

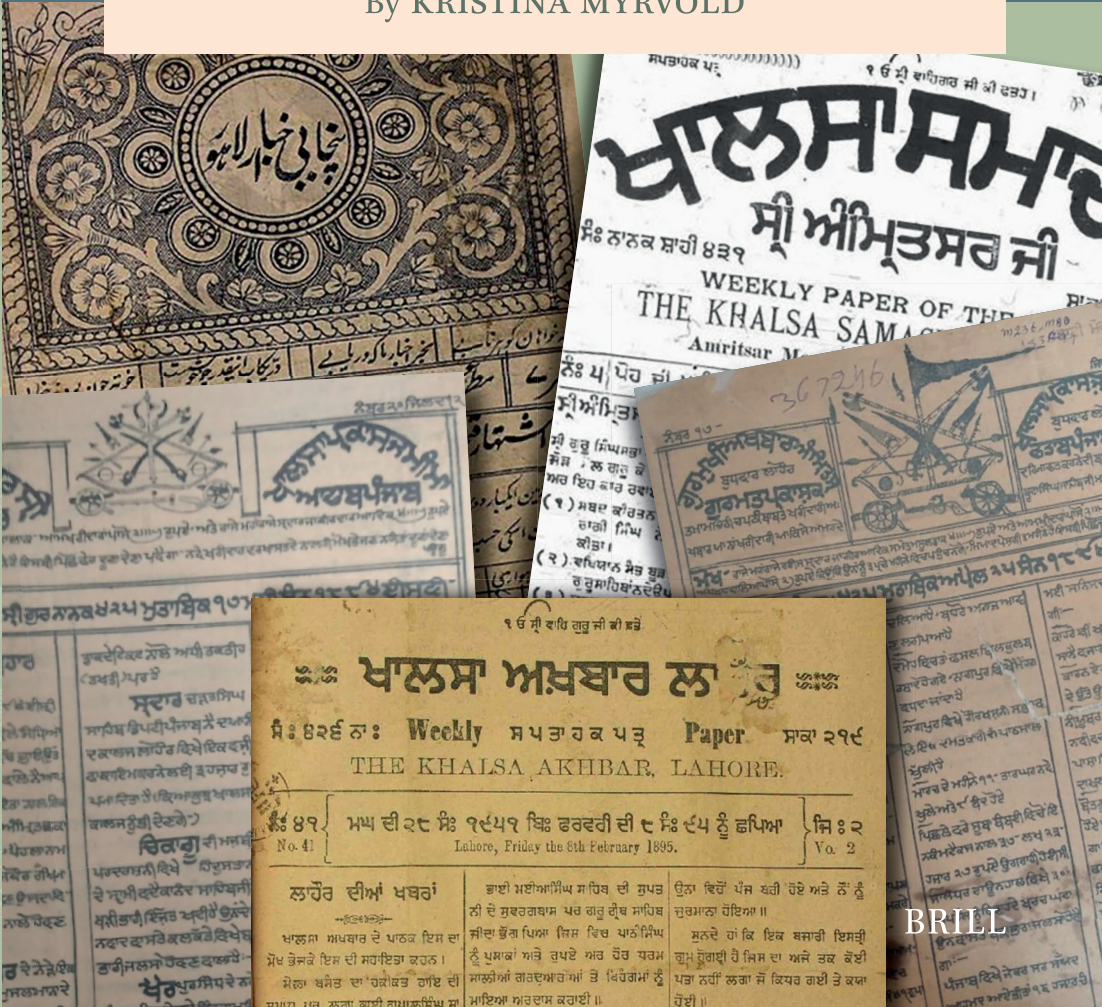
# Sikh News in India, 1864-1924

*Colonial Reports on Vernacular Newspapers of Punjab*

VOLUME ONE:

ROYALTIES, REFORMERS, AND ORGANIZATIONS

By KRISTINA MYRVOLD



Sikh News in India, 1864–1924

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of Punjab*

*Volume One: Royalties, Reformers,  
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*By*

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## Preface

In connection with my previous research visits to the British Library in London, I became familiar with the extensive material of the reports for the vernacular newspapers in colonial Punjab and realized the value of this collection for concealing local events and public opinion during a historical period of religious and political reform and unrest. At about the same time Andrew Tait Jarboe published his book *War News in India: The Punjabi Press During World War I* which presented a compilation of articles from the press reports of Punjab with a specific focus on war news between 1914 and 1918. His book served as a source of inspiration for my ideas about a larger project on Sikhs in the press material over the entire period of the collection, from 1864 to 1924. While I foresaw that a compilation like that would make a valuable contribution to future research by presenting important source material on the Punjab, I also realized that it would take many months to go through the thick volumes in their physical form. A few years later, however, new opportunities surfaced when a large part of the collection was digitized by Adam Matthew Digital and became accessible at my university. As digitization made it possible to systematically examine the material at any hour, I decided to embark on this book project.

A book is never created by one's own spirit and power but always depends upon many people who provide inspiration, ideas, and support with all from developing and rethinking a line of thought to more practical help with funding, source material, design, and publication. In India, I am greatly indebted to Sonal Sharma, a doctoral student at Jawaharlal Nehru University, who aided with necessary research at the National Archives of India in Delhi, and Jaskamal Bains, a student at Punjab University in Chandigarh, who has assisted with translations and archival work in Punjab. A special thanks goes to Christabel Royan, the Director of the consortium the *Nordic Centre in India* (NCI), who has provided valuable help with practical issues related to orders and access of source material.

The work for this book was conducted while I was holding the position as a Visiting Professor of Asian Religions at the Centre for Theology and Religious Studies at Lund University. I am greatly indebted to Alexander Maurits, then the head of the department, as well as Johanna Gustafsson Lundberg and Blazenka Scheuer, deputy heads of the department responsible for research, for providing an opportunity to return to Lund University and support my research.

At Lund University my gratitude goes to the Libraries in Humanities and Theology, and especially the librarians Per Carlheden and Helena Landström for being helpful with sources and resources. The libraries kindly purchased

the collection *Area Studies: India* from Adam Matthew Digital, which contains the press reports digitized from the holdings of the British Library, and assisted with orders of supporting material from American and Australian libraries. A reference book like this should ideally be easily accessible for research, and owing to very generous grants from the Book Fund at Lund University and the foundation Riksbankens Jubileumsfond the book has been published in open access.

A special thanks goes to the doctoral students and researchers in the discipline of History and Anthropology of Religion at the Center for Theology and Religious Studies, Lund University, for creating a critical and constructive research environment. Especially the group interested in newspapers as source material in research on history and religions has been supportive of the work for this book. The participants of this group include Dr. Olivia Cejvan, Ph.D. student Paulina Gruffman, Ph.D. student Fredrik Jansson, Ph.D. student Markus Mannberg, Dr. Hege Markussen, and Dr. Johan Nilsson. Some colleagues have constantly inspired at times when the work has felt overwhelming. Particularly I would like to mention Dr. Katarina Plank and Dr. Andreas Johansson at Karlstad University, Prof. Emerita Eleanor Nesbitt at Warwick University, and Prof. Anne-Christine Hornborg, Dr. Sam Kocheri, and Dr. Hege Markussen at Lund University, who all have contributed with encouragement.

Last but not least, I am grateful to the foundation Riksbankens Jubileumsfond which has made this work possible by generously supporting my research through a grant for the project “Iconic Scriptures in Colonial Punjab: Sikh Religion, Print Culture and Politics” (ref. no. P20-0322).

During the work with this book, our twin sons Dev and Leo were still small and a prerequisite for being able to complete the compilation was access to the source material at hours that suited our everyday life. At one point the work document for this project was called “while you were sleeping” because the many hours required to transcribe, categorize, and structure the material were spent after the boys had fallen asleep. I love you Leo and Dev and thank you for resting so peacefully most of the nights.

# Glossary

- adawlut*** Court of Justice in British India
- ahlkar*** a clerk, public servant, official
- akhand path*** uninterrupted recitation of the whole Guru Granth Sahib
- amavasya/amanwas*** new moon
- amrit*** immortal nectar; the sanctified solution of sugar and water used in the Sikh  
*khande di pahul* ceremony
- ataliq*** tutor, adviser
- badmash*** a criminal or someone who behaves in a bad manner
- bakhshish*** gift, charitable giving
- bandichhor*** liberation of prisoners
- baradari*** brotherhood
- bawa*** father, spiritual guide, or teacher
- beggar*** forced labour, slave labour
- bigha/beegha*** a unit of measurement for an area of land
- buzurg*** holy man, saint, or respected elder
- chakla*** brothel
- Chandal*** sub-caste amongst the *shudras*, considered lowest in the Hindu caste hierarchy
- chaprasi*** a junior office worker who carries messages
- chauka*** the sanctified space in Hindu kitchens
- chhavi*** billhook
- chhut*** impurity
- daftari*** official, someone having official authority
- darbar*** a court; a ceremonial gathering held by a British colonial ruler; a hall in a Sikh place of worship
- darogha*** manager, inspector, superintendent
- dera*** religious organization and institution
- dharmsala*** public rest house with religious purpose; Sikh place of worship
- diwan*** a powerful government official, minister, or ruler; congregation
- fauj*** army
- ferenghi*** foreigner, European
- ferenghi raj*** foreign rule
- gaddi*** seat, throne, or position of authority
- gandasa*** battle axe
- ghadar/ghadr*** revolt, rebellion
- ghumao*** 43,560 square feet which equal to one acre
- goonda*** a violent and aggressive person

- gora* white, white people
- goreshahi* rule of the white
- granthi* reader and custodian of Guru Granth Sahib
- gurnindak* backbiter/defamer of the guru
- gurpurab* a Sikh festival and anniversary of a guru's birth, death, or ascension to the succession line as guru
- halal* permissible food according to Islamic dietary laws
- hartal* closing shops or suspending work, especially as a form of political protest
- havan* fire sacrifice
- ijlas-i-khas* council of regency
- ilaka* area, territory
- jaikara* a call of victory
- jagir/jagheer* a grant of the public revenues to a person with power; the right to enjoy the revenue of a region
- jagirdar* landlord
- jalaukhana* place for storing jewelry (in possession of the Golden Temple)
- jatha* a band, group, or organized company of Sikhs
- jathebandi* organization or grouping that is linked together for a specific purpose and with a common leadership
- jathedar* leader of a group, community, or nation
- jhatka* meat from an animal killed instantly by a single strike of a sword
- kalgidhar* a holder of plume (*kalgi*), an epithet for Guru Gobind Singh
- karah prashad* sacred pudding in Sikh religious worship
- kar-sewa* work service, voluntary contribution of labour
- kazee* a legal scholar and judge in Islamic traditions
- keshdhari* Sikh with unshorn hair
- khaddar* cotton cloth produced in India
- khillat* a gift given to someone by a superior as a mark of honour
- khutba* the sermon for preaching in Islamic traditions
- kirpan* dagger, one of the five Sikh symbols
- lakh* one hundred thousand
- lambardars* a title to owners/rulers of land revenues
- langarkhana* institution for serving food from a communal kitchen
- lungi* a garment like a sarong
- makki* corn
- maleccha* foreigner or invader outside the Hindu tribes and caste system
- masand* a representative and tithe collector in the Sikh tradition
- mashk* water-carrying bag made of leather
- masnad* seat of honour
- maulvi* Islamic scholar

- mauza*** administrative district, specific land area
- mohalla*** neighbourhood
- morcha*** an organized march or demonstration
- mufassil*** rural districts, countryside
- munsif*** judge
- musahib*** companion, friend, associate
- naib*** assistant or deputy
- naik*** a native subordinate officer in the British India Army
- nautch*** dance performance by female dancing girls
- nazar*** a gift or tribute money given to a subordinate to a superior
- nazrana*** gift or tribute offered to royalty or to some superior person
- nizamat*** directorate
- numberdar*** chief of the village
- pahul*** ceremony referring to the *khande di pahul*, the nectar of the double-edged sword, or the Khalsa initiation ceremony
- panchayat*** a village council consisting of five members
- panth*** a way; religious creed; the Sikh religion and people as a whole
- patit*** apostate; a person who violates religious precepts
- pind*** village
- punkha*** a large cloth fan
- pardah*** seclusion of women from public observation
- purnmashi*** full moon day
- ragmala*** a garland of ragas, or musical melodies, referring to the last composition in the Guru Granth Sahib
- Rai Bahadur*** a title of honor bestowed to individuals for outstanding service to the British Empire
- rais*** chief or leader referring to a person in an aristocratic position
- raj*** kingdom
- ryot*** a peasant or cultivator of the soil
- safajang*** battle axe
- sahukar*** moneylender
- samadh*** a tomb built over the grave or the death place of a holy person
- sanad*** treaty agreement
- sandhya*** a ritual of worship performed three times a day by Hindus
- sangat*** congregation
- sarbarah*** manager, commander, head
- sarishtadar/serishtadar*** administrative officer of the court
- sarkar*** government or a person in a position of authority
- Sat Sri Akal*** the Sikh greeting and *jaikara*, a call of victory, meaning “God is Truth”
- satyagraha*** “holding on to truth”; non-violent resistance

- sawar*    horseman
- sehajdhari*    a Sikh who believes in the Sikh religion but is not initiated
- shabad*    the word; the Sikh doctrine of the divine word and the scripture as guru
- sirkar*    government
- swaraj*    self-government, independence
- tahsil*    district administration or revenue subdivision
- tankha*    a religious punishment given to a Sikh who has violated the normative Sikh  
                 code of conduct
- tankhahiya*    a Sikh who has violated the normative code of conduct
- toshakhana*    treasure house
- vakil*    a lawyer or advocate mainly a representative in the court of law
- vazir*    minister
- waqf/wakf*    an endowment made to a religious, educational, or charitable cause
- wazarat*    the office of a minister
- zaildar*    a title for a grand landlord
- zamindar*    a holder or occupier of land
- zenana*    female or something pertaining to women
- zulum/zulm*    tyranny, oppression, injustice

# Introduction

With the spread of printing technologies in India during the nineteenth century the British colonial administration experienced a pressing need to watch and control newspapers and presses run by Indians. The British were ambivalent to press freedom in India by viewing it as a liberal right and a practical measure to gain access to public opinion while disseminating Western education and ideas of civilization to the colonized. At the same time the emerging Indian print publics were envisioned to become a curse for the government if “seditious” material was circulated and sparked conflicts and rebellions.<sup>1</sup> As Norman Gerald Barrier has summarized the colonial attitude, “the British swung back and forth from strict controls to virtual freedom of expression.”<sup>2</sup> Collecting intelligence on “native” views and sentiments became an important instrument in the British strategy to maintain stability of the imperial rule and curb political unrest.

There were early attempts to surveil the printing activities of Indian publishers and especially the rebellion of 1857 prompted the colonial government to consider a systematic monitoring of the press in various regional languages and work towards legislative measures to regulate Indian presses, publications, and newspapers. In connection with the rebellion, a temporary measure was implemented through the *Press Act. No. xv of 1857*, also known as the Gagging Act, which required a license for setting up printing presses and granted the government the right to prohibit certain books and newspapers.<sup>3</sup> The act was a short-lived measure but reflected a growing obsession with “seditious” activities of the vernacular press. Ten years later the *Press and Registration of Books Act (Act 25)* of 1867 relaxed previous restrictions but obliged printing presses in British territories to follow certain standards for printed books, report details about their presses and newspapers, and deliver copies of their printed books to the government. As a result, surveillance of the print culture became a permanent instrument of control and the colonial administration began to produce comprehensive reports about printing presses, newspapers, and published books in British India.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Bayly 1996, p. 340.

2 Barrier 1976, p. 4.

3 Barrier 1976, p. 157.

4 See Barrier 1970. Quarterly reports on the published books in Punjab continued between 1867 and 1966, and are stored in the collection sv412/44, India Office Records, at the British Library.



This book, divided into four volumes, presents extracts of Indian newspaper articles that in various ways dealt with the Sikhs and were included in the colonial newspaper reports on the vernacular press in Punjab which emerged in 1864 and formalized after the implementation of the *Press and Registration of Books Act*. A tool for surveillance of the content and tenor of Indian newspapers and periodicals across the different provinces of British India was to check the growing number of papers in regional languages and then reproduce and translate abstracts and synopses of selected articles that were believed to be of interest for the colonial administration. This monitoring was conducted by the provincial governments and resulted in voluminous weekly reports which were sent to the Government of India and forwarded to the Secretary of the State of India. The press reports were widely used in governmental communications and perceived as a form of authentic knowledge about native opinion and presses.

The press reports for the province of Punjab have been preserved in Indian and British archives for the period 1864 to 1924 and consist of more than 43,000 pages that are crammed with summaries, quotations, and translations of newspaper articles on a wide range of topics. From 1864 the abstracts and translations of newspapers in Punjab were imbedded in the reports for “Upper India,” which at first incorporated the North-Western Provinces and later the province of Oudh, the Central Provinces, and other British territories.<sup>5</sup> However, from 1889 the surveillance of newspapers in Punjab was transferred to Lahore and soon placed under the Criminal Investigation Department in the province. The National Archives of India in New Delhi stores the original press reports between 1864 and 1924 (with the exception of 1889), while the British Library in London has preserved the reports between 1868 and 1924 (with the exception of the years 1889 to 1895). Although the articles contained in the reports on the Indian press were filtered through colonial lenses, they constitute an invaluable and largely unexamined source material on the history of events, communities, persons, and politics in the undivided Punjab.

## 1 Newspapers in Punjab

The selected articles on the Sikhs in the colonial press reports during the 60 years under study were derived from more than 310 newspapers and periodicals published in Punjab and other provinces in Upper India (see Appendix 2).

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5 The area from which the newspapers in Upper India were collected extended further in 1879 when the province of Berar was included and from 1882 also Rajputana and Central India.

Given the bulky press material, it is beyond the scope of this book to discuss the newspapers in detail, but a few general observations should be made regarding the development of print culture and newspapers in Punjab to set the context for the press reports.<sup>6</sup>

Print technologies were introduced in Punjab by Christian missionaries and colonial agents in the 1830s and developed after the British annexation in 1849 when Indian commercial presses emerged and published newspapers and books in vernacular languages for an indigenous market.<sup>7</sup> After American Presbyterian missionaries had set up the first printing press in Ludhiana, Captain Wade, the British political agent who had granted the missionaries a small piece of land outside the town under British protection, started a small Persian newspaper *Lodiana Akhbar* in 1837 at the mission press for disseminating political news that could benefit the “natives.”<sup>8</sup> The first English newspaper to appear in Punjab was the *Lahore Chronicle* which Syed Muhammad Azim, a compositor who had worked for the *Delhi Gazette Press* in Delhi, launched in 1849 and hired Henry Hope from Delhi to be the editor.<sup>9</sup>

The colonial administration began reporting on printing presses in Punjab in connection with the annexation. While only two presses were registered in 1849, the number grew to 235 presses by the turn of the century.<sup>10</sup> Although the capital of Lahore became a center of print culture, the technology spread to all major towns in the province. After the *Press and Registration of Books Act* of 1867 was implemented 13 newspapers and periodicals were registered in Punjab but in the following decades the number increased ninefold to 117 newspapers in 1900.<sup>11</sup>

6 For an overview of print technologies and presses in Punjab, see e.g. Barrier 1992, Davis 1983, Mir 2010; Myrvold 2017, 2024; Singh 2014.

7 Myrvold 2017; 2024. Print histories suggest that two or three lithographic presses were brought to Lahore and Gujranwala during this period, but they did not operate for long. See e.g. Davis 1983, p. 16; Feroze 1957, p. 16; Khursid 1964, p. 91.

8 Shaw 1979, p. 163; Singh 1990, p. 396. Christian missionaries were not allowed to travel west of the River Sutlej to the capital of Lahore, but could enter the eastern Cis-Sutlej states that were formally under British protection through an agreement with Ranjit Singh in 1809.

9 Davis 1983, p. 31; Feroze 1957, p. 34; Perrill 1976, pp. 282–283. Munshi Muhammad Azim started the *Lahore Chronicle Press* and engaged Henry Cope as the editor. In 1865 the newspaper was sold to the *Indian Public Opinion* which later merged with the paper *Civil and Military Gazette*. Latif 1892, p. 157.

10 *Selections from the Records of Government*, 1855, p. 237; *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and Its Dependencies*, 1901, pp. ccxiv–ccxxi.

11 *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1867–1868*, 1868, p. cxiii; *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1899–1900*, 1901, pp. 273–276.

Indian editors published their newspapers in Urdu, Punjabi, Hindi, and English but most used Urdu which was the official language of the province. The early newspapers in the nineteenth century typically conveyed general news, without any sectarian orientation, and freely reprinted notices and news from other papers. The *Koh-i-Nur* is often presented as the first Urdu newspaper in the heartland of Punjab which started in Lahore by the Hindu editor Harsukh Rai from Sikandarabad just a few months after the British annexation.<sup>12</sup> With support from the maharajas of Kashmir and Patiala, Harsukh Rai ran the newspaper and published books in all languages of the region, including the first lithographic edition of the Sikh scripture, the *Guru Granth Sahib*, in 1864. The *Koh-i-Nur* copied much from the government gazettes but occasionally Harsukh Rai used the paper to dispute with rival publishers or to raise critique against organizations and persons.<sup>13</sup> The press with the same name, *Koh-i-Nur*, served as a training institution for other publishers who later would start their own printing presses and newspapers.<sup>14</sup>

An early Urdu newspaper for general news with interest for the Sikh cause was the *Aftab-i-Punjab* which the wealthy Diwan Buta Singh started shortly after launching his press in 1866. Diwan Buta Singh was a follower of the Namdhari Sikhs and had previously been a servant of Maharani Jind Kaur, the youngest wife of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Later he became active in the Sikh reform movement and owned the Punjabi paper *Khalsa Prakash* which operated between 1891 and 1899.<sup>15</sup> As with many newspapers in the nineteenth century, the *Aftab-i-Punjab* had Sikh, Hindu, and Muslim editors and adopted an editorial policy that would criticize the British administration in a moderate tone while expressing loyalty to the government. Diwan Buta Singh expanded his press with branches in Peshawar and Ajmer and supported his grandson Aya Singh to take over the editorship of *Aftab-i-Punjab* and other Urdu papers.<sup>16</sup>

Another Urdu newspaper, frequently referred to in this book, is the *Akhbar-i-Am* launched by Kashmiri pandit Mukand Lal in 1870. Mukand Lal worked as a calligraphist for the newspaper *Koh-i-Nur* and started the Hindi paper *Mitra Vilas* for publishing news related to the state of Kashmir, but founded the *Akhbar-i-Am* for expressing opinions on various general news. The newspaper was a cheap publication and gained no good reputation for

12 Bhandari 2007, p. 268; Chand 1933, p. 30; Perrill 1976, p. 289; Stark 2009, pp. 73, 77, 121.

13 Perrill 1976, p. 292; Jalal 2000, p. 56.

14 Barrier and Wallace 1970, p. 78; Gopal, 1986, p. 16; Stark, 2009, pp. 120–122.

15 Barrier and Wallace 1970, pp. 9, 75.

16 Barrier and Wallace 1970, pp. 9, 75.

its language yet became popular for its content and editorial comments.<sup>17</sup> At some point the British censor called this paper “the most scurrilous in the province” since the editors recurrently criticized the colonial government and the native Sikh states.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the weekly Urdu paper *Paisa Akhbar* was a low-priced paper (*paisa* referring to the lowest monetary unit) that became widely circulated. The paper was launched in 1887 by Munshi Mahbub Alam in Ferozewala (Gujranwala district) for promoting education and interests in politics and two years later moved to Lahore to become a daily paper.<sup>19</sup>

With the growth of presses in Punjab and the emergence of various societies for education and reform in the latter part of the nineteenth century, newspapers appeared with sectarian orientations that were defined by religion, caste, and language. Urdu was used by both Muslim newspapers and the nonsectarian press because of the official status of the language, while papers serving a Sikh readership used Punjabi and the Gurmukhi script.<sup>20</sup> Whereas many were sponsored by societies for social and religious reform, others were supported by individuals and reflected the immediate concern of the patron. The growing number of local and regional newspapers eventually represented a wide range of views and visions for society.<sup>21</sup> Some newspapers were created to raise debates in specific political matters and controversies, such as the paper *Kirpan Bahadur* which was formed to channel Sikh views in the *kirpan* agitation, or the *Haq* which started for the explicit purpose to provide a Muslim response to remarks published by the Hindu reform movement Arya Samaj.<sup>22</sup> Some periodicals did not consort with any particular group or community but dealt with educational and legal issues.<sup>23</sup>

Many newspapers from which the colonial press reports derived articles were categorized as Sikh papers that were published in Punjabi or Urdu with different objectives and orientations.<sup>24</sup> From the late 1870s onwards, Sikh intellectuals began creating various religious and educational societies to propagate

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17 Chand 1933, pp. 33–35.

18 Barrier and Wallace 1970, p. 15.

19 Hasan 1986, p. 109.

20 Bhandari 2007, p. 277.

21 Barrier and Wallace 1970, p. 2.

22 *Punjab Newspaper Reports 1911*, Vol. XXIV, p. 1070.

23 Bhadari 1998, p. 134.

24 The first newspaper printed in the Gurmukhi script was *Sri Akhbar Shri Darbar Sahib* launched by Munshi Hari Narayan and Phiraiah Lal in 1867 at Amritsar. Although this paper is often categorized as a Sikh paper, because of its name and the image of the Golden Temple on the cover page, it was a short-lived paper propagating Hindu concerns besides publishing notices from the government. Kapoor 1988, pp. 47–48.

education, develop the Punjab language, and revitalize Sikh teaching and practice. Reform societies of the Sikhs, Singh Sabhas, were created at Amritsar in 1873 and at Lahore in 1879, and they were followed by numerous local societies at different locations. With access to print technology, the impetus for starting newspapers and periodicals came from within the community, as an experienced need to circulate news in the spirit of religious and social reform.

Among the first Sikh papers in Punjabi was the monthly *Akal Prakash* started by Bhai Pratap Singh in 1876 at Lahore. The periodical gained popularity within a few months with 1200 copies in circulation but eventually stopped to merge with other Sikh papers.<sup>25</sup> Supported by the Lahore Singh Sabha, Bhai Gurmukh Singh, professor at the Oriental College in Lahore and a leader of the reform society in the city, launched the *Gurmukhi Akhbar* in 1880 to air Sikh educational and religious matters.<sup>26</sup> The paper represented activities of the Lahore Singh Sabha and became one of the longest running periodicals in Punjabi. From the late 1880s, the *Gurmukhi Akhbar* also served the Lahore Khalsa Diwan which was a related but distinct reform organisation. Together with other reformers and with support from the Maharaja of Nabha, Gurmukh Singh established the Khalsa Press in Lahore in 1883 and three years later, in 1886, launched the weekly periodical *Khalsa Akhbar* in Punjabi which became a voice for the Lahore Khalsa Diwan and propagated activities of the Singh Sabhas.<sup>27</sup>

The princely states realized the power of media and subsidized numerous newspapers and presses. In the 1870s the publisher Naval Kishore was invited to Patiala to set up a press for the Urdu paper *Patiala Akhbar* to serve as the official organ for the state of Patiala.<sup>28</sup> The Maharaja of Kapurthala similarly funded the monthly *Nanak Prakash Kapurthala* in Urdu which was issued from 1887 to present news related to Kapurthala and the Singh Sabhas. With support from the maharaja, Naval Kishore opened a branch in Kapurthala and launched the Urdu paper *Kapurthala Akhbar* in 1892.<sup>29</sup>

In the early twentieth century, many local Singh Sabhas were incorporated into the Sikh umbrella organization Chief Khalsa Diwan that was established at Amritsar in 1902 to propagate education and represent Sikh interests. Reformers like Bhai Vir Singh and Bhai Wazir Singh set up the Wazir-i-Hind Press at Amritsar in the 1890s to publish numerous books and tracts. The

25 Kapoor 1988, p. 52.

26 Barrier and Wallace 1970, p. 52; Rani 1987, p. 149.

27 Barrier 1969, p. 52; 1970, p. xxvii; Kapoor 1988, p. 69.

28 Stark 2009, p. 177.

29 Ashok 1974, p. 139; Barrier and Wallace 1970, p. 66; Davis 1983, p. 21; Stark 2009, p. 178.

newspapers issued from this press included the Punjabi paper *Khalsa Samachar* from 1899 and the English *Khalsa Advocate* from 1903 which played important roles in advocating Sikh causes and laid claims to represent the Sikh public.<sup>30</sup> The Punjabi paper *Khalsa Sewak*, which started in 1903, similarly supported the Chief Khalsa Diwan and engaged in verbal battles with the Arya Samaj and others who viewed the Sikh tradition merely as a Hindu sect.<sup>31</sup> There were also Sikh papers dissenting the Chief Khalsa Diwan for its moderate tone in politics and relations with British authorities. The *Panth Sewak*, for instance, started in Lahore as a political organ of the “Young Sikh Party” in 1913 and became an opponent eventually blacklisted by the government for publishing objectionable matters.<sup>32</sup>

While early newspapers for reform generally focused on religious and social concerns, the developments during and after the First World War entailed a strong politicization of the press.<sup>33</sup> Constitutional reforms and growing nationalism raised questions about the political influence of the Sikhs, whereas repressive colonial policies in connection with a series of events fueled political protest. At Lahore, Harchand Singh established the weekly Urdu paper *Khalsa Akhbar* in 1914 with an articulate difference of opinion with the Chief Khalsa Diwan. As the *Khalsa Akhbar* launched an agitation against the government’s demolition of the outer wall of the Sikh Gurdwara Rikabganj in Delhi, the paper was eventually confiscated.<sup>34</sup>

During the 1920s radical Sikh papers emerged and waged war against colonial authorities in their columns and many papers were banned or stopped by heavy security demands. The Sikh paper *Akali*, which existed in a Punjabi and an Urdu version, became an influential voice of the Akali movement, the campaign to bring reform of the gurdwaras. The paper was launched after the *Central Sikh League* was created in 1919 as an alternative political platform for the Sikhs with links to the Indian National Congress. The Sikh press during this period drew on the rhetoric of the religious community to mobilize political representation and protests and became instrumental in subverting the autonomy of colonial power and imagination. Due to its content many issues of the *Akali* were banned and the editors altered since a large part of them were arrested in cases of defamation and sedition.<sup>35</sup> Although many

30 Barrier 1970, pp. 81–82; Barrier and Wallace 1970, pp. 73, 75–76, 97.

31 Barrier 1970, p. 82.

32 Barrier 1970, p. 85. *Panth Sewak* managed to restart at Amritsar in the 1920s.

33 See e.g. Gajrani 1992; Singh 2005.

34 Singh 1992, p. 442.

35 Singh 2005, p. 161.

Sikh newspapers served nationalist politics in the 1920s, the vernacular press was characterized by increasing religious and political diversity with distinct groups, communities, and organizations publishing specialized newspapers and periodicals.

## 2 The Press Reports

The press reports with translated extracts and quotations from the vernacular newspapers developed in response to the desires of the colonial government to control the rising number of newspapers. In general, colonial authorities distinguished the newspapers in India by language and race into three main categories: the English papers published by Europeans, the Anglo-vernacular papers owned by Indians, and then the “vernacular” papers that were printed in the various Indian languages and addressed the broader masses of the population.<sup>36</sup> From the beginning, the last category – the vernacular press – was the primary focus of the surveillance but gradually the local governments decided to cover newspapers in the other categories as well when English papers became suspect of publishing objectionable matter and the vernacular press relied on this for information and opinion.<sup>37</sup> From 1898 the government of Punjab included Indian-owned newspapers publishing in English in their reports and two years later the central government advised all the provinces of British India to do the same.<sup>38</sup>

Conveyance of intelligence and surveillance of news existed in different forms long before the arrival of print culture. As Christopher Bayly has illustrated, Indians practiced an indigenous “information order” or a system of circulating news and ideas by written and oral communication that created an “ecumene” of literati, state officials, and others across social and religious boundaries.<sup>39</sup> When the British arrived there were efforts made to collect books to be sent to England and make publishers voluntarily register publications, but with limited success.<sup>40</sup> The Indian Rebellion in 1857 created a more

36 Hirschmann 1971, p. 144.

37 Kamra 2011, p. 13.

38 Barrier and Wallace 1970, p. 4; Government of India. 1900. Home Department, Public-A, Proceedings, November, No. 90.

39 Bayly 1996; Roy 1995. In the Sikh kingdom during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780–1839), there was a system of writing news and producing newsletters in the official Persian language.

40 The India Office and the British Museum apparently had agents in Lahore and Delhi who purchased Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi books on literature, society, and religion in the Punjab (Barrier 1970, p. 158).

pressing situation and enforced considerations regarding systematic methods to check the press in provinces with violence and resistance, including Punjab. In 1861 the central government discussed a system to become acquainted with the “native opinion.” The Government of Bengal proposed that trustworthy clerks with discretion and skills in language were engaged for work to translate articles and prepare weekly reports on the tone of the press. Two years later the first weekly report appeared in the province of Bengal. During the initial phase of this surveillance complaints were raised on defective translations that misrepresented the original meaning of articles. Since the clerks were blamed, the work was transferred to governmental translators assisted by *munshis*, that is, Indian administrators and translators educated in the English language for the colonial administration.<sup>41</sup>

On the initiative of the Home Department, a similar system was set up in 1864 to monitor newspapers in the North-Western Provinces and Punjab. It was considered an “experimental arrangement” for one year after which the Lieutenant-Governors of these provinces were to express their opinions regarding the best mode for providing a more permanent examination of native newspapers. Since Allahabad was the capital of the North-Western Provinces and hosted more newspapers than Punjab the task to review and translate the papers was given to a single person under the supervision of the governmental secretariat in Allahabad.<sup>42</sup> For the work to select and translate articles the Government of India appointed George Wagentreiber, the editor of *Delhi Gazette*, for a year to start with. The governments of the two provinces furnished him with lists of newspapers while the local magistrates provided copies of the papers. Wagentreiber was expected to translate sections of importance in each paper and send weekly reports to the Superintendent of the Government Press in Allahabad who without any delay printed the translations and forwarded them to the central and provincial governments.<sup>43</sup>

The first report for Punjab and the North-Western provinces covered the first week of October 1864 and contained only three pages with meager information.<sup>44</sup> The Home Department requested Wagentreiber to “be careful in future that no information of any real value is passed over.”<sup>45</sup> Probably as

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41 Boyce 1988 pp. 69–71.

42 While in Bengal it became an extension of the ordinary duties of the Oriental Translators. Boyce 1988, p. 77.

43 Government of India. 1864. Papers relative to the translation of selections from Native Newspapers of Punjab, &c. Home Department – A, December, No. 19/21.

44 Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, published in the Punjab and the North Western Provinces from the 1st to the 8th of October, 1864.

45 Government of India, 1864, Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Public, November. Calcutta: Home Secretariat; Government of India, 1864, Papers



an attempt to justify the precision of his translations, Wagentreiber signed the reports with the words “true translation” within brackets. He preferred to be addressed with the designation “special agent to Government” and was given this title in the first reports, but the government disagreed and preferred to call him “Government Translator” of selections from vernacular newspapers. It was clarified that the surveillance was not to be understood as a form of censorship but a way to “put Government in possession of the feelings and opinions of the Native population so far as the Vernacular Press may be taken as an exponent of them.”<sup>46</sup> From 1865 Wagentreiber included lists of the newspapers from which the selections were made. During the years before the *Press and Registration of Books Act* of 1867, the number of newspapers reviewed and translated increased from a dozen primarily in Urdu to more than thirty papers in different towns.

The central government issued orders for the weekly press reports when there were new legislations and occasionally inferred in the procedures of the provinces,<sup>47</sup> but otherwise followed the norm of provincial autonomy and gave the local governments the freedom to structure the reports as they like. The selections and the translations of articles, as well as the structure of the reports, depended on the translators in charge (see Appendix 1). At Allahabad Mr. P. Robinson, professor of literature at Muir Central College, took over the duties for the press reports after Wagentreiber in 1875 and engaged a student in English, Priya Das, for the translation work.<sup>48</sup> Priya Das developed the reports considerably by introducing tables of contents with general headings for categorizing the articles and specified the details of presses and newspapers in lists of those which had been examined.<sup>49</sup> The allocation of the translated texts under headings reflected the main topics of the articles and what the reporters

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relative to the translation of selections from Native Newspapers of Punjab, &c. Home Department – A, December, No. 19/21.

46 Government of India, 1864, *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Public, November*. Calcutta: Home Secretariat; Government of India, 1864, *Papers relative to the translation of selections from Native Newspapers of Punjab, &c.* Home Department – A, December, No. 19/21.

47 Government of India, Home Department. Political-A. Proceedings, January 1909, Nos. 64–74, p. 2.

48 *Evening Mail*, 20 September 1875, “The Civil Service.”

49 The lists of the examined newspapers included specifications about name of the paper, locality, language, publication frequency (daily, monthly, weekly, or otherwise), name of publisher, date of publication, and circulation. This information was similar to the annual reports of the press and provided overviews of press activities in the regions and included interesting details. For instance, the first woman to be registered as an editor and publisher in the press reports for Punjab was Bibi Ishar Kaur who in 1914 published

believed they pertained. Some of the categories used were “political,” “general administration,” “legislation,” “native societies and religious matters,” and “kine-killing,” and later these were divided into multiple subcategories. Articles on specific events, such as wars and visits of British royalties in India, were deemed to need independent headings. By the 1880s the weekly reports issued from Allahabad had assumed a format that became a standard for decades.

The suggestion to have a separate reporter in Punjab was voiced already in 1874 by the newspaper *Koh-i-Nur* in connection with a discussion about measures to protect editors from retaliations from government officers. A correspondent writing for this paper expressed concerns about the liberty of the press and the inability of the government to protect editors against “malicious persecution” on the part of local officers. As the correspondent argued, “They [the editors] know very well that if they write anything against an officer, steps will be taken by him, directly or indirectly, to bring about their ruin, and hence often consider it their best policy to suppress the real truth.” Among the suggestions for solutions was a recommendation to have a separate government reporter on the native press in Punjab instead of a single reporter for the entire Upper India.<sup>50</sup>

The writer for *Koh-i-Nur* forecasted events in the 1880s when the surveillance of the Punjab press was transferred to Lahore. Newspapers published in Punjab were included in the weekly press reports from Allahabad up to the beginning of April 1888. From 1890 new reports appeared that covered only newspapers in Punjab under the title *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab*. Unlike the practice in Allahabad, the reports issued from Lahore were anonymized, with no information about the translators, but only marked with the name of the press responsible for the printing work. The transformation was probably due to confidentiality when the surveillance was gradually placed under the new provincial departments of Criminal Investigation and the Deputy Inspector-General of Police. Punjab hosted a Special Branch of the police for surveillance as an experiment from 1876 which became a model for other territories in British India. In 1887, two years after the formation of the Indian National Congress, the Government of India instructed all local governments to follow Punjab and establish Special Branches that were to submit weekly reports on foreigners and resident suspects, religious leaders, as well as

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the newspaper *Istri Sudhar Patar* from Lahore with a circulation of 1,000 copies (Punjab Newspaper Reports 1911, Vol. XXIV, p. 880).

50 Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces Newspaper Reports 1874, p. 440–441.

intelligence on native presses and societies.<sup>51</sup> The growing Indian nationalism and politicization of religious reform efforts prompted these developments.

When the Home Department in 1909 addressed the local governments in British territories about measures for improving the reports of Indian newspapers, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Punjab described the surveillance carried out at the office of the Criminal Investigation Department in Lahore: The selection of articles in the newspapers was conducted in the office of the Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police with three Inspectors of Police and three Sub-inspectors of Police employed on monthly salaries. Their duties included the selections for the press reports but also other work "appertaining to the state of native feeling," the preparation of confidential abstracts, and other material of similar character. The British Assistant of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police checked the English newspapers by Indian-owned presses. On a daily basis, the office sent marked passages in newspaper articles to the Persian Office of the Punjab Secretariat for translation by clerks under the supervision of a *Mir Munshi*, a native head of clerks employed as an Extra Assistant Commissioner. In 1909 the Persian Office at Lahore had four clerks who were responsible for translations of vernacular petitions, the Government Gazette, and other works in addition to their duties for the press reports. Thus, the Punjab government did not have a separate office dealing solely with the surveillance of newspapers, but the work was shared by the Criminal Investigation Department and the Persian Office besides their many other duties.<sup>52</sup> The Punjab government was allowed to maintain this system and decide upon the method which it thought worked best in the province.

The number of newspapers examined in Lahore was pending between 25 and 35 at the end of the nineteenth century but soon doubled.<sup>53</sup> In January 1900 the report for Punjab registered 67 newspapers that had been checked and most were published in Urdu while only four used Hindi and two Punjabi. Almost half of the newspapers, 30 in total, were issued from Lahore.<sup>54</sup> At the end of 1923, 147 newspapers were reviewed for the reports and Urdu remained

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51 See Silvestri 2001.

52 Government of India, 1909, Home Department. Political-A. Proceedings, January, Nos. 64–74, pp. 5–8.

53 This increase was probably related to a governmental reprimand by the Government of India in 1900. As Barrier and Wallace observe, Punjab curtailed the annual reports on newspapers between 1891 and 1900 but extended them after the governmental reprimand (Barrier and Wallace, 1970, p. 4).

54 The remaining were printed in Delhi (7), Sialkot (6), Amritsar (5), and one each in Jalandhar, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur, Kapurthala, Patiala, Bahawalpur,

the leading medium followed by Punjabi.<sup>55</sup> All the weekly press reports from the provinces were compiled by the Home Department to form year-based volumes. The compilations for Punjab usually comprised between 700 and 1100 pages, except for the reports for the years between 1903 and 1907 which were meager in comparison. In the subsequent years the compilations swelled to encompass more than 1100 pages which probably was a response to governmental reprimands, press acts, and the growing number of newspapers.<sup>56</sup>

During the First World War and shortly after there were several changes made to the press reports. Wartime censorship through the Defence of India Act in 1915 granted the Punjab Government increased power to control and close newspapers publishing seditious material. The Criminal Investigation Department in Lahore set up a specific Press Branch with an officer to take responsibility for the press reports. The first to record himself as the Officer-in-Charge of this branch was A.V. Askwith in 1916. Further, wartime conditions created a heightened awareness of inflammatory news in papers run by European editors. As the Director of Central Intelligence, C.R. Cleveland, stated in orders to the provinces, from the beginning, the government asked for reports on newspapers owned by Indians because it was assumed that European presses and newspapers would not print objectionable matters, but this assumption had proved to no longer hold good.<sup>57</sup> The control was not to be restricted to the “vernacular” press alone and consequently the reports from 1918 were called *Selections from the Indian Newspapers Published in the Punjab* and from 1919 changed name to *Punjab Press Abstracts*.

As the war continued, the Indian government was simultaneously preparing constitutional reforms that would grant Indians a larger role in the administration and integrate them into the decision-making processes. Repressive press acts were not in line with these reforms, nor with the new political consciousness among Indians, and amendments were suggested to repeal the existing legislation.<sup>58</sup> At the Press Branch in Lahore, Indian officers assumed the main responsibility for the press reports at a time when Punjab was increasingly

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Jhelum, Wazirabad, Bhera, and Kadian (Punjab Newspaper Reports 1900, Vol. XIII, pp. 1–4).

55 Punjab Newspaper Reports 1924, pp. 1–4.

56 In 1907 the central government requested Punjab to bring their annual report to the standard of the one prepared in Bombay and 1910 issued instructions to improve the weekly selections. Government of India, 1911, Calcutta Records, Home Department, Political-A. Proceedings, January, Nos. 82–83.

57 Government of India, 1918, Delhi Records, Home Department, Political-A, Proceedings, June 1918, nos. 18–19.

58 Barrier 1976, pp. 76, 83.

turning into a national center of political agitation and unrest. From 1918 the officers in charge were Mukh Dial and Abdul Aziz, and for shorter periods also Bhagat Ram. The revised weekly reports issued from 1919 onwards contained a smaller number of articles that were presented as longer translations or abstracts of the original articles in chronological order without being placed under headings as earlier. Considering that the reports tended to swell and include almost anything anticipated to be of interest, the central government advised the provinces to quote the most interesting articles on subjects that were relevant to many government officers. It was clarified that the reports fulfilled their function if they published articles that either offended the press acts, contained gross inaccuracies, or showed any sign of undesirable opinions or feelings. To provide an idea of the subjects discussed and what opinions were expressed it was necessary to have a sufficient number of extras, but only those of relevance.<sup>59</sup> From late 1923 the *Punjab Press Abstracts* included summaries of the main content of articles discussing a similar topic and quoted a few sentences from the original papers to illustrate the tone. Although this was a measure to reduce the size of the press reports, it distanced the readers from the original news.

### 3 Press Policies and Censorship

The surveillance of vernacular newspapers needs to be viewed in the perspective of the various legal measures to censor the press in Punjab.<sup>60</sup> Newspapers in nineteenth-century Punjab were allowed to criticize and disapprove of the colonial government if they followed the law and made no attempt to excite public unrest. Throughout the period, editors used their columns to convey messages of loyalty but increasingly expressed discontent with colonial officers and the government. When repressive policies trailed press acts and political events, the newspapers expressed feelings of despair or humbly requested the government to change the line of governance.

In the 1870s several newspapers began projecting the British as unjust rulers and voicing overt criticism of the unequal and racist treatment of Indians in legal, administrative, military, and domestic settings. A recurrent topic in the press reports was cases of colonial violence when European soldiers and

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59 Government of India, 1917, Delhi Records, Home Department. Political-A. Proceedings, May, Nos. 49–51.

60 For discussions and overviews of the different press legislations in Punjab, consult Barrier 1976 and Feroze 1957.

officials deliberately or in a drunken state shot, beat, or in other ways caused the death of Indian children and adults, whether the victims were servants to the offenders or just strangers who happened to cross their ways. In almost every case the perpetrator got away with a lenient punishment compared to what Indians would receive if committing similar crimes. Cynically, Indian editors commented on the numerous references to the weak spleens of Indians which frequently were presented as the alleged medical cause of death in the courts.<sup>61</sup>

Occasionally the local governments ordered the editors to withdraw articles that were deemed to misrepresent Europeans or the colonial administration but they were met with resistance. In 1872, for instance, the *Koh-i-Tur* was requested to withdraw a story about a European soldier who had thrown an Indian boy into a canal because the story was considered unfounded, but the editor counter-acted by printing the details of the incident based on eyewitnesses and complained about misinformed authorities.<sup>62</sup> The reprisals against this editor remain uncertain but during the 1870s several restrictions for the press were introduced.

In 1870 section 124-A was included in the Indian Penal Code and made it possible to prosecute and punish anyone who was found guilty of seditious speech or writing with transportation for life, imprisonment, or fines. Under the reign of Viceroy Lord Lytton, the notorious Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was implemented to prevent vernacular newspapers from expressing sedition and criticism of British policies. The legislation discriminated between the English and vernacular press, specifically targeting newspapers in “oriental languages,” and enabled confiscations of presses. Although the Press Act was repealed four years later by Viceroy Lord Ripon it created much resentment among Indian editors and had a profound impact on the activity of the press.<sup>63</sup> Articles in the press reports emotionally lamented the loss of liberty and expressed bitterness over repressions. The Press Act was considered particularly unjust as it applied only to the vernacular press digested by the Indian masses. The journal *Hindi Pradip* wrote on April 1, 1878:

Our tongue is now cut off, but still our mind will continue to look upon this as an act of oppression and injustice. In spite of all our efforts we

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61 See e.g. Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces Newspaper Reports 1876, p. 416.

62 *Koh-i-Tur*, 20 August 1872, Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces Newspaper Reports 1872, p. 487–488.

63 Bonea 2016.

cannot check our feelings when the flames of patriotism burn in our hearts. Alas! the cursed time! Every branch which we take hold of in order to climb upwards is cut. The door of dramatic performance has long been shut against us. We have no wealth. We have lost all our strength. We are tightly bound hand and foot, so that we cannot stir in the least. However, hitherto we enjoyed freedom of speech. But now our mouths are also gagged.<sup>64</sup>

Different attempts to silence the press revealed the strength of newspapers to formulate their ideas about public opinion. The newspapers raised debates about the many functions of the vernacular press in relation to the colonial administration and emphasized the importance of knowing the “public opinion” for maintaining a just rule. As *Malwa Akhbar* argued, the censorship was considered injurious to the government since the paramount duty of the Indian newspapers was to acquaint the government “with the thoughts and feelings of the people” and if some news were inconvenient or threatening, it was stated, “A newspaper invents nothing. It simply reflects the public opinion.”<sup>65</sup> As the government had awarded itself a generous ability to construct the Indian words and views as seditious, newspapers showed that this was based on misinterpretations.

The government of India tried to control the vernacular press by other means, such as educating journalists and managing the distribution of news and intelligence through a press commissioner.<sup>66</sup> As Gerald Barrier has described colonial strategies in the nineteenth century, local authorities in Punjab generally avoided to bring editors to court but preferred control through personal discussions and warnings. Government officials experimented with various measures to cultivate good relationships and influence public opinion, such as subscribing to pro-British newspapers, providing journalists with official versions of events, and correcting alleged rumors.<sup>67</sup> This moderate strategy on the provincial level changed after the turn of the century when newspapers assumed a political tone and authorities enforced stricter censorship.

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64 Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces Newspaper Reports 1878, p. 271.

65 Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces Newspaper Reports 1878, p. 272.

