who were blown to pieces by the British rulers.

Hardayal, in his capacity as secretary of the "Hindu Association of the Pacific Coast" alongwith the idea of armed revolution addressed a gathering of Indian workers in Astoria on June 2, 1913. He said you have come to America and seen with your own eyes the prosperity of this country. What is the cause of this prosperity? Why nothing more than this, that America is ruled by its own people" on June 4, 1913 he said, "The Roman Empire was not worse than the British Government in India. It could not be reformed and it must be abolished."

Lala Hardayal was, though, not founder of the Movement, but he was the brain of the movement and he gave it a revolutionary direction during his stay in the U.S.A. His message given in the first issue of Ghadar had an electrifying effect on the immigrants who were ready to do everything for the freedom of their country.

The message was:

What is our name?	Ghadar
What is our work?	Ghadar
Where will it take place?	India

The party built around a weekly paper, 'The Ghadar' which carried the caption on the masthead. "Angreezi Raj ka Dushman" (an enemy of the British Rule) the Ghadar declared "wanted brave soldiers to start up rebellion in India. Pay-Death, Price Martyrdom; Pension-Liberty; Field of Battle-India.

The foundation of the party and the publication of Ghadar was a big blow to the imperialists. As a result restrictions were imposed on Ghadar and C.I.D. reports confirmed that Lala Hardyal was the brain behind the movement. On 25 March 1914 Hardyal delivered a speech in San Francisco and his arrest warrants were issued. He was released on a surety of 1000 dollars given by an American lady. Bhai Jawala Singh and Bhai Santokh Singh took steps to send Hardayal to Europe. In the first week of April 1914 he was sent to Italy by an aeroplane to Italy from where he went to Switzerland. The work of Ghadar Party fell on the shoulders of

Bhai Sohan Singh Bhakna, Bhai Santokh Singh, Ram Chander and others. After Hardayal's exile the party took revolutionary line with vengeance. Kartar Singh Sarabha was sent to Europe to get training in aviation³⁰. Harnam Singh Tundilat, Pirthi Singh Lalru and Master Udham Singh began to prepare bombs. It was during these activities that Harnam Singh lost one of his arms when a bomb exploded on 5th July 1914 in the form of Jawala Singh³¹.

Gadar Party began preparations to incite rebellion. The first meeting after Hardayal's exile took place on April 12, 1914 at Stockton Gurudwara under the auspices of Khalsa Diwan Society. After that a series of meetings were held at Fresno, Upland, Oxford, Clairmont, Los Angeles on May 10. On June 7, 1914 Sohan Singh and Barkat-Ullah, who had come from Japan, roared that time has come to expel British Imperialists from India, in the meeting at Astoria. Similar meetings took place in Wina, Washington, Aberdeen, Portland and Seattle on June 8, 11, 13, 14 and 15 respectively.

First world war started on July 28, 1914. Some of the leaders like Sohan Singh Bhakna left U.S.A. on July 26. The party published 'Declaration of War' (Ailan-i-Jung) in 'Ghadar' on 5 August 1914. The first batch of Ghadarites left for India on 19th August, 1914. Ram Chander³² said, your duty is clear. Go to India. Stir up rebellion in every corner of India³³.

The exodus started with alacrity. Kartar Singh Sarabha accompanied by Vishnu Ganesh Pingle, Satya Sen alongwith a large number of Gadarites reached Colombo on board S.S. Salamin on 16 November 1914.

Several thousand left the shores of California by whatever ship they could get and arrived in india to infiltrate in the army and incite them to rebel against the British Government.

30. Bhagat Singh Bilga, Gadar Lehar De Unfroley Varkey, p.31

31. Dr. G.S.Aulakh, Veer Naik Kartar Singh Sarabha, p.39

32. Ramchandra, Bhagwan Singh & Maulavi Barkat-Ullah were key figures in mobilizing Ghadarites for exodus to India. Later on Ram Chandra was assassinated by Ram Singh on the suspicion of being a British agent.
33. Satya M.Ray, Punjabi Heroic tradition P.53
34. The Statement of Harnam Singh Tundilat.
35. Sir Michael O Dwyer, India as I knew it, p. 106.
36. Quoted in T.R.Sareen, Indian Revolutionary abroad, p.97.
37. Rowlatt Report, pp. 156-160.
38. Lord Harding was Viceroy of India from 1910 to 1915.