66 Bonea 2016.

67 Barrier 1976, pp. 7–8, 95.

The Newspaper Act of 1908 empowered the local magistrates to confiscate presses that published inflammatory or anti-British texts. The Indian Press Act of 1910 was a further step to enhance the control by requiring the presses to deposit security if they printed objectional matters and by granting local authorities the right to forfeit any newspapers considered prohibited. The security could range between 500 and 10,000 rupees as the magistrate saw fit and if publishers failed to deposit the amount they could be convicted.<sup>68</sup> Editors in Punjab reported about other newspapers that had been forced to pay security or were confiscated, and they often displayed solidarity by organizing subscriptions to raise funds to cover the security or urging authorities to reconsider the harsh treatment.<sup>69</sup> Reversely, the press acts were used to mobilize propaganda and smear rival communities by accusing them of publishing abusive or disloyal opinions. As a measure to keep the newspapers within acceptable literary boundaries, the government continued to issue warnings. In 1911 the Lieutenant-Governor in the Punjab, Sir Louis Dane, cautioned all newspapers about the dangers of “embarking on the course of inflammatory, indecent religious controversy, contrary to the provisions of the existing laws.” The press in Punjab was perceived to ignore the press laws and stir up religious strife which represented a “source of serious embarrassment to the Government, as well as an obstruction to all real progress and a danger to the public peace.”<sup>70</sup> The colonial surveillance and control seemed to generate the very problem it attempted to prevent.

After the First World War, a series of events happened in Punjab that caused widespread turmoil and opposition to the British and made the local government resort to coercion. In connection with the protests of the Rowlatt Act and the events of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre in 1919 martial laws were imposed and followed by censorship and mass arrests during the Akali and non-cooperation movements. In attempts to crush what the British perceived as a rebellion, newspapers and presses were hit by prosecutions, securities, and bans.<sup>71</sup> As a mirror to this unleash of repressive measures, the press reports were filled with news on colonial brutality and added with commentaries on presses and prosecutions. For a few months following the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre the *Punjab Press Abstracts* included “supplements” with articles on

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68 See Barrier 1972, pp. 11–12; Raman 1999, pp. 863–865.

69 See e.g. the extracts on Sikh newspapers under censorship in volume 3 of this book.

70 Punjab Newspaper Reports 1911, Vol. XXIV, pp. 1090–1093.

71 Barrier 1976, p. 82.



the Punjab disturbances from newspapers in other territories.<sup>72</sup> From November 1923, when the Akali movement peaked, the reports contained brief comments on the “tone of the press” and whether it was satisfactory or not. Most Sikh papers writing about Akalis were considered unsatisfactory, displaying “a hostile spirit,” whereas papers of other religious communities reflected “a sullen mood in respect of the policy of Government.”<sup>73</sup>

Another invention in the revised press reports was ending comments with information about all the newspapers that had started or become defunct in the province during a week, as well as the editors and the printers who had been prosecuted, convicted, or sentenced for sedition, defamation, religious offense, or defective imprint.<sup>74</sup> Some of the reports published verbatim translations of the complete texts for which the editors had been prosecuted, usually under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code which criminalized attempts of inciting disloyalty and disaffection towards the government. To illustrate the texts for which editors of Sikh newspapers were prosecuted, the third volume of this book presents a selected number of articles deemed offensive. The press reports include considerably more extracts of shorter and longer texts that resulted in imprisonment for the editors, but this additional material is too extensive to reproduce in full.

Although the colonial administration relied on warnings, bans, and prosecutions to keep the Indian newspapers within boundaries, the growth of the vernacular press ran beyond control and proved that measures of surveillance and restriction were quite ineffective in the end. This was due to many factors, not least the colonial surveillance system itself which was neither unified nor designed to counter the surge of Indian resistance. The colonial administration was constantly caught in a tension between the ideals of purporting freedom of the press and repressions that became a means to politically survive. The mushrooming of Indian newspapers and the rise of nationalism in the early twentieth century eventually testified to the limited power of the colonial government to influence and control the press.<sup>75</sup> But due to the colonial surveillance, the posterity has access to a vast material of excerpts, translations,

72 Punjab Newspaper Reports 1919, Vol. XXXII, p. 5.

73 Punjab Newspaper Reports 1923, Vol. XXXVI, p. 600.

74 The legislature referred to, in notes on the editors who had been convicted, was the Indian Penal Code, particularly sections 124-A and 153-A, the Criminal Procedure Code, and the Registration of Books Acts of 1867.

75 Barrier 1976, p. 11; Bhandari 2007, p. 186.

and quotations from local and regional Indian papers which constitute a valuable source material for historical research.

#### 4 Press Reports as Source Material

Given the above background, it is evident that the weekly press reports, when used as historical sources, must be approached with methodological precaution. The articles included in the reports are in no way representative of the rich material in the Indian press history but mirror selections based on imperial interests and fears. Already in the 1860s discussions in the government emphasized the need to have translators with sound judgment to separate news of political importance from those of ephemeral value.<sup>76</sup> The officers and clerks translating were exposed to a plethora of information conveyed in the local press – international news recycled between the papers, reports about performed festivals and events, notices and advertisements on all kinds of practical matters, and many other things reflecting the everyday social and cultural life of Punjab – but much was considered too trivial for the colonial censor and never picked up for translation. As Andrew Tait Jarboe notes about the surveillance of press news during the First World War, the job of those who collected the articles “was to anticipate and then disrupt possible threats to the security and stability of British imperial rule in South Asia.”<sup>77</sup> Their readings were made with a filter to search for things that could incite political tension, communal conflict, or rebellion against the colonial power. Given this, the press reports unfold canvases that display critical and political conflicts, events, and debates, often with the colonial government or British officials in the center or the background, while everyday experiences and friendly relationships passed unnoticed. Since the reports excluded a great deal of press material, they can be accused of, as Leigh Denault puts it, “skewing our understanding of the broader world of Indian print.”<sup>78</sup> For instance, scant attention was given to early Sikh reformers and the Singh Sabhas in the nineteenth century, except for a few articles recounting complaints and internal frictions. The reasons behind this selection were probably many, but likely the loyalist approach of the early Sikh reformers influenced. By contrast, considerably

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76 Boyce 1988, p. 69.

77 Jarboe 2015.

78 Denault 2020, p. 273.

more material was included on maharajas in the princely states because they were perceived to constitute a different political threat to the colonial regime.

Based on a study of the newspaper reports in Bengal between 1874 and 1910, Sukeshi Kamra suggests that the material can be approached as a separate literary genre that produced images of the Indian press and native political opinion as being constantly critical of the colonial government and typically emotional in tone. Through the selections and translations of newspapers the local government transformed the multi-lingual press material into “a static body of knowledge” that was framed by legislation and guided by myths about the natives.<sup>79</sup> Powerful and provocative articles were extracted from the vernacular press to create particular images of the Indian newspapers and reading communities as “hotbeds of simmering resentments at one end and volatility at the other.”<sup>80</sup> The different press laws transformed complains into sedition and produced images of a traitorous population. As such, Kamra argues, the press reports were colonial productions that created conclusions about native opinions as a threat to be feared.

However, it is important to consider regional differences between the newspapers and the surveillance. The criteria for selecting articles for the press reports were never detailed nor explicitly defined by the colonial government but floating and dependent on the discretion and ability of local officers. The translator Sohan Lal, who worked under Wagentreiber at Allahabad in the 1870s, was severely criticized in the English press for poor judgment to reflect the “native opinion.” Some newspapers accorded him credit for mastering English well,<sup>81</sup> but *The Mofussilite* did not mince words when evaluating his selections:

Baboo Sohan Lal gets worse and worse. His latest Selections from the Vernacular Press are without point or utility. He has evidently no idea of what is expected of him, or what is the real object of making these summaries and excerpts ... who cares to know, on the authority of the *Lawrence Gazette*, that the foundation stone of a building for the Meerut Debating Society was laid on the 12th September, or that the *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar* of the 1st of that month praised a neighbouring zemindar for doing his duty to his ryots, or that *Urdu Delhi Gazette* is dissatisfied with the handwriting of a clerk in a money-order office? All this is the merest twaddle, and cannot be of the slightest assistance to the rulers of the land, in forming

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79 Kamra 2011, p. 7.

80 Kamra 2011, p. 9.

81 *Englishman's Overland Mail*. 26 October 1870. “The Upcountry Native Press.”

a tolerably correct judgement as to what the public is thinking and saying of them and their proceedings.<sup>82</sup>

Similar inclinations to select news of little value for the colonial rulers continued into the twentieth century. When the Home Department and the Director of Intelligence discussed new orders for the weekly reports during the First World War it concluded that “there is a general tendency, more marked in some provinces than in others, to include everything which may conceivably be of interest.”<sup>83</sup> Governmental reporters in Punjab went in this direction and took the safe bet by including almost anything that could be of interest, from major political events to local incidents and rumors. Consequently, the weekly reports for Punjab contained a wealth of details on a wide range of topics, not only those that could reflect simmering resentment. Local problems with railway tickets, reports on village festivals and fights, and gossip about the Maharajas’ pastimes could share space with world politics, outbreaks of epidemics, threats of wars, and apocalyptic prophecies.

Another aspect to consider in terms of source criticism is the process of translating and creating abstracts of the original articles – a work conducted by the local clerks to highlight relevant parts of the vernacular press material. The reviewed articles from the Punjab press were generally extracted and summarized, but not translated or reprinted in full, even if many reports paraphrased details and expressions in a way that indicate intimacy with the original texts. From the early twentieth century, it became more common to quote passages from the original articles. Especially extracts derived from Indian newspapers in English were reproduced in verbatim and framed with quotation marks. Though what was omitted and what was added in translations and how this process semantically transformed the texts can only be judged by a comparison to the original articles.

From the beginning of the surveillance colonial officials were aware of the problem with bias and faults in translations. In the 1860s the Director of Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces began noting mistranslations in the press reports when comparing them to the vernacular originals and prepared a report to illustrate how the translations transformed meanings. Undoubtedly a correct translation became a critical matter for the Indian editors: if the original sentiment was lost in translation the editors could be subjected to legal proceedings based on mistranslations, such as when a passage

82 *The Mofussilite*, 15 October 1870. “Summary.”

83 Government of India, 1917, Delhi Records, Home Department. Political-A. Proceedings, May, nos. 49–51.

expressing loyalty in an Indian language appeared as treason in the English translation.<sup>84</sup> The press reports themselves were silent about the translation process and only in a few cases did the reporters add notes for a word or a concept that required explanation. A common tendency in many reports was to let particular words and phrases in the Indian languages stand untranslated, such as words for workers, offices, titles, and objects (see e.g. the glossary which includes many of these words). This presumed a readership acquainted with an Indian vocabulary for bureaucratic matters and everyday life.

Nevertheless, the press reports constitute a source material, sometimes the only, that offers a wealth of details about specific events, people, and communities, while simultaneously providing a larger window into Indian press histories, media landscapes, public opinions, and the social and cultural life of the region. The source material, when studied over a longer period, can display the interests of groups at specific times while revealing gradually changing orientations in the language and form of newspapers.<sup>85</sup> Ideally, the weekly reports should be studied in dialogue with the original newspaper articles, but this can bring about severe trials when editions are missing or untraceable. English newspapers from colonial Punjab, for instance, are usually available in British and Indian archives and many of them have been digitized.<sup>86</sup> Accessing copies of Indian newspapers, however, poses another challenge since the material is scattered in collections across South Asia, Europe and North America.<sup>87</sup> A search for collections in Punjab will show that newspapers which became prominent and durable in the region have been well-preserved, even digitized, but many of the local and short-lived contemporaries are undetectable and perhaps completely lost for posterity.<sup>88</sup> In the latter case, the press reports constitute a valuable supplementary source material viewed through a colonial window.

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84 Boyce 1988, pp. 85–86.

85 See e.g. Hirschmann's points of the benefits for historians from studying Indian press material, Hirschmann 1972, pp. 145–148.

86 For instance, the British Newspaper Archive holds the collection of the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore (1845, 1847–1951, 1954–1962) and newspapers from other parts in India, including the Western (*The Bombay Gazette*, *Times of India*, and *Voice of India*), Eastern (*Englishman's Overland Mail*, *Calcutta Gazette*, *Friend of India and Statesman*, *Indian Statesman*, and *Indian Daily News*) and Southern regions (*Bangalore Spectator*, *Madras Weekly Mail*, *Government Gazette*, and *Madras Courier*).

87 See e.g. Barrier's overview from 1969 which is still useful for information about holdings related to the Sikhs (Barrier 1969).

88 Most issues of *Khalsa Akhbar*, for instance, have been digitized by the Punjab Digital Library in Chandigarh.

Previous research has extensively discussed the inherently biased character of press material.<sup>89</sup> Newspapers had editorial biases, just as colonial reports reflected British prejudices, fears, and misunderstandings.<sup>90</sup> When using historical press material in general, and the colonial press reports in particular, there might be a risk to wrench the material from its proper literary and cultural context for information, as if newspaper articles mirrored a social reality and factual events. Historical research on press material, however, is not only concerned with what happened in a given time and place, but rather how people perceived events or what they wanted other people to believe happened, whether the news was false or true, and how this influenced their subsequent actions.<sup>91</sup> The press played dual roles by reflecting and shaping opinions and popular attitudes. What constituted the “public” or “public opinion,” which was a primary concern of the press reports, needs to be contextualized since these are conceptual categories with shifting meanings and institutions.<sup>92</sup> A colonial and multi-lingual context like the one in British India adds additional layers of precaution to this discussion as editors published under censorship and the newspapers never represented or constituted a single public.

## 5 Multiple Publics

Considering that the press in British India was multilingual and a large part of the population was illiterate, previous research has posed questions regarding the existence of “public opinion” and the newspapers’ outreach to a broader population, beyond the literate urban elite. Colonial officials often assumed that public opinion in India was a Western transplant that lacked the strong articulation found in Europe.<sup>93</sup> It was a part of the politics of governmentality to reduce complex spaces of discourse and universalize Indian perspectives and agendas. The press reports were considered as reservoirs or stable sites

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89 See studies on newspaper reports on the partition in 1947, such as Chattha 2013.

90 Barrier and Wallace 1969, p. 2.

91 In Knudson’s wording, the newspapers have in many societies and cultures become the “*lingua franca*” of society or an “index” of popular attitudes (Knudson 1993, pp. 1–2).

92 Denault 2020, p. 264. See also J. Barton Scott and Brannon D. Ingram’s analysis of how scholars have studied South Asian publics either from a typological approach, which searches ideas and practices in South Asia that seem similar to the “public” in North Atlantic areas, or the genealogical approach, which examines how concepts and practices of the public in the West traveled and were adapted in South Asia (Scott and Ingram 2015, pp. 359–360).

93 Denault 2020, p. 264.

for accessing the “native” opinion, even if the sheer number of newspapers operating under changing press regulations displayed an array of voices and made it difficult to determine whether Indian editors and writers expressed their views or operated strategic in relation to colonial authorities.<sup>94</sup> Colonial public spaces were sites for exercising imperial power but also multiple and multilayered sites of interaction for various manifestations of Indian agency.<sup>95</sup>

Several researchers have emphasized that colonial India was characterized by multiple publics created from various public spaces of discourse and print with conflicting interests and identities and no common language of communication. Repeatedly it is contended that Jürgen Habermas’ oft-cited theory on the public sphere, as a bourgeois space for the educated between the state and civil society where public opinion took shape and evolved around rational and critical argument, falls short in the South Asian context. The theory idealized the liberal public sphere from the perspective of an early modern European context and rested on several exclusions, including gender and different social classes, which failed to examine the plurality of competing public spheres.<sup>96</sup> In view of Bayly’s study on the Indian “ecumene” and the circulation of information in India before the British colonization, public spheres were not transplanted to India by the British nor merely conveyed downwards by the elite, but existed in precolonial times through culturally defined activities for debate associated with particular social groups. The coming of print altered the nature of the public sphere by operating at multiple levels of society and creating a variety of publics.<sup>97</sup> In the colonial context it is also fruitful to consider what Nancy Fraser has termed “subaltern counterpublics” to signify discursive arenas that develop in parallel or opposition to the official.<sup>98</sup> As the public sphere often operates to the advantage of those in domination, subordinated social groups invent counter-discourses and formulate alternative and competing interpretations as strategies of interacting with the colonial government. In Punjab the public opinion covered various groups and a plethora of subjects, as publishing and publishers’ histories may demonstrate. The public sphere operated in relation to local authorities but was never monopolized by any narrow social class.<sup>99</sup>

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94 Kamra 2011, p. 14.

95 Bhasni, p. 72.

96 Bhandari 1998, p. 210; Bhasni 2010, p. 63.

97 Bhandari 1998, p. 215; Kamra 2011, p. 28.

98 Fraser 1990.

99 Bhandari 1998, p. 248.

Depending on orientation and objectives, the newspapers formed a self-conscious concept of the public and delineated the boundaries of public opinion in cooperation with or in opposition to the colonial administration. Francesca Orsini has illustrated that writers in the Hindi language struggled to find counterparts for “the public” in the vocabulary of modernity but eventually distinguished between two understandings that represented the government (*sarkari*) and the “public” pertaining to the community.<sup>100</sup> Cases from colonial Punjab, as Vivek Bhandari discusses, illustrate that understandings of the public refracted through indigenous concepts and practices but gradually changed meanings as public spaces were institutionalized.<sup>101</sup>

Statistics on the circulation of newspapers suggest that most papers had a small readership limited to the educated elite. Many papers in nineteenth-century Punjab did not exceed 1,000 copies but had a circulation of only a few hundred. A contributing factor to the limited circulation was production costs, prices for subscriptions, and dependence on patrons. A newspaper like the Lahore-based *Akhbar-i-Am* could reach out to a wider readership because it compromised with the quality by using cheap paper for printing.<sup>102</sup> Other newspapers, like the *Punjab Darpan* at Amritsar, used various selling techniques to increase the number of subscriptions. For instance, the paper offered a wide range of subscriptions depending on the status and class of the reader, with high prices for royalties, *sardars*, and rich people and the lowest for common people. Those who would sell ten copies of the paper to others would get a free copy themselves.<sup>103</sup>

However, the circulation of newspapers moved between different spaces of discourse and should be viewed from continuing pre-colonial oral traditions that intersected with new literary activities and print culture.<sup>104</sup> To appreciate how various publics were formed it is important to consider different forms of mediation. Print was, as Leigh Denault puts it, “embedded in, rather than superseding, preexisting forms of social and cultural communication.”<sup>105</sup> The circulation figures were not necessarily proportionate to the number of receivers of news because the papers reached out to a listening audience beyond the printed copies. As Anindita Ghosh has stated about printed books in India,

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100 Orsini 1999.

101 Bhandari 1998, p. 357.

102 Chand 1933, pp. 34–35.

103 Kapoor 1988, p. 62.

104 Indian publishers in the nineteenth century favored lithography as the primary print technology because it enabled a continuation of the manuscript culture and aesthetic ideals that provided textual legitimacy. See Myrvold 2017, 2024.

105 Denault 2020, p. 273.



“the written word was not available only to literate audiences. Nor was it limited by the personalized interpretation of a few privileged individuals. It was accessible to even wider illiterate groups through communitarian ceremonial reading sessions and local performance traditions.”<sup>106</sup> Various reading practices became essential for the conveyance of information when the larger part of the population was illiterate or semi-literate.

There are several sources to suggest the existence of collective reading practices of both books and newspapers in public and private spaces, like village centers, households, schools, places of worship, bazaars, and the like, which created literate communities through oral transmission.<sup>107</sup> Newspapers became collective properties, pursued by a person or a group with sufficient financial means and then read or recited during social or religious gatherings. As Michael Mann has phrased it, “sometimes a single newspaper served an entire village.”<sup>108</sup> Another and less explored field is the free “reading rooms” that were established in urban environments by associations and patrons of the press and provided the educated public with newspapers. For instance, the family of Sardar Dyal Singh, the founder of the *The Tribune*, supported a reading room in the Bharat Buildings at Lahore.<sup>109</sup> Press material became a public property and public debates in India could proliferate in multiple forms, not separated from oral traditions, but often blurring the elite and the popular cultures.

The emerging class of publishers, editors, and writers in Punjab drew on existing lines of communication to fashion a public culture that combined oratory, performance, and print.<sup>110</sup> They were interconnected with their audience and in a skillful manner recreated and utilized new genres and spaces that blended precolonial economies of knowledge and oral communication with the printed word.<sup>111</sup> Leigh Denault claims that print created “newly interconnected, multilingual and overlapping publics, breaking into worlds of learning formerly dominated by manuscript cultures,” and argues for a model of “networked authorship” which allows seeing the oral in conversation with print

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106 Ghosh 2003, p. 33.

107 See e.g. different examples in Bonea 2016; Denault 2020; Gupta 1977, Kamra 2011. James Long, the missionary and founder of the Vernacular Literature Society in Calcutta, gave in 1859 an illustrative description of how books were read in Calcutta. Some households hired readers for regular reading sessions for the women in the house (Darnton 2002, p. 244).

108 Mann 2017, p. 75.

109 *Khalsa Advocate*, 16 December 1910, “S. Dyal Singh Reading-room, Lahore.”

110 Bhandari 2007, p. 274.

111 Bhandari 2007, p. 182.

and “newspapers as sites of interaction rather than as sources of discourses.”<sup>112</sup> Newspaper editors were addressing conversations in the broader society, not just representing them.

The interactive and oral aspects were visible in the format and genres of articles that Indian newspapers used and blended to appeal to multiple audiences.<sup>113</sup> The newspapers were dependent on each other for news, particularly those from overseas, and reprinted articles that were borrowed or exchanged with contemporaries.<sup>114</sup> They included diverse items with explanatory comments, poetry, speeches, conversations, and letters sharing space. Many reproduced speeches or texts that were presented in a dialogue form patterned after oral debate. Until the end of the nineteenth century, it was a practice of editors to add very personal comments either along with news or within brackets after. The *Punjab Darpan*, the first Punjabi paper for general news in 1885, became famed for the editor's sarcastic and humorous commentaries.<sup>115</sup> Poetry remained a popular genre for expressing politically charged comments and reflections upon current events.<sup>116</sup> The ending section of this book provides examples of poems that were printed in connection with critical historical events to voice resistance and empower through religion.

Many articles contained what the government officers translated as orally transmitted rumors textualized in the newspapers. Rumors play important roles in cultures with oral traditions, particularly at times of conflicts and ambivalence.<sup>117</sup> As postcolonial research proposes, they may represent a type of subaltern communication that is used to convey the collective will of subordinate groups, subvert power structures, and create parallel or counter-ing discourses.<sup>118</sup> Along these lines Santanu Das has suggested that rumors

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112 Denault 2020, p. 264, 274.

113 Ghosh, 2003, p. 40.

114 During the First World War the colonial government considered this reprinting a major obstacle since newspapers did not always discriminate between English and German war news and sometimes published propaganda of the enemy. Government of India, 1914, Delhi Records 1, Home Department, Political-A, Proceedings, December 1914, No. 61.

115 See e.g. the example given by Mega Singh 2001, p. 56; and Narinder Singh Kapoor 1988, p. 64.

116 Denault, 2020, p. 275. See also the collection of poems on the Guru ka Bagh affair in Punjabi from the newspaper *Akali te Pardeshi* in Bhai Sundar Singh Gyani's book *Akali Nazare* (n.d.).

117 Andrew Tait Jarboe suggests rumors about the Indian soldiers during the First World War were used to shape memory and mobilize insurgency (Jarboe 2013, pp. 65–66). Paul Brass argues that rumors play an important role in recruiting and mobilizing people during events of rioting (Brass 2002, pp. 349, 363).

118 Ghosh 2008, p. 1235.

in colonial Punjab provided “the much-needed space for the articulation of internal conflicts, contradictions and contestations suppressed in the official sphere.”<sup>119</sup> The British were aware of the strength of rumors in India and for long entertained a collective memory of the Indian Rebellion in 1857 as being instigated by stories on their inference in religious matters. Newspapers remained relatively free to publish the content of rumors on diverse topics, but the editors could face legal consequences if the intention was to spread false information.<sup>120</sup> Consequently, editors often added their comments to reports about rumors to confirm whether they were trustworthy or not and refuted those considered fabricated and fake. If the responsible editors did not agree with some writers or tried to erase their responsibility if the articles became censored, many would still publish the texts but add comments expressing disagreement.

The “networked authorship” appeared clearly in the newspapers’ dialogues with the colonial rulers and efforts to influence the government through their papers and the press reports.<sup>121</sup> The reports were not confidential at first, but widely distributed and even summarized in the English press.<sup>122</sup> When the first government reporter of vernacular newspapers in Bengal was engaged in 1863, the *Times of India* boosted in a sarcastic tone that its editors were also reading vernacular newspaper but unlike the government published for the whole world and openly corrected misstatements or explained ambiguous points. The press reporter in Bengal would hardly have this advantage of publicity, the paper concluded, as government reports, in general, were behindhand.<sup>123</sup>

Newspapers in Punjab appeared more welcoming to the surveillance, presenting it as an opportunity for native newspapers to be noticed and a means for the government to ascertain “the feelings of the people.”<sup>124</sup> Merrill Tilghman Boyce claims that Indian editors and British officials accepted the press reports as “a channel of communication between the press and the

119 Das 2018, p. 96.

120 Act IV of 1898 changed Section 505 about statements creating public mischief. If the government earlier had to prove that false rumors were printed intentionally, the amendment made this unnecessary and put the burden of demonstrating intent (Barrier 1976, pp. 6–7).

121 Note that the word for news “Akhbar,” which was included in the name of many newspapers, signified intelligence, notices, and reports from the ruling power.

122 See e.g. *Englishman’s Overland Mail*, 26 October 1870, “The Upcountry Native Press.”

123 *Times of India*, 8 July 1863, “Chesson’s Miscellany.”

124 *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, published in the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces, from the 16th to the 23rd of October 1864*, p. 13; *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces, from the 16th to the 24th March, 1866*, p. 62.

government.”<sup>125</sup> Access to the reports provided an understanding of how the government translated their articles and made it possible to criticize authorities for misrepresentation.<sup>126</sup> Newspapers which attempted to influence the government could magnify their voice if articles also received attention in the press reports. In June 1867 the newspaper *Ukbar Alum* suggested that the government should increase the appointment of translators given the growing number of newspapers. As this paper argued, “articles are sometimes unnoticed in the first paper in which they appear, and only when they are extracted into other papers, and remarked upon, are they translated and published in the weekly reports.”<sup>127</sup> Newspapers could lobby for specific causes or direct sharp criticism to governmental bodies by prescribing what the translators should pay attention to in their reports.<sup>128</sup>

Based on her study of press reports in Bengal, Sukeshi Kamra argues that Indian newspapers seized the opportunity to develop “tactical relationships” with the press reports by casting doubts on their reliability. Indian papers drew attention to the distortion of native views and criticized the translators for misinterpreting Indian intents. According to Kamra, this was “a tactical edge” because if the colonial surveillance picked up articles expressing criticism of the reports, the newspapers had successfully conveyed their awareness of the surveillance to the government while destabilizing the reports as authentic sites for knowledge about the natives.<sup>129</sup> Newspapers in Bengal, therefore, wrote in a manner that would attract the attention of the surveillance and turned the reports into “discursive spaces of ambiguity and prevarication” by getting their articles included.<sup>130</sup> As government officials became concerned about the newspapers’ growing influence, they eventually classified the reports from the 1870s onwards.<sup>131</sup>

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125 Boyce 1988, p. 123.

126 There were also attempts to discredit the government reporters of the vernacular press. In 1868 the *Civil and Military Gazette* reported about rumours published with the object of injuring Wagentreiber, who claimed that he had even seen his own death notice in some paper. *Civil and Military Gazette*, 21 November 1868, “The Mofussilite.”

127 *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 8th to the 16th July, 1867*, p. 300.

128 Such as when the postal service was glossed as corruption by local people but the authorities turned a blind eye to the problem. *Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 1st to the 8th April, 1867*, p. 204.

129 Kamra 2011, pp. 10–12.

130 Kamra 2011, p. 12.

131 The newspaper reports for Bengal were classified from 1874 (Boyce 1988, pp. 84–85). The Government in Bengal also thought the press reports became useless if the Indian newspapers manipulated them (Kamra 2011, p. 12).

Changing attitudes to the colonial administration in Punjab were also noticeable in the language used to address officers and the government. Long into the twentieth century many papers printed proper titles of persons and offices and used honorifics and verbal genuflections in the Indian languages to show respect and subordination. Flamboyant expressions of loyalty to the British government could frame complaints and criticism of the same. With growing politization in the 1920s, many newspapers altered the language by addressing government officers and bodies with derogatory epithets. During the Akali movement, Sikh papers referred to the government as the “bureaucracy” and called officers responsible for the excessive violence “myrmidons” or underlings who had lost human values and unscrupulously executed orders. More elaborately some papers projected the British as tyrants from historical and cosmological ideas about empire and power by comparing them to the Mughal rulers and addressing them as personifications of evil and Satan.<sup>132</sup> The press reports conveyed an “intensity of feelings” in the language of many papers at a time when especially the Sikhs perceived themselves to be at a religious war with the colonial power.<sup>133</sup> They reflected how the interests in current affairs intensified over the period, which is a prerequisite for public opinion, but also how opinions transformed and diversified with growing political interests, sentiments of nationalism, and hostile relations with the British.

## 6 Purpose and Structure of the Book

This book presents newspaper articles in the weekly reports on the vernacular press in Punjab that in various ways specifically dealt with the Sikhs. Given the multicultural landscape of colonial Punjab, with increasing debates, negotiations, and redefinitions of religious identities and categorizations, a selection like this may be questioned for various reasons. Research in South Asian history, for instance, has discussed in detail how the British used “particularistic” politics which ordered and systematized the society into innumerable communities, based on caste, tribe, and religion, to understand and control the subjects. A method of selecting articles only from the perspective of one community may be accused of misrepresenting the dynamics of historical processes or falling back on essentialist variables similar to those that were used by colonial authorities to divide and rule the population.<sup>134</sup> Considering the

132 For a similar tendency in other Indian press material, see Denault 2020, p. 272.

133 Hirschmann 1971, pp. 147–148.

134 See e.g. Bhandari 1998; Cohn and Dirks 1988; Scott 2023.

vast material, however, a selection needs to be made and the press material in this book reflects multiple and conflicting voices and views in negotiation with colonial constructions and often so from local and lived perspectives. The writers included prominent editors, politicians, and religious representatives of national fame but also local authors, poets, and anonymous correspondents. Many newspapers in Punjab, especially those in the twentieth century, used the rhetoric of colonial authorities to challenge the same by transforming and transcending categories and imaginations.

The book has been prepared within the academic Study of Religions and Sikh Studies from a position in between an appreciation of previous research and what has been identified as a need for future research in the field. In 1969 Norman Gerald Barrier, the late historian of South Asia and Sikh Studies, asserted that newspapers of colonial Punjab constitute a major set of unused material.<sup>135</sup> This statement might appear outdated in view of the growing number of historical studies that recur to press material. Newspaper articles have frequently helped scholars to map out events and support arguments on various topics and aspects of the history of Punjab. Historiographies on developments within the Sikh community and in the Punjab are often based on a selective use of this press material.<sup>136</sup> Previous research has also resulted in studies with a particular interest in the role and function of newspapers in Punjab during specific periods or events.<sup>137</sup> Barrier's contribution is worth a special mention since his numerous works located periodicals and tracts in archives and presented valuable bibliographies. A reference book of relevance for an overview of Sikh newspapers is his *The Sikhs and Their Literature* of 1970, which listed all Sikh periodicals included in the colonial catalogs of books published in Punjab and the annual reports on the press between 1880 and 1923.<sup>138</sup> The book *The Punjab Press: 1880–1905*, which Barrier published the same year together with Paul Wallace, provided a list of 419 newspapers printed in Punjab and the princely states. The list was based on the annual reports and memoranda on the vernacular press between 1880 and 1905 and aimed at providing

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135 Barrier 1969, p. 47.

136 Studies on the influences of the Sikh reform movement Singh Sabha, for example, have largely depended on articles from newspapers and other texts that were published by representatives of this movement. See e.g. Oberoi 1994.

137 See e.g. Joginder Singh's study of Sikh periodicals in the early twentieth century (Singh 2005); Amrit Kaur Basra's analysis of press news on the Golden Temple controversy in 1905 (Basra 1996); Mahendar Singh's work on the Punjab press during the civil obedience movement (Singh 2011); and Ilyas Chattha's article on the press coverage of violence in Punjab during the Partition of 1947 (Chattha 2013).

138 Barrier 1970, pp. 73–88.

background information to newspapers and editors.<sup>139</sup> Barrier used his many collations of presses, publications, and newspapers as the foundation for analyses of the intricate relations between print, press, and politics in colonial Punjab.<sup>140</sup>

In the twenty-first century, a few studies have directed specific attention to the weekly press reports either by making selected parts of the material accessible or by using it as a base for analyses of the public sphere in India. Andrew Tait Jarboe has studied the press reports for Punjab during the years of the First World War (1914–1918) and compiled articles on war news.<sup>141</sup> Based on press reports in Bengal, Sukeshi Kamra has analyzed how the Indian political culture was mediated through the colonial surveillance. Kamra traces the development of a nationalist public sphere to the struggle between the Indian press and the colonial government over the control of the public sphere between 1870 and 1910.<sup>142</sup> Apart from these contributions, there has been no systematic study conducted on the press reports for Punjab over an extended period. Considering the quantity of material that is stored in both the newspapers and the press reports and that much of this material remains untouched by scholars, Norman Gerald Barrier's statement of 1969 is still valid. A first step is therefore to make parts of this material available for researchers and a wider readership.

The book aims at this end and is based on a systematic reading of the entire collection of press reports for Punjab that is stored at the British Library and has been digitized by Adam Matthew Digital.<sup>143</sup> However, this collection lacks the earliest press reports (1864–1867) before the implementation of the *Press and Registration of Books Act* of 1867 as well as the earliest reports (1889–1895) prepared after the surveillance of newspapers in Punjab transferred from Allahabad to Lahore. The complete collection of the press reports is stored at the National Archives of India in original paper copies and in the 1960s the archive reproduced the collection in microfilm. With assistance from the National Library of Australia, which has preserved the microfilms from India and digitized the material on request, it was possible to review the missing reports in the holdings of the British Library. Consequently, the study

139 Barrier and Wallace 1970.

140 See e.g. Barrier 1969; 1976; Barrier and Thursby 1969.

141 Jarboe 2015.

142 Kamra 2011.

143 Sikhs were sporadically mentioned in press reports for other British provinces and territories. The territories for which the British Library has preserved press reports include Bengal (1874–1916), United Provinces (1897–1937), Madras (1876–1921), Bombay (1874–1898, 1901–1921), Sind (1936–1939), and Bihar and Orissa (1920).

eventually included an examination of press reports that were produced over sixty years.

The database of Adam Matthew Digital provides tools that enable searches of keywords in the material, but for this book, the digital devices have been used only for overview and orientation in the process. Instead, all the press reports have been manually read in a chronically order. The reason for choosing this method is related to deficiencies with digital search functions and the advantage of gaining a broader understanding of how discussions and debates develop over a longer period. The initial study revealed that digital searches often omit relevant texts, while keywords quickly grow beyond limits because of varied and changing spellings in the material and a high frequency of misspellings. Using general categories, such as Sikh or Sikhs, may exclude relevant articles since either writers or translators could use other designations for individuals and the collective body of Sikhs.

A prerequisite for manually checking and coding a large material like this is solid knowledge about the Sikhs in Punjab and familiarity with religious and culture-specific concepts and terms. This was the starting point for the coding of the material to identify patterns and themes that included both general and specific topics and discussions of relevance to the Sikh religion and history. After the articles had been selected, they were transcribed and transferred to a separate document in which they were categorized under a set of general themes and eventually re-grouped under more specified headings that provided the structure of the book. The method of selection entailed the omission of material that was relevant to the history of Punjab but did not directly relate to the Sikhs. For instance, during the 1870s and 1880s many newspapers wrote extensively about the Hungarian linguist and orientalist Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner who played a prominent role in education in Punjab after being appointed to the post of principal of the Government College at Lahore in 1864.<sup>144</sup> Although the history of Leitner involves close collaboration with the Sikhs, the articles in the press reports did not touch upon any of these relations and therefore they were excluded. Similarly, an event like the Jallianwala Bagh shootings near the Golden Temple at Amritsar in 1919 became entrenched in the collective memory of the Sikhs. However, articles published after the event

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<sup>144</sup> Leitner established the literary society *Anjuman-i-Punjab* and was instrumental in the foundation of the Punjab University. During the summer of 1880 newspapers reported rumors which claimed that Leitner had beaten one of his students at Lahore College and threatened others if they attended meetings of the Brahmo Samaj or the Arya Samaj. In the following years several newspapers debated Leitner's role in controversies at the college and in *Anjuman-i-Punjab* with conflicting views.



paid little attention to the Sikhs but expressed concerns about an all-Punjab unrest and criticism of the responsible General Dyer. Only later, during the Akali movement, the press reports included several references to the tragedy as an event evoked to illustrate colonial oppression of the Sikhs.

The sheer volume of press material in the reports necessitates considerations regarding the structure and presentation of the material. In his examination of reports during the First World War, Andrew Tait Jarboe presented articles chronologically and year-wise since the material on the Indian soldiers covered a shorter period and was placed in dialogue with significant events during the war. A similar structure is more difficult to implement when the material covers a longer period. The method used in this book was instead to combine a chronological approach with a thematic by starting with the oldest material that laid a foundation for a structure based on the contents and the themes of articles. The first volume of the book starts with news on the descendants of the kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the Sikh maharajas of the princely states, because they constituted the center of attention in the earliest press reports of the nineteenth century, while the fourth and last volume ends with the critical years of agitation and reform that preoccupied the press in the 1920s. Each volume begins with a brief overview of historical events, persons, organizations, and other things that constituted central topics in the press reports.

It is yet difficult and partly misleading to create a structure from a large and fragmentary material when different factors influence historical developments. The thematic structure has several flaws and creates overlaps between the sections presented within a chronological frame. For instance, articles related to the so-called “keys affair,” when the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar took the keys to the treasury of the Golden Temple from Sikh representatives in 1921, have been included in the section with press material related to the Sikh shrine. This affair could equally well, perhaps better, be placed under the Gurdwara reform movement since the event sparked non-violent agitation and non-cooperation with the government. The compilation has also considered various nuances and specificities in the material. Whereas the articles presented under the heading “Punjab Legislative Council,” for instance, deal primarily with general Sikh complaints about representation in this council, the material under “Separate Representation and Reform Schemes” discusses the same but from the perspective of reform schemes, other communities, and the Indian National Congress. Aware of these shortcomings, the material has yet been structured in a way to make it easily accessible to readers.

Much of the material presented in this book displays a fair amount of redundancy regarding the contents and topics that ended up in the press

reports. In one text after another, Sikh newspapers made claims of increased representation in public services and recurrently evoked narratives of loyalty and sacrifice for British rule. Similarly, events that resulted in colonial violence during the Gurdwara reform movement made the papers repeatedly express despair and complaints. The texts have yet to be included because many of the recurring themes demonstrate how certain characteristics of the press emerged and took shape over an extended period, during a *longue durée* of history. Much attention was directed to news and opinions related to immediate critical incidents, but the material also reveals the formative pre-histories of these incidents with developments that eventually peaked or were triggered by a dramatic event. For instance, to understand how the Sikhs mobilized the reform movement and resistance which changed the course of history it can be important to take notice of the criticism and rumors directed at mahants and the management of the Golden Temple more than a decade earlier. Press material over a longer period can display these formative patterns in history.

When reading vernacular newspaper articles in the press reports it is important, as Sukeshi Kamra puts it, to approach them as “sites of contamination” because of the many layers of imperial functions and filters, editorial methods, and linguistic and cultural translations that are embedded in the material.<sup>145</sup> The benefits of studying the reports are nonetheless many considering the abundance of voices and views they afford. The material provides a window into the broader landscape of newspapers and periodicals in Indian languages and gives a sense of how discussions, debates, and relationships developed and changed over time in relation to shifting colonial policies, interests, and fears. The press reports of Punjab contain a small universe of data that is characterized by range and diversity and can be extremely useful for historical scholarship if treated with methodological awareness and precaution.

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145 Kamra 2011, p. 14.



**VOLUME 1**

*Royalties, Reformers, and Organizations*





# Overview

During the period under study, the Sikh community moved from political defeat after the Anglo-Sikh wars and the annexation of Punjab by the British in 1849 towards increasing self-awareness, intellectual revitalization, and eventually political agitation for religious reform and representation in the early twentieth century. Since the surveillance of newspapers in Punjab was initially conducted from Allahabad up to the end of the 1880s and covered only a part of a much wider control of Indian newspapers in different territories of Upper India, the earliest news about the Sikhs was scantier and concerned primarily the native rulers and their states.

The first volume of the book starts with newspaper articles on the descendants of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, “the lion of Punjab,” who established the Sikh empire at the end of the eighteenth century, and particularly his youngest son Duleep Singh who lost the same kingdom. Shortly after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839, Duleep Singh was placed in power as a young boy with his mother Maharani Jind Kaur ruling on his behalf but after the defeat in the Anglo-Sikh Wars he was deposed by the British Crown and exiled to Britain. From the 1870s the press reports included comments on Duleep Singh’s complaints about his allowance from the British government and rumors about his relations with Russia. When he ran into financial difficulties, he publicly appealed to the British nation for an increase in his allowance from the government. His planned visit to India in the 1880s created much excitement in the press, especially when seditious letters about the restoration of the Sikh kingdom circulated and the British thwarted his travel plan by having him detained in Aden and returned to Europe on the suspicion of instigating rebellion. The situation intensified when Duleep Singh threatened to cooperate with Russia and rumors alleged an invasion of India with the aid of the Russian army.<sup>1</sup> While some newspapers pleaded with the government to allow Duleep Singh to return to India and even endorsed the idea of restoring Sikh sovereignty in the province, with a risk of being exposed to charges of treason, others expressed that Panjabis had lukewarm sympathies with the maharaja and rather tended to pity him. The first volume of this book begins with articles related to these events and demonstrates how the newspapers expressed conflicting views on his re-claim of the lost power. The press reports covered a few articles on the

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1 Popplewell 1995, pp. 24–26. A prophecy claimed that Duleep Singh would return to Amritsar for a divine revelation to become the second founder of the Sikh religion and establish a rule extending 3,000 miles north of India. See Singh 1977, p. 487.

children of Duleep Singh: the eldest son Victor Duleep Singh who had a military career but ended up in financial troubles that led to bankruptcy in 1902, and the daughter Sophia Duleep Singh and her engagement in the suffragette movement and visit to the birthplace of her grandfather at Gujranwala.

Many of the selected articles in the nineteenth century dealt with the Sikh rulers of the Phulkian states which included the states of Patiala, Nabha, and Jind. The Phulkian states belonged to Sidhu Jats who traced their ancestry to the Sikh leader Phul in the eighteenth century. Other rulers and chiefs receiving attention were the Maharaja of Kapurthala, who originated from Ahluwalia tribes (*misls*) in the eighteenth century, and the Maharaja of Faridkot who traced the origin to a Sikh Jat tribe in Barar. Through the treaty of Amritsar between Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the British in 1809 many of these states were brought under British protection and supported the East India Company during the Indian Rebellion of 1857 with military force, supplies, and protection for European people in affected areas. The British came to control a large part of the internal and external affairs of the princely states but were also highly dependent on the native rulers because of the symbolic power and authority they maintained. For these reasons, the press reports in the nineteenth century included numerous articles about the social conditions and political affairs in the native states, gossip about the extravagant lifestyles of the maharajas, their marriages with European women that caused much stir in the press, and concerns about the education and investiture of their successors.

Since some of the maharajas passed away before an old age with their children being too young for investments, a council of regency (*ijlas-i-khas*) would be set up to administer the state affairs until the successors reached mature age. In the state of Patiala there were councils of regency running the state between 1876 and 1890 during Rajinder Singh's minority and between 1900 and 1910 when Bhupinder Singh was a child. Because of the sudden and early deaths of the succeeding rulers of Faridkot, Harinder Singh was only three years old at the time of his accession in 1918 and therefore a regency of council functioned until 1934 when the maharaja assumed full power. The articles dealing with the Sikh princely states have been organized chronologically after the names of the maharajas and the councils of regency. The press material also contains countless articles on the Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha in connection with his deposition in 1923 but these have been included in the fourth volume of this book since the event was intimately linked with the conflicts between colonial administration and Sikh agitations during the Gurdwara reform movement in the 1920s.

The first volume incorporates newspaper articles about different Sikh organizations and movements that developed in the second part of the nineteenth

century. These include all from local reform associations to umbrella organizations that sought to guard Sikh interests and influence national politics. The translators working for the press reports were particularly alerted by articles on the Namdhari or Kuka Sikhs because of their anti-British agitation, especially after the British police executed Namdharis in 1872 and exiled their leader. The movement was launched by Baba Ram Singh in the 1860s who started a crusade for socio-religious reform and exhorted his followers to strictly follow the teaching of Guru Granth Sahib and a normative Khalsa code of conduct. As the movement had political overtones and advocated cow protection and *swadeshi*, using only goods produced within India and boycotting the foreign, the local authorities in Punjab kept the leader under surveillance. When some Namdhari followers, acting on their initiative without support from Baba Ram Singh, were involved in the murders of Muslim butchers suspected of kine slaughter and occupied Malerkota in 1872, the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana arrested the Namdharis and blew 49 of them with guns. In connection with this Baba Ram Singh was deported to Burma where he died in 1884. The articles in the press reports were both horrified by the cruel and unjust punishments and, at the same time, warned against the Namdhari Sikhs. The events caused a major setback for the movement and it was only in connection with the discussions about Sikh representation and the Gurdwara Bill in the 1920s that Namdhari Sikhs reappeared in the press reports.

This volume comprises a few newspaper articles on various Sikh reformists and intellectuals who acted as representatives of specific groups or the Sikh community at large, as well as Sikh individuals who were publicly recognized as chiefs, politicians, and officers engaged in the colonial administration of Punjab. The Sikh reform society, Sri Guru Singh Sabha, was established at Amritsar in 1873 and had the objectives to inculcate the principles of the Sikh religion, publish historical and religious books, and encourage the propagation of the Punjabi language. The first three reformers that are mentioned – Kanwar Bikram Singh, Baba Khem Singh Bedi, and Thakur Singh Sandhanvalia – were prominent persons of the upper classes in Punjab and became the founding members of the reform society at Amritsar. Kanwar Bikram Singh was the son of Raja Nihal Singh of Kapurthala who had received land properties from the British for his assistance during the Indian rebellion and was appointed several official positions in Jalandhar. Baba Khem Singh Bedi was a direct descendant of Guru Nanak and became a powerful landowner, upholding several positions and titles within the colonial infrastructure. As Bedi claimed himself to be a legitimate guru in the succession line of Sikh gurus, he was involved in several disputes with other Sikhs of the time. Thakur Singh Sandhanvalia was a cousin of Maharaja Duleep Singh and became the first president of the Singh Sabha at



Amritsar. Narratives often claim that he took the initiative to call Sikh leaders to Amritsar for a meeting after Sikh pupils in a Christian mission school had declared their intention to convert to Christianity. Sandhanvalia worked for the colonial administration in Amritsar and was a member of the managing committee for the Golden Temple. In the press reports, he was recognized for his campaign of restoring Maharaja Duleep Singh to the throne in Punjab. On invitation, he traveled to London and stayed with the maharaja to give instructions in Sikh teaching and recite the scripture. After returning to India, he launched the campaign to aid Duleep Singh and in 1886 escaped to Pondicherry with his sons to avoid repressions in Punjab and to stay in contact with the maharaja through French means of communication.

Members of the Singh Sabha at Amritsar eventually broke away and established another Singh Sabha at Lahore in 1879. Bhai Gurmukh Singh, who was a professor at the Oriental College in Lahore, helped form the reform society in Lahore with Diwan Buta Singh as its president and himself as the secretary. The Lahore Singh Sabha had members from all sections of society and became active with publications of newspapers that popularized Sikh ideals. To have a central body to oversee and provide instructions for the various reform efforts, the so-called Khalsa Diwan was founded at Amritsar in 1883 with Bhai Gurmukh Singh as the secretary. Because of internal wranglings and dissention the Lahore group separated from the Diwan in 1886 and created another organization called Khalsa Diwan Lahore. The colonial press reports mentioned Bhai Gurmukh Singh only in brief in articles that discussed his efforts to make the Sikhs stay away from the Indian National Congress, even by expelling pro-Congress members from the Khalsa Diwan at Lahore.

More attention was directed to agitators like Bava Sarmukh Singh who regularly wrote letters for the local press and operated as censor of publications on the Sikh religion and the historical gurus. Sarmukh Singh had been a Namdhari Sikh and was involved in the production of the much-debated book *Khursid-i-Khalsa* (1885) which predicted the restoration of Duleep Singh's power in Punjab. The book caused controversies between reform Sikhs in Amritsar and Lahore regarding their support of Duleep Singh and Sarmukh Singh was presented as disloyal to the government.

A few articles deal with the so-called Shuddhi Sabha, or the "purification society", which was working for the reconversion of Sikh and Hindu renegades, often those belonging to lower castes, who had earlier converted to Christianity or Islam. The Shuddhi Sabha aimed to reclaim the lower castes to stem the success of Christian missionaries in Punjab. In the beginning, the Sikhs cooperated with the Arya Samaj under this organization and performed purification ceremonies. For a few years in the 1890s, the Lahore Singh Sabha worked

with the society and arranged mass conversions of outcaste Sikhs according to the Sikh initiation ceremonies. In the press, the activities of Shuddhi Sabha created much discussion about caste discrimination in the Sikh community and the practice of inter-dining with Muslims and low-caste groups. As the Shuddhi Sabha transformed, the Sikhs left the society to assert that *shuddhi* (purification) was a Hindu concept while the Sikh initiation invited all castes to the Khalsa fold.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Sikh leaders made new attempts to consolidate their organization and strategies through the creation of the Chief Khalsa Diwan at Amritsar in 1902, which was to serve as an umbrella organization for various reform societies while representing the Sikhs and defending their interests in society. Frequently mentioned in the press reports were members of the renowned Majithia family, a clan of the Shergill Jats who originated from the region of Majitha in the Punjab and were divided into different branches of chiefs, landowners, and aristocrats. For instance, Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia became a banker and activist for social reform while establishing the English newspaper *The Tribune*. Umrao Singh Majithia was a Sanskrit and Persian scholar whom the colonial surveillance recognized for his marriage with the Hungarian opera singer Marie-Antoinette Gottesmann-Baktay. More frequently mentioned in the press was Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia who became a patron of Sikh reform efforts and functioned as the secretary of the Chief Khalsa Diwan until 1920 while embarking on a political career within the colonial administration. Because of Sundar Singh Majithia's many positions, his name recurs in several articles presented throughout the four volumes of this book. In 1909 he was nominated as a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and when the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC), the Sikh organisation responsible for the management of gurdwaras in Punjab, was created in 1920 he acted as its first president. Sundar Singh Majithia eventually resigned from the position at the SGPC when he became a revenue member of the Punjab Legislative Council.

The leadership of the Chief Khalsa Diwan was increasingly exposed to criticism in the press for its moderate attitude of selective cooperation with the British Government. Occasionally the more radical and nationalist newspapers blamed the Chief Khalsa Diwan for cowardice in raising a strong opposition to authorities and defending the political rights of the Sikhs. As the Gurdwara reform movement emerged there were recurrent requests to reform the organization. Whereas the Chief Khalsa Diwan represented the interests of the Sikh elite and a moderate approach in relations with British authorities, the SGPC rallied wider support on the grassroots level and adopted a confrontational approach to the government. The tension between the two Sikh

organizations, claiming to represent the Sikh community at large, was recurrently reflected in opinions and debates in the vernacular press.

The press reports directed attention to several Sikh individuals of note when local papers suggested them for honorary titles and appointments to posts in the government, or when they became entangled in disputes or legal cases that involved British officials. Sardar Ajit Singh of Attari, for instance, worked as a president of the District Board in Amritsar in the 1880s. He had a distinguished family history, being the grandson of Sardar Sham Singh of Attari who served as a general of the Sikh Kingdom under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. During his tenure on the District Board, Ajit Singh got involved in a quarrel with Mr. E. Nicholl, a secretary of the Amritsar Municipality. As one newspaper reported, Nicholl resisted proposals from Indians of noble descent, while he was only a clerk who had been raised to a high position due to favoritism. Especially noticed was Sardar Gurdial Singh, one of the first Sikhs to be appointed to a higher post in the covenanted civil service in 1880 but was suspended and prosecuted on charges of corruption under Section 163 of the Indian Penal Code. During the ending years of the nineteenth century, the press reports reproduced local debates and rumors surrounding his case in a way that appeared more like a detective series of the time. While Muslim papers argued that the charges preferred against Gurdial Singh had been proved, Sikh papers begged for a merciful view of his shortcomings or claimed that he had fallen victim to Muslim enmity and backbiting of European officials. Rumors floated regarding his exile in Europe and his return to India disguised as a Hindu *sadhu* or holy man.

Much press material concerned the development of educational institutions in Punjab and related issues of the language for studies and examinations. Promotion of education became a major objective of Sikh reformers, partly because education was considered needed for religious reform, but also because the government and Christian missionaries implemented new modes of education and various communities, like Arya Samaj and Brama Samaj, were engaged in the establishment of educational institutions. The most ambitious educational scheme among the Sikhs was the establishment of the Khalsa College at Amritsar with the object to cater for higher education. From a religious viewpoint, the college was considered a measure to improve the moral condition of the Sikh community. The vernacular press followed the developments of the college with great interest and observed the collection of funding and debates about its location. Before the foundation stone of the college was laid at Amritsar in 1892 there were suggestions to place it in Lahore, Damdama, or even at some remote place in Punjab. What preoccupied the press were recurring debates and competitions over the management of the Khalsa College in the college council. In 1908 the government revised

the constitution of the managing committee to improve the finances and the administration but also to control the growing political consciousness and nationalism in the college. The revisions made the college pass into the hands of the government which created much resentment and disapproval among the Sikhs. Some newspapers requested the government to leave the college back to the Sikhs as the new management clashed with fundamental objectives of the institution.

When the administration of the Khalsa College was transferred to the government, the Chief Khalsa Diwan laid the foundation for Sikh educational conferences. Sikh conferences had been held before, such as the General Khalsa Conference in 1904 which was organized with the purpose of rejuvenating the Khalsa College, but the Chief Khalsa Diwan now took the initiative to establish an educational committee that arranged annual conferences in larger towns on patterns adopted from the Muslim educational conference. The first conference was held at Gujranwala in 1908 to promote Sikh education in various ways, including female education, religious education, and studies of the Punjabi language. The newspapers, particularly the *Khalsa Advocate* which served as the mouthpiece of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, reported on the topics discussed and the resolutions taken during these annual conferences.

Sikh reformers considered female education an area of priority for reviving religious tenets and practices. The Chief Khalsa Diwan early emphasized women's rights and formulated an objective to encourage the development of female education. As women were responsible for child rearing their education was considered crucial for reform efforts and contributed moral improvement of the Sikh community. The newspaper articles in the press reports illustrate how female education in Punjab was occasionally met with suspicions and accusations with moral allusions. Several articles noticed the *Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya* which was founded by Takht Singh at Ferozepore in 1892 as a school for Sikh girls and soon expanded to become an acclaimed educational institution. The press reports mentioned Takht Singh's efforts to raise funding for the school and conveyed information about rumors that tried to discredit the institution and the students.

Intimately related to educational matters in Punjab in the late nineteenth century was the question of language and the role of Punjabi as a medium in educational institutions. In connection with the establishment of the Punjab University in 1882 several debates and controversies surfaced regarding the vernaculars to be allowed for studies and examinations in higher education. Sikh representatives and colonial officials supporting the "orientalist" fraction argued that Punjabi was an acceptable vernacular, whereas their opponents claimed it was a dialect and not a literary language. Eventually Sikh scholars

and noblemen like Sardar Attar Singh of Bhadaur and others were able to turn the tide and prove that Punjabi written in the Gurmukhi script was a language with literary traditions and Punjabi studies had a legitimate place within education in the province.

To encourage the status of Punjabi as a provincial language, Sikh reformers worked actively to publish literature. The *Khalsa Tract Society* formed by Bhai Vir Singh in 1894 aimed to promote the interest of the Singh Sabha movement by publishing numerous books and tracts written in literary Punjabi. Increasingly the princely Sikh states began to promote Punjabi and use Gurmukhi as the official script. The maharaja of Nabha introduced Gurmukhi in one of the state offices in 1893. Maharaja of Patiala started to issue all orders in the Gurmukhi script in 1910 and requested officials in the state to learn the characters. In the Indian British Army, the Gurmukhi script was recognized as a medium for examinations and tests that could lead to promotion. When the army changed its language policies in 1920 and removed Gurmukhi in favour of Urdu it created bitterness in the press.

As Punjab was a frontier province, constituting the first line of defense for India and an area for British military expansion, the press reports included a number of articles on ongoing wars and battles, the Indian Army, and military officers and soldiers. After the fall of the Sikh empire and the Indian rebellion, the British used a strategy to restrict service in the army to minorities and provide them a privileged position that would depend on a continuation of British rule. This policy was ideologically justified and structured around ideas of the “martial races” of India. Particularly the Sikhs and the Gurkhas, who rendered the British support and service during the Indian rebellion, came to represent the “martial races.” The British began recruiting Sikhs into their army in large numbers and the recruits were to receive a religious initiation (*khande di pahul*) and adhere to Sikh customs and ceremonies separate from other religious traditions. British narratives recurrently emphasized the importance of the Indian Army to maintain the Sikh religion in a pristine form at a time when the religion was at risk of deteriorating into superstition and the Hindu fold. In this way, the military fostered the growth of a communal Sikh identity that was distinct. The Sikh martial qualities and loyalty were perceived to depend on the Sikh religion and its martial traditions. Many newspaper articles observed in the press reports recurred to the recruitment of Sikhs and their sacrifices in British wars but also complained about the lack of official recognition of the Sikhs in the military and discrimination regarding promotions. Presented almost like counter-narratives to the predominant accounts of the Sikhs as soldiers with martial traditions and instincts, a few news items observed Sikh soldiers who had misbehaved and committed crimes.

As the articles in this volume demonstrates, the colonial surveillance of the Punjab press was primarily interested in individuals, organizations, and events of political concern. The last part shares a few notices about miscellaneous incidents and unknown Sikh individuals which the translators of the press reports let through.

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## Descendants of the Sikh Kingdom

### 1 Maharaja Duleep Singh (1838–1893)

#### *Lahore Chronicle*, n.d. October 1864

Of the additional Rs. 70,000, recently allowed to Maharajah Dhulleep Sing [Maharaja Duleep Singh] by the Secretary of State for India, one quarter only is said to go to His Highness, the reminder having been allowed to the Maharajah's Mookhtyar (Agent) in this country. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, published in the Punjab and the North Western Provinces, from the 9th to the 16th of October 1864*, p. 8).

#### *Oordo Delhi Gazette*, 18 March 1865

The “Ordoo Delhi Gazette” of the 18th March mentions that Sirdar Jumut Rai, the “Karinda” (Agent) of Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, was about to pay a visit to Hardwar. The Maharajah is said to have been freed from all religious observances at this mother's death. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, published in the Punjab and the North Western Provinces, from the 1st to the 7th April, 1865*, p. 163).

#### *Lawrence Gazette*, 2 April 1865

Referring to some religious observances ruling among natives, Hindoos and Mahomedans, and connected with the “spirits of the dead,” the Editor says, that “when the time for the ceremony arrived, the Sikhs objected to observe it, in consequence of the way in which the mother of Maharajah Dhulleep Singh had died in a foreign country:” probably referring to the want of such observances when the body of the late Ranee Chunda was brought to this country. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, published in the Punjab and the North Western Provinces, from the 16th to the 24th April, 1865*, p. 199).

#### *Oordoo Delhi Gazette*, 17 June 1865

Referring to the mother of Maharajah Dhulleep Singh, it is said that she took a number of servants with her to England, and on her death these people returned to Khatmandoo [Katmandu]. The Nepalese are said to have deprived these people of their *caste* (or turned them out of *caste*) upon the plea that by going to England they had forfeited it. The unfortunate travellers complained to Sir Jung Bahadoor, and in reply to their complaint, His Highness is said

to have decided that, by going to England a person cannot lose caste, unless he, or she, eats of what is forbidden by Hindoo law, and does not embrace Christianity. It is reported that all were satisfied with this decision. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, published in the Punjab and the North Western Provinces, from the 1st to the 7th July, 1865*, p. 328).

***Koh-i-Noor*, 4 November 1865**

The “*Koh-i-noor*” of the 4th of November, referring to the statement in an English newspaper to the effect that Maharajah Dhuleep Singh is displaying a great partiality for the sports of the field in England, says that this is not strange, as the love of sport is inherent in him. “But,” adds the writer, “it would be very wonderful if it was stated that the Maharajah took any interest in the welfare of his country and his fellow-country-men, for even his ancestors are maintained at the expense of the British.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces, from the 1st to the 7th December, 1865*, p. 488).

***Suhaile Punjab*, 7 November 1866**

The case of Maharajah Dhuleep Sing [Singh] in the Court of Chancery is noticed. The order said to be passed gives to the Maharajah two and a half lakhs of rupees for life (£25,000) only, and is carried out, or confirmed; and if he dies leaving children, they will receive in perpetuity Rs. 70,000 (£7,000). The Secretary of State is said to have given ten lakhs and fifty thousand rupees (£105,000), on condition that the money be expended in purchasing property either in England or Ireland, – the balance to be placed at the disposal of His Highness’s legitimate heirs. It is also stated that the Maharajah shall not be allowed to give any woman he marries more than Rs. 30,000 as marriage dowry. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces, from the 1st to the 8th December, 1866*, p. 365).

***Punjabee Ukbar*, 11 October 1867**

The *Punjabee Ukbar* of the 11th of October, after extracts from English newspapers, news from Burmah (already published), &c., &c., mentions that the Maharajah Dhuleep Sing [Singh] is a “most bigoted Christian,” or rather that he is more like a true and faithful Christian *Padrie* [padre]. He goes on to say, – “He lately presented a *jagheer* [*jagir*] of Rs. 3,000 to the Revd. Mr. Shaw, from which it may be inferred that he respects and leans much towards those who point out the road to religion: and that both he and the Maharanee are true members of the Church of England. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published*



*in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 18th to the 16th November, 1867, p. 481).*

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 5 January 1877**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* of the 5th January, in a communicated article, states that Maharaja Dalip Singh has published a letter in the *Times* in refutation of the statement of the *Army Gazette* that His Highness would enlist as a volunteer in the Russian army. In commenting upon the letter of His Highness, the writer remarks that His Highness states, in the first paragraph of his letter, that for the permanence of Her Majesty's empire he wishes the overthrow of the Muhammadan Power, but not through the means of Russia. If he really wishes the overthrow of the Muhammadan Power, why does he try to conceal his object by saying that he would not like the power of the Muhammadans to be broken by the Russians? The present is a very favorable opportunity for him to achieve his object. Perhaps owing to old age and some other reasons he would not openly join the Russian army as a volunteer. But still his spirit may be at Plevna under the shade of the flag of General Turgnekasoff. It is not likely that the expression of his sentiments will have any effect upon the policy of the English Government or upon the thoughts of the natives of India. He is a State pensioner, and, therefore, his sentiments carry no weight. It is to be regretted that he has thought fit to seek to do mischief to the Muhammadan Powers. He appears to be among the foremost followers of Mr. Gladstone and General Ignatieff. We know that he has adopted the Christian faith, and that he is a Government pensioner. But these are no good reasons why he should deviate from justice and patriotism. Western civilization has not yet produced its full effect upon the Maharaja. Perhaps he is still haunted by the memory of the inroads of the frontier tribes into the territories of his father. We fail to see how the subversion of the Turkish empire will lead to the permanence of Her Majesty's empire. In the event of the occupation of Turkey by Russia, the prestige of the English Power will vanish, and British interests seriously suffer.

The dignity in which he is held through Royal favour and his love of England need not induce him to think of bringing about the downfall of all the empires of the world, except that of Her Majesty. It is a matter of pride, and the cause of his salvation too, that his children will be Englishmen from their very birth. He is a Panjabi by birth, and his wife an Abyssinian lady. Indeed, the offspring of this couple will be worth seeing on account of its mixed blood. It is our earnest prayer that the Maharaja may succeed in his wishes, but that he also should take lessons in justice from the wise. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 12th January, 1878, pp. 44–45*).

***Punjabi Akhbar*, 16 August 1879**

The same paper [the *Punjabi Akhbar*], in regard to the application of Maharaja Dalip Singh for an increase of his allowance, remarks that many Sikh sardars of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh who received pensions have died, and that the whole or part of the saving effected by their deaths may be given by the Panjab Government to him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to 21st August, 1879*, p. 653).

***Panjabi Akhbar*, 27 September 1882**

The *Panjabi Akhbar* (Lahore) of the 27th September states that the vicissitudes of fortune are very great. Sometimes a man is to-day a king and to-morrow a beggar and vice versa. Look at the fate of Napoleon. Maharaja Dalip Singh is deserving of great pity. Ranjit Singh was one of the greatest princes of India, and now his son has to beg of Englishmen for alms. The allowance which Maharaja Dalip Singh gets from the Government is not sufficient for his support. He has lately published a very touching letter in the on the subject, in which he has appealed to the British nation to consider his case. The *Panjabi Akhbar* then publishes a full translation of his letter. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 5th October, 1882*, p. 648).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 7 October 1882**

The same paper [the *Akhbar-i-Am*] of the 7th October, referring to Maharaja Dalip Singh's letter published in the *Times*, remarks that his appeal is quite useless and inopportune. Even if his version of the story is quite correct, it is simply inconceivable that the Government should restore the Panjab to him. If the English Government were to consider the claims of Indian princes or their heirs in this way, it might have to surrender the whole country. Englishmen originally came to India as merchants, and of course they had to play many unfair tricks and also to commit some acts of dishonesty in establishing their rule in the country. However just Mr. Gladstone's Government may be, it may restore many Afghanistans and Zulu lands, but it cannot afford to part with India. The separation of India would be not only a severe loss to England, but also a great misfortune to the people, who are making every kind of progress under British rule. Maharaja Dalip Singh has our fullest sympathy in his misfortune. He was the sone of a prince, but he has now to depend on the charity of a foreign nation for his support. He must, however, congratulate himself on his good luck, inasmuch as he still enjoys the title of Maharaja and receives a pretty good allowance for his support. There are many princes whom ill luck

has reduced to a considerably worse condition. Maharaja Dalip Singh ought to live within his income. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 12th October, 1882*, p. 675).

#### **Mitr Vilas, 9 October 1882**

The *Mitr Vilas* (Lahore) of the 9th October, in regard to Maharaja Dalip Singh's letter, remarks that on perusal of the letter natives, especially Panjabis, cannot but feel that he was quite innocent, and that the Government did him a great injustice in annexing his kingdom. Whether they would like to see the Panjab restored to him or not is a different question. It behoves the Government to give him the money, which it owes him, and thus win his gratitude and vindicate its justice. In answer to the *Times*' comments he has clearly shown that he is not extravagant. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 12th October, 1882*, p. 674).

#### **Aftab-i-Panjab, 16 October 1882**

The *Aftab-i-Panjab* (Lahore) of the 16th October publishes an article communicated by one Ganda Singh from Ropar in Umballa. The writer gives the substance of Maharaja Dalip Singh's letter and endeavours to refute the argument urged by the *London Times* against the Maharaja's claims. The *Times* says that, as successive Governments in England and India have not recognized the claim of the Maharaja, it cannot be considered as valid! This is a strange argument. It is tantamount to saying that the claim of the plaintiff is inadmissible, because the defendant does not admit it. Again, The *Times* is of opinion that the Bhyrowal Treaty was annulled by the rebellion of Mulraj. But was the rebellion of Mulraj, we ask, instigated by the Maharaja? If not, then how could he be held responsible for it? In the same way the writer criticizes the other statements of the *Times*, and hopes that the present Liberal Government will take the claims of the Maharaja into consideration and remove the stain which Lord Dalhousie fixed on the fair fame of England by the unjust annexation of the Panjab. The writer also advises the ex-King of Oudh to appeal for the restoration of his kingdom. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 19th October, 1882*, pp. 690–691).

#### **Panjabi Akhbar, 28 July 1883**

The *Panjabi Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 28th July, referring to the intended visit of Maharaja Dalip Singh to India, remarks that it has been proposed by some

persons that, in consideration of the present state of political excitement, he should be kept under strict custody during his stay in the Panjab, and that the stay should be as short as was that of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The editor argues that these precautions are wholly unnecessary. The Maharaja is a naturalized Englishman. He left the Panjab when he was a mere boy. He has no friends in the province, and even his relatives, who still live there, have no sympathy with him owing to long separation. The object of his visit is simply to obtain some information about this ancestral property and nothing more. Perhaps some men will avail themselves of the occasion to make presents to him. The *Civil and Military Gazette* considers the present time to be unsuitable for his visit to India, obviously because of the ill-feeling evoked by the Ilbert Bill between the rulers and the ruled. But it should be observed that natives will gain or lose nothing by the passing or the withdrawal of the measure. It is only calculated to remove a dark stain from the Indian statute book. If any people are at all likely to render aid to the Maharaja, they are the Sikhs. But they are quite unacquainted with the Ilbert Bill. Moreover, it will be remembered that they themselves brought about a quarrel between the Maharaja and the paramount power and thus led to the destruction of his kingdom. It is inconceivable that they, who pride themselves on their loyalty to the British Government, should sympathize with him. Under these circumstances, his visit cannot by any means be considered to be inopportune. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 4th August, 1883, pp. 638–639*).

### ***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 2 August 1883**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 2nd August, expresses satisfaction that the visit of Maharajah Dalip Singh to India will afford natives an opportunity of seeing a prince of the late royal family of the Panjab. His visit will be still more welcome as indicative of the firm establishment of British rule in this country and of the confidence of the paramount power in the loyalty of natives. It will not have the least effect on the educated and intelligent classes of the native community, but it is sure to give rise to some wild rumours among ignorant persons. Some years ago a false rumour about the restoration of the Panjab to the Maharaja gained wide currency among them. Such rumours will undoubtedly be revived on the present occasion. The Government officers will not be justified in paying the least attention to these rumours. No sort of restriction should be imposed on the free movements of the Maharaja during his sojourn in this country, as this would only show the weakness of the Government. All that seems to be necessary in the way of precaution is to keep an eye on such

evil-minded people as the Kukas, &c., during his visit. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 4th August, 1883*, pp. 637–638).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 4 August 1883**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 4th August, referring to the opinion expressed by an Anglo-Indian paper to the effect that Government has not been well advise in allowing Maharaja Dalip Singh to pay a visit to India at the present time of political excitement, observes that this opinion is the outcome of an insane brain. What other time could be more suitable for the Indian visit of the Maharaja than the present, when the hearts of natives are overflowing with loyalty to Government owing to the conciliatory policy of Lord Ripon? (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 11th August, 1883*, p. 658).

***Mittra Vilas*, 6 August 1883**

The *Mittra Vilas* (Lahore), of the 6th August, in commenting on the news about the visit of Maharaja Dalip Singh to India, remarks that educated natives, who are accustomed to read newspapers, know how matters stand and believe the rumour. But the generality of ignorant men regard the rumour as a hoax. They do not think that the advent of the Maharaja could create any disturbances in the country. But they can not persuade themselves to believe that Government has so much confidence in their loyalty as to allow the Maharaja, from whom it unjustly wrested his country in his childhood, and who it has hitherto kept under strict surveillance, to pay a visit to his native land. The Government has now a good opportunity of showing them that confidence begets confidence. If they are cordially attached to it, it too has fall confidence in them, and can allow the Maharaja to pay a visit to India. He should not be prevented from having free intercourse with the people during his stay here. Government has very wisely selected the present time for his visit, as native loyalty is at present at its highest pitch. (*The Delhi Punch* (Lahore), of the 1st August, praises Government for allowing the Maharaja to pay a visit to India, and urges that a princely reception should be accorded to him by Government, and that no restriction should be placed on his free movements.) (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 11th August, 1883*, pp. 658–659).

***Panjabi Akhbar*, 8 August 1883**

The *Panjabi Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 8th August, adverting to the rumour about the interception in Lahore and Amritsar of some seditious letters containing pieces of black cloth, and declaring the approaching advent of Maharaja Dalip Singh to be a good opportunity for hostile proceedings against Government, observes: – We have learnt that this is the work of some evil-minded Anglo-Indians who desire to create suspicions in the mind of Government towards natives. Poor Panjabis are not acquainted with the use of black ribbon and red ribbon as signs of any events. This custom is only in vogue among Europeans. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 11th August, 1883*, p. 659).

***Anjuman-i-Panjab*, 11 August 1883**

The *Anjuman-i-Panjab*, of the 11th August, states that the news of the Maharaja's visit has inspired the Panjabis with a feeling of joy. They are glad that they will have an opportunity of seeing him. The *Civil and Military Gazette* does not consider the present to be a suitable time for his visit. But in our opinion no better time could be selected than the present, when Lord Ripon is at the head of the Supreme Government and Sir Charles Aitchison at the head of the Local Government. Some Anglo-Indians say that natives are at present in an excited state of mind owing to the Anglo-Indian agitation against the Ilberg Bill, but this is really not the case. In regard to the question of seditious letters discovered in the Panjab, the editor does not agree with the *Panjabi Akhbar* in thinking that the letters were written by an evil-minded Anglo-Indian, nor are they the work of a Panjabi. We are inclined, says the editor, to father them on another class of people who are jealous of the Panjabis and who are accustomed to create difficulties. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 18th August, 1883*, pp. 676–677).

***Aftab-i-Panjab*, 13 August 1883**

The *Aftab-i-Panjab* (Lahore), of the 13th August, publishes an article communicated by one Ganda Singh. The writer states that the news of the approaching visit of Maharaja Dalip Singh to India has been received with joy by all classes of the people in the Panjab. But it is to be regretted that some seditious letter have been recently intercepted by postal officials in the Panjab. Obviously some evil-minded man has issued these letters in order to prevent Government from allowing the Maharaja to visit India. But we hope Government, which

has had repeated and abundant proof of the loyalty of the Panjabis, will not suffer itself to be deceived by such letters. If the Maharaja's visit were now disallowed, the whole Sikh community would be grieved." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 18th August, 1883*, pp. 677–678).

***Panjabi Akhbar*, 18 August 1883**

The *Panjabi Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 18th August, after quoting an extract from the *Indian Spectator* to the effect that the Government have been ill advised in allowing Maharaja Dalip Singh to pay a visit to India and that his advent in the Panjab is sure to lead to a disturbance there, remarks: – It is difficult to realise why Englishmen have such a low idea of the loyalty of the Panjabis, while Government have full confidence in them. It would seem that the object of Englishmen is to cause estrangement between Government and the people. Some of them declare that if Maharaja be prevented from paying a visit to the Panjab, the Sikhs will be displeased with Government, while some say that the Maharaja's advent will be the signal for a rebellion. As we have a full insight into the feelings of the Panjabis, we are in a position to say that they have now little sympathy with the Maharaja and view his visit with indifference. When he has had to sell his property in order to pay the cost of his journey, what can they expect from him? (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 25th August, 1883*, pp. 700–701).

***Hindustani*, 23 August 1883**

The *Hindustani* (Lucknow), of the 23rd August, adverting to the opinion of the *Panjabi Akhbar* about the Maharaja's visit, observes: – This shows that no one in the Panjab sympathises with the Maharaja. If both the native and the Anglo-Indian presses are opposed to his Indian visit, we do not see why the Government should allow it. Although he has not the desire nor the power to disturb the peace, why should he be allowed to create any new difficulties by paying a visit to this country? He did not care for India nor does India now care for him. He has now no connection with this country which could justify his visit. If he only seeks amusement, he need not come here. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 25th August, 1883*, p. 701).

***Hindustani*, 9 September 1883**

The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 9th September, referring to the proposed visit of Maharaja Dalip Singh to India, remarks: – We do not think that the

Maharaja's visit will lead to disturbances in the Panjab, but there are other considerations which induce us to advise him to give up his intention. In the first place, it is well known that his countrymen as a rule have no sympathy with him, and even if any of them have any sympathy, they will not display it through fear of Government. Then what will be the use of his paying a visit to this country if no one goes to see him? Does he mean to have look only at the streets and roads of Lahore? Secondly, some time ago he published one or two letters in the *London Times* complaining that his pension was inadequate for his support. If his condition is really unsatisfactory, we do not think he has been well advised in intending to a visit to India, which will involve a heavy expenditure. In fact he has been reduced to such strains that he is selling his jewelry to meet the expenses of his journey. Thirdly, according to treaty stipulations between him and the Government of India, the latter has the power to assign him his place of abode. Although no danger is apprehended from him, the Government will never allow him to live in the Panjab. Under these circumstances we hope he will abandon his visit. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 19th September, 1883*, p. 758).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 15 December 1883**

The same paper [the *Akhbar-i-Am*], of the 15th December, states that it appears that a few days previous to the departure of the Duke of Connaught from England, anonymous letters were circulated at London stating that the Duke's carriage would be blown up by gunpowder. These seditious letters must have caused no small anxiety to Government and the Royal Family. The question is, who were the authors of the letters and what was their object. What wonder if the letters were issued by the friends of Anglo-Indians in order to prevent His Royal Highness from going to India. Let this be as it may, but it is evident that the custom of publishing such seditious letters prevails among Englishmen. There seems to be no doubt that the mischievous letters circulated in the Panjab some time ago in connection with the Maharaja Dalip Singh's proposed visit to India, were the work of Anglo-Indians. Government has committed a great mistake if it has prevented the Maharaja from carrying out his intentions owing to those letters. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 19th December, 1883*, p. 1023).

***Aftab-i-Panjab*, 3 October 1884**

The *Aftab-i-Panjab* (Lahore), of the 3rd October, publishes an articles communicated by a Bawa Nihal Singh. The writer states that the annexation of the



Panjab by the Government of India during the minority of Maharaja Dalip Singh was unjust, especially as his father, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, had always maintained friendly relations with Government. The writer would recommend the restoration of the sovereignty of the province to Maharaja Dalip Singh, not so much out of sympathy with the Maharaja as out of a desire to see the dark stain, which the annexation has fixed on the fair fame of England, wiped out. *Fiat justitia, ruat ruat cælum*. If the Government considers the surrender of the province as impossible after such a long time, the Maharaja should submit to the inevitable and abandon his claims to it. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 10th October, 1884*, p. 694).

***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 6 June 1885**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 6th June, says that the case of Maharaja Dalip Singh is really a very hard one. It would seem that according to treaty stipulations he is entitled to a pension of upwards of 4 lakhs if rupees a year. But he has not been paid at that rate, and hence large arrears of pension are due to him. His financial condition is very unsatisfactory. He has taken large advances from Government for which he has to pay over fifty thousand rupees a year as interest. Lately a civil suit was brought against him by a carriage-driver for Rs. 1-8-0 on account of arrears of carriage hire! That a prince like the Maharaja is obliged to use hackney carriages, and is dragged to civil courts for such small sums, puts one in mind of the fickleness of fortune. Who ever thought that the son of "the lion of the Panjab" would have to lead such a helpless life in a foreign country? (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 8th June, 1885*, p. 379).

***Ghamkhwar-i-Hind*, 22 August 1885**

The *Ghamkhwar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 22nd August, says that the rumour about Maharaja Dalip Singh's return to this country has again come to the front. It is rumoured that his house in England will shortly be sold, and that the officers at Delhi are already looking out for a suitable house for him there. He is reported to have reverted to the religion of his ancestors and to have sent some money to the Panjab for charitable purposes. It remains to be seen whether the British Government will find it possible to accede to his request and to allow him to return to his native country. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 31st August, 1885*, p. 600).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 16 September 1885**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 16th September, says that at last Maharaja Dalip Singh, accompanied by his family and servants, is about to leave England for this country on the 28th October. He will live at Delhi, where some houses and villages have already been purchased for him. Sikhs have agreed to receive him, his European wife, and children into their society. As he has sold all his property in England, there is no probability of his returning to that country. It is believed that his advent in this country will cause great enthusiasm among the Sikh community, which is highly desirable at the present juncture. He is loyal to the core, and ready to sacrifice his life on behalf of the British Government. (The *Ghamkhwar-i-Hind*, Lahore, of the 19th September, praises the British Government for the permission granted by it to the Maharaja to return to his home, and thinks that the measure will have a very beneficial effect on frontier affairs.) (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 25th September, 1885*, p. 660).

***Hindustan*, 18 March 1886**

The *Hindustan* (Kalakankar), of the 18th March, adverting to the rumour that on his arrival in this country Maharaja Dalip Singh will be under the orders of the Supreme Government, and will not be allowed to enter the Panjab, observes that the prohibition against the Maharaja's entering the Panjab is unnecessary and unjust. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 23rd March, 1886*, pp. 232–233).

***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 27 March 1886**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 27th March, regrets to say that Government has decided to locate Maharaja Dalip Singh at Ootacamund, in the Madras Presidency, and not to allow him to enter the Panjab under any circumstances. This is a great slur on the loyalty of the natives of the Panjab and is sure to irritate them. (The *Koh-i-Nur*, Lahore, of the 23rd March, does not believe the rumour about the Maharaja being required to live at Ootacamund, especially as he has probably already purchased lands and houses at Delhi for his residence). (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 30th March, 1886*, p. 249).

***Vritta Dhara*, 1 April 1886**

The *Vritta Dhara* (Dhar), of the 1st April, referring to the rumour that Maharaja Dalip Singh will have to reside at Ootacamund and will not be allowed to enter the Panjab, is surprised that the British Government distrusts the Maharaja, though he has lived nearly forty years in England, has married an English lady by whom he has children, and has become a Christian. The restriction is sure to be felt keenly by him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 6th April, 1886*, p. 268).

***Shafiq-i-Hind*, 3 April 1886**

The *Shafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 3rd April, adverting to Maharaja Dalip Singh's contemplated return to this country, remarks that the Maharaja desires to return, because his pension is insufficient for his expenses in England. The ex-King of Oudh is paid twelve lakhs and Theebaw will get six lakhs, there seems to be no good reason why Dalip Singh, the son of the Lion of the Panjab, should be allowed only two and a half lakhs. The Panjab is not smaller than Oudh or Burma. The Maharaja deserves special indulgence, inasmuch as he had no connection with the events that led to the annexation of the Panjab and was even a minor at the time. Under these circumstances Government should reconsider his case and increase his pension. Referring to the rumour that on his arrival in this country he will be placed under the orders of the Supreme Government and located at Ootacamund, the *Shafiq* remarks that he should have been informed of these restrictions, which clearly show that Government does not like his return, to start with, in order that he might have given up his intention of returning. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 6th April, 1886*, pp. 267–268).

***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 24 April 1886**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 24th April, after quoting Maharaja Dalip Singh's letter of the 25th March, remarks that there is reason to think that the Maharaja will not be allowed to come to this country, but will be detained at Aden. His case is really a hard one and merits public sympathy; but harder still is that of natives in general, who Government does not appear to trust at all. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 30th April, 1886*, p. 325).

***Shafiq-i-Hind*, 24 April 1886**

The *Sahfiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 24th April, referring to the rumour regarding Maharaja Dalip Singh's detention at Aden, remarks that the measure cannot be too strongly condemned. If Government was not prepared to allow him to return to this country, permission should never have been granted him to leave England. Does Government apprehend any danger from him? His detention at Aden will lead Panjabis to imagine that he has been cruelly dealt with and will make him an object of general sympathy. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 30th April, 1886*, p. 325).

***Bharat Jiwan*, 26 April 1886**

The *Bharat Jiwan* (Benares), of the 26th April, after giving Hindi translation of Maharaja Dalip Singh's letter of the 25th March published in Anglo-Indian newspapers, remarks that the letter clearly shown his love for this country and his loyalty to the British Crown. Government is not well advised in prohibiting him from visiting the Panjab. He may be anxious to see his birth-place, and there appears to be no good reason why he should be prevented from satisfying this innocent and natural desire. When Government allowed even Russian military officers to visit all parts of this country and converse with Native Chiefs, it should not be so suspicious in the case of the Maharaja. It should have full confidence in him and the Panjabis, and allow him to live where he pleases. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 30th April, 1886*, pp. 324–325).

***Qaisari*, 31 April 1886**

A correspondent of the *Qaisari* (Jullandhar), of the 31st April, expresses great sorrow at the treatment Maharaja Dalip Singh is at present receiving at the hands of the British Government, and says that it is a matter of great pity that Government should consider it necessary to deal so harshly and cruelly with a Prince, who belongs to that loyal and brave section of the Indian community which rendered most distinguished services to the British Government in 1857. After having had such conclusive proofs of the loyalty of Sikhs, Government is not justified in thinking that the advent of Dalip Singh in this country would induce them to rebel. As regards the Maharaja himself, it is impossible that he should be ungrateful to the British as to entertain evil designs against them. But even supposing, for the sake of argument, that he does so, whom can he look to for help? And lastly, even granting the possibility of his securing some adherents, can he succeed in raising a successful rebellion against Government?

Hence to act upon imaginary fears and to deprive Maharaja Dalip Singh, who has lived long in the freest land on the earth, of his personal liberty is unworthy of the British Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 7th May, 1886, p. 340*).

***Bharat Jiwan*, 3 May 1886**

The *Bharat Jiwan* (Benares) of the 3rd May, is surprised at Maharaja Dalip Singh's sudden detention at Aden, and says that since his departure from England, he has not done anything to incur the displeasure of the British Government, unless the letter addressed by him to his countrymen, expressing his intention of renouncing Christianity and re-adopting the religion of his ancestors, be considered to be a token of disloyalty. Should this be the reason of the Prince's detention at Aden, the great diplomatist who has suggested this step to Government appears to have lost his head and he should seek medical aid. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 7th May, 1886, pp. 340–341*).

***Azad*, 4 May 1886**

A correspondent of the *Azad* (Lucknow) of the 4th May, referring to the detention of Maharaj Dalip Singh at Aden, expresses his indignation at the Maharaja's sudden and unexpected detention, and asks Government why the Maharaja, who had already received permission to return to his native country and had, from his childhood, lived in a cold country, has been detained at a place so hot as Aden. If the Government thinks that the Prince may reclaim possession of his landed property in the Panjab, this is no cause for fear. The Maharaja cannot force the Government to restore his property if they are not disposed to do so. And as regards the fear that his appearance in India may cause some excitement in the minds of the Sikhs, it is altogether unfounded. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 7th May, 1886, pp. 339–340*).

***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 8 May 1886**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 8th May, adverting to Maharaja Dalip Singh's detention at Aden, observes that the measure is to be regretted on the ground that Government has dealt with a loyal prince in such an objectionable way, but still more on the ground that it shows that Government really does not trust its native subjects. It would appear that the frequent expression of

confidence by the Lieutenant-Governors, Viceroy, and Her Majesty herself in the loyalty of natives is all false. When Government has not allowed a native prince, who has neither army nor money, to enter this country for fear that his advent may lead to a rebellion, how much greater will be its fear in case a powerful enemy appears on the frontier? It is simply absurd to think that natives would rebel at Maharaja Dalip Singh's instigation. (The *Mittra Vilas*, Lahore, of the 10th May, expresses nearly the same sentiments on the subject. The *Tutiya-i-Hind*, Meerut, of the 8th May, the *Panjab Punch*, Lahore, of the 12th May, the *Aftab-i-Alamtab*, Lahore, of the 11th May, the *Bharat Bandha*, Aligarh, of the 7th May, and other newspapers, disapprove of the Maharaja's detention at Aden after he had been permitted to start for this country, and think that an outbreak of rebellion at his instigation was simply out of the question. The *Tutiya-i-Hind* is of opinion that the Maharaja should be allowed to live in this country at least for a few months). (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 14th May, 1886*, pp. 357–358).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 8 May 1886**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 8th May, observes that after the Home Government, in consultation with the Government of India, had allowed the Maharaja to go to India, it should not have stopped him on the way. His sudden detention at Aden is an indication of the weakness of Government. He should have been allowed to live here for some time. But if his conduct had been found to be unsatisfactory during his residence, he should have been sent back to England or to any other place, as might have been thought proper. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 14th May, 1886*, p. 358).

***Azad*, 11 May 1886**

A correspondent of the *Azad* (Lucknow), of the 11th May, says that signs were not wanting to show that the Maharaja would not lead a quiet life in this country, and that consequently Government has acted wisely in preventing him from coming here. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 14th May, 1886*, p. 358).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 29 May 1886**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 29th May, gives a brief account of the annexation of the Panjab, and referring to the book called "The Annexation of the

Panjab and Maharaja Dalip Singh” which the Maharaja got published in 1882, to the seditious placards published in the Panjab some time ago, and to the letters lately published by the Maharaja in newspapers, remarks that Government has done well in preventing him from coming to this country, but that Government should take his grievances into consideration. The deductions made from his pension should be paid him, and his ancestral property should be restored or compensation paid for it. His claim to the *Koh-i-Nur* diamond, jewelry, and other such property is unreasonable. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 31st May, 1886*, p. 395).

#### ***Nyaya Sudha*, 9 June 1886**

The *Nyaya Sudha* (Harda), of the 9th June, condemns the annexation of the Panjab as unjust, and finds fault with Government for not restoring to Maharaja Dalip Singh his ancestral property. The *Sudha* is surprised that the Maharaja has not even been allowed to pay a visit to his native land and countrymen. There was nothing to justify the suspicion that he would instigate a rebellion here. Such highhanded proceedings on the part of Government are calculated to alienate the hearts of the people. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 14th June, 1886*, pp. 431–432).

#### ***Nyaya Sudha*, 7 July 1886**

The *Nyaya Sudha* (Harda), of the 7th July, referring to the letter addressed by Maharaja Dalip Singh to the *Times of India*, observes that the letter appears to have been written by the Maharaja in a state of utter disappointment and despair. He was first dethroned and then converted to the Christian religion. After that he was granted an inadequate pension which is by no means suited to his high birth. Last but not least, he has been forbidden to return to this country. Surely nothing could be more unjust than the treatment to which the Maharaja has been subjected. But he should not be disheartened, and should continue to bear his misfortunes with firmness, as he has hitherto done. His patience is sure to be rewarded sooner or later. He will gain nothing by emigrating to Germany or Russia, but will only incur the displeasure of the British Government. If he remains in England, justice may be done him by one British Ministry or another. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 12th July, 1886*, pp. 492–493).

***Vritta Dhara*, 8 July 1886**

The *Vritta Dhara* (Dhar), of the 8th July, says that it is difficult to predict what vicissitudes of fortune are yet in store for Maharaja Dalip Singh. As his pension did not suffice for his heavy expenses in England, he lately desired to return to this country, in the hope that he would be able to live more economically here. Accordingly he sold all his property in England and set out on his Indian voyage. But he was detained at Aden and then obliged to return to Europe. He has lately addressed a letter to the *Times of India*, in which he declares that he has resolved to give up the pension he receives from the Government of India, and to appeal to native princes or some European Governments for his support in future. The letter appears to have been written by the Maharaja in a state of great disappointment and despair, and should not be considered to represent his real sentiments and feelings. But his enemies are sure to put the worst possible construction on it, and this causes anxiety about the future fate of the Maharaja. The British Government would do well to conciliate the Maharaja and prevent him from throwing himself into the arms of some European Government. There are many Governments which would readily welcome a prince like Dalip Singh in order to give trouble to the British Government. The *Vritta Dhara* then publishes a vernacular translation of the Maharaja's letter in question. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 12th July, 1886*, p. 492).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 10 July 1886**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 10th July, strongly condemns Maharaja Dalip Singh's letter, and is surprised that the Maharaja, who had lived so long in England and who had always declared himself to be a faithful adherent of the British crown, should have entertained such evil thoughts. He is mistaken in thinking that Native Chiefs will pay him a pension for his support against the wishes of the paramount power. He threatens to throw himself into the arms of the Russian Government, but does he not remember what was the fate of Amir Sher Ali, who had made friends with that Government? If he is so much annoyed at his inadequate pension, how much greater will be his distress when his pension is entirely stopped. He should have remained contented with his present condition. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 19th July, 1886*, p. 508).



***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 10 July 1886**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 10th July, says that the Maharaja wrote the letter in a state of excitement. It is to be hoped that the British Government will take his hard case into favourable consideration in order to save its reputation for justice and generosity. (The *Subodh Sindhu*, Khandwa, of the 14th July, says that the Maharaja, being a hasty-tempered man, appears to have written the letter on the impulse of the moment. But he has hitherto never done anything against Government, nor is he likely to do anything in future.). (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 19th July, 1886*, pp. 508–509).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 13 July 1886**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 13th July, observes that if the letter has been written by the Maharaja himself, it cannot be too strongly condemned: it will not only bring him into disrepute, but will also create doubts in the mind of Government about the loyalty of Native Chiefs. He can go and live in Germany or Russia as he pleases, but he should refrain from doing anything which is calculated to injure Native States. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 19th July, 1886*, p. 508).

***Panjabi Akhbar*, 14 July 1886**

The *Panjabi Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 14th June [July], in commenting upon Maharaja Dalip Singh's recent letter to the *Times of India*, observes that obviously the letter was written in a state of excitement, and that it contains some objectionable things. Why is the Maharaja so anxious to come to this country? Does he think that natives will assist him in regaining possession of the kingdom of his father? The Panjabis appreciate the advantage of British rule and prefer it even to native rule. The Maharaja foolishly threatens to go over to the Russians. The British Government will have nothing to fear if a thousand such Princes make common cause with the Russian Government. But in justice to the Maharaja it must be observed that the Government of India itself is not free from blame in the matter. It was not justified in doubting his loyalty and preventing him from returning to this country. It is high time that the British Government should conciliate him, otherwise it will be liable to the charge of ill-treating Princes whose kingdom it has annexed to its territories. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western*

*Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 19th July, 1886, pp. 507–508).*

**Mittra Vilas, 19 July 1886**

The *Mittra Vilas* (Lahore), of the 19th July, adverting to Maharaja Dalip Singh's recent letter published in the *Times of India*, observes that some native newspapers say that the Panjabis sympathize with him and that Government should conciliate him in order to prevent him from going over to the Russian Government. The *Vilas* is of opinion that the Panjabis have no sympathy with him, and that he will not benefit by placing himself under the protection of the Russians. He should have been satisfied with his pension which was fairly large. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 26th July, 1886, p. 524*).

**Almora Akhbar, 19 July 1886**

The *Almora Akhbar*, of the 19th July, says that when Maharaja Dalip Singh's first letter, addressed by him to the Sikh community at the time of his departure from England, induced the Government of India to prevent him from setting foot on Indian soil, it is difficult to say what serious notice the Government will take of his second letter. The question is what has encouraged the Maharaja, who is quite powerless, to hold out such threats to the paramount power. If he is really capable of doing anything, he should have quietly done it instead of giving publicity to his intention beforehand. Barking dogs do not bite. Such empty threats cannot frighten the British Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 26th July, 1886, p. 524*).

**Aftab-i-Panjab, 26 July 1886**

The *Aftab-i-Panjab* (Lahore), of the 26th July, disapproves of Maharaja Dalip Singh's detention at Aden after he had been allowed to leave England for this country, and remarks that the fear that he would be able to create a rebellion here was unfounded. But as regards his threat to go over to Russia, his going over would be no danger to the British Government, nor would he himself benefit by it in any way. However, the *Aftab* is of opinion that the Government of India should conciliate the Maharaja by granting him an increase to his pension. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab,*

*North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 2nd August, 1886, p. 542).*

***Aftab-i-Hind*, 28 August 1886**

The *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jalandar), of the 28th August, says that Englishmen appear to be a very selfish people. They are ready to call any one their father when they require any services of him, but they will have nothing to do with him when he is of no use to them. Their conduct does not differ much from that of prostitutes in this respect. The *Englishman* has lately published a very objectionable article which the *Aftab* has read with a feeling of great indignation, and the *Aftab* feels inclined to give the Calcutta journal tit for tat, but it is afraid of the Penal Code. In speaking of the mother of Maharaja Dalip Singh, the *Englishman* says that when the Wazir, who was in love with her, was separated from her, she was displeased, endeavoured to secure his restoration to her, and even compelled Multan to rebel! Again the *Englishman* says that Ranjit Singh left an infant at the time of his death whom he called his son, but whose legitimacy was afterwards suspected. Can any native read these sentences with equanimity? Now that Dalip Singh has asked Government for the redress of his grievances, Englishmen have the audacity to question his legitimate birth. These pale-faced people are really capable of doing anything. The *Aftab* then gives a translation of the article of the *Englishman* in question. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 30th August, 1886, pp. 611–612).*

***Sahifa-i-Qudsi*, 9 September 1886**

The *Sahifa-i-Qudsi* (Delhi), of the 9th September, after quoting the comments of the *Civil and Military Gazette* on the alleged circulation in the Panjab of a seditious placard in connection with Maharaja Dalip Singh, remarks that, to its thinking, the placard is a forged one and has been circulated by some ill-disposed person. But Government should carefully watch the Maharaja's movements. If he is "missing," he should be assumed to have gone to Russia. Ranjit Singh's son should not be made light of, although he has neither money nor an army with him. He should not have been allowed to go out of British territory. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 17th September, 1886, p. 649).*

***Najmu-l-Akhbar*, 16 September 1886**

The *Najmu-l-Akhbar* (Etawah), of the 16th September, regrets to say that Anglo-Indian newspapers are accustomed to avail themselves of every possible

opportunity to impugn the loyalty of natives. During the late Soudan campaign they declared that seditious placards had been put up in Muhammadan mosques, and again that Muhammadans had offered thanksgiving in their mosques on hearing of the fall of Khartoom! Lately the *Civil and Military Gazette* has published the text of a seditious placard which, it alleges, is being circulated in the Panjab. The placard announces the arrival of Maharaja Dalip Singh at Herat with a Russian army, and asks Hindus to combine in driving Englishmen out of this country. It is needless to say that these placards have no existence and are merely the invention of Anglo-Indian newspapers. Natives have no sympathy with Dalip Singh now. As regards Russia, the Muhammadans consider her as an enemy of Islam, while the Hindus know very well that they have everything to lose and nothing to gain by a change of masters. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 7th May, 1886*, p. 668).

#### ***Aftab-i-Panjab*, 20 September 1886**

The *Aftab-i-Panjab* (Lahore), of the 20th September, adverting to the rumour spread by the *Civil and Military Gazette* regarding the circulation of a seditious placard in the Panjab by Maharaja Dalip Singh, condemns the rumour as a mere canard, and observes that natives have not yet seen any such placard. The *Gazette* should have stated when, how, and to whom the placard had been sent by the Maharaja. It is simply impossible that the Sikhs should foolishly court their ruin by intriguing with Dalip Singh. Even if the Russian Government welcomes the prince and lends him an army to invade this country, the Sikhs will show no sympathy to him, because they must know very well that, if they do so, the British Government will be able to extirpate them by the time the Russian army makes its appearance on the Indian frontier. The spread of such mischievous rumours cannot be too highly condemned, inasmuch as they are calculated to embitter the feelings between Government and a class of its most loyal native subjects. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 24th September, 1886*, p. 667).

#### ***Delhi Punch*, 6 October 1886**

The *Delhi Punch* (Lahore), of the 6th October, referring to the rumour about the going over of Maharaja Dalip Singh and Raja Suchet Singh, of Chamba, to the Russian Government, remarks that the matter cannot be viewed with equanimity. The St. Petersburg Government is sure to make use of the two Panjab Princes in endeavouring to enlist the sympathy of natives. The British Government was not well advised in treating Maharaja Dalip Singh in a way

that has induced him to go over to its rival. He should have been granted a small increase to his pension. The Government of India should have no confidence in the faithless Afghans, but should depend on its own resources and make necessary preparations for war with Russia which is looking in the distance. It is to be regretted that natives, being disarmed, will be unable to render any material assistance to Government at such a crisis. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 12th October, 1886*, p. 699).