The exodus began and “Portland Telegram” reported that, “If exodus takes place no Indian will be left in Astoria³⁴. The first group of Gadarites left U.S.A. in a ship named Korea on 19 August with Kesar Singh Thathgarh, Jawala Singh Thathian, Pandit Jagat Ram and Nidhan Singh Chugha and others. On 22 August 1914 Bhai Sher Singh Vein Bhoein left with 26 Indians. Then the number of Ghadarites who left U.S.A. and Canada after Komagata Maru episode began to reach India 2312 Indians returned from 12 Oct. 1914 to 25 Feb. 1915. They went on pouring in and their strength rose upto 8000³⁵. According to Department of Justice Records Roll No. 6 (N.A.I.) from September 5, 1914 to 9 March 1915 1125 reached India³⁶.

About 3125, who came via Calcutta were nabbed by Panjab Police on 16 February 1915 and out of them 2211 were let off. According to Rowlatt Report from Oct. 19, 1914 till December 331 were sent to jails and 2576 were confined to their villages³⁷.

Out of 295 passengers who came through Colombo many escaped. Those who escaped were Kartar Singh Sarabha, Harnam Singh Tindilat, Jagat Singh, Nidham Singh, Gandha Singh nee Bhagat Singh, Bibi Gulab Kaur, Kanshi Ram and some others.

Lord Harding³⁸ gives the strength of Gadarites who came to India as 7000 but Punjab Governor Sir Michael O Dwyer estimated 8000³⁹. Out of them 2500 were arrested, 400 were sent to prisons and about 5000 were let off.

On reaching India the Gadarites found that the situation was not ripe for any revolutionary activity. Many sections of the society were agog to act as stooges of the government. The Mahants of the Sikh Gurudwaras and some other Sikh

organizations passed resolutions against the Gadarites⁴⁰. They had no money nor weapons. To get these they resorted to dacoities and robberies. The might of the government was so much that a few hundred Gadarites could not do much.

After the arrival of Rash Behari Bose at Amritsar on January 25, 1915 it was decided that after capturing the cantonments of Mian Mir and Ferozepur, mutiny was to be engineered in Ambala and Delhi. Betrayal of Kirpal Singh who was insider and who became a mole (a police informer) led to the collapse of the movement. A large number of members were arrested on February 19, the changed date of revolt. The government also disarmed the native soldiers in the cantonments of Mian Mir, Ferozepur, etc.

39. Sir Michael O Dwyer, India as I knew it, p.200.

40. Teja Singh, Gurudwara Reform Movement and the Sikh awakening, p.v. (Foreword)

After the failure of the movement, the members who had escaped arrest decided to leave India Kartar Singh, Harnam Singh and Jagat Singh were asked to go to Afghanistan. They did cross the Indian border but then Kartar Singh Sarabha's conscience did not permit him to run away when all his comrades had been arrested. On March 2, 1915, he came back with two friends and reached Chak No. 5 in Sargodha and stayed with ex-soldier, Risaldar Ganda Singh. He became traitor and got arrested. Kartar Singh and his two companions on March 2, 1915. The Gadarites were tried. The judgement in respect of 63 Ghadarites was pronounced on 13 September, 1915 at the Central Jail Lahore, in the first conspiracy case of 1914-15. Twenty Four Gadarites were sentenced to death, Kartar Singh Sarabha was one of them. He was hanged in the Central Jail of Lahore on 16 November, 1915 at the age of 19. He became the symbol of martyrdom and many heroes of freedom were influenced from his bravery and sacrifice. The lesson of his sacrifice and the other heroes were not lost upon the succeeding events. The movements like that of Akalis, Babbar Akalis and Hindustan Socialist Republic Association (revolutionary party of Bhagat Singh and others) were deeply influenced by the Ghadar Movement. Of all movements, the Ghadarites strove hard to realize their dreams by participating in Babbar Akali Lehar. The Ghadarites who returned to Punjab and were not nabbed by the authorities were mostly Sikhs and belonged to the Central Punjab. Their source of inspiration was exclusively Sikh Lore and History to fight against tyranny of this kind was the duty of a true Sikh.