***Aftab-i-Panjab*, 29 October 1886**

The same paper [the *Aftab-i-Panjab*], of the 29th October, regrets to say that natives are always ready to injure each other through jealousy. The *Kashfu-l-Akhbar*, of Bombay, has gone the length of declaring that the Sikhs are in intrigue with Maharaja Dalip Singh and are sure to rebel in an emergency! No one could be greater enemy of Government than one who desires to alienate its heart from a brave and loyal class of people like the Sikhs. They have given ample proof of their bravery and loyalty on many occasions and are deserving of the highest consideration at the hand of Government. When they heard of Dalip Singh's intended return to this country, they were anxious to see him in order to find out what was his present condition. But they have now no sympathy with him, nor do they expect anything from him. When he himself is in a state of utter destitution, obviously he can do nothing for them. Moreover, the rumours about his going over to the Russian Government appear to be quite unfounded. It would seem from French newspapers that he is still at Paris. (The *Akhbar-i-Am*, Lahore, of the 27th October, in answer to the article of the *Kashfu-l-Akhbar* in question, refers to the unflinching loyalty exhibited by the Sikhs in times of difficulty and takes the Bombay newspaper to task for making an unjust attack on that community). (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 2nd November, 1886*, pp. 755–756).

***Sanjivani*, 18 December 1886**

The same paper [the *Sanjivani*] says that there is a prophecy of Guru Govinda [Guru Gobind Singh] to the effect that a Sikh hero will establish his empire up to Calcutta before the expiration of the 19th century of the Christian era; that the English will rule at Ludhiana and destroy the power of Dhuleep Singh and of the Khalsa army; but Dhuleep will overcome all difficulties and reign supreme over the world. None but fools will believe such a prophecy. But there

is no want of illiterate and superstitious men in the Punjab who may bring about a great revolution. Government has not done well by ill-treating Dhuleep Singh. The writer thinks that all his just demands should be conceded to him. If he advances towards India at the head of a Russian army, it is doubtful whether the Sikhs will fight against him. The prophecy is widely known all over the Punjab, and bad men may take advantage of it. (*Report of Native Papers for the Week Ending the 25th December 1886*, No. 52, p. 1418).

### ***Hindi Pradip*, April 1887**

The *Hindi Pradip* (Allahabad), for April, received on the 15th June, regrets to say that Maharaja Dalip Singh, the son of the Lion of the Panjab, has been reduced to the greatest straits. Has he no friend to give him good advice? He has foolishly adopted a course ruinous to himself and injurious to this country. Natives should send a memorial to Her Majesty praying that the benighted prince may be pardoned, and that some Sikh Sardars may be sent to Europe to induce him to come over to this country. On his arrival here, he should be appointed to rule over a portion of the Panjab as an experiment. If he acquits himself well, he should be invested with full sovereign powers like other native princes; otherwise he should be again dethroned and granted a pension. This policy would increase the British reputation for justice, and lay the Maharaja and the whole Sikh race under a deep debt of gratitude. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 20th June, 1887*, p. 366).

### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 1 April 1887**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 1st April, publishes some information regarding Maharaja Dalip Singh which, it says has reached it from a very trustworthy source. During his late visit to London Sardar Thakur Singh endeavoured in vain for some days to induce the Maharaja to return to the Sikh religion. One day, as soon as the Maharaja left his bed, he asked the Sardar to make him a Sikh, saying that the soul of Guru Gobind Singh had visited him on the previous night and commanded him to ready. The Maharaja sent Sardar Thakur Singh to this country in order that the Sardar might make necessary preparations for him. When the Maharaja was detained at Aden, he feigned sickness and desired to go to Germany in order to recover his health. He escaped in disguise from his residence in Germany, went to Paris and entered into correspondence with the Russian Government through the medium of the French Government. He then went to St. Petersburg at the request of the Czar, carrying a box of papers with him, and told His Majesty that 150 Indian and Afghan princes and Sardars were ready to assist him. After a short stay in Russia the Maharaja returned

to Paris and was expected at Pondicherry on the 25th March. The object of his Indian visit is to take to Europe Sardar Thakur Singh and others who have gone Pondicherry in accordance with his wishes, and who receive an allowance of Rs. 2,000 a month from the French Governor-General there for their support. The Maharaja is well versed in the art of warfare and can make good guns. On his return to Paris he will go to Russia and the proceed to the Afghan frontier. The informant of the *Akhbar* thinks that within the next two years either the British Government will lose the Panjab or the British rule will be still more firmly established there than at present. The *Akhbar* says that it has made arrangements for obtaining trustworthy news regarding the Maharaja wherever he may go. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 5th April, 1887*, pp. 215–216).

***Panjabi Akhbar*, 4 May 1887**

The *Panjabi Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 4th May, says that it appears from a London telegram published in a late issue of the *Pioneer*, that Maharaja Dalip Singh has gone to St. Petersburg. As his pension has been discontinued by the British Government, he cannot help applying to other powers for support. The Russian Government may grant him an allowance, but it must know very well that he will be of little use to it in a war with England. It is rumoured that the Maharaja has an agent in Panjdeh, who secretly sends information regarding the Central Asian affairs to the people at Lahore through merchants. The rumour is probably quite unfounded. All such rumours about the movements and doings of the Maharaja are spread by the Anglo-Indian newspapers. It is impossible that the Panjabis, who have so long enjoyed the blessings of British rule, should desire the re-establishment of Sikh rule. Even the Sikh Sardars have no sympathy with Dalip Singh, and do not care at all for him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 16th May, 1887*, p. 294).

***Arya Darpan*, 6 May 1887**

The *Arya Darpan*, of the 6th May, says that Dhuleep himself cannot do anything, but Russia may use him as a tool in order to serve some purpose of her own. The Shikhs [Sikhs] have lost their former glory and the soldiers of the Khalsa troops have lost their old warlike spirit. Dhuleep's presence in Afghanistan will not therefore rouse the fallen Shikhs to action; for the Shikhs have not only lost their valour, but have been fully impressed with an idea of the irresistible power and boundless resources of the English. Dhuleep will therefore fail to create any disturbances in the Punjab. But supposing he can

secure the sympathy of the Shikhs, where shall he get men to fight for him? The fighting men among Shikhs are now going away to Burmah, and if all Shikh youths find employment in that country, they will not consider it worth their while to come back to the Punjab in order to create disturbances in Dhuleep's interest. Supposing therefore that Dhuleep cherishes any intention hostile to the English Government in this country, it should be clear that it will not be in his power to carry it into effect. (*Report of Native Papers for the Week Ending the 14th May 1887*, No. 20, p. 493).

***Hindustan*, 8, 10 and 11 May 1887**

The *Hindustan* (Kalakankar), in an article headed "Maharaja Dalip Singh in Russia," published in its issues of the 8th, 10th, and 11th May, quotes the comments of the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette* on the Maharaja's going to St. Petersburg, and is surprised that the Anglo-Indian newspapers apprehend no danger from him. If he can do no harm, why was he stopped at Aden on his way to this country and forced to return to Europe? When the Maharaja was dissatisfied with his treatment and considered himself wronged, the British Government was not well advised in allowing him to leave British territory. The dispute regarding the delimitation of the Russo-Afghan frontier has not yet been settled, and the state of affairs in Kabul is very unsatisfactory owing to the rebellion of the Ghilzais. Now that the Maharaja has gone over to the Russian Government, it may at any time advance his claim to the Panjab and declare war. Again, it should be observed that the Maharaja has not only returned to the Sikh religion but has also abandoned his wife and children. Moreover, the Sikhs of the Panjab know very well that the Government of India never declared war against Maharaja Dalip Singh; that the last Panjab war was undertaken by the Government on his behalf, and that 20,000 of his troops fought with the British Army, as stated by the *Calcutta Statesman*. Hence it is possible that the Panjabis may sympathize with the Maharaja and rebel against the British Government. The *Hindustan* thinks that the British government committed a serious mistake in allowing him to go out of its control, and suggests that he should be conciliated and induced to return to England. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 16th May, 1887*, pp. 293–294).

***Waqaya-i-Alam*, 16 May 1887**

The *Waqaya-i-Alam* (Ghazipur), of the 16th May, says that the British Government committed a great mistake in preventing Maharaja Dalip Singh from coming to this country after it had granted him permission to do so. That he



was allowed to leave British territory after he had been treated in this way was a still greater mistake. He has lately gone to Russia, and the St. Petersburg Government have given him permission to travel freely in any part of the country. The Maharaja's presence in Russia will afford a good opportunity to that Government to endeavour to win over the Amir to its side. It may tell the Amir that it desires to send an army to India in order to restore the Panjab to the Maharaja, who was unjustly deprived of the province by the British Government, and ask the Amir to assist it in such a righteous cause or at least to allow its army to pass freely through his dominions. When the matter is put before him in this shape, he may be induced to accede to its wishes. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 23rd May, 1887*, p. 310).

***Almora Akhbar*, 16 May 1887**

The *Almora Akhbar*, of the 16th May, adverting to the rumour regarding Maharaja Dalip Singh's going over to Russia, says that the Maharaja can do no harm to the British Government. His re-adoption of the religion of his fathers has, however, created a fear in the mind of the Government that the Sikhs may be induced to espouse his cause. The *Akhbar* thinks that a Sikh rebellion is almost impossible. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 23rd May, 1887*, p. 311).

***Alam-i-Taswir*, 20 May 1887**

The *Alam-i-Taswir* (Cawnpore), of the 20th May, is surprised that, in speaking of Maharaja Dalip Singh's movements, newspapers generally make light of him. The *Pioneer* even calls him mad. It should be observed, however, that soon after his detention at Aden he declared that he would enter this country through Russia, and since then he has been busy taking steps to carry out the purpose. Although it is impossible that he should be able to enter this country in arms, his conduct shows that he is firm in his purpose and is not mad, as supposed by the *Pioneer*. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 23rd May, 1887*, pp. 310–311).

***Delhi Punch*, 25 May 1887**

The *Delhi Punch* (Lahore), of the 25th May, says that at last Maharaja Dalip Singh has found his way to St. Petersburg, and that it is rumoured that the Russian Government has ordered its officers in Central Asia to enter into negotiations

with the Amir with a view of obtaining his consent to the Maharaja's passage through his dominions to the Panjab. If the rumour is well founded, a war with Russia is only a question of time. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 30th May, 1887, p. 324*).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 4 June 1887**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 4th June, says that Maharaja Dalip Singh's going over to Russia has been commented on by a large number of newspapers, most of which are disposed to consider him mad, and apprehend no harm from him. The *Hindustani* of Lucknow has published a very able article on the subject. Undoubtedly the Maharaja's presence in Russia cannot harm the British Government, because the natives have no desire to change their masters. When they remained loyal during the great troubles of 1857, it is almost impossible that they should rebel against the British Government in the future, inasmuch as they have become fully acquainted with the advantages of British rule since then. The Maharaja's going to Russia is, however, likely to prove very injurious to this country and the natives. Indeed, his movements have in a way already done much harm to the children of the soil. His detention at Aden, owing to a foolish letter published by him in a newspaper, was a great insult to the natives. Although they had given ample proof of their unflinching loyalty and devotion on more than one occasion, Lord Dufferin did not allow the Maharaja to enter this country lest they might rebel at his instigation. This distrust created in the mind of the Government towards them is a greater injury than any loss of money which could be inflicted on them. The worst is that the Maharaja's presence in Russia will afford their enemies a good opportunity of increasing this distrust by spreading false rumours. The *Koh* then quotes an extract from the *Civil and Military Gazette* in which the latter states that no less sympathy for the Maharaja has been expressed in Kashmir than in other parts of the Panjab; that some Sardars in the Panjab carry on correspondence with him, and that Agents have been sent from Kashmir with letters to him. It is almost needless to say what effect these rumours will have on the suspicious mind of the Government. The *Koh* does not know what sympathy has been expressed anywhere in the Panjab with the Maharaja, or what native princes in the province carry on secret correspondence with him, and asks those newspapers which apprehend no harm from his presence in Russia, whether the distrust created in the mind of the Government towards the natives is not serious harm. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 6th June, 1887, pp. 337–338*).

***Oudh Punch, 9 June 1887***

The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow), of the 9th June, represents Russia as a griffin and Maharaja Dalip Singh as placing himself under its wings. (The *Delhi Punch*, Lahore, of the 8th June, publishes a picture in which English Military Officers are represented as much frightened at the news of the Maharaja's going to Russia.) (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 13th June, 1887*, p. 351).

***Oudh Akhbar, 10 June 1887***

The *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow), of the 10th June adverting to Maharaja Dalip Singh's going over to Russia, says that it is difficult to predict whether the measure will do harm to the British Government or not. There can, however, scarcely be two opinions that the Maharaja will not benefit by the foolish step he has taken. Indeed, he has himself courted his ruin, and his condition is sure to become worse and worse every day. He cannot do better than to return to his fealty to the British throne and apply to the British Government for pardon. If he things that it is impossible for him to return to England, he should pass the rest of his life some country which is on friendly terms with the British Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 13th June, 1887*, p. 351).

***Jubilee Paper, 16 June 1887***

The *Jubilee Paper* (Lucknow), of the 16th June, received on the 22nd idem, says that newspapers are not justified in attaching any undue importance to Maharaja Dalip Singh. If the Russians desire to conquer this country, they are sure to send an expedition sooner or later. Whether the expedition will be successful or not is another question. Dalip Singh is of no importance and can do no harm. The British Government, however, should not have treated him in a way which induced him to go over to its rival in Central Asia. If the Maharaja was anxious to pass the rest of his life in the land of his birth, he should have been allowed to do so. It is impossible that India should have risen in arms at his bidding. Does Government still suspect her loyalty and devotion? (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 27th June, 1887*, p. 381).

***Azad, 17 June 1887***

The *Azad* (Lucknow), of the 17th June, blames native newspapers for representing Maharaja Dalip Singh's going over to Russia as very dangerous to this

country. Surely they do not mean that the British should leave this country through fear of him. If the writers really fear danger from him, they should show what the danger is and suggest means of averting it. If they think that the Panjab should be restored to the Maharaja, this is simply impossible. True a war with Russia is inevitable, and the British Government knows this as well as any other person; but obviously the St. Petersburg Government is not in a position to declare war for some time to come. It is preposterous to believe the story that Maharaja Dalip Singh has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Russian troops, and is already on his way to India at the head of a large Russian army. Native newspapers should be very careful in publishing news regarding the Maharaja's movements, and should not spread false sensational rumour which may frighten the people and render the newspapers themselves answerable to the law. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 20th June, 1887*, p. 365).

#### ***Azad*, 24 June 1887**

The *Azad* (Lucknow), of the 24th June, commenting upon the statement of the *Pioneer*, to the effect that if the Russian Government make use of Maharaja Dalip Singh, the British government will make use of his son, who is in England, and is loyal to the Queen, says that the statement of the *Pioneer* is altogether unwarranted and absurd. In the first place, Russia can do no harm to the British Government with the help of Dalip Singh until she has occupied Herst. Secondly, what reason is there to think that the Panjabis will rebel at the instigation of Dalip Singh? There are still some men alive who remember very well the loyalty shown by Sikhs during the Mutiny of 1857. On the other hand, supposing the worst takes place and Russia sends Dalip Singh to the Panjab to instigate the Sikhs to rebel against the British Government, and the Sikhs rebel; what will the son of Dalip Singh be able to do against him? The son, who is born of a European mother, cannot command the same influence in the Panjab as the father. But the *Azad* does not understand why the loyalty of Sikhs should be doubted. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 27th June, 1887*, pp. 381–382).

#### ***Hindustan*, 1 July 1887**

The *Hindustan* (Kalakankar), of the 1st July, gives a brief abstract of the communication which the *London Times* received from its correspondent at St. Petersburg regarding Maharaja Dalip Singh, and says that the Maharaja's going over to the Russian Government will no doubt precipitate the great impending struggle between Russia and England in Asia, and will add to the

difficulties of the British Government, which was not well-advised in alienating him for the sake of a little money. It is rumoured that Russian Agents are travelling in this country in disguise. It is difficult to say how long peace will be maintained on the frontier. The Government of India should be always on the alert and should remain firm and undaunted. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 4th July, 1887*, p. 399).

***Najmu-l-Akhbar*, 1 July 1887**

The *Najmu-l-Akhbar* (Etawah), of the 1st July, adverting to the spread of sensational rumours by newspapers regarding Maharaja Dalip Singh, says that if the Russian Government sends an expedition to this country under the command of the Maharaja, the British Government will have good reason to congratulate itself on the measure. The memory of the tyranny and oppression of Sikh rule will induce the Muhammadan frontier tribes and the Muhammadan population of the Panjab to encounter the Russian army the more strongly. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 11th July, 1887*, p. 414).

***Nyaya Sudha*, 6 July 1887**

The *Nyaya Sudha* (Harda), of the 6th July, says that Maharaja Dalip Singh was not well advised in going to Russia. He is mistaken if he thinks that the Russian Government will invade this country in compliance with his wishes. Hitherto prayers were always offered at the Sikh temples at Lahore and Amritsar for his long life and prosperity, but they have been discontinued since he has made friends with the Russian Government. This is a good index to the loyalty of Sikhs. It is a matter of deep regret that still the British Government does not trust them and did not allow the Maharaja to return to this country for fear of an outbreak of a Sikh rebellion. The British Government should not have offended Dalip Singh and then allowed him to go over to the Russian Government. If he had good claims to an increase in his pension, a suitable increase should have been granted him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 11th July, 1887*, p. 414).

***Delhi Punch*, 6 July 1887**

The *Delhi Punch* (Lahore), of the 6th July, states that it is rumoured that Maharaja Dalip Singh lately asked the Emperor of Russia to lend him an army in order that he might invade this country. On this orders were at once sent

to General Melikoff to enquire from the Amir of Kabul what help he would give to the Maharaja, and the Maharaja was told to hold himself in readiness. Dalip Singh has assured the Russian Government of the sympathy of some Kuka Sardars towards him. It would seem that Abdul Rahman sympathizes with the Russian Government, and will cast in his lot with it on the occasion of an outbreak of hostilities. The British Government should be on its guard against him and prepare itself for the impending struggle. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 11th July, 1887*, pp. 414–415).

#### ***Nur Afshan*, 7 July 1887**

The *Nur Afshan* (Ludhiana), of the 7th July, says that Maharaja Dalip Singh has forfeited all claim to public sympathy by his ungrateful conduct towards the British Government. There are few newspapers which sympathize with him. He appears to have become mad; for his preposterous desire to regain possession of the Panjab is inexplicable in any other way. He has returned to the Sikh religion, but he is mistake if he fancies that his adoption of the religion of his fathers will induce Panjabis to espouse his cause. There are still among us persons who lived in the Panjab in the time of the Sikh rule, and who know very well what that rule meant. Dalip Singh has gone to Russia in the hope that the Russian Government will assist him in conquering the Panjab; but he can do no harm to the British Indian Empire. If the British Government shows to natives the same amount of kindness that it does to Europeans, repeals the Arms Act, and encourages native volunteering, the millions of this country will readily sacrifice their lives and property on its behalf. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 11th July, 1887*, p. 413).

#### ***Siraj-ul-Akhbar*, 1 August 1887**

The *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* (Jhelam), of the 1st August, censures the Anglo-Indian newspapers for spreading false rumours regarding Maharaja Dalip Singh, which are calculated to create doubts in the mind of Government regarding the loyalty of the natives, especially the Sikhs. A rumour has been set afloat to the effect that the Russian Government has promised to lend an army to the Maharaja, and that he has made overtures to the Amir of Kabul and the native chiefs of the Panjab for concluding a secret alliance with them. But nothing could be more preposterous than such a rumour. The Maharaja has not yet had an interview with Czar, nor has the Russian Government even granted

a pension for his support. The Anglo-Indian newspapers should refrain from spreading any false rumours which are calculated to cause unnecessary alarm among natives. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 8th August, 1887*, pp. 479–480).

***Azad, 5 August 1887***

The *Azad* (Lucknow), of the 5th August, says that it would seem that the *Civil and Military Gazette* desires to create doubts in the mind of Government about the loyalty of the natives. The *Gazette* lately spread a rumour to the effect that a party of fakirs or mendicants went about the streets of Lahore giving out that Dalip Singh had arrived at Kabul with 200,000 troops, and stated that the inhabitants of Lahore were glad to hear of the Maharajas advance! Nothing could be more preposterous than such a rumour. The public associations of Lahore ought to call upon the editor of the *Gazette* to prove his statement or to contradict it. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 8th August, 1887*, p. 481).

***Delhi Punch, 10 August 1887***

The *Delhi Punch* (Lahore), of the 10th August, referring to Maharaja Dalip Singh's relations with Russia, says that it was very foolish on his part to wilfully renounce the ease and comfort he enjoyed in England. Does he think Russia will enable him to obtain possession of the Panjab? He must have gone mad to entertain any such hope. He has not only taken a ruinous step for himself, but has led away certain Panjabi sardars with him, and has, in fact, brought a stigma on the good name of all Panjabis. The course now open to him is to apologize to the British Government for the foolish step he has taken and seek reconciliation with it. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 15th August, 1887*, pp. 496–497).

***Mehr-i-Nimroz, 14 September 1887***

The *Mehr-i-Nimroz* (Bijnor), of the 14th September, adverting to the escape of Ayub Khan from Teheran, observes that if he has gone to Russia, Maharaja Dalip Singh and Jamal-ud-din, and Afghan, who joined the latter in that country a short time ago, will now, forming an alliance with him, try to create troubles from the British Government in India; and advises the latter to be prepared for the coming danger. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in*

*the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 23rd September, 1887, p. 584).*

***Koh-i-Nur*, 15 October 1887**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 15th October, says that Dalip Singh's folly or madness has now reached its extreme limit. *Reuter* telegraphs that the Maharaja has printed a proclamation at Paris for circulation in this country, calling on the natives to rebel against the British Government. Probably this proclamation is a different paper from the letter which he sent to the *Daily Telegraph* in answer to the article of the *London Times*, and printed copies of which he subsequently sent to the native newspapers when the *Telegraph* refused to insert it in its columns. The letter was a very seditious paper, and consequently few native newspapers have deemed it expedient to publish it. The letter was not only intended to instigate the people to rebel against the British Government: there was also in it a great deal of matter, which was calculated to create doubts in the mind of the Government regarding the loyalty of the natives. The Maharaja stated in the letter that he would not throw the burden of his expenses on the Russian Government, inasmuch as he already received and would continue to receive sufficient aid from his countrymen. As it is, the natives are not fully trusted by the British Government; and such a statement, if considered true by Government, will still more poison its mind and thus do a great deal of harm to the natives. Is this the way in which he should requite their sympathy with him? They may justly exclaim 'save us from our friends.' (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 25th October, 1887, p. 652).*

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 15 October 1887**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 15th October, gives an abstract of Maharaja Dalip Singh's letter sent by him from Moscow to native newspapers for publication, and says that the letter can have no effect on the natives. The Maharaja can do no harm to the British Government. The *Akhbar-i-Am*, of the 18th *idem*, observes that the letter, which appears to have been written in a state of despair, has only exposed the Maharaja to scorn at the hands of the natives. His opinion of the British Government is entitled to as much weight as that of a convict. He denounces the Government simply because it did not accede to his extravagant demands. He says that he receives aid from his countrymen, and is not in want of money. The statement is utterly unfounded, and it is impossible that such preposterous insinuations should shake the belief of the British



Government in the loyalty of the natives. He condemns the annexation of the Panjab by the British Government as unjust and inequitable; but does he know with what justice and fair play his father had established his rule in the province? His claim to his so-called private property is not very intelligible. What does he mean by his private property? Ranjit Singh received no pay from the Panjab treasury, but the entire revenues of the State were at his disposal. Dalip Singh's detention at Aden on his way to this country was undoubtedly a great mistake; it led Russia and other European countries to imagine that he still possessed influence in India and could create a rebellion. It is almost needless to say that had he been allowed to live in this country, he would not have been able to do the least harm to the British Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 25th October, 1887*, pp. 652–653).

#### ***Kanauj Punch, 15 October 1887***

The *Kanauj Punch* (Farukhabad), of the 15th October, contains a monody, in which Maharaja Dalip Singh is represented as bewailing his separation from his friends and his loss of the kingdom of the Panjab, his private property and pension, and entreating the Russian Government to help him in obtaining possession of the Panjab. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 25th October, 1887*, p. 653).

#### ***Najmu-l-Akhbar, 16 October 1887***

The *Najmu-l-Akhbar* (Etawah), of the 16th October, says that a telegram, dated Paris the 11th October, has been published in the *Pioneer* to the effect that a proclamation, believed to be the joint production of Dalip Singh and Jamal-ud-din, has been printed at Paris for circulation throughout India, calling on the natives to revolt against British rule. Copies of the proclamation referred to in the telegram were no doubt received in the form of a letter by noblemen and the editors of newspapers in this country. The editors at once tore up that seditious paper and threw it into the waste-paper basket. It was only the *Akhbar-i-Am* of Lahore, which thought fit to publish the proclamation in its columns, though of course it did so with adverse comments thereon. The conduct of Dalip Singh resembles that of a drowning man who catches at a straw. The issue of such proclamations can be of no avail to him. The *Najm* cannot say what is the feeling of the Sikh community towards the Maharaja. But as regards the Musalmans, it is in a position to assert that they know very well what the re-establishment of the Sikh rule would mean, and that they will be

foremost in opposing the advance of Dalip Singh towards this country. He may succeed in winning the sympathy of a few of his co-religionists, but he will find that the five crores of Musalmans and a large proportion of the Hindu population are opposed to him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 25th October, 1887*, pp. 651–652).

***Oudh Punch*, 20 October 1887**

The same paper [the *Oudh Punch*], of the 20th October, received on the 29th idem, represents Maharaja Dalip Singh as showing the head of a monster called the proclamation which he carries in his hand, to an English and a Native lady, who are intended to represent England and India. The native lady being frightened by the head, hides herself behind the English lady, and asks her what she is going to do for her protection. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 1st November, 1887*, pp. 679–680).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 1 November 1887**

A correspondent of the *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 1st November, referring to an article published by one Bahadur Singh in the *Aftab-i-Panjab*, expressing sympathy with Maharaja Dalip Singh, says that Bahadur Singh is “a black sheep” and foolishly desires to bring the Sikh community, which has always been famous for its loyalty to the British Government, into disrepute. He says that the Maharaja has been obliged to go over to the Russian Government owing to the tyranny and oppression of the British Government, charges the native newspapers with flattering the British Government against the Maharaja, calls the Hindus bastards on account of their not espousing the cause of Dalip Singh and rebelling against the British Government, and finds fault with the priests at the Sikh temples for discontinuing the offer of prayers at the temples for the Maharaja’s welfare. Nothing could be more unjust than to accuse the British Government of ill-treating Dalip Singh. The British Government was pleased even to allow the prince to return to this country; but, when his friends, such as the writer in the *Aftab-i-Panjab*, led the Government to imagine that his arrival in this country would surely cause a rebellion, it was obliged to cancel the permission. Thus the Maharaja has his so-called friends to thank for his present distress. The charge brought against the native newspapers is unfounded: they sympathise with the Maharaja in his distress and urge his claims in a respectful way. What more could they do? Bahadur Singh should apologize to the Hindus for his calling them bastards. The priests at the Sikh temples were well advised in putting a stop to the prayers offered for the Maharaja’s welfare,

otherwise they would have incurred the suspicion of the British Government. If Bahadur Singh desires that the Panjab should be restored to Dalip Singh, he should make an appeal to Her Gracious Majesty on his behalf instead of writing such nonsense in newspapers. But no sane native, who is alive to the to the blessings of British rule, can desire the re-establishment of the tyrannical Sikh rule. (The *Rahbar-i-Hind*, Lahore, of the 5th November, says that if the abstract, given by the *Koh-i-Nur*, of the article published in the *Aftab-i-Panjab* is correct, both the writer of the article and the *Aftab* are highly to blame, and are ill-wishers of the British Government and the natives. Although the children of the soil have many grievances, they highly appreciate the peace and security of life and property which they enjoy at present, and are thankful to the British Government. Dalip Singh may enjoy the sympathy of some foolish Sikhs, but the Musalmans and the Hindus will have nothing to do with them.) (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 8th November, 1887*, pp. 698–699).

***Najmu-l-Akhbar*, 4 November 1887**

The *Najmu-l-Akhbar* (Etawah), of the 4th November, is surprised that Dalip Singh does not yet refrain from following mad projects. His letters to the native editors resulting in nothing, he has lately begun to send seditious letters in Gurmukhi to Sikhs in the Panjab, but it is almost needless to say that his appeal to the Sikhs, too, will be of no avail. However, it is high time that steps should be taken to prevent the circulation in this country of any seditious papers issued by the Maharaja. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 8th November, 1887*, p. 699).

***Subodh Sindhu*, 9 November 1887**

The *Subodh Sindhu* (Khandwa), of the 9th November, referring to Maharaja Dalip Singh's proclamation, says that the author of the paper, which is an appeal to the natives to rebel against the British Government, appears to have no insight into their sentiments and feelings. They are greatly attached to the British Government, desire its permanent establishment in this country, and are always ready to sacrifice their lives and property on its behalf in times of danger; it is simply impossible that the Maharaja should ever succeed in creating an insurrection. Being a native prince he is entitled to the sympathy of his countrymen. But when he does anything against the British Government, he loses all claim to their sympathy. True, he has some ground of complaint regarding his treatment by the British Government, but he was by no means

justified in rebelling. In conclusion, the *Sindhu* publishes a Marathi translation of the proclamation. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 15th November, 1887*, pp. 710–711).

***Oudh Akhbar*, 10 November 1887**

The *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow), of the 10th November, says that at first it was rumoured that Dalip Singh had sent his photographs to this country: then another rumour was spread to the effect that copies of a proclamation, issued by the Maharaja and Jamalul-din [Jamal-ul-din], and printed at Paris, had been received by natives. Now a Gurmukhi letter is reported to have been received in the Panjab from Dalip Singh. The question is whether these rumours were well founded, and, if so, whether the photographs, the proclamation, and the Gurmukhi letter were really sent by Dalip Singh, or whether they were circulated by a Russian agent or some disaffected native. A thorough enquiry should be made, and steps should be taken to prevent the circulation of such seditious papers, even though they are not likely to have any effect on natives. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 15th November, 1887*, p. 710).

***Azad*, 11 November 1887**

The *Azad* (Lucknow), of the 11th November, says that Dalip Singh, who has no influence over the natives, was ill-advised in severing his connection with the British Government. The only result of his foolish action has been that he has become a Russian pensioner. Supposing some Panjabis sympathize with him, as has been imagined by the *Civil and Military Gazette*, he can do no harm to the British Government. Jamalul-din is a man of straw, and has cast in his lot with Maharaja in order to make a name. The proclamation issued by them is so much paper wasted. The natives would have been thankful if they had sent them blank paper, which might have been turned to good account. Their bitter experiences of the mutiny are still fresh in their memory. A large number of people were condemned to the gallows, and many well-to-do persons lost their all and were reduced to poverty. The natives cannot be so foolish as to again court ruin by incurring the displeasure of the British Government. On the other hand, the case of Ayub Khan is quite different: his escape cannot be viewed with equanimity. A large portion of the population of Afghanistan sympathizes with him: and Abdul Rahman Khan has alienated the hearts of the people by his tyranny and oppression. Hence the Government of India should carefully watch Ayub's movements. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers*

*published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 15th November, 1887, pp. 709–710).*

***Akhbar-i-Am, 12 November 1887***

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 12th November, after quoting an extract from the seditious proclamation lately sent by Dalip Singh to this country, says that if it had been published on the first of April, it would have afforded some amusement to the people. Its publication at present is quite out of time. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 22nd November, 1887, p. 731*).

***Rafiq-i-Hind, 12 November 1887***

A correspondent of the *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 12th November, referring to Maharaja Dalip Singh's telegram, says that the Maharaja's proceedings are simply preposterous. He showed little intelligence when he was a child, and though he lived so long in England, he does not yet appear to be more clever than a water-carrier. Is such a man capable of ruling over a province? It is simply impossible that the inhabitants of the Punjab, who have long been enjoying the blessings of the enlightened British rule, should desire the return of the dark days of the Sikhs. Dalip Singh cannot alienate the hearts of the natives from the British Government; his seditious writings and intrigues will result in nothing. If he desires to pass the remainder of his life in ease and comfort, he cannot do better than to return to England. In that case the British Government is sure to pardon him and show him the same favour as before. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 22nd November, 1887, pp. 731–732*).

***Panjabi Akhbar, 16 November 1887***

The *Panjabi Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 16th November, says that Dalip Singh states in a letter published by him in the *Standard* that, although he has rebelled against the British Government, he has no connection with Jamal-ud-din, nor does he approve of his proceedings. Nothing could be more foolish of the Maharaja than to rebel against the British Government. He can do no harm to it, even if a thousand and one Jamal-ud-dins join him. He is greatly mistaken if he considers himself capable of ruling over the Panjab. The province is not what it was at the time of his departure to England. Even if the British Government voluntarily surrendered the province to him, the Panjabis would not accept his rule. They would at once drive him from the throne. (*Selections from the*

*Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 22nd November, 1887, p. 731).*

***Oudh Punch, 24 November 1887***

The same paper [the *Oudh Punch*] says that since his detention at Aden Maharaja Dalip Singh has been represented to be mad; now a European has gone the length of declaring him to be a bastard. The European says that about 20 years ago, when he told a Sikh officer that Dalip Singh had become a Christian and that his conversion must have caused much grief to the Sikh community, the Sikh officer replied that the Sikh community looked upon his conversion with indifference, inasmuch as he was not the son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, but of a Muhammadan water-carrier! This important secret should have been made public long ago. In that case the British Government would not have accepted Dalip Singh as the son and heir to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and would have been able to annex the Panjab without any difficulty, and would not have so long paid him a large pension unnecessarily. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 6th December, 1887, p. 764).*

***Koh-i-Nur, 1 December 1887***

A correspondent of the *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 1st December, in an article on Maharaja Dalip Singh, observes that the British Government was not well advised in stopping him at Aden on his way to India and in paying him no compensation for the stoppage. His detention was no doubt a great injustice: it also led him to form a great idea of himself and to think that his advent in this country would be a signal for a revolt. His going over to the Russian Government has induced the unemployed in this country to build castles in the air. They anxiously await his advent in the hope that the disturbance of the peace, which may attend it, may give them an opportunity of obtaining bread. They have no sympathy with the Russian Government or Dalip Singh, nor are they enemies to the British Government. They desire a revolution simply in order that they may get a bellyful of food. The right-minded natives will have nothing to do with Dalip Singh, but the writer is afraid that those who suffer from want of employment, and who love change for its own sake, may cast in their lots with him when an opportunity presents itself. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 6th December, 1887, p. 764).*

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 13 December 1887**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 13th December, says that a high native officer is of opinion that probably the seditious letters and proclamations, purporting to have emanated from Dalip Singh, are mere forgeries invented by British statesmen to find out evil-minded persons, if there be any, and to put them down at once. This is, however, no true test of native loyalty. All natives, from the beggar to the Nizam, are sure to come out of such an ordeal unscathed. When Dalip Singh appears on the north-west frontier at the head of a large Russian army and gains one or two victories over the British troops (if such a thing ever comes to pass), *then* the loyalty of the natives will be really on its trial. It rests with the British statesmen themselves to keep the natives loyal at such a crisis. In order to secure this end they should pursue the policy of conciliation recommended by the Right Hon'ble W.E. Gladstone, Lord Ripon, Mr. Hume, and Sir Charles Aitchison. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 20th December, 1887, p. 797*).

***Ghamkhwar-i-Hind*, 24 December 1887**

The *Ghamkhwar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 24th December, says that of late several persons have been arrested on suspicion of intriguing with Dalip Singh or Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwalia [Sandhanvalia]. A Sikh Sardar, who is a Captain in the Nepal army, has been taken into custody at Amritsar on this account. He formerly lived at Batala, Gurdaspur. Such arrests are to be deeply regretted. It is a great injustice to the Sikhs to doubt their loyalty. It is simply impossible that they should rebel against the British Government, especially as they so highly appreciate the peace and comfort they are enjoying under its aegis. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 3rd January, 1888, p. 1*).

***Mulla Dopiaza*, 9 January 1888**

The *Mulla Dopiaza* (Lahore), of the 9th January, publishes a picture in which Dalip Singh is represented as drowning in a river and as pulling after him the Sikhs and the Hindus by the hair. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 17th January, 1888, p. 38*).

***Najmu-l-Akhbar*, 8 September 1888**

The *Najmu-l-Akhbar* (Etawah), of the 8th September, says that it appears from the *Morning Post* that the Panjab Government has received information to the

effect that Diwan Lachman Das, the ex-Prime Minister of Kashmir, has sent a letter to Maharaja Dalip Singh, offering to assist him with men and money if he invades this country. The information is said to have been supplied by the Diwan's agent located at Lahore. The Diwan created many enemies by his high-handedness while he was Prime Minister of Kashmir, and therefore it is possible that one of them may have brought a false charge against him in order to bring him into difficulty. The Panjab Government should make a thorough enquiry into the matter through the secret police. If the charge is found to be true, Diwan Lachman Das should be required to give an explanation; otherwise the man who has supplied false information should be punished. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 16th September, 1888*, pp. 605–606).

***Ghamkhwar-i-Hind*, 18 January 1890**

The *Ghamkhwar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 18th January 1890, says that the retention of Dalip Singh's name in the list of those entitled to a salute of 21 guns is a proof of the magnanimity and generosity of the British Government. The writer thinks that the unfortunate Maharaja's present condition is simply deplorable. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 25th January 1890*. Vol. III, No. 4, p. 25).

***Punjabi Akhbar*, 5 February 1890**

The *Punjabi Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 5th February 1890, publishes a letter from the Sikhs of the Gujranwala District, confirming the statements contained in a former letter published in reply to Dalip Singh's manifesto, and stating that all the loyal newspapers have supporters the views expressed in their reply to the manifesto. Those which have not done so are in reality enemies of the country. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 15th February 1890*. Vol. III, No. 7, p. 51).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 6 March 1890**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 6th March 1890, says that it is not easy to guess who the writer of the letter "of the Sikhs of Gujranwala" may be. Some time ago he published what he was pleased to call "the reply of the Sikhs of Gujranwala to Dalip Singh's manifesto." The *Akhbar* considering the document in question to be genuine, remarked that the arguments employed by the Sikhs were not so strong as those urged by the *Akhbar* in its criticism of the manifesto, and pointed out that if a number of respectable Sikhs had attached their signatures to the reply it would have carried its proper weight with the public.



These remarks have greatly offended the writer, who now charges the *Akhbar* with being disloyal, outspoken, &c. Such effusions can, however, do no harm to the journal, the Editor of which would like to make the acquaintance of this curious person who is trying to make a reputation for himself and at the same time is bringing Dalip Singh into prominence by his literary effusions.

(*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 8th March 1890*. Vol. III, No. 10, pp. 77–78).

#### ***Koh-i-Nur*, 1 April 1890**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 1st April 1890, publishes a communication purporting to emanate from the Sikhs of Gujranwala. The writers take the *Akhbar-i-Am* to task for questioning the genuineness of their reply to Dalip Singh's manifesto and threaten to prosecute the *Akhbar* if it continues to write in its present tone on this subject. In conclusion, the writers state that all doubt about the genuineness of the document will be set at rest by the publication of a resolution passed by the Municipal Board of Gujranwala in reply to a letter of thanks received by the Sikhs of Gujranwala through the Deputy Commissioner of that district. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 5th April 1890*. Vol. III, No. 14, p. 114).

#### ***Wazir-ul-Mulk*, 9 May 1890**

The *Wazir-ul-Mulk*, dated 9th May 1890, commenting on the statement of the *Rais-ul-Akhbar* (Murshidabad), of the 24th April 1890, that Dalip Singh has apologized to the British Government and that the India Office has written to the Viceroy to enquire whether there would be any fear of a rebellion breaking out in the event of Dalip Singh being allowed to reside in India, remarks that the report is probably a hoax which that paper has been credulous enough to believe. Should, however, the statement be true the prayer of the Maharaja should not be granted because his feelings towards the British Government are distinctly hostile. Beyond this no further danger to the peace of India would accrue from Dalip Singh's presence in the country, as the natives and more especially the Sikhs are loyal to the British Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 17th May 1890*. Vol. III, No. 20, p. 173).

#### ***Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir*, 8 June 1890**

The *Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir* (Lahore), of the 8th June 1890, says that Dalip Singh has asked the British Government to pardon him and to allow him to reside in India and that the Home authorities have written to the Viceroy to enquire

whether the Maharaja's prayer should be granted or not. If the Government of India attach any importance to the letters recently addressed by Dalip Singh to newspapers it is hardly likely that they will advise the Secretary of State to allow the Maharaja to visit this country. If, on the contrary, they treat the effusions of the Maharaja with the contempt which they deserve the writer would not be surprised if they considered his request favourably. In any case Government should carefully think over the matter before arriving at a decision. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 21st June 1890*. Vol. III, No. 25, p. 224).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 26 July 1890**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* (Lahore), dated 26th July 1890, states that Maharaja Dalip Singh, who is lying dangerously ill at Paris, has written a letter to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress of India asking pardon for his past conduct. The writer expresses a hope that Her Majesty will be pleased to grant the Maharaja's prayer. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 2nd August 1890*. Vol. III, No. 31, p. 275).

***Aftab-i-Hind*, 30 August 1890**

The *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jullundur), dated 30th August 1890, approved of the action of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress of India in accepting the apology tendered by Maharaja Dalip Singh, and advises the latter to give up once for all any idea of visiting the Punjab. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 6th September 1890*. Vol. III, No. 36, p. 326).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 4 September 1890**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 4th September 1890, is glad to find that Her Majesty the Queen-Empress has been graciously pleased to pardon Maharaja Dalip Singh. If Dalip Singh wishes to please the Punjabis, he should prove himself to be a worthy subject of the British Government rather than its implacable foe. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 13th September 1890*. Vol. III, No. 37, p. 336).

***Dost-i-Hind*, 5 September 1890**

The *Dost-i-Hind* (Bhera), dated 5th September 1890, eulogises Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress of India, for accepting the apology tendered by Maharaja Dalip Singh, thereby pleasing the Sikhs. The writer advises the Government of India similarly pardon Sardar Gurbachan Singh for his past

conduct and to reinstate him in his former position in the Punjab Commission. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 13th September 1890*. Vol. III, No. 37, p. 335).

***Imperial Paper, 6 September 1890***

The *Imperial Paper* (Lahore), of the 6th September 1890, is glad to find that Her Majesty the Queen-Empress has been graciously pleased to pardon Dalip Singh, and expresses a hope that the latter will no longer indulge in idle dreams regarding the conquest of the Punjab, which would be an impossibility to accomplish even if he were joined by the Sikhs themselves. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 20th September 1890*. Vol. III, No. 38, p. 343).

***Akhbar-i-Am, 16 September 1890***

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), dated 16th September says that Maharaja Dalip Singh has been obliged to tender an apology to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress of India in consequence of his having been reduced to great straits and the Russian Government refusing to give him any assistance whatever. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th September 1890*. Vol. III, No. 39, p. 351).

***Wazir-ul-Mulk, 19 September 1890***

The *Wazir-ul-Mulk* (Sialkot), dated 19th September 1890, says that the Government did well in pardoning Maharaja Dalip Singh, and thereby removing the disaffection which was becoming prevalent amongst the Sikhs, and suggests that it should similarly pardon Sardar Gurbachan Singh and the others who had become exiles from the Punjab for the sake of the Maharaja's cause. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th October 1890*. Vol. III, No. 40, p. 358).

***Bharat Sudhar, 27 September 1890***

The *Bharat Sudhar* (Lahore), dated 27th September 1890, says that when Maharaja Dalip Singh was in Paris a Bengali met him and advised him to return to England, but the Maharaja replied that he would prefer living on dry bread in Algeria to receiving a subsidy from the British. The writer regrets that the Maharaja should have given expression to sentiments which are not in keeping with his subsequent actions. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th October 1890*. Vol. III, No. 40, p. 358).

***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 1 October 1890**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 1st October 1890, commenting on the statement of the Punjab Gazette, Sialkot, that the allowance of Dalip Singh has been reduced to Rs. 50,000 per annum, remarks that it is idle at the present moment to talk about the Maharaja's allowance being reduced, as the magnanimity shown by Government in pardoning the Maharaja is beyond all praise, for Government would not have suffered in the least if it had declined to accept the apology tendered by Dalip Singh. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to nth October 1890*. Vol. III, No. 41, pp. 368).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 1 October 1890**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), dated 1st October 1890, which has become a daily paper from the 1st idem, publishes an article under the heading of "War scare," in which the writer says that Maharaja Dalip Singh tendered an apology to Her Majesty at the instance of his son and wife, who knew that the Maharaja had been reduced to great straits; that the Maharaja's health is improving; and that he has taken up his residence at Folkstone. The writer gives the history of Suchet Singh, ex-Raja of Chamba, who is now at Paris, and complains that he, Suchet Singh, has been unjustly deprived of his right to the *gaddi* of Chamba. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to nth October 1890*. Vol. III, No. 41, pp. 368).

***Tohfa-i-Delhi*, 6 October 1890**

The *Tohfa-i-Delhi* (Delhi), dated 6th October 1890, praises Government for pardoning Maharaja Dalip Singh, who tried his best to turn the Sikhs against Government. The Sikhs, however, proved themselves loyal and paid no heed to the foolish intrigues of the Maharaja. By pardoning Dalip Singh the Government has convince other Powers that it treats its enemies most merciful. It is to be hoped that Dalip Singh will in future remain loyal to the Government which has treated him with so much consideration. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to nth October 1890*. Vol. III, No. 42, p. 378).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 10 October 1890**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 10th October 1890, quotes a paragraph from the Oudh Punch in which the latter takes exception to the remark of a correspondent that it is a pity that Dalip Singh should not have been allowed to visit

India. The *Oudh Punch* approves of the action of Government in not granting such a request, as otherwise Dalip Singh would have made great mischief by discarding English dress and appearing in the country in the garb of a Sikh. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 11th October 1890*. Vol. III, No. 42, p. 378).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 22 November 1890**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 22nd November 1890, writes as follows: – “We have already stated that Maharaja Dalip Singh had left England for southern Europe for change of climate. He paid a visit to Paris but declined to accord an interview to his old friends whose bad advice had induced him to assume an attitude of hostility towards England. The Maharaja speaks with greatest respect of Her Majesty the Queen, who, he says, has treated him with as much kindness as an affectionate mother treats her erring but reformed son.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 29th November 1890*. Vol. III, No. 48, p. 425).

***Victoria Paper*, 19 December 1890**

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 19th December 1890, praises the action of Government in pardoning the Sandhanwalia Sardars. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 3rd January 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 2).

***Wazir-ul-Mulk*, 19 December 1890**

The *Wazir-ul-Mulk* (Sialkot), of the 19th December 1890, observes that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales recently paid a visit to Maharaja Dalip Singh at Paris, when the latter confessed that the illusion under which he had been labouring for the last three years had been removed. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 3rd January 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 2).

***Taj-ul-Akhbar*, 20 December 1890**

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), of the 20th December 1890, also makes similar remarks on the subject, but thinks that the Sardars hardly possess any influence in the Punjab and there would have been no harm in allowing them to live in this Province. The writer condemns the folly of the Sardars in intriguing with Dalip Singh and hopes that they will, by their loyal behaviour, induce the Government to allow them later on to visit Lahore and Amritsar. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 3rd January 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 2).

***Wazir-i-Hind*, 11 January 1891**

The *Wazir-i-Hind* (Sialkot), of the 11th January 1891, eulogises the British Government for pardoning the Sandhanwalia Sardars who had from some years past been intriguing with Dalip Singh. This act of mercy will ever be gratefully remembered in this country. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 17th January 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 22).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 29 April 1893**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 29th April 1893, reproduced a skit from the *Rahbar* of Muradabad to the effect that the Maharaja Dalip Singh will preside at the next annual Congress meeting to be held at Amritsar in December 1893, and that Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji, Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. Hume and Lord Ripon have prevailed upon Mr. Gladstone to recommend to the Secretary of State for India that the Maharaja be allowed to proceed to the Punjab for this purpose. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 6th May 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 18, p. 224).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 28 October 1893**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 28th October 1893, says that the death of Maharaja Dalip Singh should be a matter for rejoicing rather than of sorrow, as in the first place no person will have an excuse for questioning the loyalty of the Panjabis, and, secondly, a man who was troubled by disappointments and empty dreams (*kham khialian*) has found asylum in the next world. So far as the *Akhbar* is concerned, the Maharaja died from the moment he assumed an attitude of hostility towards the Queen and issued his inflammatory manifestoes with the result that the loyalty of the Sikhs came to be suspected. When the Maharaja applied for leave to visit the Punjab, it was felt that his arrival would lead to disturbances (*fasad*), but the *Akhbar* at the time opposed this absurd view on the ground that the British Government was a strong and popular one, and that it could rely on the loyalty of the Khalsa nation. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th November 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 44, p. 576).

***Taj-ul-Akhbar*, 28 October 1893**

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), of the 28th October 1893, announces with regret the death of Maharaja Dalip Singh, the beloved son of the Lion of the Punjab, in a hotel at Paris, none of his friends or relations being near him at the time. The death of such a Prince in such obscurity should afford a lesson. It is pitiable to think that his error of judgement and the bad advice of his Counsellors brought him to such grief. The treatment received by him at the

hands of the responsible ministers of England in regard to his pecuniary affairs drove him to desperation. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 11th November 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 45, p. 596).