The Sikh heritage of struggle was presented in terms of a struggle for liberation substituting the Khalsa Panth by the country⁴¹. A veteran journalist Late Patwant Singh also echoed this view, when he wrote that the clash of the Sikhs against the British Government during the Ghadar Movement remains etched in the collective memory of the Sikhs⁴².

If we look the events of Panjab History with acute accuracy then we will find a great similarity in Gadar and Babbar Akali Movement. Though Babbar Akali Movement was outcome of Akali Movement in its conception and origin yet it was an extension of the Gadar Movement in its objectives and modus operandi. Ironically and surprisingly both failed in their immediate objectives due to lack of secrecy, hasty actions treachery of insiders and the paucity of resources.

41. Dr. J.S.Grewal, The Sikhs of the Punjab, P.156

42. Patwant Singh, The Sikhs, P.189

43. Teja Singh, Gurudwara Reform Movement and the Sikh awakening, p.34.

Such revolutionary movements need long preparedness to succeed but in these cases, both movements ran into wilderness. Of course, they made their impact and ultimately were helpful in bringing the country closer to the reality of Independence.

Gadarite Dreams, Babbar Akali Lehar and reality of Independence are different segments of the same structure. One gave strength to the other. Briefly each movements stirred the people and spurred them to achieve the goal of independence.

After the failure of the Ghadar Movement the Sikhs came into conflict with the government over the issue of the Gurudwaras. The Gurudwaras belonged to the Sikh Community and the Mahants were simply the custodians, but they had begun to grab proprietary rights. They began to exercise personal rights in the endowments and the resultant accumulation of wealth led to the deterioration of their character. These men were becoming unacceptable to the community. Their baptism and five symbols became a mere anomaly⁴³.

The British sided with the Mahants because they never wanted the Sikhs to be the masters of their gurudwaras. A letter of Lieutenant R.E. Egerton, written to the Viceroy of India.

Lord of Ripon on 8 August 1881, showed them in their true colours. He wrote, "I think it would be politically dangerous to allow the management of the Sikh temples to fall into the hands of the committee emancipated from government control"⁴⁴.

44. Quoted by H.S. Dilgir; Shiromani Akali Dal

45. Teja Singh, Gurudwara Reform Movement and the Sikh Awakening, p.V

46. Gulati, K.C., The Akalis Past and Present

47. Akali Te Pardesi, Amritsar, Oct. 22, 1922

The British government went on honey-mooning with the moderate Sikhs and also lured Jat Sikhs by offering liberal recruitments in the army but it all came to an end when the govt. committed blunders by interfering in Sikh Gurudwara affairs, by crushing Gadarites and getting them excommunicated from the fold of Sikhism⁴⁵. The Mahants also gave Siropa to Sir Michael O Dwyer, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab and offered Kirpan (Sword of Honour) to General Dyer, the butcher of Jallianwala Bag Tragedy leading to 379 deaths.

The Mahants had degenerated and disgraced themselves in the eyes of the Sikhs by their role as sycophants of the British⁴⁶.

The Sikhs wanted to wrest the control from the Mahants by conciliation, compromise, peacefully and non-violently. To them the liberation of Gurudwaras

was as important as the khilafat Movement was to Mohammedans. Swaraj to them included in its concept, the liberation of the Gurudwaras. The Mahants on the instigation and overt and covert support of the Government defied the Sikhs. Such a situation could not be tolerated indefinitely⁴⁷.

It was on December 14, 1920 that the Shiromani Akali Dal was formed to assist the Shiromani Gurudawara Parbandhak Committee formed earlier on 15 Nov. 1920. It was a prelude of the coming struggle for the control of Gurudwaras. The Akali Dal sent Jathas to different Gurudwaras, captured and handed them over to the S.G.P.C. The Gurudwaras like Babe Di Ber (Sialkot) Gurudwaras Bhai Joga Singh (Peshawar); Panja Sahib, CHOLA Sahib, passed into the hands of the Sikhs. All this happened peacefully but the Akali zealots had their baptism of fire at Tarantaran on January 25, 1921 when the two Akalis fell victims to the priestly aggression⁴⁸. It was only a prelude to what happened at Nankana Sahib in which 130 persons were killed.