### ***Singh Sahai*, 31 October 1893**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 31st October 1893, announces with deep regret the death of Maharaja Dalip Singh, the only surviving son of the Lion of the Punjab, who made the Sikh *panth* famous throughout India. The late Maharaja never committed a fault save that on one occasion he rebelled against the Queen at the instigation of a *Mashir* (Counsellor). He subsequently apologized to Her Majesty, and was pardoned and restored to Royal favour. The Sikh nation hated the Maharaja while he assumed an attitude of hostility towards Government, but after he had tendered an apology they had no reason to find fault with him. Now that the Maharaja is dead the Sikhs have abstained from expressing their sorrow at the event lest their loyalty should be suspected. For the same reason the native papers have not published the news with a black border. This is, however, a mistake. As the Maharaja was pardoned and restored to Royal favour there is no harm in expressing sorrow at his death. The actual fact of Dalip Singh being alive or dead is a matter of indifference to the Sikhs and other Punjabis, but it is distressing to think that the son of the Lion of Punjab should have died in obscurity in a hotel at Paris, and that not a single Sikh should express his sorrow at the sad event. The *Singh Sahai* then takes the *Akhbar-i-Am* to task for expressing satisfaction at the death of the Maharaja, and remarks that mourning should have been observed in the Punjab on behalf (*sic*) of Her Majesty, to who the deceased Prince was as a son. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 11th November 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 45, p. 595).

### ***Nanak Prakash*, November 1893**

The *Nanak Prakash* (Kapurthala), for November 1893, says that the Maharaja Dalip Singh died on 22nd October 1893 at a hotel in Paris. No mourning has been observed in the Punjab. It is pity that the name of Ranjit Singh should be effaced in such a way. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 9th December 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 49, p. 660).

### ***Sarin Sabha*, November 1893**

The *Sarin Sabha* (Lahore), for the month of November 1893, in an obituary notice, remarks that the late Maharaja Dalip Singh was a most unfortunate Prince whose whole life was an unsuccessful struggle against adversity. Now that he is dead, Government should take some pity on his corpse. He cannot

come to life again and thus prove a source of danger to Government. The Editor suggests that Government should allow a *Samadh* to be built in his memory side by side with the raised to his illustrious father. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 23rd December 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 51, p. 685).

***Civil and Military News*, 1 November 1893**

The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 1st November 1893, takes the *Akhbar-i-Am* to task for expressing satisfaction at the death of Dalip Singh. The Editor remarks that the loyalty of the Sikhs has been put to the severest tests, and it is foolish to suppose that the fact of Dalip Singh being alive or dead tended to weaken or strengthen that loyalty. Lord Dufferin made a great mistaken in not allowing the late Maharaja to visit this country, and by his action drove him to a state of desperation. Indeed, but for this mistake the Maharaja would never have gone either to Paris or St. Petersburg. Moreover, since Dalip Singh was pardoned by Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, the *Akhbar* has no business to make the ill-natured remarks which it has against the deceased Prince. The Maharaja no doubt committed an act of great stupidity by assuming an attitude of hostility towards the Queen-Empress, but this was due to the fact that he was brought up in the society of English noblemen from whom he imbibed habits of extravagance which were the real cause of his troubles. The Editor concludes by remarking that the career of Dalip Singh should serve as a warning to all thinking men. When he was born, the whole Punjab was rejoicing over the event; but at the time of his death, which took place in a hotel in France, he had no one to close his eyes. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 11th November 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 45, pp. 595–596).

***Singh Sabha Gazette*, 4 November 1893**

The *Singh Sabha Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 4th November 1893, remarks that it would have been commendable on the part of the British Government if it had ordered the funeral ceremonies of the late Maharaja Dalip Singh to be performed according to the customs of the Sikhs. The Editor urges that the body of the late Maharaja should be burnt. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 18th November 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 46, p. 613).

***Dost-i-Hind*, 10 November 1893**

The *Dost-i-Hind* (Bhara), of the 10th November 1893, says that the Sikhs have displayed great prudence and foresight in maintaining a complete silence over



the death of Maharaja Dalip Singh. They showed similar prudence when the Maharaja was stopped at Aden and prevented from visiting India. This policy has already proved advantageous to them, and is likely to prove of still greater advantage in future. The blessings which British rule has conferred on the country are engraved in the hearts of all communities, and there is every reason to hope that all will be found steadfast in their loyalty to the Government in the hour of trial. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 18th November 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 46, p. 613).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 11 November 1893**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 11th November 1893, says that it is not known who the author of the rumour is that the body of the deceased Maharaja Dalip Singh is to be brought to Lahore for burial. Since the Maharaja is reported to have again adopted the Christian faith, there is no reason why he should be buried among the Sikhs. If he had remained a Sikh till his death, the case would have been different. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 18th November 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 46, p. 613).

***Durbin*, 13 November 1893**

The *Durbin* (Lahore), of the 13th November 1893, expresses sorrow at the death of Dalip Singh, the son of the illustrious Lion of the Punjab. His life presents to the mind a complete image of misfortune and misery. What a doleful story will be related by those who actually witnessed the Sikh Government in its prosperous days, and with how much awe must they look upon Dalip Singh's end! Had the good fortune of the Sikhs remained in the ascendant, and had not the British Government adopted a policy of annexation, or had it allowed the ruler of Punjab to remain a feudatory chief, the name of the Lion of the Punjab would not have been removed from the page of history as it has now been by this death. The only thing that will cause Dalip Singh's name to be forever remembered in the future is the remarkable vicissitude, of fortune which he experienced during his life. At one time his star was at its zenith. Fortune played with him as children play with earthen toys, now treating them with great care, and now throwing them about without the least regard. Born to such an eminent father and having for a few days enjoyed the fruits of sovereignty, he passed his life in royal state, though living in dependence upon others; but he has died in circumstances which bear the same comparison with his birth as flowers trampled under foot in the morning bear to their condition of the previous evening when they adorned the brow of some beautiful woman. He belonged to the class of human beings at whose head the famous Napoleon may rightly be placed. He was born at a time when the Sikh power

was in full vigour, but began to decline soon after. After describing the internal quarrels and bloodshed which followed the death of Ranjit Singh, the Editor passes on to the time when Dalip Singh's mother considered the only safe way of dealing with the unruly army was to get them crushed by the British forces. The result was that the British flag having advanced to Lahore, the young Dalip Singh within one year became the ward of the English Government. The Editor then related how Rani Jindan, Dalip Singh's mother, had to be banished in consequence of her intrigues; how certain of the Sikh Sardars rose in rebellion and massacred (*sic*) the English officers; and how at last Dalip Singh was directed to leave Lahore and his kingdom. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 25th November 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 47, pp. 628–629).

***Wafadar Akhbar*, 15 November 1893**

The *Wafadar Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 15th November 1893, takes the *Akhbar-i-Am* to task for expressing satisfaction at the death of the Maharaja Dalip Singh, and remarks that if the late Maharaja had died in the Punjab, though in the capacity of even an ordinary pensioner, the Government would have ordered all public signs of mourning to be observed, such as the closing of public offices, &c., and would have allowed the Sikh community to freely express their sorrow at the sad event. The Editor regrets to learn that Maharaja Dalip Singh died in a Paris hotel and that there were nobody near him at the time of his death. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 25th November 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 47, p. 628).

***Durbin*, 20 November 1893**

The *Durbin* (Lahore), of the 20th November 1893, suggests that it would be more in keeping with the generous treatment accorded by the Government to the late Maharaja Dalip Singh throughout his life if it allowed his tomb to be built by the side of his mother on the banks of the Godavery. This would serve as a monument to the memory of the late Maharaja as well as a warning to other. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 2nd December 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 48, p. 638).

***Paisha Akhbar*, 1 December 1893**

The *Paisha Akhbar* (Lahore), dated 1st December 1893, says that the poor Maharaja is dead, and that his name is effaced for ever. It is to be regretted that the Punjab papers have made no mention of the unfortunate Maharaja, who was once the Sovereign of their country. Indeed, one short-sighted Native journalist went so far as to say that it was well that the Maharaja was dead

and that the suspicion resting on the Sikhs had been removed. No paper has noticed how submissively and loyally Dalip Singh gave up the throne in his youth; how when having come to India he was staying at a hotel, the Sikh soldiers returning from the China War shouted with a joy outside his room, and how on Lord Canning's hint to return to England the Maharaja obeyed without the least hesitation. On a third occasion the Maharaja expressed a desire to formally present the diamond called Koh-i-Nur to Her Majesty the Queen. The diamond was accordingly handed over to him; and after gazing at it he bowed his head and presented it to Her Majesty. These incidents in the deceased Prince's life command admiration. In consequence of the difficulties in which he was involved owing to his having to maintain his high position, he was obliged to quarrel with the India Office for 30 years; yet his loyalty was unswerving throughout. The *Graphic* (London), with the fairness and liberality characteristic of the English nation, remarks as follows: –

“If his misfortune were due to an exaggerated estimate of the requirements of his position, a more liberal view may be taken of the mistakes into which he fell at the close of his life. It would have been well if all his claims had been settled at the very beginning as suggested by Lord Lawrence.”

Under these circumstances the Maharaja's failings should in the Editor's opinion be pardoned. There are many interesting incidents in the life of the late Maharaja, but they cannot be recorded in the small space of a newspaper article. The Editor concludes the article by drawing the readers' attention to two portraits of the Maharaja published in the *Akhbar*; in one of these Dalip Singh is shown in his native dress, while the other shows him in the European clothes which he adopted in after life. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 9th December 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 49, pp. 659–660).

### ***Himala*, 2 December 1893**

The *Himala* (Rawalpindi), of the 2nd December 1893, publishes a communication from a native at Bedford Palace ? in which the writer observes that great excitement must have been caused in the Punjab owing to the death of Dalip Singh, and that the sad event must be a topic of general conversation; that many a man must have compared with regret the fate of Ranjit Singh with that of his son. Maharaja Ranjit Singh may justly be compared to Napoleon Bonaparte as he acquired as much fame as the latter, and his children have received treatment similar to that accorded to the family of the French Emperor. The writer then gives an account of the Maharaja's funeral, and concludes by remarking that, although the Maharaja could not do any good to the Punjab, still he was the scion of an ancient ruling family, whose name has been effaced by

his death. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 16th December 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 50, p. 675).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 5 and 6 February 1894**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 5th and 6th February 1894, says that when Pandit Gopi Nath went to Pondicherry, certain people started a rumour that he belonged to the party of Dalip Singh, and that his movements were being carefully watched by the British spy at Pondicherry. Events have, however, shown that the Pandit is a thoroughly loyal subject of the Government. Now that Dalip Singh is dead the *Akhbar* may express its sympathy with him without running the risk of being denounced as seditious and disloyal by the flatterers of Government. On his return from Pondicherry Pandit Gopi Nath had an interview with Sir James Lyall, in the course of which the latter advised him to abstain from publishing articles regarding Dalip Singh. The Pandit, however, assured Sir James of his loyalty, and explained that he published such articles because people took an interest in the matter, and because he considered it desirable that they should express their views on the subject through the press instead of cherishing any ill-feeling towards the Government. The *Akhbar-i-Am* wrote such articles because it considered that Dalip Singh had been unfairly treated, and wished that he should be allowed to return to the Punjab and live like a Maharaja on a pension similar to that allowed to the late King of Oudh. If Government had done this the Sikhs would have been much pleased and have become more loyal to the British Government than before. Can any Sikh conscientiously say that such action on the part of Government would not have pleased his co-religionists. There are Sikhs who by abusing Dalip Singh have curried favour with the authorities, who have raised them to high posts, but these men are now regarded as spies and disliked by respectable people. The *Akhbar-i-Am* is not a flatterer like the men above referred to, but is an independent and loyal journal, and the time is fast approaching when Government will appreciate the services of truly loyal men. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 17th February 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 7, pp. 67–68).

**2 Maharani Bamba (1848–1887)**

***Hindustan*, 6 October 1887**

A correspondent of the same paper [the *Hindustan*] of the 6th October, referring to the death of Maharani Dalip Singh in London, says that it seems very probably that the grief of separation from her husband, and the ill-treatment

which she received at a party during the Jubilee celebration in England, when some women insulted her by calling her husband a thief and herself a thief's wife, heavily preyed upon her mind and sent her early to the grave. It is a matter of great pity that the son of the Lion of the Panjab should be obliged to wander about in foreign countries, and his wife pining in grief, and receiving open insults, should die of a broken heart in his absence! (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 7th October, 1887*, p. 619).

### 3 Prince Victor Duleep Singh (1866–1918)

#### *Khair Khwah Punjab*, 21 May 1867

Referring to the baptism of the son of Maharajah Duleep Singh, the Editor remarks that the name of Duleep or Runjeet should be given to each child, according to the rules (customs?) of Europe and Arabia, "for the sake of the family mark." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjaub, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 8th to the 16th June, 1867*, p. 258).

#### *Lamat-ul-Akhlaq*, 8 April 1888

The *Lamat-ul-Akhlaq* (Bareilly), of the 8th April, highly praises the British Government for having, in its extreme generosity, given a high post in the army to the son of Dalip Singh, although his father has renounced its protection and gone in rebellion against it. If Dalip Singh were wise, he would not beg the pardon of the British Government and his faults forgiven. Ever since Dalip Singh willfully renounced the protection of the British Government, he has gained nothing, but suffered all kinds of troubles and miseries. He must have heard of the favour the British Government has recently shown to his son in England, and if he admits his folly and seeks the forgiveness of the British Government, which cherished him with a paternal care until, in his madness, he rebelled against it, the *Lamat* trusts that Government will still forgive him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 20th April, 1888*, p. 258).

#### *Zarif-ul-Hind*, 1 September 1888

The *Zarif-ul-Hind* (Meerut), of the 1st September, referring to the rumour that Maharaja Dalip Singh's son has lately fled away from England and joined his

father in Russia, says that the British Government is very much to blame for allowing the father and the son to escape. When the Russian Government sends an army to invade this country, the Maharaja and his son are sure to accompany the army. It is to be hoped that the British Government will now keep an eye on other disaffected persons. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 8th September, 1888*, p. 581).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 8 October 1902**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 8th October 1902, observes that the news regarding Prince Dalip Singh having been driven into the Bankruptcy Court has turned out to be true. The Editor says that the Prince and his wife receive a monthly allowance of Rs. 11,250, but that they make this out to be insufficient for their maintenance and ask for more. The Prince also claims £ 600,000 from the Government of India on account of the value of his late father's personal property which was taken possession of by Government. The Editor then goes on to say that a certain newspaper is of opinion that the residents of the Punjab, especially those who are in easy circumstances through the munificence of the Prince's family, should collect subscriptions to help him out of his financial difficulties. The *Tribune*, however, writes to say that it is idle to expect such a thing from the Punjabis, the old order of things having passed away. Such are the vicissitudes of fortune. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 18th October 1902*, Vol. xv. No. 42, p. 536).

***Public Gazette*, 8 October 1902**

The *Public Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 8th October 1902, says that it is very painful to learn that the grandson of the Lion of the Punjab is in such straitened circumstances that he cannot pay a small debt of the forty-five thousand rupees! After remarking that Government is not likely to help the unfortunate Prince out of his difficulties by giving him a part of the value (90 lakhs) of the personal property of his late father, the Editor calls upon the Sikhs to come to the rescue of Victor Dalip Singh and make suitable arrangements for his future maintenance through the Government of India. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 25th October 1902*, Vol. xv. No. 43, p. 545).

***Curzon Gazette*, 8 October 1902**

The *Curzon Gazette* (Delhi), dated the 8th October 1902, writing on the same subject, says that, whatever his faults, the present plight of the Prince is replete with lessons for those who hanker after the good things of this world. It is only

natural that the Punjab Press should request Government to pay his debts; but what guarantee is there that he will give up his present ways if this is done? Nevertheless, the Editor is of opinion that for this once Government ought to lend a helping hand to the Prince. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 25th October 1902*, Vol. xv. No. 43, p. 545).

***Tribune*, 27 October 1904**

The following appears in the same paper [the *Tribune*] of the 29th October 1904: –

“One of the greatest tragedies ever enacted on the world’s state was witnessed when, sick and penniless, hunted and harassed by his creditors, Ranjit Singh’s grandson had to stand in the dock to announce that he was bankrupt! We wonder on whose side the weight of humiliation was the heavier, the unhappy Prince of the Punjab or the mighty British Raj! The Trustees in bankruptcy of Prince Victor Albert Dalip Singh have now brought an action against the Secretary of state for India in the King’s bench. The bulk of the claim refers to the difference between the actual pension allowed to the late Maharaja Dalip Singh by the Indian Government down to his death, and to his son, Prince Victor, afterwards, and the pension of thirty thousand pounds covenanted to be paid by the East India Company in 1849 in return of the Maharaja’s renunciation “for himself, his heirs and his successions, all right, title and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab.” No words can sufficiently condemn the conduct of the India Office in having allowed the matter to be made the subject of legal proceedings, and the feelings of profound regret to which it has given rise in India are by no means confined to the Punjab. The following remarks of an esteemed Calcutta contemporary accurately represent the universal sentiment in this country: –

“It does not look well for the great British Government to leave the poor Prince to his fate, and not stir a finger in order to lend him the help he so badly needs. Having taken the Punjab, the British Government is morally bound to help Ranjit Singh’s descendants out of their difficulties. If they lend a helping hand to Prince Victor at this juncture, they will greatly conciliate the Sikh community of the Punjab whose loyalty they so much value’.

“In view of the innumerable doles of benevolence the revenues of India have been providing for ‘poor Whites’ of all descriptions, both indigenous and imported, whose number is alarmingly on the increase, it is hard to justify the attitude of studies indifference and apathy maintained towards the descendants of Ranjit Singh in their penniless wanderings over the face of the earth. It is a capital ‘return’ for the late Maharaja Dalip Singh’s renunciation for ‘himself, his heirs and his descendants, all right, title and claim to the sovereignty

of the Punjab.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 29th October 1904*, Vol. XVII, No. 43, p. 255).

#### 4 Princess Sophia Duleep Singh (1876–1948)

##### *Panjabee*, 9 February 1911

The *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 9th February 1911, publishes the following: –

“The whirligig of time has brought forth few stranger surprises than that a grand-daughter of Lion of the Punjab should lead a cohort of Suffragettes in their Amazonian demonstrations in London on the occasion of the opening of the Parliament. According to a telegram Princess S. Duleep Singh, who was leading a band of the militant ladies, was hustled away by the police for waving an umbrella in the face of the Prime Minister. Some of our local readers, we dare say, will remember that the Princess, with a sister, sojourned for a short time in Lahore a few years ago. The Princesses lived in the strictest retirement, seeing but few people. The chief object of their visit, it appeared, was to see the birth-place of their grandfather at Gujranwala and his *Samadh* at Lahore. They were of a markedly devotional turn of mind, and listened to the *Shabads* from the Sikh scriptures with deep emotion. The English Suffragettes are agitating for the privilege of equal votes with men, but there have been Jat ladies in history (the Princesses are Jats) who commanded armies and governed Kingdoms.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 11th February 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 6, p. 124).



## Maharaja and State of Patiala

### 1 Mahendra Singh (1852–1876)

#### *Mujm-ool-Bharain*, 16 March 1865

The marriage ceremonies of the Rajah of Putteealla are noticed. Three lakhs of people are said to have been present, including a number of European gentlemen from Umballa; and owing to the excellent arrangements made, all passed off quietly and with great success. "This marriage will be remembered as one of the most brilliant affairs ever known and seen in India." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, published in the Punjab and the North Western Provinces, from the 1st to the 7th April, 1865*, p. 166).

#### *Siri Nursingjee Sahoy*, 17 October 1866

The *Siri Nursingjee Sahoy* of the 17th of October, 1866, contains nothing but old news. It is said that the Rajah of Putteeala [Patiala] was always unwilling to mix much with the Bengallee [Bengali] Rajahs; but that now, for the sake of pleasing the English, he has been twice to Calcutta for the purpose of joining the Viceroy's Council, and both times he has been very well received. The writer adds – "Some people were of opinion that it was *infra. dig.* of him to join the Council, but he was then informed that, instead of this being the case, it was a great honor conferred upon him. When he joined the Council he gave his opinions on the law freely; but he also introduced a Bill to prevent the slaughter of oxen in his country, and on being told that in matters of religion it was a rule not to interfere or make new laws he returned to his home." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjaub, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from 1st to 9th of January, 1867*, p. 11).

#### *Khair Khwah Punjab*, 14 September 1867

The *Khair Khwah Punjab* of the 14th September, after some extracts of no importance, draws attention to the mismanagement prevailing in Putteealla [Patiala], owing to the youth and inexperience of the present Rajah. The writer is of opinion that the principal cause of the ill-feeling which exists is the evil hearts of the servants of the State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjaub, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 8th to the 16th October, 1867*, pp. 443–444).

***Punjabee Ukhbar*, 19 March 1869**

The generosity of the Maharaja of Puttiala [Patiala] comes in for high praise. It is said that when this Chief went to Simla last year he gave Rs. 7,000 to the Bishop's school there. The Maharajah is said to be a great patron of education and general progress. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces. Received from the 21st to the 14th of April, 1869*, pp. 139–140).

***Oudh Ukhbar*, 30 March 1869**

The *Oudh Ukhbar*, of the 30th of March, notices that the Maharajah of Puttiala [Patiala] has selected his dependents throughout his territory all the weak and inform, and has had them lodged in some building, where they will be fed and their ailments looked to at the Rajah's expense, with orders that they shall not be molested. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces. Received from the 7th to the 31st of March, 1869*, p. 165).

***Huma-i-Punjab*, 16 May 1870**

The *Huma-i-Punjab* of the 16th May invites attention to the donation made by His Highness the Maharajah of Patyala [Patiala] to the University College, Panjab, which amounted in all to Rs. 76,230, viz., Rs. 50,000 the original endowment, together with Rs. 6,000 the interest for the same for two years, plus Rs. 20,000 the endowment for scholarships founded in the name of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, with Rs. 230 the interest then due for the latter sum. The editor advises other Rajahs and Chiefs to follow the example thus nobly set by the Maharajah of Patyala. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. From the 1st to 23rd May, 1870*, pp. 208).

***Malwa Akhbar*, 11 July 1870**

The *Malwa Akhbar* of the 11th July re-publishes from the *Indian Mirror* an account of the noble and praiseworthy exertions of His Highness the Maharaja of Patyala [Patiala] for the improvement of his countrymen. He receives the highest praise for the excellence of his political administration, for introducing capital reforms in his State, and above all for being alive to the educational wants of his subjects. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 22nd July, 1870*, p. 263).

***Agra Akhbar*, 10 July 1870**

The same paper [the *Agra Akhbar*] notices with pleasure that the Maharajah of Patyala [Patiala] has made a liberal offer of Rs. 3,000 for the erection of a school-house for the girls' institutions at Delhi, and has further contributed a sum of Rs. 7,000 to the Simla School Building Fund. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 22nd July, 1870*, p. 272).

***Dabdaba-i-Sikandari*, 1 August 1870**

The *Dabdaba-i-Sikandari* of the 1st August notices with pleasure the conferment by Her Majesty the Queen of the title of Knight Grand Commander of the most Exalted Order of the Starr of India on His Highness the Maharaja of Patyala [Patiala], and remarks that among Native chiefs the late Nawab of Rampore was the first on whom this title was conferred, and that the Maharaja is the only person after him who has received the distinction. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 16th August, 1870*, p. 305).

***Dabdaba-i-Sikandari*, 22 August 1870**

The same paper [the *Dabdaba-i-Sikandari*] enumerates in detail the arrangements made by the Maharaja of Patyala [Patiala] for ensuring the progress and development of learning in his territory. The total cost of educational department set up by His Highness is stated to be Rs. 27,200 per annum, and this at the very outset of the movement and in the first year of his reign. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 15th September, 1870*, p. 350).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 21 January 1871**

The *Koh-i-Nur*, of the 21st January, mentions that the Maharaja of Patialla [Patiala], during a recent visit to Narnoul, enquired into the grievances of the inhabitants, and finding that his officers had been imposing upon them by making them pay for fallen leaves, wild plums, &c., he at once remitted the amount to the extent of Rs. 10,000, and ordered the tax to be discontinued. The writer awards high praise to the Maharaja for this generous act. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 24th January 1871*, p. 23).

***Oudh Akhbar*, 20 June 1871**

The same paper [the *Oudh Akhbar*] notices the schemes of the Government of Puttiala [Patiala] for the good of its subjects. The proposal to establish sixty

schools in the state during the current year has been noticed before. It is now known that fifty-nine schools have been established by this time, and that a new scheme is in contemplation for the public good. Orders have been issued by the Maharajah for establishing dispensaries at the cost of the State in the city and principal towns of Pattiala, as well as other places where the courts and offices of public functionaries are situated. In order to secure efficient working and arrangements, and to place the dispensaries on a firm base, inquiries have been made from the English authorities as to the cost and general particulars of the dispensaries at Loodhiana, Umballa, and Simla. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 1st July, 1871*, pp. 327–328).

***Latif-ul-Akhbar*, 9 March 1872**

The *Latif-ul-Akhbar*, of the same date, remarks that the sum of Rs. 15,000, given to the Punjab University by the Maharajah of Pattiala [Patiala], as a thanksgiving offering on account of the recovery of the Prince of Wales, would have been better spent in the relief of the famine-stricken people of Sirsa, or the support of poor persons, though, perhaps, in the latter case the Maharajah's generosity would not have made as much show as it has now done. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Province, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 23rd March, 1872*, p. 158).

***Pattiala Akhbar*, 3 June 1872**

The *Pattiala Akhbar*, of the 3rd June, states that in consequence of the want of a cantonment for the troops, being greatly felt in that state, the maharaja has sanctioned five lakhs of rupees for the erection of one. The foundation stone was laid on the 27th May. It is further proposed to conduct a branch of the Sutlej Canal into the Pattiala [Patiala] territory between the city and the cantonment. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 10th June, 1872*, p. 299).

***Pattiala Akhbar*, 23 September 1872**

The *Puttiala Akhbar*, of the 23rd September, praises the Maharaja of that State for having offered a scholarship of Rs. 2,000 annually, besides passage-money amounting to Rs. 3,000, to cover the expenses of the journey to and from England to one of the candidates from the Punjab, who may be desirous of competing for the Civil Service Examination in England. This liberal donation will enable one student from the Punjab to go to England every third year to complete for the Civil Service Examination. The following is a drift of the rules relating to the scholarship laid down by the Maharajah: –

- (a) The scholarship will be called *Pattiala Civil Service Scholarship*
- (b) The candidate will have to prosecute his studies in England for three years.
- (c) He should be 18 years old or under.
- (d) He will receive a scholarship of Rs. 2,000 a year as maintenance allowance during his stay in England, besides Rs. 3,000 for his passage to and from it.
- (e) The money will be placed in the hands of the Punjab University, with whom the selection of the candidates will also rest, subject to the approval of the Maharajah.
- (f) Care will be taken in the selection to give preference to students of high birth.

(*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 10th October, 1872*, p. 598).

#### ***Oudh Akhbar*, 4 October 1872**

The *Oudh Akhbar*, of the 4th October, in a long leader, discusses the propriety of increasing the number of guns of the salute fixed for His Highness the Maharaja of Puttiala [Patiala]. The editor begins by alluding to the exemplary loyalty, fidelity, attachment, and devotion which the rulers of the States have shown, and the conspicuous services they have rendered to the British Government from the very beginning, which are said to be unprecedented, and to have no parallel in the Native States in India, a fact of which both the Government and the officers of high rank and position under it are fully conscious, and which has been a topic of discourse in the grand durbars held from time to time. In particular, the meritorious services and devotion to the British cause displayed by the State during the mutiny of 1857 deserve a prominent mention, and are not only deeply impressed on the mind of Her Majesty, but were publicly recognized by warmest thanks and acknowledgments, and the cession of an extensive portion of the territory of the Nawab of Jhujjur to the Puttialla dominions. After this brief notice of the loyalty and deep devotion the Puttialla State has ever shown towards the British Government, and the high renown in which it has all along been held in the estimation of the latter, the editor proceeds to take a review of the political career of the reigning Chief. Besides having a just cause for pride in his ancestral fame and honour, Maharajah Mahendra Singh, G.C.S.I., has distinguished himself in a peculiar way by his personal merits and abilities, his activity and zeal in promoting popular weal, his love of learning, his liberality and high-mindedness, and his good government; and the people of India ought to be proud of having in His

Highness and Indian Chief who is a pattern of princely virtues and accomplishments. Witness the Educational Department founded by him in his State, which may be said to be a model of similar departments in the largest presidencies of British India; the introduction of canals and telegraphs; the abolition of various kinds of imposts; the spread of civilization and enlightenment by the purchase and distribution of a large number of newspapers; and numerous other brilliant acts for the popular good too numerous to detail, all of which do His Highness the greatest credit, and have made him extremely popular among his subjects, and are so many convincing proofs of his good government. The meritorious service rendered by him in the late Kuka rebellion also deserves prominent mention. His expeditions return from the Camp of Exercise at Delhi immediately on receiving the news of the disturbance, and promptness and energy in quelling it by sending troops, are remarkably praiseworthy. Were it not for the Maharajah's timely aid at that critical juncture, there is no knowing what serious aspect the disturbance might have assumed. All these distinguished acts and services entitle the Maharajah of Pattiala to a special distinction from Government; and the editor strongly recommends that, both in justice to the Maharajah, and in order to encourage other Native Chiefs and Princes to follow His Highness' example in exerting themselves in the welfare of their subjects and the cause of the British Government, Lord Northbrook should increase the number of guns of his salute, just as Lord Mayo did in the case of the Maharajah of Jeypore two years ago. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 21st October, 1872*, pp. 635–636).

***Rajputana Social Science Congress Gazette, 7 February 1873***

A correspondent of the *Rajputana Social Science Congress Gazette*, of the 7th February, praises the Maharajah of Puttiala [Patiala] for his high appreciation of learned and accomplished men, of which he has recently given a singular proof. One Khwaja Budr-ood-deen Ali (*alias* Khwaja Aman), having prepared and published an Urdu version of the *Bostan-i-Khiyal*, a voluminous work in Persian by Mir Taqi, presented the first three volumes of it, which were then ready, to the Maharajah. His Highness admired the style of the book, which is pronounced by the correspondent to be flowing and dulcet, and as a public proof of his recognition of the author's merits, honoured him with a high position and a *khillut*, together with Rs. 1,000 in cash, in a public durbar, and promised further aid to enable him to finish the work. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 20th February, 1873*, p. 117).

***Allygarh Institute Gazette, 8 August 1873***

The *Allygarh Institute Gazette*, of the 8th August, bestows unqualified praise on the Maharajah of Puttiala [Patiala] for having liberally offered Rs. 3,000 in aid of the proposed Anglo-Oriental Mahomedan University; and considers it to be a great reproach to Musalmans that they are so backward in their own cause, when men of other nations so magnanimously come forward to help them. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 15th August, 1873*, p. 535).

***Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Punjab, 27 March 1874***

The *Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Punjab* of the 27th March has an article on the Puttiala Civil Service Scholarship. The editor regrets that since the foundation of the scholarship three years ago the Punjab has produced no one to take it. It is still sadder to find that the Punjab Government has recently refused to undertake the management of the scholarship. The reasons of this refusal are – (1) that agreeably to section 6, Chapter III of the Queen's mandate issued in the 33rd year of Her reign, all offices to which converted civil servants were alone eligible have been thrown open to natives of India; and (2) that under the conditions prescribed by the Maharajah the scholarship can be held only by a subject of the Puttiala state, whereas none but a natural-born subject of Her Majesty can be admitted to the Civil Service examination. It is useless to discuss the worth of these excuses of Government for shirking its duty. The Maharajah had better take the management of the scholarship into his own hands, and cancel the condition of domicile in the Puttiala state. The scholarship should be open to all the Punjab. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 4th April, 1874*, p. 132).

***Hindu Prakash, n.d. July 1874***

The *Hindu Prakash* notices the following particulars in its correspondence columns: –

Patiala. – The Maharaja has opened a dispensary in each *tahsil* and town in his dominions and has placed them in charge of able and skillful doctors, who have been invited from Lahore and other cities of the Panjab. In these dispensaries, every care is taken of sick persons, and poor patients are supplied with food and clothing at the cost of the State. Besides these dispensaries, there is a grand Sadr dispensary in the city, and a European Doctor has been appointed as Sanitary Commissioner and Superintendent of the State Dispensaries. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the*

*Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 18th July, 1874, p. 263).*

***Khair Khwah-i-Alam*, 15 October 1874**

Another correspondent of the same paper [the *Khair Khwah-i-Alam*] says that the Maharaja of Patiala contemplates making important reductions in the State expenditure, abolishing the Educational and Medical Departments altogether. The writer adds that Khalifa Muhammad Hussain has got into bad books, and is to be superseded in the Prime Ministership by Sardar Deva Singh. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 24th October, 1874, pp. 512–513*).

***Nur Afshan*, 10 December 1874**

The *Nur Afshan* of the 10th December says that the Maharaja of Patiala has contributed towards the poorhouse and public inn Rs. 6,000, in addition to what has already been subscribed by the members of his personal staff; in all Rs. 16,000. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 16th December, 1874, pp. 622–623*).

***Roznamcha*, 18 December 1875**

The *Roznamcha* of the 18th December states that the Maharaja of Patiala has recently passed an order to the effect, that none but the people of his own territories are in future to be appointed to any office therein. The editor expresses regret that such an order should have been passed; as, he says “it will be depriving many persons of rights to which they are justly entitled, and it is well known that the people of other parts of the country are excellent men who can bear comparison with the best. A list has already been placed before the Maharaja with the object of making some contemplated reductions, and we await the orders passed on it with considerable anxiety.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 8th January, 1875, p. 6*).

***Lauh-i-Mahfus*, 26 February 1875**

The *Lauh-i-Mahfus* of the 26th February, writes from Patiala: – “The fact of the Maharaja of Patiala having taken presents to the amount of Rs. 5,000, with two head of cattle, and presented them in person at the house of a distant relation of the Diwan, on the occasion of a marriage, has set the people wondering at such an odd proceeding, so much beneath the dignity of a chief, and



which has never before occurred in the State. Another act worthy of censure is that when a prostitute had a quarrel with this chief and left him, Diwan Deva Singh and the Khalifa Sahib were sent in the middle of the night to reconcile her and bring her back." The writer adds that the tale is a long and disgraceful one, about which he shall have more to say. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 5th March, 1875*, p. 111).

***Khair Khwah-i-Alam*, 25 April 1875**

The *Khair Khwah -i-Alam* of the 25th April notices the sensation which has of late been created in the Patiala state by two opposite parties, one of which is in favour and the other against the Prime Minister. The former finding itself week recently devised a curious plan for raising themselves in the Maharaja's favour. A fictitious document containing complaints against His Highness, and represented to have been prepared by the rival party for transmission of the Government-General, was produced before the maharaja, who is making an enquiry. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 1st May, 1875*, p. 173).

***Riyaz-ul-Akhbar*, 1 May 1875**

The same paper [the *Riyaz-ul-Akhbar*] says that the entertainment recently given by the Maharaja of Patiala to the Viceroy at his capital cost Rs. 50,000. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 15th May, 1875*, p. 203).

***Khair-Khwah-i-Alam*, 5 May 1875**

The *Khair-Khwah-i-Alam* of the same date says that the alleged charge of having prepared a document containing complaints against the Maharaja of Patiala for transmission to the Governor-General preferred by the party in favour of the Prime minister (*vide* page 123 of the Selections for the week ending 1st May last), has resulted in the imprisonment of one man for life, of two for 14 years each, and of a fourth, Khuda Bakhsh Khan, for an indefinite period. The writer adds that since the above agitation has sprung up the Maharaja seldom leaves the fort. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 15th May, 1875*, pp. 204–205).

***Lauh-i-Mahfuz*, 11 June 1875**

The *Lauh-i-Mahfuz* of the 11th June says that the Maharaja of Patiala, who had lately been roused to activity, has again consigned himself to lethargy and sensual pleasures. He passes his days and nights in the company of Allahdi, his favourite prostitute, and seldom comes out of the fort. It is added, that the Prime Minister having again risen high in the Maharaja's favour, has resumed his high-handed policy. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 19th June, 1875*, p. 291).

***Khair Khwah-i-Alam*, 15 September 1875**

The *Khair Khwah-i-Alam* of the 15th September writes that the Maharaja of Patiala has issued a proclamation that if any of his subjects who are at present employed at Nabha do not at once leave the service and return to Patiala within fifteen days all their lands and property will be confiscated. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, September 19–September 26, 1875*, p. 481).

***Khair Khwah-i-Alam*, 25 February 1876**

The *Khair Khwah-i-Alam* of the 25th February writes that there is again some trouble in the Patiala state. The late Rani's relatives have been arrested, and the cause of the late Rani's death is that her relatives were ordered to leave the Patiala territory – i.e., they were banished on suspicion of being concerned in the late attempt to poison the Maharajah. The article goes on to say the late Rani's brother, Amla Singh, is still in prison, and his female relatives have been banished from the state; that 25 sowars have been ordered to carry this into effect; that Sirdar Jan, the assistant diwan, has been suspended and Munshi Nanak Bakhsh dismissed. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, March 8, 1876*, p. 89).

***Khair Khwah-i-Alam*, 3 March 1876**

The *Khair Khwah-i-Alam* of the 3rd March draws attention to the unsatisfactory condition of the Patiala State. The servants of the Raj do not wish their affairs to be made public, consequently they have made arrangements for a post-office where all letters will be opened, and those containing any news about the state will be retained, while the rest only will be despatched. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, March 16, 1876*, p. 106).

***Oudh Akhbar*, 19 April 1876**

Nearly all the newspapers notice the death of the Maharajah of Patyala [Patiala]; they praise his generosity and abilities, condemn his intemperate habits, and mourn his untimely death. The *Oudh Akhbar* of April 19th is in mourning for the late maharajah. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers*, April 22, 1876, p. 172).

***Sayad-ul-Akhbar*, 20 April 1876**

The *Sayad-ul-Akhbar* of 20th April laments: – “A trustworthy correspondent informed us of the death of the Maharajah of Patyala [Patiala]. On receipt of it the room appeared darkened, and we looked sometimes at the heavens, and at others at the letters we received. We could not understand why God had removed such a generous man from this world; he fed thousands. Who will now help the proprietor of this paper as the deceased Maharajah did? There is no doubt others like him are to be found in this world who will help us as he did. Though great rajas purchase our paper, let us see who will now help us. It would be re-opening the sore on our heart to mention the khilats that we received from the deceased Maharajah every Sunday in addition to our subscription. We trust that, as the proprietor of this paper has grieved so much for the deceased, all our rajahs and other subscribers will not only send us in their subscriptions at once, but help our press as well. This is the only way to obliterate the grief which we have shown for the Maharajah’s death.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers*, April 22, 1876, pp. 179–180).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 29 April 1876**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* of April 29th writes: – “It is joyful news that Mr. Leppel Griffin went to Patyala [Patiala] after the Maharaja’s death and found everything all right. We cannot describe our joy. If any one should take the trouble to inquire he would find that our worthy native officials are more capable of suggesting rules for the benefit of a country and especially for India than Englishmen.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers*, May 8, 1876, p. 202).

***Lauh-i-Mahfus*, 12 May 1876**

The *Lauh-i-Mahfus* of 12th May says: – The *Lucknow Times* of 28th April says that the death of the Maharajah of Patiala was caused by drink, and he, like the Maharajah of Kapurthala, was a great drunkard: a great pity that these two rajahs were educated in the European style, for in the end this was the result. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers*, May 23, 1876, p. 222).

## 2 Council of Regency (1876–1890)

### *Nizam-ul-Akhbar*, 22 May 1876

The *Nizam-ul-Akhbar* of 22nd May writes: – “We believe that during the reign of the Maharajah of Patyala [Patiala], the entire management of state affairs was entrusted to the *vazir*, who was very popular. The British Government has, therefore, done well to appoint such an experienced minister to manage this state.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, June 6, 1876*, p. 238).

### *Khair Khwah-i-Hind*, 8 June 1876

The *Khair Khwah-i-Hind* of 8th June devotes a long editorial to prove the advisability of leaving the administration of the Patiala state in the hands of the Khalifa (Muhammad Hussan). The arguments which it urges in support of its opinion are as follows: –

- (a) That the Khalifa has acquired a complete acquaintance with the internal state of the kingdom through his affability, intelligence, and clear penetration.
- (b) That he is thoroughly familiar with the conduct and manners of the nobles as well as of people in general of the state, and has an insight into the disposition of all.
- (c) That the good services already rendered by him to this state fully justify the entrusting of its administration to him without hesitation. He administered the affairs of the state very successfully during the reigns of the last two Rajas and never incurred their displeasures; and he has never as yet committed any act during his whole career which might deserve censure.

The editor further states that all those fears and doubts which Government may entertain with regard to his administration will prove unfounded. The editor is against the establishing of a committee to conduct the affairs of the state, inasmuch as the people, both high and low, who have been accustomed to the laws and institutions of the late Raja, or rather of the Khalifa, will naturally be displeased with those of the committee till they become habituated to them. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 17th June, 1876*, pp. 275–276).

### *Khair Khwah Alam*, 9 June 1876

In the *Khair Khwah Alam* of the 9th June, a writer, in speaking of the administration of Patiala, states that some of the contemporary papers advocate

from interested motives that the management of the affairs of Patiala should be entrusted to the sole charge of the Khalifa (Muhammad Hussain), and in support of their opinion urge his useful services in connection with this State from a long time. The writer expresses his dissent from this opinion and agrees with the Maharajas of the akin states of Jheend [Jind] and Nabha in recommending the appointing of a committee to conduct the affairs of the Patiala state. He further rejoins upon Government the advisability of soon coming to a decision and of constituting the proposed committee for the administration of the state, and further expresses a hope that no doubt the Khalifa, would be selected as one of the members of the said committee. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 17th June, 1876, p. 275*).

#### ***Nisam-ul-Akhbar, 12 June 1876***

The *Nisam-ul-Akhbar* of the 12th June notices with regret the rumour that Babu Grish Chander Rai Bahadur has been made a member of the committee said to have been appointed to administer the Patiala State. His ignorance of the manners and customs of the state is, in the editor's opinion, a most conclusive argument against his appointment. The editor is entirely against the idea of a committee at all, because he dreads evil consequences. For instance, if one member wish to introduce his favourites into good appointments, and another objects, ill-will must result, and would of course be very injurious to the public interests. If a committee be necessary, let Khalifa Muhammed Hussan alone choose the members. No one should be appointed who is ignorant of Urdu, as in it all the business of the state is conducted. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 24th June, 1876, pp. 289–290*).

#### ***Khair-Khwah-i-Alam, 23 June 1876***

A correspondent of the *Khair Khwah-i-Alam* of the 23rd June reports that Khalifa Muhammad Hussan is making great exertions to obtain the regency of Patiala, and is said to have spent about twenty-five lakhs of rupees of public money to succeed in his wishes. The Khalifa has hit upon the profitable scheme of imposing an income-tax upon the people at the rate of Rs. 2-8-0 per cent. for recovering the money expended in the celebration of the funeral ceremonies of the late Maharaja. The writer wonders at the ingenuity of this measure, which will bring in more money than the sum actually spent. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 1st July, 1876, p. 305*).

***Lauh-i-Mahfus*, 30 June 1876**

The *Lauh-i-Mahfus* of the 30th June in its correspondence columns comments on the remarks lately made by a correspondent of the *Pioneer* on the nomination of Khalifa Muhammad Husain to the regency of Patiala. The correspondent of the *Pioneer* argues that the appointment of the Khalifa, a Muhammadan, will not find favour with the people of Patiala, who are Hindus, and that consequently some arrangements more in keeping with the will of the inhabitants should be made. The *Lauh-i-Mahfus*, admitting the plausibility of the argument, wonders at the ingenuity of the correspondent in hitting upon an idea that never occurred to the late Maharaja, who had entrusted the Khalifa with the management of all state affairs, nor to the British Government. There are several precedents to this at the present moment, as for instance Nawab Muhammad Faiz Ali Khan Bahadur in Kota and Munshi Shahamat Ali Khan in Ratlam. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 8th July, 1876*, p. 319).

***Tohfah-i-Kashmir*, 15 July 1876**

The *Tohfah-i-Kashmir* of the 15th July reports that a committee consisting of three members has been appointed to administer the affairs of Patiala to the exclusion of Khalifa Muhammad Hussien, and that consequently he intends to pay visit to Simla. It is further added that his relatives are purchasing Government currency notes to the amount of five lakhs of rupees for him. It is now known whether the money belongs to himself or to the state. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 22nd July, 1876*, p. 353).

***Oudh Akhbar*, 21 July 1876**

The *Oudh Akhbar* of the 21st idem strongly recommends the appointment of Khalifa Muhammad Hussien to the regency of Patiala on the ground that he has already given decisive proof of his ability, diligences, and impartiality in the administration of that state, and possesses an accurate knowledge of the ins and outs of its affairs which no one else does. Those who protest against his nomination are guided by jealousy and malice. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 22nd July, 1876*, p. 353).

***Oudh Akhbar*, 26 July 1876**

The *Oudh Akhbar* of the 26th July, in a communicated article, dissents from the opinion of the *Koh-i-Nur*, which advocates the appointment of an English

Resident in the Patiala State. Such a measure would be opposed to the spirit of the treaties existing between the Indian Government and that state. The general opinion of native states about an English Resident is that he is a high official who is ostensibly appointed to maintain friendly relations between the sovereign power and the native state, but who by interfering and meddling with its affairs in reality causes disorders, and brings the administration to a dead-lock. His office seems to consist in finding out some worthless pretext to dethrone the rightful occupant of the gadi. The uncalled for interference of Government in establishing a Resident in Patiala, a state which has rendered eminent services in the past, would convince other native chiefs that on their deaths the same fate will befall their kingdoms. It must also be borne in mind that the heir to the gadi of a native state during his minority, and likewise the regent, when they see the superior power and influence which the Resident has with the Supreme Government, look upon him as virtually the responsible head of the state, and their wish to court his favour naturally weakens their efforts to administer the affairs of the country. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 29th July, 1876, pp. 374–375*).

#### ***Shola-i-Tur, 22 August 1876***

The *Shola-i-Tur* of the 22nd August complains of the lax administration of the Patiala state in *ilakas* Narnaul and Kanod. Theft and robbery are fearfully on the increase. Even the property of the police themselves is not secure from thieves. It is hoped that the new administration established by the Government, with the consent of the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha, will be able to place affairs on a more satisfactory footing. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 26th August, 1876, pp. 434–435*).

#### ***Vakil-i-Hindustan, 9 September 1876***

The *Vakil-i-Hindustan* of the 9th September is of opinion that the administration recently established by Government at Patiala will not work harmoniously, and that ere long its evil consequences will begin to appear. But inasmuch as it is only a tentative nature, there will be ample time to remodel it. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 16th September, 1876, p. 481*).

#### ***Akhmal-ul-Akhbar, 10 September 1876***

The *Akhmal-ul-Akhbar* of the 10th September says that the form of Government started at Patiala by the Government of India, in accordance with the wishes

of the Rajas of Nabha and Jhind, to conduct the state affairs during the minority of the heir to the *gaddi* has been justly approved by the people of the state. The persons who have been entrusted with the administration enjoy the public confidence, and are believed to be in every way equal to the task. But the editor takes exception to two expressions which Mr. Lepel Griffin used in his speech in open durbar at Patiala at the time of announcing the determination of the Government with reference to the administration of Patiala, and which appear to be incompatible with each other. The British Government always acts upon existing treaties, says Mr. Griffin, and the Patiala council has been selected, in concurrence with the opinion of the Maharajas of Nabha and Jhind, according to the treaty of 1860, and the Government of India is very unwilling to interfere in the internal affairs of a native state. He then adds that if the members of the council will not discharge their duties satisfactorily they will be deprived of their places, and the Lieutenant-Governor will be obliged to request the Government of India to appoint a European officer for the management of affairs. The editor affirms that it has been expressly provided in the treaty that if a council fails to work satisfactorily, another should be nominated with the consent of the kindred states; hence it is not easy to understand why Mr. Griffin spoke about the appointment of a European officer at Patiala. His expressions are further calculated to be injurious in another way: they throw a strong temptation in the way of those persons who failed in their efforts to secure the administration to themselves, to gratify their jealousy by sowing the seeds of mutual dissension in the council, thus bringing its career to a disreputable termination. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 16th September, 1876*, pp. 482–483).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 10 October 1876**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* of the 10th October, in its correspondence columns, professing to express the opinion of the public, challenges the justice and wisdom of excluding the two Khaliifa brothers from a place in the council of regency appointed to manage the affairs of the Patiala State. The exclusion of the Khalifas has surprised the whole people of Patiala. There is no man in Patiala who has stronger claims and more ability than the Khalifas. The annual official reports of the Panjab and the numerous newspapers, both native and Anglo-Indian, bear ample testimony to their ability, excellent administration, and faithful services. The Government of the Panjab must therefore be understood to have committed a mistake either at the time of writing the said reports or at that of inaugurating the present administration at Patiala. The writer purposely abstains from passing any judgement on the gentlemen who



have been appointed members of the administrative council, because their names have never before been associated with any state affairs. But there is no doubt that these men are of a very low rank. The writer is sorry to say that unfavourable reports of them have already begun to reach him. He is at a loss to understand why men like the able Khalifas were not admitted into the council. The Government may probably urge in defence of its action that the treaty of 1860 left the choice of members into the hands of the Rajas of Nabha and Jhind, and that the Rajas did not include the names of the Khalifas in their proposed list of members. This is a worthless excuse. It has been rumoured that the Maharaja of Jhind offered certain conditions to which Khalifa Muhammad Hasan did not agree, but what these conditions were is not yet known. It is idle to apprehend that the Maharaja demanded any amount of money from the Khalifa, or that His Highness desired him to enter into any negotiations in regard to the state. But it stands to reason to suppose that the Maharaja might have asked concessions in behalf of these malcontents who have been banished from the state (and whose presence at Patiala will also be opposed to the wishes of the Government), but who are great favourites of His Highness. If this be the real secrete, the Khalifa was on the right side. He could not conscientiously recall those malcontents who were banished by the late Maharaja, and whose expulsion was acquiesced in by the Government. The writer then proceeds to praise the magnanimity of the Khalifa, who has willingly offered to assist the council with his valuable advise, and to obey the orders of men who were once by far his inferiors. If the Rajas failed to omit the names of the Khalifas, the Government itself, being one of the parties empowered by the treaty of 1860 to select members, should have proposed their nomination. The Government has not acted wisely in entrusting the state into the hands of inexperienced men. It is therefore advisable that it should take the administration of the state once more into its consideration. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 14th October, 1876*, pp. 558–559).

*Aligarh Institute Gazette*, 27 October 1876

A correspondent of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* of the 27th October says that no doubt the Rajas of Patiala, Jhind, and Nabha are descendants of the same ancestor, and also act in concert when their common interests are at stake; but their policy among themselves is always dictated by jealousy and envy, and each is anxious to override his brethren. The Commissioner of Ambala and the Panjab Government will be able to corroborate the above statements. Long discussions have been carried on among the states on the most unimportant matters, and family quarrels have constantly raged among them; so that it may

be easily imagined by what sort of friendship and attachment they are animated. They have always tried, in proportion to their high office, intelligence, and zeal, to maintain the rights and reputation of their respective masters. Thus the chief of one state has been usually more jealous of the officers of the other state than of their master. Patiala is at present placed in a very difficult position. The late Maharaja Narendra Singh obtained the consent of the Government before his death to his proposal, that in the event of his death a council of regency should be appointed with the concurrence of the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha. But the interference of these rajas in the affairs of Patiala has grown to an unjustifiable extent; and the members of the council being their creatures not honestly and loyally to carry out their wishes. The faithful officers of the state maintain a strict silence, looking on non-intervention as the best policy in the present circumstances. The present state of affairs will have become permanent by the time the minor comes of age, and his state will virtually fall into the hands of the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha. The Maharaja of Jhind used to put up at the Motibagh in Patiala in the time of the late Maharaja of Patiala. Likewise separate buildings were set apart for the Maharaja of Nabha. But now when the Maharaja of Jhind comes to Patiala, he goes straight in to the fort with his retinue, and puts up there in the palace in which the late Maharaja himself dwelt. In course of time this palace will become the usual place of abode for the Maharaja of Jhind in Patiala, and the young Maharaja of Patiala will always have to vacate the palace whenever the Maharaja of Jhind happens to come to Patiala. This is only one instance of the irregular proceedings of the Maharaja of Jhind. All that the Maharajas of Jhind and Nabha had to do was to nominate members for the council of regency, and this being done, every one is at a loss to understand why they pay frequent visits to Patiala and interfere in its affairs. It is manifest that their real intention is to establish their influence in the state, which was once held superior to their own, on a firm basis, and to wreak vengeance on the old and faithful officers of the state, who have ever been vigilant in protecting the rights of their master. This is, indeed, a hard time for the faithful servants of the state. The Government should take measures for the maintenance of rights of the state and the honour of its officers. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 4th November, 1876*, pp. 620–621).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 28 October 1876**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* of the 28th October in its correspondence columns, comments on the council of regency established at Patiala. The council consists of Sirdar Deva Singh as the President, and of Chandhri Charhat Ram and

Muhammad Namdar Khan as members. The writer is not yet in a position to pass any judgement on these gentlemen, as they have never yet held any high offices in the State. The writer notices that Mr. Lepel Griffin, after referring to the treaty stipulations of 1860 existing between the three kindred states of Patiala, Jhind, and Nabha on one side, and the English Government on the other, about the appointment of a council of regency in any of the three states, said that the regents were not appointed to make money or to practice severity upon the people. If they were found guilty of any of these offences, the powers which had been conferred upon them would at once be withdrawn, and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab would feel obliged to recommend to the Supreme Government the appointment of a European officer for the administration of the state. The writer remarks that one of the conditions embodied in that treaty is that a council of regency for any state would be constituted of trustworthy and able men. Now, the point at issue is whether the gentlemen who have been elected to the council in question were the best men available in the state. The president is wholly illiterate. The Chaudhri member never filled any high office. He was several times appointed to look after the domestic servants of the late Maharaja, and as many times dismissed for carelessness. Nor can much be said in favour of the other member. Surely the treaty of 1860 may be said to have been strictly acted upon in the election of this council. The threat held out by Mr. Lepel Griffin to the council of regency about the appointment of a European officer, in the event of their failure to give satisfaction in the discharge of their duties, illustrates the policy of the Government like the fable of the wolf and the lamb. The Government has knowingly and purposely entrusted the administration of the Patiala State to the hands of an incompetent council, that it may feel obliged to place the state under the management of a European officer. Is there any clause in the treaty of 1860 which empowers the Government to appoint a European officer for the management of the state? Certainly not. On the contrary, the treaty expressly provides that if any members misbehave themselves, they should be displaced by others nominated in the usual way. Hence it is evident that the Government is inclined to commit an act of Flagrant dishonesty. The Government has pledged itself to maintain the rights of the late Maharaja. His family will continue to deserve the same honour and consideration at its hands as heretofore. The devoted attachment and faithfulness of the ancestors of the present Maharaja to the British throne render it incumbent on the Government to maintain his honour and rights. In the face of these worthy professions on the part of the Government, it is a matter of wonder and regret that the Government has established an administration whose incompetence to guard and protect the rights of the helpless minor admits of no doubt. The writer would not push the point further on this occasion. He would simply ask the question

whether the maintenance of rights means that if the council of regency fail to carry on the administration of the state satisfactorily, a European officer shall be nominated for the work. Surely the Government has well kept in mind the past good services of the min's ancestors. The complacent indifference of the Maharajas of Jhind and Nabha to this important question is inexplicable. If this question is not settled now, their silence must be naturally construed into assent, and then the Government scheme will have succeeded to the lasting injury of the whole family. In the opinion of the writer the treaty of 1860 has become null, inasmuch as one of its main clauses has been departed from. Under these circumstances he cannot help observing that soon after the death of Maharaja Mahendra Singh, Mahendra Bahadur, the Government paid no attention whatever to his descendants. The writer then goes on to say that it is the cherished object of the Government to place the Patiala State under a European officer. The council of regency have already begun to act in a way which deserves to be strictly watched. The affairs of Patiala are, therefore, entitled to the favourable consideration of the Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 4th November, 1876*, pp. 618–620).

#### ***Vakil-i-Hindustan*, 18 November 1876**

A correspondent of the *Vakil-i-Hindustan* of the 18th November regards the proceedings of the council of regency at Patiala as very objectionable and prejudicial to the interests of the state. The council take a special delight in annulling the orders of the late Maharaja without any reason or necessity, which they are by no means empowered to do. Sirdar Gurmukh Singh was at first the Assistant Diwan. He was afterwards found guilty of plotting against the life of the late Maharaja, and was, therefore, discharged from the service, and all his estates were confiscated. This very man has been appointed Nazim of the Amargarh district. The people have already commenced to complain bitterly of his inexperience. His appointment has been secured by Namdar Khan of Basi, a member of the council, for promoting the private interests of the latter. After the Sirdar had joined his appointment at Basi, Namdar Khan also went to that place, and introduced one Pirbhu, the Patwari of Basi, a very cunning man and an intimate friend of his, with whom he left instructions, and returned to Patiala. The Patwari, who dare not sit ever on the floor in the presence of the Nazim, sits close beside Gurmukh Singh in his court, and exercises a great influence on him in the decision of cases. All Namdar Khan's old opponents and enemies are now in a very helpless and miserable position. These men were at first much better off than Namdar Khan who was only a sawar. But now, to their misfortune, he fills the office of regent, and has conferred the high office of Nazim of Amargarh on one who is expected to carry out his wishes

and serve his private ends. Surely Namdar Khan may be said to have rightly understood his duties as a member of the council. It was expressly said by Mr. Lepel Griffin, at the time of announcing the determination of the Government with respect to the constitution of the council of regency, that they council were not appointed to make money or pay off their old grudges. In spite of this admonition, Namdar Khan is unworthily satisfying his private desires and feelings. The Nazim oppresses the people at Basi; and when they go to appeal to the council at Patiala, Namdar Khan dismisses their appeals. The council degrades and dismisses good officers of the state causelessly, and appoints others in their places for the furtherance of its own interests. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 25th November, 1876*, pp. 679–680).

### ***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 25 November 1876**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* of the 25th November says that if the Government doubted at the very outset the ability of the council of regency, nominated by the Maharajas of Jhind and Nabha, to conduct the affairs of Patiala, it should have withheld its consent. The two maharajas have no doubt the right of nominating members for the council in virtue of the existing treaty stipulations, but the Government has a veto. Mr. Lepel Griffin expressly said in his speech, delivered at the time of announcing the appointment of the present council of regency, that if the council failed to give satisfaction, the Government would be obliged to depute an able European officer for the management of the affairs of the state. From this surmise it appears that the Government anticipated that the members nominated by the two maharajas were incompetent and unfit for the task for which they were selected; and, in fair justice to the state, the Government should not have consented to their election. Thus far, therefore, the conduct of the Government is not altogether free from blame. Since the appointment of the council, there is no end to the changes and transfers of the officers of the state, which must be ascribed to some reason or other, and the natural result of which will be that misunderstanding will arise between the council and its subordinates. The sad results that will flow from this mutual hatred will be very prejudicial to the interests of the state. In these circumstances the best thing that the Government can do is to displace Sirdar Deva Singh by Khalifa Muhammad Hasan as president, with whose ability and talents the Government itself is well acquainted. A correspondent of the above paper, writing from Umballa on the same subject, notices that the able and experienced officers, who were much valued and respected in the time of the late Maharaja, have receded into the back ground, and have ceased to be looked upon as important and influential personages in the state. The council has raised incompetent and inexperienced men to high and responsible offices.

Sirdar Deva Singh is, indeed, an man of sense, and has an imposing appearance, but he is quite illiterate, peevish, and spiteful. He is of a hasty and light temper. He is not true to his word. Ingratitude is also a prominent characteristic of his conduct. He is, moreover, under the evil influence of a few wicked persons who are smarting under the pain inflicted by the late Maharaja. Although the two members of the council have equal authority and power with the president, yet the readiness in speaking and artful dexterity of Deva Singh have reduced his colleagues to insignificance. The writer then proceeds to warn the council, that if it does not reconcile and indemnify the officers, unreasonably degraded or transferred by it, and work amicably in harmony with its subordinates, the members and the officers must look upon their fate as already sealed. They will all be deprived of their power, and a European officer appointed to administer the affairs of the state. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 2nd November, 1876*, pp. 693–694).

#### ***Koh-i-Nur*, 25 November 1876**

A correspondent of the *Koh-i-Nur* of the 25th November defends the president and the members of the council of regency at Patiala from the charges brought against them by an interested correspondent of the *Rahbar-i-Hind* dated 28th October (*vide* "Selections" for the week ending the 4th November, 1876, page 618). These three gentlemen, who have been elected to the council, are the best men the state can show in ability, experience, and honesty. They have filled the highest offices in the state. With other faithful servants of the state they fell under the displeasure of the late Maharaja, when he gave himself up to drunkenness and debauchery under the evil influence of a whore, who was used as an instrument by those men who are now discontented at the present administration to carry out their ends and purposes. Horrible acts of injustice were committed by the Maharaja during this period of infatuation, which lasted till his death. Strange to say, these men themselves used to inform the Government of their master's drunkenness and debauchery, of which they themselves were the cause. Khalifa Muhammad Hasan is one of this party. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 2nd December, 1876*, pp. 694–695).

#### ***Koh-i-Nur*, 9 December 1876**

A correspondent of the *Koh-i-Nur* of the 9th December, in the course of an article headed "Patiala," says that if the former administrators were really a set of honest and sagacious men and well-wishers of the state, how was it that the late Maharaja came to indulge so fearfully in drunkenness and debauchery, which accelerated his death? Why was the Maharani killed? Or if she died

a natural death, why were her female companions beaten and spoilt of their property, and her relatives disgraced and ruined while she was yet alive? Why were wise and faithful officers of the state like master Khuda Bakhsh ruined? Why were old and experienced officers of the state discharged from the service, and the friends and favourites of the late administration appointed to fill their places? Let the advocates of the former administration endeavour to account for the sad events referred to above. The detractors of the existing council of regency, who have had it criticized unfavourably in public papers, should adduce evidence in corroboration of their statements. Do they think that the Government, which has made the selection with great consideration and deliberation, will be induced by their false reports to dismiss the present council, and appoint those whom they praise? If this be their object, they are quite mistaken. The ability and goodness of the existing council are beyond question. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 16th December, 1876*, pp. 725–726).

#### ***Koh-i-Nur*, 23 December 1876**

The *Koh-i-Nur* of the 23rd December publishes an Urdu version of the letter which master Khuda Bakhsh, who was once a teacher of the late Maharaja of Patiala, addressed to the editor of the *Friend of India*, and which appeared in the issue of the 4th November, 1876, of that paper. The letter is intended to expose the oppressions and vices of the administration of Khalifa Muhammad Hussin during the lifetime of the late Maharaja. The Khalifa has accused the master of insolence and ingratitude to the late Maharaja, and called upon the council of regency to punish him. The editor thinks that the charges brought against master Khuda Bakhsh by the Khalifa are unfounded, and considers the letter of the master to be true account of the Khalifa's administration. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 30th December, 1876*, pp. 760–761).

#### ***Koh-i-Nur*, 20 January 1877**

A correspondent of the *Koh-i-Nur* of the 20th January, in reference to the silver medal which Khalifa Muhammad Husain, the prime minister of the Patiala state, has received at the late Delhi Darbar, says ironically that it is popularly believed to have been given him by the Viceroy in recognition of those services to the state which Master Khuda Bakhsh has described in his letter to the *Friend of India* of the 4th November 1876. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 27th January, 1877*, p. 54).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 10 March 1877**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind*, of the 10th March, in reference to the Patiala State, says that the complaints published in the public journals against Sayid Imdad Ali and other officials of the State, by Khuda Bakhsh, are entirely false and unfounded. The object of the latter appears to be to cause factions among the State officials, and thus lead to the overthrow of the present administration. The Council of Regency should therefore expel him from the State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 17th March, 1877, p. 184*).

***Oudh Akhbar*, 14 June 1877**

The *Oudh Akhbar* of the 14th June praises the Council of Regency of Patiala for its impartial and excellent administration of the State. The charges brought against the Council by the *Safir-i-Hindustan* of the 26th May are entirely unfounded. No old officer of the State, Hindu or Mussalman, has been dismissed from the service. The services of a few men, who came into the State a short time before the death of the late Maharaja, and who had no claims to any special indulgence, have been dispensed with a view to economy. Only those men, Hindus or Mussalmans, who had little or nothing to do have been dismissed. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 16th June, 1877, pp. 412–413*).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 24 November 1877**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* of the 24th November states, on the authority of its Umbala correspondent, that the late visit of the Commissioner of Umbala to Patiala, for the purpose of conferring the Banner, &c., upon the Maharaja, cost that State five lakhs of rupees. No less than Rs. 50,000 were paid to the khansamah who supplied food, and Rs. 40,000 worth of spirituous liquors were purchased. The sum of five lakhs of rupees is not an insignificant one. It is perhaps equal to one-third of the total annual income of the State. If the visit of the Commissioner has cost the State five lakhs of rupees, that of the Lieutenant-Governor may cost fifteen lakhs, and that of the Governor-General fifty lakhs. We appeal to Lord Lytton to institute a special enquiry into this act of extravagance on the part of the Council of Regency of Patiala. In fact a law should be enacted to make Native States responsible for their extravagance to the Government of India on an appeal being made by their subjects. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 1st December, 1877, pp. 825–826*).



***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 1 December 1877**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* of the 1st December says that the statement published in the *Rahbar-i-Hind* of the 24th November, on the authority of its Umballa correspondent, that the late visit of the Commissioner to Patiala cost that State five lakhs of rupees appears to be false (*vide* the Selections for the week ending the 1st December, 1877, page 825). A very respectable gentleman of Umballa informs us that the total cost of the visit amounted to ten thousand rupees. We are sorry for having published a communication which has turned out to be untrue. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 8th December, 1877*, pp. 844–845).

***Lauh-i-Mahfuz*, 31 May 1878**

The *Lauh-i-Mahfuz* of the 31st May, in its correspondence columns, states that grand arrangements were made at Patiala for the reception of the Lieutenant-Governor on the occasion of his late visit. The Maharajas of Patiala, Nabha, Jhind, and Faridkote are about to go to Simla. Fresh troops are being levied in the states, and military preparations pushed on with great vigour. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 6th June, 1878*, p. 485).

***Mitra Vilas*, 14 July 1879**

The editor of the *Mitra Vilas*, Lahore, lately paid a visit to Patiala. In the issue of the 14th July he gives an account of the state of affairs in that State. The annual income of the State is about 60 lakhs of rupees, and the expenditure 40 lakhs. It appears from the grand palaces of the Maharaja that the State is a rich one. The chief cause of its richness is that it has long remained in the possession of the same family. The editor then gives a brief description of the *Divankhana* and some other buildings which were built by the late Maharaja, specially referring to their costly furniture. In regard to the administration of the Council of Regency, the editor remarks that it is not good. The Council consists entirely of the State officials. They are generally quite illiterate, only a few of them can read and write. An idea of their administration may be gathered from the fact that, although their pay is only Rs. 50, 100 or 200, their houses are worth lakhs of rupees. As all of them are guilty of appropriating the State revenues to their own use, one does not complain against the other. They use the horses and carriages of the State. All their servants also are paid from the State treasury. The pay of police constables is only Rs. 3 a month, but still they are quite happy and contented. There are several State factories at Patiala, *viz.*, an ice-machine, a grain-mill, a wood-cutting machine, an iron-mill, &c, but the

State does not derive the smallest income from these factories, *first*, because a sufficient number of workmen is not employed in the factories, and *secondly*, because the State officials have their private work done at them gratis. The late Maharaja sent for the necessary apparatus to light the city with gas, but all the apparatus is now lying uselessly on the ground. We paid a visit to the editor of the *Patiala Akhbar*, and asked him why he did not discuss important political questions in his paper. He replied that he had no liberty, and had to submit the manuscript to the Council for approval. The Council strikes off every article which is unpalatable to it. Under these circumstances he is content to publish extracts from other newspapers. As regards the administration of justice, no particular code is in force in the State. The Council sometimes administers justice according to the Indian Penal Code, sometimes according to the circulars of the Lahore Chief Court, and so forth. The friends of the Council can commit offences with perfect impunity. If a friend of the Council is charged with an offence by any man, and the Council cannot refute the arguments of the counsel for the prosecution, it declares that its word is law, and releases the prisoner. Bravo Council! If any honest man happens to enter the service of the Maharaja, the other officials try to have him dismissed as soon as possible. In the time of the late Maharaja Mr. Lepel Griffin, Secretary to the Panjab Government, sent an able European to Patiala to improve the administration of the State. He proposed such good rules as the following: –

- (1) That the pay of the officers should be increased, but that none of them should use any thing belonging to the State.
- (2) That the Maharaja should personally keep the keys of the treasury, and that no money should be taken out of it without his permission.
- (3) That a weekly or monthly account of the income and expenditure of the State factories should be submitted to the Maharaja.

The officers could not endure the man who proposed such rules, and induced the late Maharaja to dismiss him. In the end the editor advises the Council and other officers to fear God, and to honestly and conscientiously do their work. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to 24th July, 1879, pp. 566–568*).

#### ***Jaipur Gazette, 6 March 1880***

The *Jaipur Gazette* of the 6th March makes the following remarks in regard to the revised rules for the transmission of telegraphic messages: – “The revised rules for the transmission of telegraph messages grant the privilege to ‘clear’ the line, that is to suspend the receipt and despatch of all messages until the one for which the line is ‘cleared’ is passed, to the following officers: – Governor-General,

Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, Commander-in-Chief, Secretaries to Government, Chief Commissioners, Agents to Governors-General, the Resident at Hyderabad, the Director-General of Telegraphs, and the Maharaja of Pattiala [Patiala].”

“We are quite at a loss to make out why of all native chiefs the Maharaja of Pattiala needs this privilege. Besides, by the new rules, the telegraph office at Jaipur has been reduced to a third class telegraph office, where messages are only to be received from 8 AM to 5 PM. Surely this will be great inconvenience to the people of Jaipur. When the people have been enjoying the privilege of sending messages at all hours from more than twelve years, it would really be a great hardship for them to be deprived of the benefit.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to nth March, 1880*, p. 180).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 22 October 1881**

A correspondent of the *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 22nd October, who lately paid at visit to Patiala, complains of the state of things there. From what he heard from many persons at Patiala he is led to believe that the council of regency oppress the people. He is afraid that if this state of things continues, the people may create disturbances. When the council was appointed in 1876, Sir Lepel Griffin warned the members, in the speech delivered by him on the occasion, that if they abused their powers and oppressed the people, the Government would at once withdraw the powers from them. The time has come to carry this threat into effect. If the Panjab Government does not change the council, great suspicions will arise in the minds of the people in Patiala. Many persons say that even the British officers are not altogether free from bribery and corruption; but the writer does not believe this, and thinks that the tyranny and oppression which prevail at Patiala have not yet come to the notice of the Government. At the time of his approaching visit to Patiala the Lieutenant-Governor should not allow himself to be deceived by the flattery and hospitality of the council, but should make secret enquiries into the condition of the people. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to the 25th October, 1881*, p. 619).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 26 October 1881**

A correspondent of the *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 26th October, who lately paid a visit to Patiala, in continuation of his previous articles, complains that the president and the members of the council of regency at Patiala have unjustly dismissed or transferred some old and able officers from their posts and appointed their

own relatives, who are quite incompetent, in their place. The writer also gives some instances in support of his complaints. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to the 1st November, 1881*, p. 628).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 30 November 1881**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* continues to publish articles, communicated by its Patiala correspondent, condemning the administration of the Council of Regency at Patiala. The attacks of the writer are chiefly directed against the President of the Council. In an article published in the issue of the 30th November the writer states that some time ago the son of the President entered the palace in which the widows of the late Maharaja live. When he passed two or three guards an alarm was raised, but the guards allowed him to escape. The Council has lately seized a man and given out that this is a mad man, and that it was he who entered the palace. Is it conceivable that a mad man could have entered the palace, every door of which is well guarded, and been able to make his escape when the alarm was raised? Did any mad man ever entered the palace when the late Maharaja was alive? If the late Maharaja were alive or the present Maharaja had come of age, there is no doubt that he would have flayed alive both the wretch who has committed the outrage and his father. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to the 6th December, 1881*, pp. 704–705).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 3 December 1881**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 3rd December states: – Our Patiala correspondent is an eyesore to the council of Regency there. The Council is very anxious to detect him in order that it may be able to oppress him and gratify its grudge against him. We have heard that it offered a reward of Rs. 500 to several spies at Patiala for discovering him, but in vain. It also sent some persons to Lahore to obtain, by some means or other, any of our correspondent's communications, but they were unsuccessful in their efforts. The Council has now bribed some native editors to publish articles against us. They may abuse us, but none of them dares to rebut the charges we have brought against the Council. If the charges are false, it should endeavour to prove them to be so instead of wasting the public money in bribing editors. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to the 13th December, 1881*, pp. 719–720).

### ***Panjab Punch*, 6 December 1881**

The *Panjab Punch* of the 6th December publishes a picture in which the editor of the *Akhbar-i-Am* is represented as calling at the house of the President of the Council at Patiala and as seeking access to him. The guard at the door refuses him access. He replies that he will wreak vengeance for this by publishing complaints in his paper against the Council.

[There is an extra sheet with the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore) of the 3rd December, which contains several communicated articles, in which the editor of the *Delhi Punch* (Lahore) has been abused in Billingsgate. The editor of the *Delhi Punch* is the father of the editor of the *Anjuman-i-Panjab* and made some trenchant remarks about the editor of the *Akhbar-i-Am* in some late issue of his paper in connection with the attacks of the latter in the Council of Regency at Patiala] (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to the 13th December, 1881*, p. 720).

### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 14 December 1881**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 14th December states that it has been heard that the Council of Regency at Patiala has written to the Panjab Government asking for permission to dismiss some able officers of the State. The Council has charged them with creating disturbances; their only fault is that they are not subservient to the Council. It is also rumoured that the Council has forwarded to the Panjab Government some forged letters, alleged to have been written by the editor of this paper, along with its application for sanction for the dismissal of the officers in question, as a proof of their misconduct. We hope the rumour is false. If the Council has really done this, the Government should carefully examine the letters and satisfy itself that they are not forgeries before sanctioning the dismissal of the officers.

The same paper, in another article, complains that a packet containing some copies of the *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 3rd September last, addressed to its agent at Patiala, was tampered with and three copies were taken from the packet, and that another packet containing some copies of the paper of the 30th November last was not delivered at all. The editor charges the Council of Regency at Patiala with having done these things. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to the 20th December, 1881*, pp. 733–734).

### ***Koh-i-Nur*, 21 December 1881**

The *Koh-i-Nur* of the 21st December states that the complaints that have been published by some papers against the Council of Regency at Patiala are

unfounded. If it is true, as is rumoured, that some raises of Patiala have instigated the editors of those papers to publish the complaints, their conduct is very reprehensible. They should remember that, when the administration was in their hands, it was not altogether free from faults. On the whole the Council of Regency has been conducting the administration in a satisfactory way. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to the 27th December, 1881*, p. 748).

***Victoria paper, 23 January 1882***

The *Victoria paper* (Sialkot) of the 23rd January states that when Sardar Deva Singh, the President of the Council of Regency at Patiala, has been appointed a member of the most exalted order of the Star of India, it is difficult to realise why the same mark of distinction has not been bestowed on Khalifa Saiyid Muhammad Hassan Khan Bahadur. The Khalifa is one of the most learned men, and one of the best administrators in India, and we may, without fear of exaggeration, call him "the Sun of India." It was from him that the late Maharaja Mahendra Singh imbibed his enlightened views. The establishment of the hospital, the Mahendra College, and the village schools in Patiala, by the Patiala darbar, is chiefly due to his advice and exertions. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Rajputana. Received up to 31st January, 1882*, p. 60).

***Akhbar-i-Am, 19 April 1882***

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore) of the 19th April publishes a communicated article in which the writer states that it is an old custom among the native chiefs of the Panjab that when they pay a visit to Lahore they give rewards to the educated pandits of the place. During the late visit of the Maharaja of Patiala the pandits of Lahore several times went to his camp, but received no rewards. The Maharaja's pandit, Brahma Nand, repeatedly brought the matter to the notice of the Council of Regency, but the Council turned a deaf ear to him. He paid some pandits one rupee each from his own pocket. The Council spends thousands of rupees in increasing its own so-called reputation, but does not care at all for that of the Maharaja. The Council has given four hundred rupees to the proprietor of an old paper (obviously the *Koh-i-Nur* is meant) of Lahore which found fault with the administration of Maharaja Mahendra Singh and praised that of the present Council. It has also bestowed a reward of Rs. 200 on the proprietor of a Sialkot paper (the *Victoria Paper*). The Council should be ashamed to seek to enhance its reputation at the expense of its master. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab,*

*North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Rajputana. Received up to 26th April, 1882, pp. 274).*

***Shafiq-i-Hind*, 24 April 1886**

The *Shafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 24th April, in a communicated article, states that at Patiala a Sikh poisoned a prostitute at her house and robbed her of her jewelry. The prostitute died in hospital the next day. The accused has been arrested, but the question is when his trial will take place. It is well known that in Patiala accused persons are often tried twelve or fourteen years after their arrests. A murder case was decided by the Council of Regency on the 8th April, after the accused had been in prison for the last fourteen years! He was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for life. He told the Council that he had already undergone fourteen years' imprisonment. On this the Council was pleased to remit the sentence and release him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 30th April, 1886, p. 332*).

***Vazir-i-Hind*, 12 June 1887**

The *Vazir-i-Hind* (Sialkot), of the 12th June, is surprised that the members of the council of regency at Patiala have not been changed since their appointment. Great maladministration prevails in the State, and thefts and robberies frequently occur. The members of the council have bestowed high posts on their friends and relatives, and expend the public funds in a useless way. The council has sanctioned the construction of new buildings for the accommodation of Courts, although the present buildings are quite sufficient for the purpose. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 20th June, 1887, p. 367*).

**3 Rajinder Singh (1872–1900)**

***Vakil-i-Hindustan*, 2 December 1876**

The *Vakil-i-Hindustan* of the 2nd December says that, looking at the internal affairs of the Cis-Sutlej kindred states and the relations in which they stand towards each other, the Government has acted wisely in appointing a European Civil Surgeon to look after the health of the young Maharaja of Patiala. This measure may be said to have secured the reigning family and the state from extinction. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 9th December, 1876, p. 705*).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 8 September 1877**

The *Koh-i-Nur* of the 8th September agrees with its contemporary the *Tohfa-i-Kahsmir* in condemning the appointment of master Ram Chandar, as the teacher to the young Maharaja of Patiala. He was also teacher to the late Maharaja. The evil effects which his tuition produced upon the late Maharaja are known to the whole world. If the present Maharaja is also intended to receive the same kind of instruction, the reign of the council of regency will undoubtedly last long in Patiala. It would have been much better if he had been placed under the tuition of a well-educated Sikh; or at all events Rai Jaswant Rai who is already at Patiala, or master Khuda Bakhsh should have been appointed his teacher. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 15th September, 1877*, p. 628).

***Safir-i-Hindustan*, 22 September 1877**

The *Safir-i-Hindustan* of the 22nd September, in refutation of the articles of the *Tohfa-i-Kashmir* and the *Koh-i-Nur* condemning the appointing of Professor Ram Chandar as the teacher to the young Maharaja of Patiala (*vide* the Selections for the week ending the 15th September, 1877, page 628), expressed its approval of the appointment and praises the Professor for his abilities and good character. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 29th September, 1877*, p. 667).

***Khair-Khwah Alam*, 25 September 1877**

The *Khair-Khwah Alam* of the 25th September remonstrates against the appointment of Mr. Ram Chandar as the teacher of the young Maharaja of Patiala. Mr. Ram Chandar is a bigoted Christian. He is strongly prejudiced against other religions. His tuition will necessarily prepossess the youthful mind of his pupil in favour of the Christian religion. The Maharaja should be placed under the charge of an unprejudiced and enlightened Hindu or Musalman. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 29th September, 1877*, p. 667).

***Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir*, 23 April 1885**

The *Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir* (Lahore), of the 23rd April, referring to the rumour regarding the appointment of one Mr. M. Sime as tutor to the Maharaja of Patiala, condemns the practice of entrusting the education of young native princes to Europeans. It is of opinion that a native prince should first be instructed in the language, literature, and religion of his forefathers by tutors



of his own class. After he has finished, so to speak, his Oriental education, he should commence his English studies, which should also be conducted under native and not European teachers. It is well known that the spread of English education in this country has been attended by an utter disregard of good religious restrictions and an increase of drunkenness, adultery and fraud. There are few native chiefs who are not addicted to the use of spirituous liquors. This is the fault of the education they have received. The Maharaja of Dholpur, who has been brought up under the care of a European tutor, has not been quite a success. The editor, who had once occasion to pay His Highness a visit, will here content himself with saying that he was surprised to find the Maharaja incapable of expressing himself in good idiomatic vernacular. Surely Englishmen would not like to see the education of a young English prince entrusted to a Brahmin or a Mulla. The Maharaja of Patiala should be first placed under the tuition of an able Pandit and an able Sodhi. Mr. Sime cannot be expected to instruct him in his sacred books, acquaint him with the customs and manners of his class of people, and impress upon him the necessity of refraining from the use of spirituous liquors. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 1st May, 1885*, pp. 284–285).

***Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir*, 14 May 1885**

The *Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir* (Lahore), of the 14th May, states that it appears from the *Victoria Paper* that the Maharaja of Patiala is taught Arabic and Persian by his vazir himself. The *Khair Khwah* condemns the arrangement on the ground that if the vazir is allowed also to be tutor to the young prince, he will acquire undue influence over him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 18th May, 1885*, p. 331).

***Wazir-i-Hind*, 25 September 1887**

The *Wazir-i-Hind* (Sialkot), of the 25th September, says that it has heard that the young Maharaja of Patiala is to be installed on the *gaddi* of the State on the 13th February, 1888, and advises His Highness to take the reins of the Government in his own hands, abolishing the existing Council or, at least, reconstituting it with new members of his own selection; otherwise he will share the same fate which the Maharaja of Kashmir has met at the hands of his Council. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 30th September, 1887*, p. 603).

***Patiala Akhbar*, 22 November 1887**

The *Patiala Akhbar*, of the 22nd November, gives an abstract of the letter sent by the Maharaja of Patiala to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, offering his entire treasury and army to the British Government for the defence of the frontier. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 29th November, 1887*, p. 750).

***Taj-ul-Akhbar*, 27 September 1890**

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), of the 27th September 1890, says that the youthful Maharaja of Patiala has given a handsome donation for the Khalsa College in order to please the Native community. His Highness is now thinking of pleasing the Europeans by giving an entertainment to European ladies. The writer thinks that His Highness should get up some dances for Europeans. These entertainments no doubt cost money, but they go a great way towards saving the State from many a trouble. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 11th October 1890*. Vol. 111, No. 41, p. 373).

***Khair-Khwah-i-Kashmir*, 2 November 1890**

The *Khair-Khwah-i-Kashmir* (Lahore), of the 2nd November 1890, in its account of the Patiala festivities, states that Mr. Cuningham [Cunningham], Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, does not know how to read Urdu, and consequently the Urdu translation of the Viceroy's speech, which was read by Mr. Cuningham at the Patiala Darbar, was not understood by the audience. Government ought to have a Native Secretary to discharge such duties.

The same paper states that about 10,000 rupees were distributed among Native editors at His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala's installation. Munshi Newal Kishore and Syad Rajab Ali Shah received a *khillat* of Rs. 1,100 each. Other editors received *khillats* and daily allowances (*rozina*) as follows: –

|                                   | <i>Khillat</i><br>Rs. | <i>Sumptuary allowance</i><br>Rs. |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Munshi Diwan Chand                | 400                   | 11 per diem                       |
| Munshi Jagat Narain               | 400                   | 11 per diem                       |
| Gham-Khwar-i-Hind                 | 250                   | 11 per diem                       |
| Rahbar-i-Hind                     | 250                   | 11 per diem                       |
| Akhbar-i-Am                       | 250                   | 11 per diem                       |
| Al Siddiq                         | 250                   | 11 per diem                       |
| Rai Giyan Chand's two sons (each) | 100                   | 11 per diem                       |
| Tuti-i-Hind                       | 250                   | 11 per diem                       |
| Aftab-i-Hind                      | 250                   | 11 per diem                       |

The Editors of the *Rahbar*, *Naiyar-i-Azam*, *Ahbar-ul-Akhyar*, *Akhbar Panjab* and a few others received Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 each. The rest of the Editors (including the Editor of the *Khair-Khwah-i-Kashmir*) received khillats worth Rs. 100 each and sumptuary allowance at Rs. 6 per diem.

The same paper complains that Native guests were put to great inconvenience for want of carriages. Mr. Cox, in charge of the Carriage Department, supplied carriages to the European guests, but paid no attention to the Native guests. But for the fact that Mr. Cox happens to be a white-skinned Englishman (*safed chamrewala Angrez*), he would certainly have been fined for mismanagement. The writer concludes by stating that after the departure of His Excellency the Viceroy, the Rana of Dholpur arrived at Patiala with a large retinue of prostitutes and *Dums* (Native musicians). (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 8th November 1890*. Vol. III, No. 45, pp. 406–407).

#### ***Khair-Khwah-i-Kashmir*, 9 November 1890**

The *Khair-i-Khwah-i-Kashmir* (Lahore), of the 9th November 1890, referring to the recent Patiala festivities, says that the European guests of the State numbered over 200, and among them were several gentlemen who seemed, to a superficial observer, to have apparently no connection with the State. The policy of the Patiala officials in cultivating the friendship of those Europeans whom they consider as having some influence with the Punjab Government or the Government of India cannot be too highly praised, because it is for this reason that Government is always so very kind to the Patiala State. The downfall of the Kashmir State may chiefly be attributed to the fact that it sumptuously entertained European travellers and Military Officers, but did not care much to cultivate the friendship of influential Europeans. If under the British Government Native States wish to save themselves, their first duty should be to secure the friendship of those Europeans, who have great influence with the Government and the writer is glad to find that the Patiala officials fully recognise the importance of such a policy. The writer, however, regrets to remark that the State invited the Editors of the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the *Pioneer*, but did not invite a single Native Editor, though it is the Native Press which raises its voice in defence of the Native States in times of emergency. This is, therefore, a very bad policy and other States should positively refrain from following it.

Further on the *Khair-Khwah* remarks that the order of the His Excellency the Viceroy – that the number of gentlemen attending the Darbar should be limited as much as possible – was duly observed by the State. This order appears to have been based on sanitary considerations; but why His Excellency

did not prohibit the lighting of the city with kerosine oil, which is so injurious to health, passes the comprehension of the writer. His Excellency Lord Lansdowne charged the Maharaja of Kashmir with being a spendthrift, but all Native States visited by His Excellency indulge in wasting large sums of money in illuminations, and it is strange that His Excellency should make no attempt to prevent such extravagance. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 15th November 1890*. Vol. III, No. 46, pp. 414–415).

### ***Singh Sahai*, 17 December 1890**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 17th December 1890, says that the Sikh nation which acquired the State of Patiala by shedding its blood look upon the Maharaja of Patiala as the first class Sikh chief. Thirty years ago when the Maharaja of Patiala (the grandfather of the present ruler), visited Lahore His Highness made a pilgrimage to every gurdwara, &c, in the Punjab. He not only professed the Sikh religion but also behaved and dressed himself like a true Sikh. He prohibited the sale of wine in his territory, where shops for the sale of meat also were very rare. As a result of the education given to him by the Government and the influence exercised on him by some Europeans and the Prime Minister *Khalifa* Muhammad Hassan, the present Maharaja differs from his grandfather in almost every respect, and is consequently and object of hatred to the Sikh community. The writer then goes on to say that the Maharaja must remember that the State is neither his personal property nor is it a grant from Government. The Maharaja has in reality been placed on the *gaddi* in recognition of the old rights and privileges of the Sikh nation. If His Highness therefore transgresses the tenets of the Sikh religion he forfeits all claims to the State. Under the tutelage of a European, His Highness has adopted European dress and manners and, against the rules of his religion, touches cheroots and cigars, and in short, lives after the European fashion. Nor is this all. His Highness also keeps prostitutes in his company at the instance of the *Khalifas* who give employment to the Muhammadans in preference to the Sikhs. In conclusion, the writer remarks that as the State is the common property of the Sikh nation and not the ancestral property of the Maharaja alone, it is necessary that His Highness should manage its affairs to the satisfaction of that community. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 3rd January 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 5).

### ***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 26 December 1890**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 26th December 1890, publishes a communication from Bawa Surmukh Singh in which he takes the *Singh Sahai* to task

for making attacks on *Khalifa* Muhammad Husain, Prime Minister of Patiala, and remarks that the *Khalifa* is a true well-wisher of the State and its Chief and prefers the Sikh to his own co-religionists. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 10th January 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 16).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 1 January 1891**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 1st January 1891, says that hitherto it had been under the impression that the *Singh Sahai*, being edited and owned by a Sikh, was an organ of that community; and that it merely re-echoed the sentiments of the Sikhs when a few days ago it attacked the Muhammadan Ministers of Patiala. It is, however, satisfactory to find from a communication addressed by the Sikhs to the *Civil and Military Gazette* that the journal in question does not in any way represent their community. The Sikhs have thought fit to disclaim all sympathy with the politics of the *Singh Sahai*, not merely because it has attacked *Khalifas*, but also because its tone in criticising the actions of Government is generally hostile and intemperate. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 10th January 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 16).

***Durbin*, 17 May 1891**

The *Durbin* (Lahore), of the 17th May 1891, understands that His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has ordered the construction of a summer residence at Simla at a cost of seven lakhs, and that Messrs. Tellery & Co. of Simla have undertaken the contract. The writer considers that this sum could have been more usefully employed for educational purposes in the Patiala State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 30th May 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 22. 199).

***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 8 June 1891**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), dated 8th June 1891, publishes a communication from Bawa Surmakh Singh in which the writer complains of the Maharaja of Patiala's fondness for polo, and of the partiality shown to such of his subjects who excel in this game. The writer instances the case of Hira Singh, a Daffadar, who has recently been promoted to the rank of Risaldar on Rs. 150 per mensem for his skill at polo. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 20th June 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 25, p. 222).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 20 June 1891**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 20th June 1891, takes exception to the remarks published in the *Civil and Military Gazette* regarding the extravagant

and licentious habits of the Maharaja of Patiala, and observes that if the Chief in question is given to polo, horse racing, billiards, &c., it is the Europeans who are being enriched by his extravagance. A large portion of the amount spent on prostitutes also finds its way into the pockets of Europeans. If the *Civil and Military Gazette* considers that the Maharaja should not keep native prostitutes let him be sent to England. The writer concludes by referring to the comments, which have appeared in the London Press on the Baccarat Scandal, in which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales figures so prominently, and remarks that the *Civil and Military Gazette* has chosen an unfortunate time to call attention to the shortcomings of the Native Chiefs. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th July 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 27, p. 238).

### ***Singh Sahai*, 29 July 1891**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), dated 29th July 1891, referring to the statement contained in the *Durbin* (Lahore), to the effect that the Maharaja of Patiala and the Raja of Kapurthala had left Simla in order to institute measures for the relief of the famine-stricken people in their respective States, remarks that it is satisfactory to find, that while the English rulers are enjoying themselves in the cool climate of the hills, these two Native Princes are busy in devising measures for averting the famine which threatens their territories. This shows that the accusation that Native Chief do not care for the welfare of their subjects is without foundation. If the Government fails to take steps to avert the impending scarcity thousands of human lives will be sacrificed and hundreds of villages reduced to desolation. But for the fact that the victims will be Natives Government would not remain so indifferent to the matter. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 8th August 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 32, p. 281).

### ***Panjab Gazette*, 28 November 1891**

The *Panjab Gazette* (Sialkot), of the 28th November 1891, regrets to notice that a correspondent writing to *Truth* has made an attack on His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. It is to be regretted that the English and Anglo-Indian newspapers when writing on the subject of the Native Chiefs invariably lose sight of the important services rendered by their ancestors. What Englishman is there that does not know that the British obtained the sovereignty of India through the valuable assistance rendered by the Native Chiefs. Indeed, a time had come when it appeared that the end of English rule was at hand, but the Native Chiefs came loyally forward to the aid of the Paramount Power and enabled it to re-establish its authority over the country. The *Gazette* then gives an account of the services rendered by the Patiala State on various occasions,

and after remarking that the present Maharaja though a young man takes great interest in the welfare of his subjects, calls upon Government to confer on His Highness the honorary rank of Major-General in the British Army, and the hereditary (*sic*) title of G.C.S.I. The British Government is largely indebted to the Bhopal, Indore, Baroda, Kashmir and Patiala States, but the coldness with which each one of these States has been treated is too well known to require mention. It is not easy to see what good the British authorities can expect to derive by injuring the feelings of the loyal Native Chiefs. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 5th December 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 49, pp. 401–402).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 24 February 1892**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 24th February 1892, says that according to a Lucknow paper the Maharaja of Patiala won several lakhs of rupees at the Lucknow Races. On the 15th February the prostitutes of Lucknow filed a complaint against the Maharaja in the court of the Commissioner, in which they stated that they had been summoned to the Maharaja's camp on the 14th and subjected to the most shameless and scandalous treatment. The Commissioner is said to have dismissed the complaint on the ground that it did not bear the signature of the petitioners. If the above story is true it does not reflect much credit on the Maharaja's morals. The Maharaja is a well-educated Prince of high position and must be careful that his character is above reproach. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 5th March 1892*. Vol. v, No. 9, p. 60).

***Paisha Akhbar*, 30 May 1892**

The *Paisha Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 30th May 1892, says that certain vernacular papers are praising the Maharaja of Patiala because the income of his State has increased by 9½ lakhs since His Highness' installation. None of these papers has, however, thought it worth while to inquire whether the State expenditure has increased or decreased, or whether the State Treasury contains as much money now as it did at the time of the Maharaja's installation. Unless these questions are answered in a satisfactory manner, the present *regime* in Patiala has nothing to be proud of. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 11th June 1892*. Vol. v, No. 23, p. 161).

***Wafadar*, 15 August 1892**

The *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 15th August 1892, publishes a communication in which the writer states that the Maharaja of Patiala has gone to Mussoorie with his private staff, the Raja of Kapurthala and the son of a certain chief,

who receive an allowance from His Highness. According to rumour the Punjab Government and the Government of India have warned His Highness against visiting Simla on account of his licentious habits. The writer cannot vouch for the accuracy of this rumour, but thinks it impolitic on the part of a young chief to give himself up to a life of ease and pleasure. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 3rd September 1892*. Vol. v, No. 35, p. 288).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 20 October 1892**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* (Lahore), dated 20th October 1892, learns from the *Sadiq-ul-akhbar* that the Punjab Government has asked the Maharaja of Patiala to explain as to how the State treasury has become empty, and observes that as the Maharaja is an educated young chief, and the Prime Minister and other State officials are able statesmen, it is strange that the treasury should have been drained. The State treasury is a public fund which should be spent for the public good and not lavished upon prostitutes or waster in amusements. Government is also to blame for appointing highly paid Europeans in Natives States. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 5th November 1892*. Vol. v, No. 44, p. 416).

***Tuti-i-Hind*, 24 October 1892**

The *Tuti-i-Hind* (Meerut), dated 24th October 1892, states that the Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala recently went to Delhi to see a performance by the Delhi Theatrical Company. The writer would not feel surprised if it turned out that the Private Secretary's object was to ascertain the amount of expenditure which would be incurred in inviting the Company to Patiala. It is to be regretted that His Highness the Maharaja should waste his time in witnessing such performances instead of studying the newspapers. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 5th November 1892*. Vol. v, No. 44, p. 416).

***Lyall Khalsa Gazette*, 16 April 1893**

The *Lyall Khalsa Gazette* (Sialkot), dated 16th April 1893, approves of the marriage of the Maharaja of Patiala to Miss Bryan, and takes the *Tribune* to task for finding fault with His Highness. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 29th April 1893*. Vol. vi, No. 17, p. 216).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 24 April 1893**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 24th April 1893, is unable to approve of the Maharaja of Patiala's marriage with Miss Bryan, and thinks that if His



Highness was bent on marrying a European wife he should have married a more highly-educated and better connected lady. Many natives have before this married European ladies, but the Maharaja of Patiala is the first Native Chief who has dared to convert a Christian lady to Sikhism before marrying her. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 6th May 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 18, p. 227).

***Taj-ul-Akhbar*, 29 April 1893**

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), of the 29th April 1893, says that the Maharaja of Patiala has pledged his word not to take part in any races in future. The Maharaja is quite justified in giving up the idea, as it is difficult for him to run horse races and matrimonial races (*sic*) at the same time. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 13th May 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 19, p. 237).

***Tuti-i-Hind*, 30 April 1893**

The *Tuti-i-Hind* (Meerut), dated 30th April 1893, states that the Maharaja of Patiala is alleged to have taken a loan of two lakhs from the Upper India Bank, Limited, Meerut, and to have changed gold mohars worth Rs. 1,65,000. The *Tuti* is unable to understand why His Highness should have found it necessary to raise this loan seeing that he recently promised to curtail his expenses. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 13th May 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 19, p. 237).

***Taj-ul-Akhbar*, 6 May 1893**

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), of the 6th May 1893, condemns the action of the Maharaja of Patiala in marrying Miss Bryan, but is unable to agree with the *Civil and Military Gazette* that a Resident should be appointed at Patiala. The Maharaja's great fault is that he is impetuous and does not exercise proper supervision over State affairs, but this is due to his European education, and to the fact of his having been invested with ruling powers at an early age. His Highness is, however, by no means incorrigible, and would mend his ways if Government warned him in a kindly way. The Editor attaches great importance to the opinions of those who urge that the Maharaja should divorce his European wife and thus avoid the difficulties which are likely to result from his recent marriage. Suppose for instance, that the European Maharani gives birth to a daughter. How will the Sikh society receive her? The Maharaja should ponder over the fate of the daughters of Maharaja Randhir Singh of Kapurthala by a Christian wife. The Maharaja is still a very young man, but the *Taj-ul-Akhbar* feels sure that he will in time realise his position and mend his ways. Khalifa

Muhammed Hasan is a very able man, and there is no necessity for appointing a Resident so long as he is Prime Minister of the State. The Editor thinks that the Minister should held responsible for the efficient administration of the State, and that the Maharaja should be advised to content himself with exercising a general supervision and to abstain from interfering with his Minister's work. No explanation should be asked from the Maharaja regarding his recent marriage, but the issue of the marriage should be declared ineligible to succeed to the throne. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 20th May 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 20, pp. 248–249).

***Nusrat-ul-Akhbar*, 8 May 1893**

The same paper [the *Nusrat-ul-Akhbar*] states that the Punjab Government Administration Report for 1892 contains a remark to the effect that "1891 is the first complete year during which the Patiala State has been administrated by the present Maharaja, and it must be regretted that his administration has been disappointing." No doubt since the Maharaja has been placed on the throne His Highness has been wasting time and money in horse racing and polo, and leaving the administration of the State entirely in the hands of the *Khalifas*. His Highness has now married a European lady to the disgust of his own family and the other Native Chiefs. This state of things is not due to English education, but to the youth of the Maharaja. It was expected that on his assuming the reins of Government the Maharaja would govern the State according to the British system of administration, and it is to be regretted that His Highness has compelled the British Government to make the remark above referred to. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th May 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 21, p. 257).