The Sikhs now realized that they would be able to oust the Mahants only if the government was compelled to withdraw the support to the latter. The Nankana tragedy had drawn the line. The Punjab Government sided with the Mahants and the Akalis drew sustenance from national forces. Indian National congress and Mahatma Gandhi supported Gurudwara Reform Movement. The struggle continued leading to the Key-Morcha and Guru Ka Bagh Morcha in which the Sikhs came out victorious. When government was compelled to hand over the keys of the Tosakhana of Darbar Sahib to the President of S.G.P.C.(Baba) Kharak Singh Gandhiji congratulated him and called it as a first victory of freedom Movement.

Thus, the Sikhs won, "First Decisive Battle for India's freedom"⁵⁰. In key affair the Punjab Government had to eat a humble pie before the Shiromani Parbandhak Committee.

To retrieve its prestige lost in the key affair the govt. committed another folly by taking the side of Mahant Sunder Dass of Guru Ka Bagh. The Sikhs launched a non-violent struggle. They offered themselves for arrest on Aug. 9, 1922 and the arrests continued upto 17th Nov., bringing the total number of arrests upto 5605. The govt. failed to cowdown the non-violent Akalis. The police beat the Akalis

with iron-tipped rods and batons till blood began to flow and the brave Sikhs fell unconscious. M.R.Jayakar wrote that it was a new heroism steeled by suffering, a war of spirit⁵¹. The Akalis had undergone their baptism of fire but won in the end, leading to the passage of Sikh Gurudwara Bill.

But there were a number of Akalis who lost faith in non-violence. They were in favour of punishing those who were responsible for Nankana tragedy. They cherished the memories of the courage and bravery of the Ghadarites. They ridiculed the Gandhian policy of passive resistance⁵². Kishen Singh Gargaj asked S.G.P.C. Secretary Bhagat Jaswant Singh ad sent a letter asking him to make recourse to the sword. No doubt, the Babbar Akali morcha took its final shape during the Guru ka Bagh Morcha.

A large number of ex-Gadarites, became active Babars including Karam Singh Daulatpur, Karam Singh and Kartar Singh Jhingar, Baba karam Singh Cheema, Bhag Singh Canadian, Assa Singh of Phukrudi, Kartar Singh Pindori Nijjaran, Hari Singh Sundh, Piara Singh Langheri, Battan Singh Kahri Sahri, Partap Singh Kot Fatuhi and many others. Some were active as members of the Jathas while others were symphathisers and well-wishers. The ex-Ghadrites were powder-Keg and they turned out to be the leaders of the Babbar Akali Jatha⁵³. Even Sir, Michael O Dwyer considered these Ghadrites, the nucleus of the new revolutionary movement of the Akali Sikhs⁵⁴.

48. Giani Pratap Singh, Gurudwar Sudhar Arthat Akalai Lehar, p. 96

49. Gurbax Singh Jhabalia, Sahidi Jiwan, p.573 gives a list of 86 Sikhs, but government report conceded 130 killed, vide Punjab Legislature Council debated, p. 304.

50. Ganda Singh, Some confidential Papers of the Akali Movement, p.11

51. Jayakar, M.R. The story of my Life, Vol. II 1922-25, New York, 1959, pp.34-35.

52. Partap Singh, Gurudwara Sudhar Arthat Akali Lehar, p.135.

Thus it is clear that large number of emigrants from North America, whose enthusiasm had not yet languished, living in Doaba Bist. Jalandhar, gave new colour to the peaceful Akali Movement. Thus the Babbar Akali Movement came

into existence when the Gurudwara Reform Movement was passing through a crucial stage.

The movement took place during the years 1921 to 1925. The Babbar Akalis made their first appearance during the Sikh Educational Conference held at Hoshiarpur from March 15 to 27, 1921 after Nankana holocaust⁵⁵. Some radicals led by Master Mota Singh and Kishen Singh Gargaj, a retired Havildar of the Indian Army held a secret meeting and made up a plan to avenge themselves upon those who were responsible for the killings at Nankana Sahib. It was generally felt that Mr. C.M. King Commissioner of Police, Mahantas Devi Dass, Basant Dass Sunder Singh Majithia and Baba Kartar Singh Bedi responsible for the massacre be taught a lesson. For this purpose Bela Singh and Ganda Singh were sent to Lahore to eliminate Mr. J.W. Bowring. They were suspected by the police at Lahore Railway Station and arrested on May 23, 1921. During interrogation the two let out the secrets leading to the arrests of Amar Singh, Narain Singh, Tota Singh, Chattar Singh, Chanchal Singh and many others. Warrants were issued for the arrest of Master Mota Singh, Bijla Singh and Kishan Singh. They had managed to dodge the police. They became fugitive. Kishan Singh Gargaj formed a secret organization called the Chakarwati Jatha and started working among the peasantry and soldiers inciting them against the government. While Master Mota Singh was arrested from his village on June 16, 1922, Kishan Singh and his band carried on the campaign in Jalandhar district and neighbouring areas of Hoshiarpur with the frequent incursions in the district of Ambala, Sangrur and state of Kapurthala.

In his itinerary and campaign of awakening the people he delivered 327 speeches against the British Government. His poems and articles in the various newspapers brought an awakening in the people of Doaba. At the same time Karam Singh an ex Ghadrite organised band of extremists in Hoshiarpur district around Nawashehar on similar lines. Towards the end of August 1922 the two jathas were merged and the organization came to be called Babbar Akali Jatha. Kishen Singh was chosen President, Dalip Singh Gossal Karam Singh Jhingar and Babu Santa Singh were appointed Secretary, Joint Secretary and Treasurer respectively.

53. Labh Singh Jassowal, Sankhep Itihas Babbar Akali, Hoshiarpur, 1962, p.1

54. O'Dwyer, India as I knew it, p.209

55. Charan Singh, The work of the Sikh Education Conference, 1944, p.26, Akali Lahore, March 31, 1921 p.4. the date of 19-21 March are not correct.

Another top most leader S. Karam Singh Daulatpur was authorized to bring out the Akhbar Babbar Akali Doaba. The formation of this Jatha took place at Rajowal (district Hoshiarpur) in the hermitage of Sant Thakur Singh⁵⁶.

It is pertinent to note that the main centers of Babbar activities were Gurudwaras or Kutiyas such as Kutiya (Hermitage) of Kartar Singh at Pragpur near Birring (Village of Kishen Singh Gargaj) Gurudwara Kishanpura where Sant Mitsingh lived, Kutiya of Sant Thakur Singh at Rajowal, Jassowal lived and Kutiya of Sant Charan Singh in Jassowal. The main centers Babbar activity were Pindori Nijjaran, Rajowal, Jaswal and Patara (Village of Master Mota Singh). As the Gadarites started their work by forming the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society Stockton and Stockton Gurudwara became a nucleus of the Gadar programme, so were the Gurudwaras in the Babbar Akali Movement.

The whole of the Doaba was practically humming with the Diwans held by them. The participants in the different cases belonged to no fewer than 110 villages whereas the people of more than 60 villages harboured the Babbar Akali on various occasions⁵⁷.

Babbar Akalis under the leadership of Kishen Singh became a force to reckon with till his arrest on Feb.26, 1923 due to the perfidy of a confidant. The Babbars were very active during 1921-25 and were at the height of their glory in 1922 and 23. They challenged the leaders of Akali Movement to follow a policy of violence and give up the kneed policy for the liberation of the Gurudwaras. They were out to paralyse the supporters of the British Government such as Zaildars, Sufed Poshes Lambardars, Patwaris and police-informers and other toadies. Accordingly an attempt was made to take care of Arjan Singh Patwari of Haripur who had alledgedly helped the arrest of Master Mota Singh. Zaildar Bishan Singh of Rani Thus, a retired official of the canal Department was shot dead on Feb.23, 1923. The activities of the Babbars alarmed the government. It announced rewards for the arrest of the Babbars. The toadies became very active and due to the information supplied by them Babbars like Sunder Singh, Master Mota Singh and Jathedar Kishen Singh were caught in their snare. The arrest of these leaders actuated the rest of the Babbars to chalkout a programme of eliminating the supporters of the government. The government published rewards for the arrest of the Babbars and the Babbars offered their names taking responsibility of the murders. A game of hide and seek was on.