***Umballa Gazette*, 9 May 1893**

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 9th May 1893, states that the article published in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of the 29th April 1893 on Patiala affairs contained baseless statements, especially in regard to the allegations made that the arrangements recently introduced in Patiala were intended to render the Sikhs strong and powerful at the expense of the Muhammadans, and that creation of the new appointments would prove a useless burden on the finances of the State. The *Umballa Gazette*, by a reference to the past history of the State as far back as 1862, endeavours to show that two or three officials (meaning probably the Wazir and the Mir Munshi, who are Muhammadans) have always tried their best to keep the Ruling Chief under their influence, thereby by enriching themselves at the expense of the State. In addition to other acts of jobbery and injustices which have prevailed in the State during

the last three years, the relatives of the “Munshi Sahib” have received promotion over the heads of deserving officials. As an instance in point, the *Gazette* gives the names of some of the higher appointments which have during this period been conferred on Muhammadans, relatives of the Mir Munshi: –

1. Mir Tufazzal Hussain made Judge of Sadr Adalat, Patiala
2. Mir Kazim given a post which was closed to Muhammadans.
3. Mir Niaz Ali, who had misappropriated lakhs of rupees from stamp income, has been given Rs. 250 per mensem.
4. Mir Ghulam Imam, who was concerned in a theft case, has been given a good post.
5. Ali Muhammad Khan appointed Inspector-General of Police in place of a deceased Sikh officer.
6. Mir Mehdi Hassan granted pay of Rs. 250 per mensem.
7. Mir Inayat Husain ditto
8. Maulvi Zahural Hussan ditto

This was due to the tactics of the Munshi, and to the pressure brought to bear on His Highness through a certain British officer. But for this pressure the new arrangement would have been made long ago. The Maharaja is an impartial and just ruler whose subjects – Hindu, Sikh and Muhammadan – are alike pleased with the reforms recently introduced into the State. For some time past complains have been made against the Maharaja through the Commissioner of Delhi, with a view to getting His Highness’ powers curtailed. It is therefore clear that the author of these complains is a man whose unlawful income has been diminished, and whose power have been limited by the establishment of the High Court. He is, no doubt, a disloyal wretch and cannot be an honest Muhammadan. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 20th May 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 20, pp. 249–250).

### ***Himala*, 12 May 1893**

The *Himala* (Rawalpindi), dated 12th May 1893, states that Government has not expressed its views on the Maharaja of Patiala’s marriage with Miss Bryan as it should have done. Everybody is of course at liberty to marry according to his own choice, but there are certain personages who should consult the members of their family before entering into a matrimonial alliance. The Maharaja of Patiala should have taken the advice of the other Phulkian Chiefs. Moreover, if the Maharaja desired to marry a European lady, His Highness should have sought the hand of the daughter of some European Lord or a member of the Royal Family. To marry the sister of the Darogah of his stables is derogatory to His Highness’s dignity. Even in Europe if a man marries a lady of low position she is not received into society. The *Himala* attributes the Maharaja’s conduct

to his incomplete English education and to his mixing in European society, and is at a loss to understand by the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab should have delayed calling for an explanation from Lord William Beresford, the Military Secretary, for inducing the Maharaja to spend 80 lakhs on the Turf and Polo tournaments. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th May 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 21, pp. 257–258).

### ***Koh-i-Nur*, 13 May 1893**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), dated 13th May 1893, states that the *Civil and Military Gazette* has, as might have been expected, suggested that, in order to put an end to the mismanagement prevailing in the Patiala State, a Resident should be appointed. This change has probably been suggested because the Maharaja has recently married a European lady. The administration of the State is being carried on in an efficient manner by the Prime Minister, whose ability is well known both to the Government and the public. The *Koh-i-Nur* is therefore unable to agree with the *Civil and Military Gazette* regarding the necessity of appointing a Resident. All that is required is that the Government should settle the question regarding the succession to the *Gaddi* in a satisfactory manner so that the Maharaja's recent marriage may not affect the State in any way. If this is done the marriage in question will cease to be looked upon with alarm. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th May 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 21, p. 257).

### ***Tuti-i-Hind*, 16 May 1893**

The *Tuti-i-Hind* (Meerut), dated 16th May 1893, says: – “It is alleged that Miss Bryan before her marriage with the Maharaja of Patiala asked the advice of His Excellency the Viceroy. Whether she received any reply or not, there is no doubt that it is unwise to take the advice of the Viceroy on such delicate matters.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th May 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 21, p. 257).

### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 19 and 20 May 1893**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), in its issue of the 19th and 20th May 1893, publishes a communication sent by an official of the Patiala State, who approves of the Maharaja's action in marrying Miss Bryan, and says that the Anglo-Indians and their organ the *Civil and Military Gazette*, have condemned the marriage through jealousy. Many European ladies are desirous of becoming the wives of Native gentlemen, but the Anglo-Indians naturally do not like the idea of a lady accepting the hand of a Native, however respectable and influential he may be. As Commissioners and District Magistrates cannot find ladies to marry in this

country, and are consequently compelled to live single up to an advanced age, it is natural that the European community should look upon the recent marriage of the Maharaja of Patiala with disfavour. They cannot bear to see a Native Chief marrying an English lady, because if the latter had won the heart of one of their own class, she would have been instrumental in improving his position (*sic*) by going to tea parties, balls, &c. This action on the part of the Maharaja is not opposed either to religion or morality. It is not true that the Maharaja has contracted this marriage to satisfy his lust, because if he had that object in view he would have kept the most beautiful of the European ladies who are available for money in Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore, Umballa, Meerut, Dera Dun, Simla, Dum Dum, Mussorie, Murree, Nainital, Bangalore, Sikandarabad and other places. The fact is that the recent marriage of the Maharaja is the outcome of mutual love. Had the Maharaja been overcome by his passion, he would have embraced Christianity if Miss Bryan had persisted in his doing so, but she herself being in love with His Highness had no intention of profiting by unfair means. She in fact did not wish to see His Highness become a Christian. The marriage of a Maharaja with a European lady who embraces the Sikh religion is not opposed to the Shastras. The writer would prefer marrying a European lady to keeping one as a mistress, and considers that this marriage will have another good effect on the Maharaja, namely, that His Highness will no longer care for other European ladies. The writer then goes on to show that no difficulties will occur in the Maharaja's zenana, because if the presence of the other wives of the Maharaja has not hitherto created any difficulty, there is no reason why the presence of Maharani Harnam Kaur should cause trouble. The Maharaja is said to be very desirous of enjoying European society, but a Native cannot do so unless he is accompanied by his wife on social occasions, and this may also probably account for the Maharaja's marriage with Miss Bryan, who will not hesitate like his Native Maharanis to accompany His Highness in European society. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 3rd June 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 22, pp. 267–268).

### ***Gham Khwar-i-Hind*, 20 May 1893**

The *Gham Khwar-i-Hind* (Lahore), dated 20th May 1893, says that the existing state of affairs in the Patiala State and the recent marriage of the Maharaja are being hotly discussed in the newspapers, one of which has suggested the appointment of a Resident. There is no doubt that the marriage in question is not likely to have a good effect on the State politics, but at the same time it does not necessitate the appointment of a Resident. The appointment of Residents to improve the administration of Native States has not hitherto been attended with good results. All that is required is that the Local Government

should keep a careful watch over the affairs of the Native States. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 3rd June 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 22, p. 268).

***Sirmur Gazette, 21 May 1893***

The *Sirmur Gazette* (Nahan), dated 21st May 1893, states that a hot controversy is going on among the native papers regarding Patiala affairs. Some of the Vernacular papers, being bribed by the intriguing party in the State, have spared no pains to support that party. Besides the Native Press an Anglo-Indian paper (meaning the *Civil and Military Gazette*) and its newly born child (*i.e.* the Punjab Patriot) are blindly supporting this party, which has succeeded in wasting the State Treasury in the course of three years on sport, &c., and cannot be expected to be free from selfish motives. Another newspaper has been started in Umballa at the expense of this party for the sole purpose of abusing and opposing its opponents. The proprietor of this paper is a man who has undergone several years' imprisonment, besides being fined for embezzling money belonging to the Patiala State. The circulation of this paper is scarcely more than 40 copies, which are all subscribed for by men who are hangers-on of the Maharaja and think of nothing but serving their own ends. This paper is endeavouring to show that there is no defect in the management of the Patiala State, and that all officials with the sole exception of the Khalifa family are loyal and honest. It is to be regretted that those officials of the State, who have emptied the Treasury and received jagirs, gardens, &c., from the Maharaja by making a fool of him, should be called honest and able men by the Umballa paper. If the Umballa paper has any conscience it should explain which party is responsible for bringing about a financial crisis in the State, and compelling it to incur a debt of several lakhs. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 10th June 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 23, pp. 282–283).

***Umballa Gazette, 23 May 1893***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), dated 23rd May 1893, in continuation of its previous article on Patiala Affairs, (*vide* Selections No. 20, para. 22), takes the *Civil and Military Gazette* task for suggesting that the Maharaja should be deprived of all power in the State; that he should have no control over the State officials; that an allowance should be fixed for his personal expenses; and that the higher officials of the State should be under the control of the Punjab Government. These suggestions are sufficient to show how disloyal and dishonest is the man who is at the bottom of such writings. The *Umballa Gazette* considers that the man at whose instance these suggestions have been made is an inveterate enemy of the Government and the Patiala State. The *Umballa*

*Gazette* then goes on to show that the Government cannot be expected to set a naught all treaty engagements with the State, and deprive of ruling powers a Chief, who has at his back no less than four lakhs of Sikhs in his own and 10 lakhs in other places, all of whom are loyal and faithful to the British Crown. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 3rd June 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 22, p. 267).

### ***Singh Sahai, 23 May 1893***

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 23rd May 1893, publishes a communication in which the writer endeavours to show that there is no truth in the report published in some of the papers that Miss Bryan was disguised as a native Jat woman when given the *Pahul*. The author of this false report appears to be Amolak Singh, the priest who administered the *Pahul* to Miss Bryan and who ate *Kara Parshad* from her hands, and made his companions eat it as well. Amolak Singh of course wishes it to be understood that had he known that the woman was really a European, he would have refused to perform the ceremony. On finding that general dissatisfaction prevailed among the Sikhs in regard to his conduct, he gave out that he had been deceived by the Maharaja and his Musahibs, who had told him that the *Pahul* was to be given to a Jat woman. This man also appropriated to himself all the money (Rs. 350) which was given him for feasting the Sikhs of his class. Amolak Singh should be deprived of the grant of the village made to him and should be required to refund what he received on behalf of others.

Again, the rumour that Maharani Harnam Kaur gave a written agreement that neither she nor her parents were to have any claim for maintenance (*guzara*) is totally without foundation. She lives and eats like European.

As regard the respectability of Mr. Bryan, his pay, a short time ago, was Rs. 500 and he now gets Rs. 800 per mensem. Besides, he is kindly treated by the Maharaja and lives like a high official.

The Rajas of Nabha and Sangrur (Jind), who were at first displeased with the Maharaja, have now sent letters expressing their approval of the marriage.

On the 9th May 1893 at 6 PM the Maharaja laid the foundation stone of Bryanpur on the ruins of Sirhind, which have been granted to Sardar Gurdit Singh. The Maharaja has liberally granted jagirs to his Musahibs. Sardars Gurdit Singh, Jiwan Singh and Hira Singh well deserved the grants of land and gardens which have been made to them by His Highness. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 10th June 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 23, pp. 281–282).

***Himala, 26 May 1893***

The *Himala* (Rawalpindi), dated 26th May 1893, publishes a communication in which the writer endeavours to show that as Hindus and Europeans belong to the same branch of the Aryan race, the former are justified in marrying European ladies. Indeed, it is necessary for the social and political progress of the Hindus that they should contract such marriages. But before doing so they should, like Maharaja of Patiala, induce their intended brides to embrace Hinduism. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 10th June 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 23, p. 283).

***Taj-ul-Akhbar, 27 May 1893***

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), of the 27th May 1893, referring to the Maharaja of Patiala's marriage with Miss Bryan condemns the practice of natives marrying European ladies, and endeavours to show that such marriages are unlikely to prove advantageous to the natives. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 10th June 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 23, p. 283).

***Akhbar-i-Am, 30 May 1893***

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 30th May 1893, says that a rumour is afloat that the European Maharani of Patiala is pregnant and has been for several months past. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 10th June 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 23, p. 283).

***Lyall Khalsa Gazette, 1 June 1893***

The *Lyall Khalsa Gazette* (Sialkot), dated 1st June 1893, in an article on the Maharaja of Patiala's recent marriage endeavours to show that His Highness has not married Miss Bryan merely for the sake of introducing a religious or social reform, and concludes by remarking that the marriage is not due to Mr. Sime's teaching, but to the evil counsels of the Maharaja's self-interested musahibs, who are divided into cliques. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 17th June 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 24, p. 295).

***Himala, 2 June 1893***

The *Himala* (Rawalpindi), of the 2nd June 1893, says that the indifference with which Government treated the recent marriage of the Maharaja of Patiala was viewed with astonishment, but the authorities have at last given expression to their views on the subject, though not in clear language. According to the contemporary Government has informed the Maharaja that it has no remarks



to make on the marriage, but that it would be well if all Europeans staying in Patiala, with the exception of those employed by the Maharaja, were turned out of the State. It is alleged that Mr. Young visited Patiala on the 16th May with the special object of enquiring into the circumstances which led to the marriage of the Maharaja with Miss Bryan. Mr. Young is also said to have taken down the statements of the State officials regarding the matter, and to have conferred with His Highness in private. He also consulted the Nabha and Sangrur Chiefs on the 20th and 21st May, but with what result is not yet known. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 17th June 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 24, p. 294).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 5 June 1893**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 5th June 1893, says that according to the *Taj-ul-Akhbar* Government has expressed its disapproval of the action of the Maharaja of Patiala in marrying Miss Bryan. If this is true the action of Government is open to objection. Whether the Maharaja is a good man or not is a different question, but the fact of this marrying a Christian lady after converting her to Sikhism does not amount to a crime. The *Rahbar* calls upon Government to give wide publicity to the orders it has passed on the subject. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 17th June 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 24, p. 294).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 6 June 1893**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 6th June 1893, condemns the practice of Hindus marrying European women, and points out the evils resulting from such unions. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 17th June 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 24, p. 294).

***Lyall Khalsa Gazette*, 8 June 1893**

The *Lyall Khalsa Gazette* (Sialkot), of the 8th June 1893, takes the Mahant of the Akal Bunga (Golden Temple) at Amritsar to task for not allowing Mahant Amolak Singh to enter the temple on the ground that he had performed the Pahul ceremony for a European lady (Miss Bryan) and made her a convert to Sikhism. The *Gazette* remarks that according to the Sikh religion the Pahul can be administered even to sweepers and chamars, and that Amolak Singh has done nothing repugnant to the Sikh religion in administering it to a European lady. The real fact is that Amolak Singh has appropriated to himself the whole *jagir* (*sic*) and rewards given by the Maharaja of Patiala, and has not allotted a share to the Mahant of the Akal Bunga; hence the latter is jealous of Amolak

Singh. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 24th June 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 25, pp. 309–310).

***Umballa Gazette, 29 August 1893***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 29th August 1893, publishes an article with a view to showing that the Maharaja of Patiala has received a good education and is an able ruler. The Editor praises the action of His Highness in marrying Miss Bryan instead of giving himself up to a life of licentiousness and pleasure. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 9th September 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 36, p. 446).

***Bharat Sewak, September 1893***

The *Bharat Sewak* (Jullundur), for September 1893, makes some facetious remarks regarding the Maharaja of Patiala's marriage with Miss Florence Bryan and the birth of a son which has taken place five months after the marriage. The Editor regards the marriage in the light of a "civilized way of veiling vice." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 14th October 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 41, p. 529).

***Aftab-i-Punjab, 1 September 1893***

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), dated 1st September 1893, is glad to find that both the Patiala Wazirs, Diwan Gurmukh Singh and Khalifa Syad Muhammad Hussain, are working harmoniously and have effected a saving of two lakhs of rupees in the State expenditure by reducing the salaries of the State officials, including their own. The Wazirs are doing the work entrusted to them in a satisfactory manner, and it is expected that they will succeed in placing the administration of the State on a satisfactory footing. Referring to the birth of a son by Maharani Harnam Kaur, the Editors advises the Maharaja to grant jagirs and show due respect to the new prince, but not to compel his Hindu Maharanis and their descendants to dine with Harnam Kaur. His Highness should follow the example of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Raja Kharak Singh and other Sikh Chiefs who enjoyed the confidence and respect of the Sikhs notwithstanding the fact that they had married Muhammadan and Christian ladies. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 23rd September 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 38, p. 473).

***Umballa Gazette, 5 September 1893***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), dated 5th September 1893, endeavours to show that the present Maharaja of Patiala has introduced many salutary reforms in

the administration of the State, and that the charges of extravagance brought against His Highness are entirely groundless. This being the case, Government's interference in the internal affairs of the State, and its pressing for the appointment of a Council of Regency at the instance of certain self-interested and disloyal persons are quite uncalled for. The late Maharaja Narinder Singh emptied the State treasury by his extravagance, but in accordance with the terms of Lord Canning's Sanad dated 5th May 1860, the Government did not interfere in the financial affairs of the State. It is only in the time of the present Maharaja that we hear of threats of Government interference. It is quite possible, however, that these rumours regarding the Government interference have been set afloat by certain disloyal servants of His Highness. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 23rd September 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 38, p. 473).

***Tuti-i-Hind*, 8 September 1893**

The *Tuti-i-Hind* (Meerut), of the 8th September 1893, writing on the same subject ironically remarks that the birth of a son to the Maharaja of Patiala by his European Rani so soon after the marriage need not cause any surprise. The Maharaja is a very fast rider, who can go round a race course in four minutes, and it is only natural that his son should also be quick in coming into the world. The only wonder is that the child should have remained so long as five months in the womb of its mother. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 23rd September 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 38, p. 474).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 9 September 1893**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 9th September 1893, says that one of its contemporaries has made certain remarks regarding the birth of a son to the Maharaja of Patiala by Maharani Harnam Kaur. The *Koh-i-Nur* thinks that the remarks in question are uncalled for and unnecessary, seeing that the fact is well known to both the Government and the Maharaja. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 23rd September 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 38, p. 471).

***Taj-ul-Akhbar*, 9 September 1893**

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), of 9th September 1893, states that less than five months ago the Maharaja of Patiala was married to Miss Florence Bryan, and now a son has been born to him. The conduct of those papers, which are congratulating the Maharaja on the event from motives of flattery, cannot be too strongly condemned. The Editor also denounces the action of the State in ordering three salutes to be fired in honor of the occasion. It would have

been much better, continues the Editor, if five salutes had been fired instead of three, as the birth of a child has taken place five months after the marriage. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 23rd September 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 38, p. 474).

***Lyall Khalsa Gazette*, 16 September 1893**

The *Lyall Khalsa Gazette* (Sialkot), dated 16th September 1893, takes those newspapers to task which have passed unnecessary strictures on the administration of the Patiala State, and endeavours to show that the Maharaja of Patiala is an able ruler and that Government is not justified in pressing for the establishment of a Council at Patiala, as to do so would be interference in the internal affairs of the State and opposed to Treaty engagements. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 30th September 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 39, p. 491).

***Durbin*, 2 October 1893**

The *Durbin* (Lahore), of the 2nd October 1893, condemns the action of the Anglo-Indian and Native papers in finding fault with the Maharaja of Patiala for marrying Miss Bryan. Since the Maharaja married this lady after her conversion to Sikhism, nobody can justly take exception to His Highness's conduct. Moreover, what business have the newspaper got to meddle with His Highness's private affairs? (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 14th October 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 41, p. 529).

***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 25 December 1893**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 25th December 1893, endeavours to show that there is no foundation for the rumour that the Maharaja of Patiala does not care for the Sikh religion. His Highness sees the Granth every morning and hears some *shabds* (sacred songs). He has contributed liberally towards the repairs of certain Sikh temples. There is nothing novel about his marrying a European lady, seeing that all kings have been in the habit of marrying women belonging to other nations. Such action need not interfere with their religious beliefs. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 30th December 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 52, p. 702).

***Singh Sahai*, 8 January 1894**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 8th January 1894, says that the people of Patiala are thankful for the administrative reforms which have been introduced since the accession of the Maharaja, but regret that the financial condition of the State is so unsatisfactory that great difficulty is experienced in carrying on

the administration even with tolerable efficiency. The States authorities have done all in their power to remedy this evil, but owing to the daily increasing extravagance (lit. generosity) of the Maharaja their efforts have proved fruitless. This unsatisfactory state of things has attracted the attention of Government to the affairs of Patiala. The Maharaja is a well-educated, enlightened and loyal Chief, but he is fond of display and keeps a large number of horsemen on his private staff. The Editor concludes by remarking that every well-wisher of the State is anxious that His Highness should attend to the matter, so that the administration of the State may not pass into white hands. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 20th January 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 35).

***Umballa Gazette, 23 January 1894***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 23rd January 1894, remarks that since the Maharaja of Patiala and Sardars Pritem Singh and Harnam Singh won the Polo tournament at Lahore in December last, the *Civil and Military Gazette* has been publishing articles with a view to showing the undesirability of Native Chiefs and their servants playing polo, &c. The Sardars of Patiala do not understand English and are, therefore, ignorant of the remarks made by the Anglo-Indian papers against them. Moreover if such criticisms are brought to their notice, they attach no more importance to them than they would to the barking of a mad dog. After remarking that it is undesirable on the part of the Maharaja of Patiala to mix indiscriminately with Europeans, the Editor says that the defamatory remarks made by the *Civil and Military Gazette* regarding the Patiala Sardars are uncalled for and untrue. The Sardars are neither professional polo-players nor have they risen to high positions owing to their skill in that game. They are in fact members of respectable and influential families of Patiala. The *Gazette* then goes on to give a short history of the family of Sardar Colonel Pritem Singh. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 24th February 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 8, p. 79).

***Civil and Military News, 24 January 1894***

The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 24th January 1894, takes exception to the remarks made by the *Civil and Military Gazette* regarding the Polo tournament between Patiala and Lahore teams, and urges that His Highness the Maharaja should only play Polo with Native Princes of high rank, as it is derogatory to his dignity to play with all sorts of Europeans without reference to their rank and social status. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 3rd February 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 5, p. 51).

***Singh Sahai, 28 March 1894***

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 28th March 1894, is glad to learn that the Maharaja of Patiala who had incurred the displeasures of his subjects, his European friends and the Sikhs, Hindus and Muhammadans in general, owing to his marriage with Miss Florence (Bryan), has changed his mind and wished to reform. A Motamid of His Highness recently visited Amritsar and asked the Mahants at the Golden Temple to remit the penalty imposed on the Maharaja. The Mahants, however, have declined to comply with this request. Whether the opinion of Sardar Gurdit Singh, Guardian of the Golden Temple, has been taken on the subject or not, remains yet to be ascertained. It is said that the Motamids of His Highness have preferred a similar request to the Sodhis of Anandpur, and it is expected that they will grant the request. The Editor remarks that the Mahants at the Golden Temple have made a mistake in rejecting the Maharaja's request, as such action on their part is calculated to disappoint His Highness. It is said that if the remission of his penalty is agreed to the Maharaja will in future follow the views held by the Sikhs of the old school. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 7th April 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 14, pp. 147–148).

***Wafadar, 15 May 1894***

The *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 15th May 1894, regrets that, in spite of the Maharaja of Patiala being an able and well-educated ruler, he is so addicted to horse races, polo and other vices that His Highness does not take any interest in the administration of the State. He is wasting the State treasury on sport, &c., quite regardless of the fact that the revenue should be spent for the welfare of his subjects. The worst of it is that His Highness will not attend to the prayers of his old and faithful servants in connection with State affairs. It would be well, adds the *Wafadar*, if the Lieutenant-Governor called the special attention of His Highness to his evil ways. The *Wafadar* fears that if the present state of affairs continues His Honor will have a great deal of trouble in setting matters right. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 9th June 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 23, p. 245).

***Wazir-i-Hind, 26 May 1894***

The *Wazir-i-Hind* (Sialkot), of the 26th May 1894, regrets that the Maharaja of Patiala should be engaged day and night playing polo, &c., and wasting thousands of rupees. It is surprising, however, that even Sardar Shamsher Singh cannot prevent His Highness from indulging in such follies, and that he should not advise him to his spending money for the welfare of his subjects. If such

councillors continue any longer in the service of the Maharaja, the State will be immerse in debt. The Editor regrets that the English education imparted to the Maharaja should not have proved more beneficial to him and the State. The difficulty is that the *Musahibs* of the Native Chiefs are not able and educated men. They invariably give evil counsel, and make their masters believe that even a Lieutenant-Governor cannot interfere in the private affairs of a Native Chief. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 9th June 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 23, p. 245).

#### ***Wazir-i-Hind*, 9 June 1894**

The *Wazir-i-Hind* (Sialkot), dated 9th June 1894, complains that the State officials are unable to take measures for the welfare of the Patiala State, as the Musahibs of His Highness the Maharaja will not allow him to attend to the State affairs. The Wazir suggests that the Patiala budget, which is now being drawn up, should limit the polo and private expenses of the Maharaja, and that His Highness should not contract any more debts. There is a rumour to the effect that the Maharaja intends undertaking a voyage to Europe. The *Wazir-i-Hind* condemns this on the ground that the State will be involved in financial embarrassment. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 16th June 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 24, p. 259).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 2 July 1894**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 2nd July 1894, says that the example set by the Maharaja of Patiala in converting a European lady before marrying her is being imitated by the more independent classes of Sikhs, and several Muhammadan women have been given the *pahul* and admitted to the *Panth*. The Sikhs are divided into two parties over the matter, the Raja of Nabha being at the head of the party opposed to such marriages. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 7th July 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 27, p. 294).

#### ***Singh Sahai*, 28 July 1894**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 28th July 1894, denounces the practice of converting Christians and Muhammadans to the Sikh religion, and remarks that this is a very important question which should have been settled after obtaining the opinions of the whole Sikh nation on the subject just as was done in connection with the establishment of the Khalsa College. It is said that the Raja of Nabha is opposed to the practice, and intends introducing social reforms among the Sikhs in order to protect their religion. (*Selections from the*

*Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th August 1894.* Vol. VII, No. 31, p. 348).

***Paisa Akhbar, 1 September 1894***

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 1st September 1894, publishes a communication in which the writer states that the following gentlemen have been appointed Musahibs by the Maharaja of Patiala: –

- (1) Sardar Gurdit Singh
- (2) Shamsheer Singh,
- (3) Jiwan Singh,
- (4) Pritam Singh, and
- (5) Hira Singh.

These Sardars, some of whom owe their appointments to their skill at polo, possess great influence over the Maharaja. They never leave the presence of the Maharaja (*i.e.*, they remain with His Highness turn by turn), and accordingly nobody dares to make a complain against them. The Sardars practice great oppression on the people, but the Maharaja is ignorant of their doings. The writers further complains that, while the salaries of certain officials have been increased in recognition of services rendered by them in assisting in the arrest of the well known dacoit Jewna Mor, no reward has been paid to Narain who actually arrested Jewna. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 15th September 1894.* Vol. VII, No. 37, p. 419).

***Umballa Gazette, 25 September 1894***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), dated 25th September 1894, publishes an article with a view to showing that the Prime Minister of Patiala, who wasted the State treasury during the time of the late Maharaja in order to conceal his own misdoings, has represented the present Maharaja as being a spend-thrift, and given out that His Highness has wasted the treasury on polo, races, &c. This imputation is entirely without foundation. The fact is that the Maharaja established a High Court for the proper administration of justice, but did not dispense with the services of the Wazir's protégés, who were allowed to hold Judicial appointments in the Mufassil Courts. The result of this was an increase in the expenditure of the State. All these officials richly deserved dismissal for their malpractices, and if their services had been dispensed with, the State expenditure would not have increased at all. Fortunately, owing to the death of the sons of the Wazir and the Munshi and of Maulvi Zahur-ul-Hassan, a saving of Rs. 750 per mensem has been effected. The *Gazette* then goes on to say that certain self-interested persons have published articles in the *Paisa Akhbar* with



a view to securing the abolition of the Patiala High Court and the transfer of its work to the Wazir as before. The complaints of these persons are entirely false. The imputation that the Sardars of old families, who have been appointed to high posts by the Maharaja himself, owe their present appointments to their skill at polo, racing, &c., is utterly unfounded. His Highness appointed them of his own accord without consulting the Wazir and because they were qualified for such posts and belonged to respectable families, hence the opposition of the Wazir. The *Umballa Gazette* after praising the Maharaja says: – “O disloyal men! You have become old, but have not been able to shake off your habits of debauchery and licentiousness. Moreover, such practices do not entail an expenditure of lakhs of rupees. It is useless to threaten the Maharaja with Government interference, and those who have led a certain retired Commissioner of a Division to believe that they could secure his appointment as Political Agent to the State and get the Maharaja deprived of his ruling powers are certain to be punished for their misdeeds. Government cannot treat a loyal Chief contrary to its treaty engagements at the instance of his disloyal servants.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 13th October 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 41, p. 473).

#### ***Umballa Gazette, 9 October 1894***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 9th October 1894, publishes a communication in which the writer remarks that the present unsatisfactory state of the Patiala finances is due not to wasting money on polo and races, but to the extravagances of the Wazir, who has increased the salaries of his numerous relations and protégés, doubled the pay of the Wazarat establishment, and created dozens of new appointments. It was to put an end to this extravagance that the Maharaja appointed a new Mashir, who was an honest man and able administrator. Several crores of rupees were wasted or embezzled during the reign of the late Maharaja, but the Council of Regency so ably managed the finances of the State that after spending 2½ crores on the Sutlej Canal, one crore on the Patiala Railway, and several lakhs on other works of public utility, there was a cash balance of 60 lakhs in the treasury when the Council was abolished. Has his money together with the revenues of the State been spent on polo and horse races? (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th October 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 43, p. 491).

#### ***Umballa Gazette, 9 October 1894***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 9th October 1894, remarks that the Wafadar has published an article directed against the Maharaja of Patiala similar to those which appeared against the Raja of Faridkot. The Editor was under

the impression that the *Wafadar* would not easily forget the lesson given to it by the Faridkot State, but it appears that this lesson has been lost on the Editor. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th October 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 43, p. 492).

#### ***Wafadar, 15 October 1894***

The *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 15th October 1894, states that the Punjab Government in their last Administration Report expressed regret at the action of the Maharaja of Patiala in wasting large sums of money on racing and neglecting the administration of his State. These remarks have apparently failed to produce the desired effect, seeing that His Highness intends to take part not only in the Simla and Poona races, but also in those at Hyderabad, Deccan. This being the case, the *Wafadar* urges that Government should invest the responsible officials of the State with more extensive powers, so as to avoid the necessity of having to repeat its expressions of regret in the next Report. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th October 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 43, pp. 491–492).

#### ***Tuti-i-Hind, 16 October 1894***

The *Tuti-i-Hind* (Meerut), dated 16th October 1894, takes the *Umballa Gazette* to task for bringing false and unfounded charges against the Khalifas of Patiala from motive of personal enmity. As, however, such writings are calculated to mislead the public and bring the Prime Minister into discredit, it is necessary that the falseness of the charges brought against the Wazir should be laid bare and brought to the notice of Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, so that he may see how through party-feeling such small prints do a great deal of harm to the Native States, and how they try to deceive the Government by resorting to misrepresentation.

The *Umballa Gazette* speaks of Sardar Gurmukh Singh, son of Sardar Ude Singh, as *Mashir-i-Ala*, whereas Khalifa Syad Muhammad Hassan Khan, C.I.E., being the senior, is the real *Mashir-i-Ala*, and is entered in the State official papers as such. His Highness allows both of them equal salaries in order to avoid ill-feeling and rivalry between them, but the *Umballa Gazette* persists in calling them senior and junior Ministers. The real cause of this enmity towards the Minister is that the latter's brother had the proprietor of the *Umballa Gazette* imprisoned on a charge of embezzlement.

The *Umballa Gazette* says that on the abolition of the Council in 1889 the Maharaja invested the late (*sic*) Minister (Khalifa Muhammad Hassan) with full political and revenue powers as a matter of expediency, and that this man wasted the State Treasure and the accumulated treasures of the State in course

of six years. This imputation is without foundation. Indeed it is a barefaced lie. The Editor then goes on to say that on the occasion of the Maharaja's investiture the Punjab Government remarks that the Maharaja was being invested with full powers on the responsibility of the Wazir and the Mir Munshi, and that they (Khalifas) would exercise supervision over His Highness and the State. But for this remark, the Wazir would not have been able to hold his own against the back-biters, who have since His Highness' birth been intriguing and trying to poison the mind of the Maharaja against him. The Prime Minister is a just, honest, able and God-fearing man, and has been highly praised by Sir Lepel Griffin in his "Ranjit Singh" at pages 114-15. The Khalifas have also been praised from time to time by several other high personages, such as Sir Charles Aitchison, Mr. Burnes, Their Excellencies Lord Dufferin and Lansdowne. Moreover the two brothers are very popular among all classes of the people. In short, the satisfactory arrangements of State affairs is due only to them, and their removal would upset the whole machinery of the State. The late Maharaja used to call the Wazir his father or uncle, but efforts are being made to deceive the present Maharaja in order that he may be deprived of the services of these two able and eminent statesmen, and thus enable the intriguers to plunder the State.

The *Umballa Gazette* state that the Council did not press charges of embezzlement against the Khalifas because they were afraid that the latter would fight out the cases with the Council with the money embezzled by them. It is apparent from this that the charges were the result of personal grudge. A man of ordinary intelligence can understand that the Council would have had greater chance of success if it had prosecuted the Khalifas at once instead of waiting for the investiture of the Maharaja.

The imputation of embezzlement against Khalifa Muhammad Kazim is likewise unfounded. He is still getting a salary of Rs. 250 per mensem. The charge against Ghulam Imam of stealing the late Maharaja's jewellery is also without foundation.

The *Umballa Gazette* has cause to praise the Council, which gave posts to dismissed servants of the State like the proprietor of the *Gazette*.

The complaint of the *Umballa Gazette* that the relatives of the Wazir are employed in the State is due to the fact that the proprietor has now been expelled from the State.

The money saved by the Council has not been spent in increasing the salaries of the officials, but on the marriage of His Highness and that of his brother, on the reception of the Viceroy, on the birth of their heir-apparent, &c. Moreover the new Musahibs induced the Maharaja to indulge in fresh tastes, with the result that the Treasury has become empty. The charge of taking bribes by

the Wazir in deciding cases is also false. Instead of commenting on the irregular dispensation of justice by the Patiala Chief Court, the *Umballa Gazette* gives currency to falsehoods against the Wazir. The notorious case in which the Judges of the Chief Court passed sentence before hearing the parties has not been noticed in the columns of the *Umballa Gazette*. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 10th November 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 45, pp. 521–523).

***Tuti-i-Hind*, 16 October 1894**

The *Tuti-i-Hind* (Meerut), of the 16th October 1894, states that Syad Mahdi Ali has been degraded from the post of Tahsildar to that of Killadar of Bahadurgarh owing to his being a relative of the Mir Munshi to the Maharaja of Patiala. It is rumoured that two or three other Syad officials of the State will be dismissed before the Lahore Darbar, and that the Wazir and the Mir Munshi will be compelled to retire on pension. Gurmukh Singh, the Second Mashir, will be appointed in place of Diwan Gurdit Singh, who will be appointed President of the Privy Councils with Sardars Jiwan Singh, Hira Singh and Pritam Singh as members. The son-in-law of Sardar Gurmukh Singh will be appointed Mir Munshi, and thus the Muhammadan officials of the State will be got rid of. The *Tuti* remarks that this is a mere rumour, and suggests that instead of appointing a Council the Maharaja should confer full powers on the Wazirs; otherwise it is possible that Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick may call upon His Highness to explain why he has dismissed all the Muhammadan officials in the State. His Honor may also possibly appoint a European Political Officer to the State, although such an appointment would be contrary to Treaty agreements. Those who have induced the Maharaja to compel the Khalifas to retire have proved themselves the enemies of the State and of its subjects, as the Khalifas deserve to be raised to a still higher position. In short, political clouds are hovering around the State and seem to threaten a heavy storm. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 10th November 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 45, p. 523).

***Umballa Gazette*, 23 October 1894**

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 23rd October 1894, remarks that the Wazir and his brother, who were not included in the Patiala Council of Regency owing to their past misconduct, tried to bring the Council into discredit in order to serve their own selfish ends. Similar efforts are now being made to lower the present Maharaja in the estimation of Government and the public by representing His Highness as being extravagant, &c. The Wazir, who was deprived of his powers during the time of the late Maharaja, and again at

the time of the appointment of the Council of Regency, has once more been divested of all authority, and it is owing to this that one or two Muhammadans newspapers have of late commenced attacking His Highness. The newspapers referred to are the *Paisa Akhbar* and the *Wafadar*. The latter in its issue of the 8th October brings the following charges against the Maharaja: –

- (1) That His Highness is extravagant;
- (2) That he is addicted to pleasure;
- (3) That he is ignorant of the condition of his subjects, and does not understand the art of government; and
- (4) That he has been reprimanded both by the Punjab Government and the Government of India.

As regards (1), the Editor states that enormous sums were spent during the time of Maharajas Narendar Singh and Mahindar Singh on the construction of temples and buildings as well as on marriages and the purchase of English jewelry, but no such extravagance has been practised during the time of the present Maharaja. His Highness being a soldier is no doubt fond of polo and racing, but it is a mistake to suppose that the stakes in these sports amount to lakhs of rupees. A good deal of money has, however, been spent on the construction of railways, canals, roads and other works of public utility. The present unsatisfactory condition of the State finances is due to the incompetency of the officials.

The second charge preferred against the Maharaja is equally groundless, seeing that, unlike other Native Princes, he has married only two wives. The Editor then goes on to say that the action of the Maharaja in appointing an honest man to the post of *Mashi-i-Ala* shows that he is not ignorant of the condition of his subjects. Moreover, His Highness has received a good education, and it is idle to assert that he is ignorant of the art of government.

The last charge, *viz.*, that His Highness has been reprimanded (*matub*), is utterly without foundation, and the *Gazette* is at a loss to understand how its contemporary has obtained information, as to the alleged reprimand. The *Gazette* is of opinion that the Wazir and his brother wish to play the part of king-makers like Kutb-ul-Mulk and Amir-ul-Umra, who killed Jehandar Shah and then imprisoned Farruk Sayar. These men should, however, remember that they will not be allowed to play such a part; for, while Farruk Sayar was a usurper, the Maharaja has no rival claimant to the throne of Patiala. Moreover, the Patiala State is under the protection of the British Government, which does not allow disloyal officials to have their own way against their masters. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 10th November 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 45, pp. 520–521).

***Lyall Khalsa Gazette*, 24 October 1894**

The *Lyall Khalsa Gazette* (Sialkot), of the 24th October 1894, states that there is a general impression that certain Native Chiefs have failed to give satisfaction merely because they have received an English education. This is a great mistake, the real cause of such failure being the prevalence of intrigues and party-feeling among the State officials, and the association of the Chiefs with unworthy and selfish people. The *Khalsa Gazette* then goes on to say that a Parliamentary Blue Book recently issued contains some uncomplimentary (lit. shameful) remarks regarding the Maharaja of Patiala couched in language much stronger than that employed by the Punjab Government in their last Administration Report. But is the Maharaja responsible for this? The *Gazette* thinks that His Highness is in no way to blame for the state of things complained of. He has done a good deal towards promoting the welfare of his subjects. He has established a High Court, which has proved beneficial to the people, and appointed an able co-adjutor. Nor is this all. His Highness also intends to establish a Legislative Council and constitute a Civil Service, &c., and has more than once issued orders enjoining reductions in the salaries of the officials as well as of his own personal expenditure, and if these reforms have not been carried out, the responsibility rests with the State officials and not with the Maharaja. Are not the Patiala officials ashamed that their master should be spoken of in terms the reverse of complimentary even by the British Parliament. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 3rd November 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 44, p. 504).

***Shumali*, 5 November 1894**

The *Shumali* (Sialkot), of the 5th November 1894, praises the action of the *Umballa Gazette* in publishing articles in defence of the Maharaja of Patiala. The Editor can assert from his personal knowledge that the State officials, in order to keep the Chief under their control, first induced him to lead a life of pleasure, and then brought him into discredit on his refusing to be led by them. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 17th November 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 46, p. 539).

***Victoria Paper*, 6 November 1894**

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 6th November 1894, also takes the *Umballa Gazette* to task for attacking the Khalifas from personal motives, and expresses a hope that the Maharaja will not listen to those who are urging on him the desirability of compelling the Prime Minister and the Mir Munshi to retire on pension. If His Highness acts upon such advice, he will commit a serious

mistake – a mistake which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to repair. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 17th November 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 46, p. 540).

#### ***Singh Sahai*, 7 November 1894**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 7th November 1894, takes the *Umballa Gazette* to task for bringing false charges against the Prime Minister and Mir Munshi of Patiala, and praises the *Tuti-i-Hind* for refuting these charges. The Singh Sahai would certainly like to see the Sikhs holding all important posts in the State, but at the same time believes that but for the Khalifas the Patiala State would have been reduced to a much more miserable plight than Kashmir has been owing to the removal of the Diwan family. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 17th November 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 46, pp. 539–540).

#### ***Wafadar*, 15 December 1894**

The *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 15th December 1894, publishes an article with a view to showing that the remarks made by the Viceroy in the course of his speech at the Lahore Darbar regarding “the pursuit of pleasure instead of duty” and “the expenditure on self-indulgence of revenues that ought to be devoted to the public advantage” refer to the Maharaja of Patiala, as His Highness is the only Native Chief in the Punjab who absolutely wastes the State treasury on self-indulgence. The *Wafadar* also invites the attention of the Punjab Government to the fact that the Maharaja of Patiala has turned a deaf ear to the advice given him in the Annual Administration Report of the Punjab regarding his extravagance. His Highness has neither given up his habits or lavish expenditure nor turned his attention to the welfare and prosperity of his subjects. It is therefore desirable that Government should appoint a Council to carry on the administration of the State and look after the welfare of the State subjects. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 22nd December 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 51, p. 616).

#### ***Lyall Khalsa Gazette*, 30 December 1894**

The *Lyall Khalsa Gazette* (Sialkot), of the 30th December 1894, remarks that the action of the Maharaja of Patiala in appearing in Military uniform at the head of his troops on the occasion of the Review of Lahore not only shows that His Highness is a soldier, but affords a proof of the loyalty and devotion of the Sikhs to the British Government. The Editor, however, regrets that the Maharaja has not shown the same devotion to administrative matters as he has done to Military affairs. This is due to the fact that most of His Highness's

associates are incompetent men who have brought him into discredit. If the Maharaja selected good and honest men for his companions, the State administration would be placed on a satisfactory footing. The Maharaja last year paid some attention to the affairs of the State, and introduced certain reforms (such as the establishment of a High Court) hitherto unknown in Patiala. This shows that His Highness possesses great administrative capacity, and could do much towards reforming the State Administration. The *Khalsa Gazette* hopes that the remarks made by the Viceroy regarding Native Chiefs, who are not alive to their responsibilities, will not fail to have a good effect on the Maharaja as they were applicable to him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 5th January 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 12).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 28 January 1895**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* (Lahore), dated 28th January 1895, states that owing to the death of Khalifa Syad Muhammad Hassan, C.I.E., the post of the Prime Minister of Patiala has fallen vacant. The Editor urges the selection of Khalifa Syad Muhammad Husain, Mir Munshi, in succession to his brother, as he is the only man fitted for the post. The Editor does not approve of appointing the grandson of the late Prime Minister. A Sikh was recently appointed Joint Minister as a matter of expediency with Khalifa Syad Muhammad Hasan, and not that the latter is dead a Muhammadan might be appointed Minister along with the Sikh for the same reason. If, however, the appointment of two Ministers cannot be allowed on financial grounds, the Mir Munshi should be appointed Prime Minister and the Sikh Minister should be made Mir Munshi or appointed to some other suitable post. But if Government does not wish to interfere in the matter until the management of the State goes from bad to worse and a Resident is appointed, the Editor suggests that the Joint Minister be raised to the post of Prime Minister and some other officials appointed to assist him. These Assistants should be taken one from each of the three parties, namely, the Deori Mualla, the private servants and the party of the late Khuda Bakhah, Director of Public Instruction and the members of the Khalifa's family. The Editor sarcastically observes that if the Sikh Minister is displeased at this suggestion, a Council should be appointed with the Sikh Minister as President, and the Maharaja should be deprived of all power like Maharaja Partab Singh of Kashmir. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 2nd February 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 5, p. 72).

***Umballa Gazette*, 29 January 1895**

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 29th January 1895, also urges that as Patiala is a Sikh State it is desirable that the office of Prime Minister should



be held by a member of that community. The Sikhs in the State number five lakhs and the Hindus form the great majority of the population. As the Muhammadans form only one-fourth of the entire population it would be unfair to the Hindus and the Sikhs to select a member of the Khalifa family for the post in question. Moreover, the appointment of Khalifa Muhammad Hasan will please only the Shiahhs and not the entire Muhammadan population. If the Shiahhs have a right to urge their claims the Sunnis and Sikhs also have an equal right. The best plan would be to let the Maharaja appoint a man in whom he has entire confidence. If the late Minister had given satisfaction, His Highness would neither have curtailed his powers nor appointed a Mashir nor established a High Court. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 16th February 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 7, p. 103).

#### ***Victoria Paper, 7 February 1895***

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 7th February 1895, states that the well-wishers of the Patiala State are anxiously waiting for the decision of the Maharaja in regard to the appointment of a Prime Minister. No better man than Khalifa Syad Muhammad Hussain, the Foreign Minister, is available. The *Victoria Paper* trusts that the Maharaja will show his appreciation of the meritorious services of the Khalifa family by conferring the post of Prime Minister on the Mir Munshi. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 16th February 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 7, p. 103).

#### ***Aftab-i-Punjab, 8 February 1895***

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 8th February 1895, states that certain newspaper have urged the desirability of appointing a member of the Khalifa family to the office of Prime Minister of Patiala, but that they have adduced no satisfactory argument in support of their recommendations. The Editor is opinion that Sardar Gurmukh Singh has stronger claims to the appointment than any of the other candidates, and suggest that promotion should be given to other deserving Sikh Sardars such as Gurdit Singh, Jewan Singh and Pritam Singh. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 16th February 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 7, p. 103).

#### ***Aftab-i-Punjab, 15 February 1895***

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), dated 15th February 1895, remarks that in filling up the post of Prime Minister of Patiala the Maharaja should consult the wishes of the State subjects. The Sikhs form the majority of the State population, and desire that a member of their community should be appointed Prime Minister. The Editor suggests the name of Sardar Gurmukh Singh, and observes

that Sardars Gurdit Singh and Jiwan Singh are also much respected by the people, who wish to see them promoted to high positions. The *Aftab* further suggests that the Maharaja should, like the Nizam of Hyderabad, confer the post of Prime Minister on one of his own relatives. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 23rd February 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 8, p. 115).

#### ***Ashraf-ul-Akhbar*, 21 February 1895**

The *Ashraf-ul-Akhbar* (Delhi), of the 21st February 1895, learns from a correspondent that the Maharaja of Patiala has given himself up to a life of pleasure and that the State administration is carried on in a very unsatisfactory manner. The Maharaja's extravagance knows no bounds. Khalifa Muhammad Hasan, late Prime Minister, being an able and loyal servant of the State, tried to remedy the evil, otherwise Government would have been compelled to turn its attention to the affairs of Patiala. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 2nd March 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 9, p. 127).

#### ***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 18 April 1895**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 18th April 1895, publishes a communication in which the writer states that the High Court at Patiala has been abolished. One of the Judges, Maulvi Fazl Hakim, has been appointed Member of Council on Rs. 1,400 per mensem, the other two Judges retiring on a pension of Rs. 250 each. Sardar Gurdit Singh has been appointed Prime Minister on Rs. 1,600 per mensem and Sardar Gurmukh Singh has been promoted to the post of Mushir Ala. The two Sardars with the Maulvi will form the Council. These appointments have given general satisfaction. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th April 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 17, p. 227).

#### ***Singh Sahai*, 20 April 1895**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 20th April 1895, publishes a communication in which the writer states that the following promotions have been given to the Patiala officials by His Highness the Maharaja: –

Divan Gurdit Singh has been appointed Prime Minister in place of Khalifa Syad Muhammad Hassan, deceased, on a salary of Rs. 1,600 per mensem.

Sardar Jiwan Singh has been promoted to the post of Sadr Diwan in place of Diwan Gurdit Singh, on a salary of Rs. 750 a month.

Col. Bahadur Ali Khan has been appointed joint Diwan in place of Sardar Jiwan Singh.

A Council consisting of the following members has also been formed to work under the Maharaja: –

1. Sardar Gurdit Singh, Prime Minister.
2. Sardar Gurmukh Singh, Mashir Ala.
3. Maulvi Fazl Hakim, Judge, High Court.

(*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th May 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 18, pp. 243–244).