56. Dr. G.S.Aulakh, A concise History of the Sikhs, (Men and Movements) p.189

57. Maksudpuri, .S.S, Ithihas Babbar Akali Lehar, pp. 295-97

Consequently a series of continuous eliminations took place. Buta Singh Lambaradar and his grandson were killed in his village Nangal Shamman on March 11, 1923. On March 19 Labh Singh an employee of the Police Training School Phillaur was killed on March 27, 1923. On April 17 ex-subedar Genda Singh was shot dead in his village Ghurial. They killed Diwan of Hayatpur on May 20, 1923 and Atta Mohammad Patwari on June 6, 1923.

At that time, the British Government considered every Akali, a Babbar Akali. The number of committed Babbars was only about 500 or so, yet their activities sent shiver in the supina of the British Government⁵⁸. Even the members in the British Parliament like Sir Charles Yates, Lt. Colonel Howard and Hope Simpson gave the Government many anxious moments. On June 4, 1923 Sir Charles Yates urged the British Government in Parliament to merge Doaba with some native state if the Government was unable to put down the Babbar terrorists⁵⁹. Again on June 14, 1923 the seriousness of the Babbar Akali Movement was felt and the motion was tabled. Upon pressure of the British Parliament the Babbar hideouts were raided. The raids were carried out in Pandori Nijjaran, Kishanpura, Jassowal, Paragpur, Kot Fatuhi and Daulatpur. As a result 186 arrests were made. During this period the Babbars performed some rare feats of daring and self-sacrifice. Among these daring encounters one took place on August 31, 1923 in which Karam Singh Editor 'Babbar Akali', Udey Singh, Bishen Singh and Mohinder Singh were killed due to the betrayal of Anup Singh Manko. On 25 October, 1923 Dhanna Singh Behabalpur exploded a bomb leading to the death of nine policemen, wounding A.F.Harton S.P. and A.S.P. W.H.P. Jenkins, who died subsequently on November 3, 1923 at Hoshiarpur and at Calcutta respectively⁶⁰. On Dec. 12, 1923 Banta Singh Dhamian and Jawala Singh were killed at Munder in an encounter with the police. Waryam Singh Dhugga who escaped from Munder, was killed at Chak No. 54, Lyallpur in an encounter with the police headed by S.P. Degale. It was befitting finale of the Babbar heroism.

58. Labh Singh Jassowal, Tawarikh Babbar Akali, p.12 gives the number as 55 thousands where as Teja Singh, Arsi, published in 1958, gives their number as 40000.

59. Dr. G.S.Aulakh, A concise History of the Sikhs, (Men & Movements) p.191

60. Maksuspuri, S.S., Babbar Akali Lehar, p.192

Though Babbar Movement lingered on till 1944, but by 1925 it was a spent force. The Congress leaders did not approve their methods and Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee issued Communiques appealing to the Sikhs to dissociate with the activities of the Babbars. Despite this the Babbar Movement like the Gaddar Movement played historic role in bringing the goal of freedom nearer. It inspired Bhagat Singh & Udham Singh to perform glorious deeds and make supreme sacrifices. The Babbars also increased the bargaining power of the Akalis and this compelled the government to come to terms with them.

The sacrifice of Babbar Akalis like that of Gadarites has become a part of History. In the main Babbar case there were 133 alleged criminals of whom 6 (Kishan Singh Gargaj, Nand Singh Ghurial, Dalipa Dhamian, Karam Singh Haripur, Dharam Singh Hayatpur and BABU Santa Singh Chhoti Harion were hanged on 27 Feb., 1926). In Babbar Supplementary Case 37 persons were brought to the trial of whom six (Banta Singh Gurusar Satlani, Gujjar Singh Dhapai, Mukand Singh Jassowal, Nikka Singh Gill, Sunder Sing Lokhe and Alowal) were sent to gallows on Feb. 27, 1927.

The role of the Sikhs in the struggle of India's freedom must be written in the words of gold. They were in front in every struggle whether it was Agrarian agitation of 1907, Gadar Movement, Babbar Akali Movement, Hindustan Socialist Republican Organisation or National Congress Movement or Indian National army led by Subash.

Out of 2175 Indian martyrs for freedom 1557 were Sikhs. Out of 2646 sent to Andaman Islands for life imprisonment 2147 were Sikhs. Out of 127 Indians who were hanged 92 were Sikhs out of 20000 who joined I.N.A. 12000 were Sikhs. And the Sikhs constitute only 2 percent of India's total population⁶¹.

Gadarites dreams were realized to some extent in Babbar Akali Lehar as the latter provided continuity to the struggle. The armed struggle against the foreigners emboldened the masses and they shook off their lassitude. Their sacrifices brought the goal of freedom nearer.

There are many who study history not merely as a warning reminder of man's follies and crimes but also as an encouraging remembrances of generative souls, the past cease to be a depressing chamber of horrors⁶².

The impact of the Gadar Movement and the realization of their dream in babbar Akali Movement can be gauged only keeping in view the freedom struggle. The impact of these on national leaders, on national politics as well as on Punjab History cannot be underestimated.

It has brought home to us that to realize the dream of freedom, the country should be free from want, misery and squalor.

The Gadarites went abroad in search of employment to seek better living. But they were disappointed as they could not get equal treatment. They fought against discrimination. When they returned home and entered into the ranks of Babbar Akalis, they did perform daring deeds and cowed down the government and its stooges. They made selfless sacrifices for the liberation of the country.

When they failed to realize their dreams, their brethren Gadarites in America though disappointed, yet they appreciated their role. They truly regarded Babbar Movement, an extension and continuation of the Gadar Movement. Giani Harnam Singh of Khalsa Diwan Society Vancouver eulogized the exploits of Babbar Akalis and collected subscription for their relief in May 1926. Sammund Singh of Khalsa Diwan Society condemned the British Government for the repression of Babbars in a letter written on April 5, 1926.

The Secretary of the Pacific Coast, Khalsa Diwan, Stockton's Ajmer Singh delivered a warning to the toadies. The Sikhs in America sent Rs. 37000/- for the relief of Babbar Akalis and their families.

It gave many a sleepless nights as the Babbar Movement had transcended national frontiers. The letters written by Giani Harnam Singh to Gurdit Singh of

Komagata Maru fame, 'Desh Sewak' and "Babbar Sher" were intercepted by the C.I.D. in August, 1926. The activities of the Khalsa Diwan Society Victoria, Doaba Press Society were considered the beginning of the new "Babbar Akali cult"⁶³.

This assumption of the C.I.D. leaves no doubt that Gadar Movement played a significant role in the rise of the Babbar Akali Movement. Perhaps Gadarites were making bid to realize their dreams. When the Babbars like Gadarites too failed their dreams could not be realised.

61. Rajinder Puri, Recovery of India, p.100

62. Will Durant, the lesson of History

63. Home – Political Tele No. 200/1926 p.12

But it is naive to say that they failed. On the contrary they lit a torch for many courageous souls like Bhagat Singh and Subhash Chander Bose who put new life into a listless nation. Their activities brought the goal of freedom nearer and it enabled the Indian Congress to wear the crown of glory. But for them, the reality of Independence Movement could have been elusive.

Now Free India cannot claim to have fulfilled the dreams of the Babbars and Gadarites. When India becomes a land of plenty, every able-bodied gets employment and does not hanker after passports, then and only then, the dream of Gadarites would be realized and reality of Independence visualized and achieved.

These dreams become true only when the home government makes India fascinating for her sons and daughters living in foreign lands. Only then, the dream of the Gadarites would become a reality.

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Dr. Gurcharan Singh Aulakh

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