### ***Chaudhwin Sadi*, 8 May 1895**

The *Chaudhwin Sadi* (Rawalpindi), of the 8th May 1895, states that the only official competent to succeed the late Khalifa Syad Muhammad Hassan, C.I.E., was his brother, Khalifa Syad Muhammad Hussain, Foreign Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. But His Highness is a puppet in the hands of his Musahibs. They have kept him away from the State since the death of the late Minister and pleased him by winning races, &c., and have ultimately succeed in inducing him to appoint Sardar Gurdit Singh to the post of Prime minister on Rs. 1,600, Sardar Gurmukh Singh and Maulvi Fazal Hakim being appointed Councillors. The High Court has been abolished. Harnam Singh, Naib Sarishtadar, has been appointed Sarishtadar *Ijlas Khas*, while Abdul Hamib Khan, Sarishtadar *Ijlas Khas*, has been degraded to the post of Naib Sarishtadar. Sardar Jiwan Singh has been appointed Diwan in place of Sardar Gurdit Singh. It will not be out of place to mention here that Sardar Gurdit Singh, Prime Minister, was only five years ago an ordinary Risaldar in the State army. But owing to his keeping company with His Highness he was raised to the post of General. As a result of certain intrigues this man was promoted last year over the heads of several able and competent men and made Diwan. The Sardar proved his fitness for this post by deciding with the assistance of his Sarishtadar no less than 40 cases in 40 minutes. The new Prime Minister does not know Urdu, Persian or English, but can read Gurmukhi fairly well; and perhaps can read the First Urdu Reader by spelling it through. His ignorance of Urdu will not cause him any inconvenience if the appoints Gurmukhi knowing men to all offices in the State.

Sardar Gurmukh Singh is a man of average qualifications. Maulvi Fazal Hakim knows Arabic and Persian well, but he is a man of a sluggish temperament and readily approves of any opinion expressed by Sardar Gurdit Singh and that is the reason why in spite of his being a Muhammadan he has been made a Member of the Council. Sardar Jiwan Singh is the son of Sardar Mangal Singh, Raipuria, who was apprehended and sent to the Allahabad Fort by Government in connection with the Kuka riots. This man is also one of the

Musahibs of the Maharaja. The Editor concludes by stating that the Patiala public is greatly displeased with these arrangements, which they regard as likely to ruin the people. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 18th May 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 20, p. 274).

***Mulla Dopiazza, 11 May 1895***

The *Mulla Dopiazza* (Lahore), dated 11th May 1895, publishes a communication in which the writer states that Muhammadan (officials) are being expelled from the Patiala State and replaced by the Sikhs. Diwan Gurdit Singh is taking great precautions in order to prevent his being charged with hostility towards the Muhammadans, but his well-known prejudice against the Muhammadans will not allow him to remain impartial for long. The writer promises to furnish a list of the Muhammadan officials who have been dismissed from the State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 18th May 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 20, p. 274).

***Lyall Khalsa Gazette, 1 July 1895***

The *Lyall Khalsa Gazette* (Sialkot), of the 1st July 1895, remarks that the new Prime Minister of Patiala does not owe his promotion to his skill as a polo-player, but to the fact of his being really qualified for the post. He has given proof of this fitness by making reductions in the salaries of the highly-paid officials and placing the State finances on a satisfactory footing.

The same paper remarks that Sardar Jiwan Singh, who has been placed at the head of Revenue Department, is also endeavouring to curtail expenditure. The Sardar is carrying on his duties with great industry, and the bills of European traders, which have been lying unpaid for several years, have been settled and the amounts paid to the persons concerned. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 20th July 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 29, p. 396).

***Umballa Gazette, 2 July 1895***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 2nd July 1895, eulogizes the present Ministers of Patiala for the reduction they have effected in the expenditure, and remarks that the late Wazir was himself very extravagant, and falsely represented that the unsatisfactory condition of the State finances was due to the large sums spent by the Maharaja on polo and racing. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 20th July 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 29, p. 396).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 16 November 1895***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), dated 16th November 1895, after dwelling at length on the loyalty of the Phulkian states, and especially on that of Patiala, remarks that the treatment accorded by the just government of Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick to the Maharaja of Patiala is opposed to the dictates of morality, civilization, wisdom and political expediency. Such treatment has never been accorded to this Chief by any Lieutenant-Governor before. A reference to the past history of Patiala will show that the present Chief and his administration of Patiala are praiseworthy. The former rulers of Patiala used to side with the Government from motives of expediency, while in reality they hated the Europeans. Indeed, they considered themselves polluted if they happened to touch an Englishman, and bathed afterwards in order to purify themselves. On the other hand, the present Maharaja associates freely with Europeans in order to induce the Sikhs by his example to dine with them at the same table and thus become practically united with them. Hitherto it has been an established rule for the representatives of Government to visit the Phulkian States, *i.e.* Patiala, Nabha and Jind, in the order of seniority, and none of them has ever omitted to visit Patiala. Notwithstanding the fact that the Maharaja on several occasions invited Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick to pay a visit to his State, His Honor has declined the invitation on the ground that his programme had been issued and could not be altered. It is to be regretted that programmes which are modified on account of the weather or private affairs could not be altered in order to accept an invitation from a loyal chief. This act of Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick is an insult not to Patiala, but to the Government, and has created dangerous ideas in the minds of the Sikh nation, however trivial a matter it may appear to the Government. The Sikh nation will always have reason to complain of the government of Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, who has hitherto been very popular. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 23rd November 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 47, pp. 694–695).

***Khair-Khwah-i-Am, 19 November 1895***

The *Khair-Khwah-i-Am* (Amritsar), dated 19th November 1895, publishes a communication in which the writer states that the Maharaja of Patiala with a party went out hunting on the 11th November 1895. They were returning in the evening, riding at full speed, when Dr. Indarsen's horse stumbled in the Dharmapura bazar. Kirpal Singh, Tahsildar's horse, also stumbled and fell on the Doctor's horse, with the result that the Doctor was killed. Another man, Kishan Singh, who was drunk, also fell from and received injuries and had to be taken in an ekka (to his house). (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 7th December 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 49, p. 721).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 24 November 1895**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), dated 24th November 1895, referring to the dinner given by the Maharaja of Patiala to Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick and the party at Banaur, remarks that it must have given great pleasure to His Honor to notice the refined manners and the spirit of loyalty displayed by the Maharaja, and have caused him to regret that he had refused the other invitations of the Maharaja and thereby disheartened him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 7th December 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 49, p. 721).

***Sada-i-Hind*, 25 November 1895**

The *Sada-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 25th November 1895, regrets that the administration of the Patiala State is not being carried on in a satisfactory manner, and that the newspapers are criticising its affairs. The Maharaja has been educated by Government officers, and every misdeed that he commits reflects discredit on the education given him by Government. It is strange that English education, which tends to make Europeans energetic, civilized, &c., should lead Natives to indulge in pleasure, to neglect their duties and waste their money on racing. The Maharaja must remember that he is responsible for the welfare of his subjects, and that nature has not intended him to run horses and lead life of pleasure. There was a time when Rajas and Nawabs did nothing beyond drinking and enjoying themselves. Those days have gone by, and nowadays Native Chiefs are as much responsible for the good management of their States as a clerk is for his work. No notice is taken of the private character of an ordinary Clerk, but every act of a ruler is carefully watched by lakhs of people. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 7th December 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 49, p. 721).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 27 November 1895**

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 27th November 1895, remarks that Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick alone knows the reason which led His Honor to refuse to visit Patiala. The Editor sympathises with the Maharaja, but remarks that this slight is the result of His Highness not treading in the footsteps of his ancestors. Is the Maharaja's marriage with a European lady calculated to please the general Sikh community or his own *baradari*? If His Highness had followed the practice of his forefathers he would not have been guilty of such an improper act. The *Khalsa Gazette* does not blame Sir Dennis, as it feels certain that His Honour must have good reasons for refusing to visit Patiala or for being displeased with the Maharaja. The Maharaja should ascertain what these reasons are, and take steps to remove the defects (in his administration), and instead

of wasting his time and money on polo and useless dinners should devote himself to the performance of the duties entrusted to him. As ruler of the premier Phulkian State, he should have distinguished himself above all others both as head of the *Dharma* as well as an able administrator. His Highness's action in giving dinners to Europeans and entering into marriage relations with them does not reflect much credit on him. The Government, however, is not altogether free from blame, seeing that it brought up the Maharaja after the English fashion. It is owing to the education imparted to His Highness that the Maharaja has turned out a servile imitator of the English. The *Khalsa Gazette* concludes by expressing its concurrence with the *Khalsa Bahadur* that Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick should certainly have paid a visit to Patiala. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 14th December 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 50, pp. 733–734).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 30 November 1895**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), dated 30th November 1895, states that no importance need to be attached to the assertion that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has not paid a visit to Patiala during his recent tour because of the unfavourable remarks made against the State administration in the Annual Government Administration Report of the Punjab. If Government has any complaints against the administration of the State, it should advise the Maharaja regarding the matter. The Editor endeavours to show that the Maharaja has done a great deal to improve the administration since these remarks were made. In support of this, he states that His Highness has passed orders with a view to regulating his private expenditure. He has established a High Court at Patiala and appointed a Joint-Wazir. The Maharaja has spared no pains in order to remedy the defects in the State administration and to place it on a satisfactory footing, but His Highness has only partially succeeded in his efforts owing to the intrigues carried on by the officials. Petitions have been sent to His Honour in connection with a certain matter at the instance of a couple of men. It does not signify much, seeing that the State is a hot-bed of intrigues. After enumerating the Maharaja's acts of loyalty, the Editor remarks that if His Honor takes into consideration His Highness's loyalty, he will be convinced of the fact that the feelings of the Sikh nation have been injured by his not visiting the Patiala State. In conclusion, the Editor remarks that, having regard to the relations existing between the Government and the Ruler of Patiala, it is desirable that the Lieutenant-Governor should connive at certain affairs connected with the Patiala State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 7th December 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 49, pp. 721–722).

***Sadai Hind*, 2 December 1895**

The *Sadai Hind* (Lahore), of the 2nd December 1895, publishes a communication in which the writer remarks that the Maharaja of Patiala should try and prove himself an enlightened ruler and an able chief. All rulers, no doubt, place confidence in their officials, but they take pains to keep themselves acquainted with the affairs of their country. The Maharaja, however, devotes his time to racing, &c., and neglects his duties. His Highness is mistaken if he imagines that the State exists in order to enable him to indulge in pleasure. He must bear in mind that he exists to work for the welfare of the State. Among the ministers and counsellors of the Maharaja there is not a single man who has distinguished himself as a statesman, except Khalifa Syad Muhammad Husain, Mir Munshi, or Sardar Gurmukh Singh, Junior Wazir. The question arises why in the process of these two able men the affairs of the State are going from bad to worse? This can be explained by the fact that they have been deprived of all power and resemble the pawns on the chessboard. The writer reproduced an article from the *Vakil* (Amritsar) with a view to showing that in the course of the last three years Patiala has lost the services of several able men. The writer travelled in the Patiala State in 1894 and found that the Musahibs of His Highness were all Sikhs. They induced the Maharaja to let loose pigs in the villages, with the result that the crops were destroyed and the agriculturists were ruined by them. The writers once happened to enter a mosque at Sinnaur to say his prayer and found pigs sleeping there. He quietly left the mosque and related the matter to the villagers next morning, but they exhibited no surprise, and said that this state of things had been in existence for about a year. The pigs entered their houses and polluted the water vessels and destroyed the standing crops, and no remission of revenue was sanctioned. The zamindars have suffered this quietly, simply because an order prohibiting the killing of pigs had been issued, and it was made an offence to shoot them. A Lambardar named Ram Singh and his son of village Doherian, Sinnaur Tahsil, who were charged with killing a pig were kept in the lock-up for about a year. The son died, most probably from starvation, as in the Patiala State accused persons are not supplied with food by the State. It is said that the pigs have now been driven out of the Sinnaur town, but they are as numerous as before in the *ilaqua*. The Sikh party have been so successful in this matter of the preservation of pigs that the animals are destroying the crops in the Hiragarh village of Mir Tafazzul Hussain, Adalati. Some Musahibs of the Maharaja are in the habit of taking possession of other people's land by force, but no body has the courage to protest against their conduct. No less than 200 cases have recently been instituted against one of these Musahibs, and a special Judge has been deputed to enquire into them. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers*



*published in the Punjab, Received up to 14th December 1895. Vol. VIII, No. 50, pp. 734–735).*

### ***Khalsa Gazette*, 8 September 1896**

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), dated 8th September 1896, learns with regret from the *Times of India* that a British Resident will be appointed to Patiala. This appointment will be opposed to the treaty engagements entered into with the ancestors of the present Maharaja by the Government. If the present Maharaja does not attend to State affairs, the fault lies with the Government which had him educated after Western methods. The Editor fears that the appointment of a Resident will make matters still worse, and urges that Government should consider what effect such interference on its part in the Patiala State will produce on the minds of the other Sikh Chiefs, &c. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th September 1896, Vol. IX, No. 39, p. 550*).

### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 12 September 1896**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 12th September 1896, remarks that according to the *Times of India* a Resident will shortly be appointed to Patiala. Seeing that the news has appeared in a journal published so far from the Punjab, the Editor finds it hard to believe the rumour, but considers that the notoriety which the Maharaja has acquired owing to his strange doings lends colour to the announcement. Residents at first content themselves with interfering in State affairs, but gradually they become all-powerful and meddle with the private affairs of the Chief. If this inevitable calamity befalls the Patiala State, it behoves the Maharaja to become a strong (*mustakil mizaj*) ruler, as many Native Chiefs come to grief every year owing to neglecting their duties. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th September 1896, Vol. IX, No. 39, p. 550*).

### ***Umballa Gazette*, 15 September 1896**

The same paper [the *Umballa Gazette*] takes the *Times of India* to task for stating that Colonel Masey had been appointed Resident at Patiala. The Editor asks whether Government is dishonest and unmindful of its promises that it will appoint a Resident at Patiala. Patiala is not a frontier State like Kashmir that Government should appoint a Resident and bring itself into disrepute by breaking its engagements. The public may rest assured that Government will stand by its pledges. It is the natives of India who do not fulfil their promises and who have consequently lost the country. If Government were not as good as its word, no one would trust it, and Promissory Notes would not be accepted

in such numbers (*sic*). (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th September 1896*, Vol. IX, No. 39, p. 550).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 22 September 1896**

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 22nd September, 1896, remarks that according to the *Civil and Military Gazette* there is no truth in the report that a Resident is to be appointed at Patiala. The Editor, however, cannot say whether this report is correct or not, because these papers, being the mouth-piece of Government, do not give publicity to such statements unless there is some foundation for them. It may therefore be taken for certain that there is something at the bottom of these reports. The *Gazette* advises the Maharaja to give up the habit of running horses at races and of playing polo in order to save himself from the calamity that is likely to befall him in the shape of a Resident. The Maharaja has contracted these habits owing to European influences. If His Highness behaved like a Sikh Ruler, such as the Raja of Nabha, neither the Government nor any one else would be able to find fault with him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th October 1896*, Vol. IX, No. 41, p. 575).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 17 October 1896**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 17th October 1896, publishes a communication in which the writer states that there is no truth in the statement made that the Wazir of Patiala has purchased 2,000 maunds of grain and given Rs. 2,000 for distribution among the poor. The State authorities have done nothing beyond appointing a Committee which has compelled the grain-dealers to reduce their prices from 2 to 4 seers per rupee. The stocks in the hands of these dealers will not suffice even for a week, and it behoves the Maharaja to compel the high officials who have stocks aggregating two lakhs of maunds each to sell at cheaper rates. The people are complaining of the Settlement Department. Moreover, the pigs kept by the Maharaja for purposes of sport have destroyed the crops on well-watered lands in villages near Patiala. No one dare kill these animals, the Maharaja having passed orders for their preservation. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 7th November 1896*, Vol. IX, No. 45, p. 635).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 19 October 1896**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 19th October 1896, endeavours to show that Sardar Gurdit Singh, the Prime Minister of Patiala, is carrying on the administration of the State in a satisfactory manner, and that Patiala bids fair to become a model State before long. Complaints were recently made at the instigation of

a certain intriguing character regarding the villages granted by the Maharaja to certain officials, but these cases have been decided in a manner calculated to the benefit the people. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 31st October 1896*, Vol. IX, No. 44, pp. 622–623).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 2 November 1896**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 2nd November 1896, learns from a correspondent that a large number of Editors, mostly of Lahore, visited Patiala on the occasion of the Duserah festival. The State authorities acting on the proverb that “it is well to stop the mouth of a dog with a morsel of bread” gave a present of Rs. 100 to each member of this mischievous fraternity. The correspondent does not consider it desirable to give the names of the Editors concerned. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 7th November 1896*, Vol. IX, No. 45, p. 635).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 26 November 1896**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore) of the 26th November 1896, publishes a communication in which the writer states that in consequence of the remission of export duty on grain at Patiala from the 19th idem wheat is now selling at seven seers per rupee and gram at eight seers. The writer further states that Editors and Managers of certain newspapers at Lahore have left Patiala after receiving their *rukhtana*. These men should be ashamed of themselves. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 12th December 1896*, Vol. IX, No. 50, p. 700).

#### ***Paisa Akhbar*, 30 January 1897**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 30th January 1897, publishes a communication in which the writer states that Hartal was observed at Patiala for three days as a mark of respect for the memory of the late Maharani. Not only were the courts and the shops closed, but the poor labourers were also prohibited against working during a time of distress. The sick were unable to get any medicine, while those who had no private supplies had to go without food during the Hartal. If a mason was found working at a building, he was at once sent to jail. The writer ironically remarks that the State authorities should have directed that no food should be cooked during the three days. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 6th February 1897*, Vol. X, No. 6, p. 88).

#### ***Umballa Gazette*, 9 February 1897**

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 9th February 1897, publishes an article in which it takes the *Paisa Akhbar* to task for stating on the authority of an

anonymous correspondent from Patiala that death came as a release to the late Maharani of Patiala whose life had been a burden to her. The Maharani was according to the *Akhbar* once exiled to Dholpur, and, even when at Patiala, the presence of the Maharaja's European Rani was a constant source of misery to her. The *Gazette* remarks that the allegations made by the *Akhbar* have no foundation in fact. The Maharani went to Dholpur to see her son; and as for her life having been made miserable by the presence of the Maharaja's second wife, the latter has long been dead, and even during her lifetime the Maharaja's treatment of Her Highness was all that could be desired. The Editor then reminds the *Paisa Akhbar* that a second marriage is permissible among Hindus as among the Muhammadans, and that before condemning the Hindus for embittering the lives of their first wives by marrying a second time it should pause to enquire if the Muhammadans are not open to a similar charge. Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, had many wives, who must have made the life of his beloved Aisha quite unbearable. The same may be said of the seraglios of the Sultan, the Nizam and the Amir. The *Gazette* advises the Editor of the *Paisa Akhbar* to pass under review the conduct of the Muhammadan princes and other great men before finding fault with the leading men of any other religion. The *Akhbar* also takes to task a Sikh paper for singing the praises of the heir-apparent of Patiala, though the latter keeps his hair cut, an act which cannot but be displeasing to every Sikh. To this the *Gazette* replies that it is no offence for a Sikh to cut his hair before he has taken the *pahul*, and that if the heir-apparent's hair was cut at Dholpur on account of the great heat he has not acted contrary to the canons of the Sikh religion. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 27th February 1897*, Vol. x, No. 9, pp. 135-136).

#### ***Paisa Akhbar*, 27 February 1897**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 27th February 1897, publishes a communication in which the writer states that a party of armed dacoits entered the house of a bania at Bahlu (Patiala) and carried away property worth Rs. 15,000. The dacoits, among whom are said to have been a number of State sepoys, dishonored the females. The statement published in a recent issue of the *Akhbar* regarding the shaving of the heir-apparent's hair has given great umbrage to certain so-called Sikhs. The writer challenges these Sikhs to deny the statement. The same correspondent states that the Rana of Dholepore has by the aid of dishonest State officials wasted nearly a crore of rupees belonging to the Patiala State. Does any one know what has become of the jewels of the Ranis? During the time of the Khalifas and the Council of Regency the Rana was not allowed to enter the State, but nowadays he lives at Patiala with his followers for two months at a time, thereby putting the State to much expense.

Is it for services in this connection that Sardar Gurdit Singh has received the title of *Khair Khwah-i-Riasat* (well-wisher of the State)? (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 6th March 1897*, Vol. x, No. 10, p. 154).

***Umballa Gazette, 9 March 1897***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 9th March 1897, observes that, although the Patiala State has never been so prosperous as under the rule of the present Maharaja, the *Paisa Akhbar* is not ashamed to insinuate that it has been entirely ruined by His highness. After referring to a number of reforms which have been initiated and carried out during the present regime, the *Gazette* remarks that perhaps the *Akhbar* construes the death of the late Muhammadan Wazir of Patiala as meaning the “annihilation” of that State. The *Gazette* has a suspicion that this death has been a source of loss to the said Muhammadan paper, which has consequently commenced defaming the Maharaja. No one can, however, believe that the death of a Wazir, who waster the revenues of the State and involved in ruin all its old servants, has resulted in the ruin of the Patiala State. It has, if anything, given new life to the State, which is progressing by leaps and bounds. In this connection it may be mentioned that the present Wazir has given entire satisfaction in the discharge of his duties, and has already introduced many reforms in the administration. He has also discontinued the practice, in vogue during the time of the late Wazir, of purchasing articles required for State use on credit from Bombay merchants, and has managed to pay off a portion (Rs. 6,00,000) of the debt due from the State on this account, instalments having been fixed for the payment of the remainder.

The Editor then refers to the *Paisa Akhbar*’s statement regarding the crops in the Amargrah Tahsil being trampled down during the Raja of Sangrur’s hunting parties (*vide* paragraph 16 of Selections No. 9 for the week ending 27th January 1897) dan [sic] remarks that the allegation is absolutely without foundation. The fact is that bigoted Muhammadans envy the progress made by the Sikh States, and are jealous of the Sikh Sardars, who preserved the religion of this country. Being, however, unable to injure them in any other way, the bigoted Editors of Muhammadan papers have taken to defaming them. The *Gazette* adds that, seeing that even the forces maintained by the Sangrur State are insufficient for trampling down the crops of any ilaka, no one will believe that the Raja’s hunting parties, which usually consist of three or four persons, can damage the crops. Perhaps the Editor of the *Paisa Akhbar* wishes the Raja to shut himself up in his palace and give up pig-sticking. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd April 1897*, Vol. x, No. 14, pp. 232–233).

***Umballa Gazette, 9 March 1897***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 9th March 1897, contradicts the statement published in the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 27th February last, to the effect that the Rana of Dholpur has, by the aid of dishonest State officials, wasted nearly a crore of rupees belonging to the Patiala State, and that he has made away with the jewels of the late Maharani. So far as the Editor is aware, the only large amount of money which the Rana has ever received from the State was given to him by the late Muhammadan Wazir of Patiala, during whose time he is alleged not to have been allowed to enter Patiala territory! It is untire [sic] to say that he has been given anything during the time of Sardar Gurdit Singh. As regards the Maharani's ornaments, no State official has anything to do with them. They belong to the Maharaja; and nothing definite can therefore be said regarding them. It is, however, incredible that the Rana could have been guilty of the charge brought against him by the *Paisa Akhbar*. In conclusion, the Editor advises the Rana to prosecute that paper and clear himself in the eyes of the public; for there is no denying the fact that the *Akhbar* has published a gross libel against him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd April 1897*, Vol. x, No. 14, p. 233).

***Umballa Gazette, 16 March 1897***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 16th March 1897, remarks that the statement made by the *Paisa Akhbar* to the effect that a certain mischievous publication containing attacks against the Muhammadans, the Gurus and the late Maharaja of Patiala has been purchased and distributed broadcast in that State by order of Wazir Gurdit Singh, is entirely without foundation. This publication is a historical work, and was purchased by the Director of Public Instruction with the sanction of the Wazir, who was presumably ignorant of its contents when he sanctioned its purchase. It is, moreover, untrue that the book has been distributed in the State. The allegation that Sikhs having any connection with the Khalifas are persecuted in every possible way is also without foundation. It is improbable that the recent transfer to Narnaul of Khalifa Muhammad Hassan, brother of the late Wazir, has led the *Akhbar* to make this remark. In conclusion, the Editor observes that the *Paisa Akhbar's* remarks regarding the *hartal* observed in Patiala on the death of the Dowager Maharani are anything but true. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd April 1897*, Vol. x, No. 14, p. 233).

***Rahbar-i-Hind, 24 May 1897***

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 24th May 1897, after giving the substance of the articles recently published in the *Punjab Observer* and the *Akhbar-i-Am*

regarding the suspension of Khalifa Muhammad Hussain, Foreign Minister of Patiala, remarks that what has recently happened at Patiala is not the work of a day. If one were to give an account of how many able men have been expelled from the State or killed, how the State treasury has been emptied, how the people have been oppressed and what various misdeeds have been committed, it would fill a whole newspaper, nay several volumes. It is a pity that the Government contented itself with playing the part of a spectator while all this was going on. Things would not have come to such a pass if Government had wished otherwise. The Khalifas of Patiala have not been reduced to their present position in a single day. In the first place, a joint Wazir was appointed with Khalifa Muhammad Hasan. This step was not taken with a view to assisting the Khalifa who was not so old as to stand in need of such assistance; while the man who was selected for the newly created post was not to be compared to the Khalifa in ability. The real object was to thwart the Khalifa and compel him to resign. Indeed he wished to resign on one occasion, but was prevented from so doing for certain reasons. The Maharaja declined to accept his resignation on the ground that he regarded the old Wazir as his father, and that he felt ashamed of the steps that he had taken against him (in appointing a joint Wazir). The newly appointed courtiers also prevented His Highness from accepting the resignation as they were afraid that the Khalifa would after his retirement bring about the ruin of the evil-doers. At length his life was put an end to. It has not been satisfactorily decided whether the Khalifa died a natural death or whether it was due to the attempts made by his enemies, but report has it that some such attempt proved successful. Whether this report is well founded or otherwise, the death of the Khalifa removed a great obstacle in the path of the enemies of the State. In view to these circumstances the Editor suggested at the time that the Foreign Minister should resign, and it is said that the latter did tender his resignation, but that it was not accepted, the Maharaja declaring that he would not part with (*lit.* liberate) him so long as he (the Khalifa) was alive. This remark of the Maharaja was not prompted by any evil motive, but those behind the scene were of opinion that a fate similar to that which, according to some, had overtaken Khalifa Muhammad Hasan was in store for his younger brother, the Mir Munshi and Foreign Minister. It is a matter of satisfaction that the latter is still alive. Probably he has been taking care of himself, with the result that the Maharaja has now suspended him. The Editor feels certain that the Khalifa will earn his livelihood even after his retirement and that he will pass the rest of his days very happily. He does not, therefore, consider it necessary to recommend his reinstatement. But the question is, what will become of the State if he retires? The *Akhbar-i-Am* states that the Patiala State holds a distinguished position among the Native states of

the Punjab; that it was through this State that the British acquired the Punjab; that it rendered valuable aid during the Mutiny and the frontier wars; and that it was rewarded by an extension of territory. All this was the result of the statesmanship of the Khalifa, who looked after the interests of the Government and of the State alike. They prevented their master from transgressing the bounds of moderation, but never suffered him to be disgraced. The endeavoured to reform him and to prevent him from falling into disgrace, and when they found this impossible they took the responsibility for their master's doings on themselves. It is a pity that the only reward that the Khalifas have received is that the older brother was degraded and put out of the way (*lit.* divested of the garment of life), while the younger brother is being ill-treated in this manner. The Editor advises the Khalifa not to resume his duties, but to spend the rest of his days in devotion. The Government of India and of the Punjab should interfere in the interests of the State administration. The unworthy clique whom the Maharaja is surrounded have persuaded His Highness that he is at liberty to do whatever he likes, and that there is no likelihood of a Political Agent being appointed by Government. But the question is whether Patiala is more independent than Burma or Kashmir were. Since the one has been annexed and a Resident appointed to the other, there is no reason why some action should not be taken in Patiala. The Editor does not urge the appointment of a Resident or Agent at Patiala, but he considers it necessary that a Committee of Inquiry should be appointed to ascertain whether the officials employed in the Finance, Judicial and Executive Departments are able men. This Committee should appoint abler men and frame rules of procedure if it is found that the Departments in question are mismanaged. The *Rahbar* readily admits that the Maharaja is well-intentioned, but unfortunately he possess no influence over his servants, and this is a defect which should be removed without delay. If Government had insisted on the elevation of Khalifa Muhammad Husain in succession to his elder brothers no complaints would have reached it regarding the Patiala State. The Editor endorses the remark of the *Punjab Observer* that Khalifa Muhammad Husain is the ablest man in the State, but considers it a pity that the Maharaja should be unable to appreciate him at his true worth, and that the Government should not have proved a better adviser (*lit.* guardian) to the Native States. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 12th June 1897*, Vol. x, No. 24, pp. 445-446).

#### ***Khalsa Bahadur, 31 May 1897***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 31st May 1897, remarks that the *Paisa Akhbar* is becoming more and more bigoted every day. Every one knows that the Patiala State has improved since the appointment of the new Wazir, and



that the late Lieutenant-Governor on the eve of his departure congratulated the Maharaja of Patiala on the rapid progress that the State had made under the present regime. The *Paisa Akhbar* is, however, indignant at the suspension of the Mir Munshi, who is a Muhammadan, and advises the Government to interfere in the matter. But what has Government to do with the matter if the Maharaja with a view to introducing reforms in his State dismisses certain officials who are found to be incompetent. All that the authorities care about is the good administration of the State. Again, the *Paisa Akhbar* is wrong in stating that the Mir Munshi has been suspended at the instance of the Raja of Nabha and the Rana of Dholpur. It would be interesting to know how this idea got hold the Editor's mind. The *Khalsa Bahadur* further states that the Sikh and Jat servants of the State have been represented as disloyal and selfish by the *Akhbar* merely because they happen to be caste-fellows or relations of the Maharaja. Similarly certain of their confreres have been praised to the skies merely because they are Muhammadans. If the Editor were to give an account of the oppression practiced by the Khalifa and some other Muhammadan Sardars to who lands and villages were granted by the forefathers of the present ruler of Patiala, it would make one's hair stand on end. But this happened immediately after the Sepoy Mutiny, when the authorities were not disposed to listen to complaints of such mal-practices. The Editor then goes on to say that the *Akhbar-i-Am* has also written on the subject, and sympathises with the Khalifa on the ground that he is an able and old officer of the State. The *Khalsa Bahadur* admits this, but adds that the Khalifa cannot now perform the duties of his office with satisfaction owing to his advanced age. The Editor concludes by assuring the *Akhbar-i-Am* that all that has been done is the result of a general scheme of reform which the Maharaja wishes to introduce in the State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th June 1897*, Vol. x, No. 26, p. 484).

***Khair Khwah-i-Riyasatha-i-Hind*, 25 June 1897**

The *Khair Khwah-i-Riyasatha-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 25th June 1897, is glad to learn that Khalifa Syad Muhammada Hussain, Foreign Minister of Patiala, who was suspended for no fault, has been reinstated. In all probability the Punjab Government has interceded on behalf of the Khalifa; otherwise the bigoted officials of the State would not have allowed His Highness to restore the Foreign Minister to his former position. The Maharaja is neither bigoted nor unjust, but he is powerless against his unworthy counsellors and officials. The Nabha State, which has been guilty of the most high-handed conduct (towards its Muhammadan employees) should take warning from the case of the Khalifa and mend matters before Government takes notices of its conduct.

(*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th July 1897*, Vol. x, No. 28, p. 523).

***Umballa Gazette*, 11 September 1897**

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 14th September 1897, publishes an article with a view to showing that it is impolite on the part of the Maharaja of Patiala to go to the frontier in person and hazard his valuable life in a contest with an insignificant enemy of the British Government. The courage and loyalty of the Patiala House are undoubted, and the dispatch of High Highness' fighting men to the frontier is sufficient to meet the requirements of the present case. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 2nd October 1897*, Vol. x, No. 40, p. 837).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 12 October 1897**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 12th October 1897, remarks that the Dasehra Darbar at Patiala was held with more than usual éclat owing to the Maharaja's safe return from the front after having gained a victory over enemies of the Government. The Maharaja of Patiala is the first Native Chief who has served the Government in the field and fought its enemies side by side with the British Officers. The Editor then gives a summary of the addresses presented by Sikh Associations and the Maharaja's reply thereto. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 23rd October 1897*, Vol. x, No. 43, p. 908).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 17 January 1898**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 17th January 1898, complains that while the Chief of a small State like Loharu received a title on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee, the Maharaja of Patiala obtained no recognition. Everybody would like to know for what particular reason one Chief has been honored and for what deficiency the other has been denied similar recognition? The Editor suggests that in future Government should state the reasons for which a person has been honored, so that others may be able to judge for themselves why they have been left out in the cold.

The same paper learns from a reliable correspondent that, in the course of a conversation on the subject of titles, a high official of the State remarked that the greater portion of the recruits for Native Regiments were supplied by Patiala subjects, as the Malwa formed part of the State, and urged that steps should be taken to prevent Patiala subjects joining the British army, and that those desirous of taking to a military career should be enlisted in the State army. The Maharaja became so angry with the man that he beat him with his

own hands, and turning to those present remarked as followed: "This man is our greatest enemy inasmuch as he gives us such advice. We are proud that our Malwa Regiment (the 36th Sikhs) is fighting so gallantly, and that subscriptions are being raised to perpetuate the memory of the men of that Regiment who have been killed in action. We will also subscribe liberally for the purpose. Turn this disloyal man out of our service at once."

This order was at once carried out and a new man was appointed in place of the official in question. The Editor is aware that all sorts of things are being said regarding the Maharaja to which he will refer on a future occasion. He will with the aid of his correspondent, show why various charges are being preferred against His Highness, and prove that the Patiala State is very useful to the Government of India. It is said that the Maharaja has fallen into disrepute, partly on account of his associating with certain officials who after resigning Government service have entered that of the State and partly through the machinations of persons who have from motives of self-interest instigated a number of people to wait upon His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor and make complaints against His Highness. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd January 1898, Vol. XI, No. 4, p. 55*).

### ***Patiala Akhbar, 8 July 1898***

A notice over the signature of Sardar Shamsher Singh, Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Patiala, circulated with the *Patiala Akhbar* (Patiala), of the 8th July 1898, states that most of the complaints which have reached His Highness regarding bribe-taking, oppression, &c., by district and other officials being anonymous, no action can be taken on them. The Maharaja, therefore, desires that anyone who has any complaint to make against any State official should address the Private Secretary on the subject. Every complaint should, however, be accompanied by proofs, in support of the allegations therein made, and should contain the name and full address of the complainant, in which case it will receive prompt attention. His Highness does not wish that his subjects should be treated in an improper or illegal manner by any State official. At the same time, the people should remember that if they make false complaints against the officials, they will render themselves liable to severe punishment. The notice concludes by calling upon the State officials to be just and honest in the discharge of their duties, and never given the Maharaja an opportunity of taking legal proceedings against them. Commenting on the above, the Editor remarks that the notice shows that the Maharaja is a sincere well-wisher of his subjects, who should, therefore, always pray for His Highness's prosperity and

long life. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 30th July 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 31, p. 468).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 26 July 1898**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 26th July 1898, also gives the substance of the notice in question, and remarks that the partisans of the Maharaja ought to feel thankful to the *Pioneer* for praising this action of His Highness. The Editor, however, is of opinion that this order of the Maharaja should not be praised without due consideration, seeing that there is much difference between "saying a thing and doing it." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 6th August 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 32, p. 484).

***Civil and Military Gazette News*, 27 July 1898**

*Civil and Military Gazette News* (Ludhiana), of the 27th July 1898, praises the action of the Maharaja of Patiala in issuing a notice to the effect that all complaints against State officials should be duly signed and authenticated, so as to enable His Highness to enquire into their truth. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 6th August 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 32, p. 483).

***Ghamkhwar-i-Hind*, 30 July 1898**

The *Ghamkhwar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 30th July 1898, praises the action of the Maharaja of Patiala in issuing a notice asking aggrieved persons to append their signatures to complaints made against State officials instead of sending them anonymously. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 13th August 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 33, p. 504).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 1 August 1898**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 1st August 1898, also praises the action of the Maharaja in issuing the notice in question, which shows how solicitous His Highness is for the welfare of his subjects. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 13th August 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 33, p. 505).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 22 August 1898**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 22nd August 1898, takes the *Tribune* to task for stating that mismanagement prevails in the affairs of Patiala, and for attacking the system of accounts in vogue in that State, and remarks that either the *Tribune* is grossly misinformed, or it is in collusion with some party

in Patiala. It is true that the financial condition of the State is not very satisfactory, but the late Wazir, who misled the Maharaja in order to serve his own selfish ends, is alone to blame for this. His Highness, however, is doing all in his power to remedy this state of things, and has ordered great retrenchments in his personal expenditure. The Editor further remarks that the *Tribune's* attack on the honesty of the ministers of the Maharaja is also wide of the mark, seeing that almost all of them are free from the taint of corruption. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd September 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 36, pp. 552–553).

***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 29 August 1898**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 29th August 1898, endeavours to show that the Maharaja of Patiala takes much greater interest not in the administration of his State than he did formerly, and that, as a result, the financial condition of the State has considerably improved. The Editor therefore fails to see why the Lahore *Tribune* should have attacked His Highness in a recent issue, and calls upon that paper to retract its remarks. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th September 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 37, p. 569).

***Lahore Punch*, 2 November 1898**

The *Lahore Punch* (Lahore), of the 2nd November 1898, remarks that the Maharaja of Patiala is an intelligent and able ruler, and administers the affairs of his State in a praiseworthy manner. His Highness takes great interest in the welfare of his subjects, and has established hospitals, schools, colleges, &c., for them. During the prevalence of the last famine he distributed food and money to the distressed, and remitted land revenue to the extent of lacs of rupees. Above all, the ruler of Patiala is a loyal and devoted servant of the Queen Empress, and fought personally on the frontier during the last Tirah campaign. The Editor concludes by remarking that all departments of the State are in the hands of competent and painstaking officials, whose services the Maharaja is never slow to recognise. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 12th November 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 46, p. 721).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 15 November 1898**

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 15th November 1898 (received on the 5th December), says that Lord Elgin's remark in his post-parandial speech at Patiala that the Maharaja had once told his Lordship in confidence that His Highness had not in him the capacity of an administrator, should not be taken

in its literal sense. Natives are given to underrating their capabilities in the presence of their superiors and elders, and there is nothing to be wondered at if the Maharaja should have used words to the above effect before the Viceroy. It is, however, to be wished that His Highness would devote less time to polo, &c., and take greater interest in the management of his State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th December 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 50, p. 772).

***Punjab Samachar*, 19 November 1898**

The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), dated 19th November 1898, commenting on the remark made by His Excellency the Viceroy in the course of his speech recently delivered at Patiala, observes that the Viceroy asked the Maharaja to shake off a little of the modesty which he had once or twice expressed to His Excellency. What His Excellency calls modesty is in reality incapacity, for which His Highness has himself to blame. The question that naturally arises is: if His Highness is, according to his own admission, really incapable of managing his State, why does not Government interfere and deprive him of his powers and compel him to reire on a monthly allowance? His Highness cannot be expected to carry on the State administration as ably as did Sir Anthony Macdonnell or Lord Reay. It is, however, necessary that His Highness should devote his attention to his ordinary duties as ruler of the State. The Editor is at a loss to know why Government has allowed His Highness to act according to his own sweet will. His Highness is, however, hospitable, fond of horse-races and *nautches*, a slave to cricket and polo, and spares no pains in his hospitality to Anglo-Indians; and it is for this reason that Anglo-Indian newspapers sing his praises and that no notice is taken of his vices. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th November 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 48, p. 744).

***Ashraf-ul-Akhbar*, 11 December 1898**

The *Ashraf-ul-Akhbar* (Delhi), of the 11th December 1898, complains that the Maharaja of Patiala pays no attention to the affairs of his State and devotes all his time to sports and pleasure, with the result that the State officials are having everything their own way and practicing oppression on the people. Indeed, things have come to such a pass that, on the occasion of His Honor's recent visit to Patiala, the Lieutenant-Governor had to exhort the Maharaja in open Darbar to endeavour to distinguish himself in administrative work as he had done on the cricket field. It is, however, to be regretted that even this exhortation has not produced any change in His Highness' habits. It is to be

wished that the Maharaja would devote some of his time to the management of his State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th December 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 51, p. 787).

***Ashraf-ul-Akhbar*, 21 December 1898**

The *Ashraf-ul-Akhbar* (Delhi), of the 21st December 1898, says that Patiala is the largest Native State in the Punjab, and enjoys the confidence and respect of Government for its staunch loyalty to the British throne. It is, however, to be deeply regretted that the State is being grossly administered owing to the Maharaja devoting his time exclusively to sport and pleasure. It is to be hoped that His Highness will mend his ways, and interest himself in the management of his State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 31st December 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 52, pp. 816–817).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 13 March 1899**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 13th March 1899, is glad to state that His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has been betrothed to the daughter of Prince Shibdev Singh of Bareilly, son of the late Maharaja Sher Singh, ruler of Lahore. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 18th March 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 11, p. 157).

***Umballa Gazette*, 14 March 1899**

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 14th March 1899, states that the administration of the affairs in the Patiala State is praiseworthy. The late Wazir (as everybody knows) plundered the State, and proved himself to be unworthy of his salt, by making cowardly and mean attacks on his master (His Highness) in the Anglo-Indian and Native Press. He embezzled two crores of rupees, and assumed the title “Khalifa,” not knowing, perhaps, that the barbers in Delhi, and the tailors in the Punjab, are so called. He may have practiced one or the other profession, or perhaps belonged to the family of Khalifa Harun-ur-Rashid or Abbas. His family have shared the fate they deserved, his son having died of syphilis, and the son of Muhammad Kazim, who sold forged stamps worth lakhs of rupees, has also recently died. The present Wazir has managed to liquidate the debts incurred by the State in the time of the late Wazir, and proved himself to be an able statesman. The management of the Police at Rajpura is, however, unsatisfactory, the subordinates of Lala Panna Lal, Superintendent of the Nizamat, being very corrupt. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 25th March 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 12, p. 171).

***Umballa Gazette, 21 March 1899***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 21st March 1899 says that it has received a threatening letter from Patiala warning it to abstain from making attacks against “the Sayads,” who, the writer adds, contemplate complaining against it to Government. The Editor is not, however, to be cowed by such threats, and remarks that Government knows everything about these spurious Sayads and Khalifas, who have embezzled thousands of rupees in Patiala, and so mismanaged the Munshikhana that the less said about it the better. Besides, the late Mir Munshi was in the habit of misappropriating thousands of rupees belonging to the State. The Editor then refers to the present satisfactory and flourishing condition of the Munshikhana, and praises Sardar Bhagwan Singh, the present incumbent. In conclusion, he states that the late Mir Munshi used to import his co-religionists into Patiala, and allow them to loot the State Treasury. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 1st April 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 13, pp. 187–188).

***Umballa Gazette, 28 March 1899***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 28th March 1899, remarks that notwithstanding the fact that the personal expenses of the Maharaja of Patiala are no larger than those of his predecessors, he is denounced as a spendthrift. The fact, however, is that the expenditure of the State has, on account of the constructions of Railways and canals, maintenance of schools, roads, &c., considerably increased. The pay of the establishment of various offices in the State during the time of the Council of Regency was 16 lakhs of rupees per annum, while it is more than 24 lakhs now. Only recently 15 or 16 lakhs of rupees were spent by the Maharaja for the erection of buildings for Imperial Service Troops. He and his able Wazir have done all in their power to reduce the expenditure of the State, and it is admitted on all hands that Patiala and the other two Phulkian States are the best governed in the country. But it is a matter of regret that so far Government has not, in spite of its repeated promises, invested the Raja of Jind with full powers. It is to be hoped that Lord Curzon will not interfere in the internal administration of the Phulkian States, whose devotion to the British Government has been established beyond doubt. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th April 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 14, pp. 202–203).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 2 May 1899***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), dated 2nd May 1899, states that in the last year's Punjab Administration Report it was stated that the financial condition



of the Patiala State was unsatisfactory. To remedy the evil the Maharaja has appointed his younger brother, the Kanwar Sahib, Financial Minister, in order to exercise control and supervision over the Treasury. The Kanwar is required to prepare a budget for every Department; and not a single pice is to be spent without the Kanwar's order. It is hope that the financial condition of the State will soon be greatly improved by this arrangement. The Editor remarks that great love and affection exists between the two brothers, and the Kanwar has shown while preparing the budgets that he has the good of the State and its people at heart, and it is to be hoped that Government will soon have reason to praise the Maharaja and the Kanwar Sahib for the satisfactory administration of the State and its treasury. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th June 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 23, p. 306).

**Lahore Punch, 14 June 1899**

The *Lahore Punch* (Lahore), of the 14th June 1899, is glad to note that His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has appointed his younger brother, the Kanwar Sahib, Financial Minister of the State. This shows that His Highness takes a great interest in the welfare and management of the State and that love and affection exists between the two brothers. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 1st July 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 26, p. 347).

**Victoria Paper, 19 June 1899**

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 19th June 1899, understands that a number of dacoits have established a reign of terror in the ilaka of Karmgarh, Patiala State, and advises the Maharaja to tell off his Prime Minister to purge the ilaka of these noxious characters. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 1st July 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 26, p. 347).

**Victoria Paper, 31 July 1899**

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 31st July 1899, is glad to learn that His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala is bent upon curtailing his expenses, and has begun to hear appeals from the orders of the highest Judicial Court of the State. The intelligence and abilities of His Highness are unquestionable. What is necessary is this, that his councillors should be men like the councillors of the late Maharaja Narinder Singh. The Hon'ble Mashir-ud-Dowla, Mumtaz-ul-Mulk, is the only remaining councillor of the late Maharaja. The fidelity and abilities of the Hon'ble Mumtaz-ul-Mulk are not only known throughout India, but are also recognized in Europe. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 12th August 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 32, p. 436).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 4 October 1899**

A correspondent writing to the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 4th October 1899, praises the Maharaja of Patiala for his readiness to listen to the grievances of his subjects and for doing his best to add to their comforts. The writer, however, remarks that certain officials of the State put the people to great trouble by disobeying His Highness' orders. Were it not for these officials, the writer adds, the people of Patiala would have nothing to complain of. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 28th October 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 43, p. 614).

***Ashraf-ul-Akhbar*, 21 October 1899**

The *Ashraf-ul-Akhbar* (Delhi), of the 21st October 1899, complains that the Maharaja of Patiala spends his whole time in sport and pleasure, and takes no interest in the affairs of his State. As a natural consequence of this, the management of the State is practically in the hands of His Highness' officials. These, however, are divided amongst themselves, and their quarrels are proving injurious to the best interests of the State. The Editor adds that Sardar Shamsher Singh, Private Secretary to the Maharaja, is the only sincere well-wisher of the State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 4th November 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 44, pp. 629–630).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 25 October 1899**

A correspondent writing to the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), dated the 25th October 1899, states that the late Wazir of the Patiala State preferred Muhammadans to Hindus for employment in the State service. It is a result of this policy that at present even the menial servants in every department are Muhammadans. The writer suggests that each community should have a share in the State service proportionately to its strength. He further alleges that a tax of Rs. 3 per cent. is being realized from the mortgagees of land in the State and that the practice has caused great discontent. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 11th November 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 45, p. 644).

***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 25 November 1899**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), dated 25th December 1899, remarks that the treatment of Editors of Vernacular Newspaper by the Patiala State on the occasion of the Dussehra festival and by the Jind State at the installation of the Raja was very discreditable. These Native States squander lakhs of rupees in nautches and other amusements, and it is regrettable that they should not have gone to the expense of a few thousand rupees for the entertainment of Editors of Vernacular Newspapers who reserve the columns of their papers for the

protection of the rights and privileges of Native States and always sympathise with them. For the sake of argument it may be admitted that these Editors go about begging in Native States and bring their profession into discredit. But when the public do not appreciate the services rendered by newspapers, and subscribers do not pay their subscriptions, while Editors are unable to resort to thefts, robbers or dacoities, to whom else can they look for support and sympathy? (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 2nd December 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 48, p. 693).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 23 December 1899**

A correspondent writing to the same paper [the *Paisa Akhbar*] of the 23rd idem enquires if Lord Curzon's views about the duties of Native Princes, as expressed in the course of one of his Lordship's speeches at Gwalior, were meant only for show, of if the Viceroy means to judge Indian Chiefs by that standard in future. In case His Excellency wishes to put his words into practice, the writer would like to know what steps Government intends taking in connection with the Patiala State, which has for some time past been in an extremely miserable condition. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 6th January 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 4).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 22 January 1900**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 22nd January (received on the 12th February 1900), understands that the Punjab government intends sending a European Accountant-General to Patiala with the object of improving the financial condition of the State. So far however, no Political Agent or any other European official has been accredited to the Phulkian States; and this concession was granted to them in recognition of the unique services rendered by them immediately after the annexation of the Province. Even during the last Tirah Campaign, adds the Editor, they not only placed their troops at the disposal of Government, but the ruler of the greatest among them went the length of consenting to serve personally under the orders of an English General. In these circumstances, it will be extremely impolitic and ungenerous on the part of the authorities to deprive these loyal states of any of the concessions granted to them in the past. The Paper then goes on to say that there seems no necessity for deputing a European Accountant-General to Patiala, as the Maharaja is doing his utmost to improve the financial condition of the State, and has placed his younger brother at the head of the Accounts Department. At any rate, it will be unwise to replace the Kanwar before he has been given a fair trial. Besides, if Government is determined to send its own Accountant-General to Patiala, why not select some competent native gentlemen, like Rai Bahadur

Pandit Prem Nath. This is the more necessary, as the Maharaja being a ruler of independent habits, the deputation of a European official to the State is certain to lead to undesirable complications. If, however, observes the Editor in conclusion, Government is bent on depriving the Phulkian States of the concession referred to above, then it is quite another matter. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th February 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 7, p. 76).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 8 February 1900**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), dated the 8th February 1900, publishes a communication in which the writer, after praising Sardar Shamsheer Singh, Chief Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, wonders how the Sardar can find time to discharge his manifold duties. He adds that if other officials of the State showed similar diligence in the performance of their work, Patiala would soon become a model State in India. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th February 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 6, p. 61).

***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 19 February 1900**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 19th February 1900, publishes the substance of the *Khalsa Bahadur's* remarks about the Punjab Government's proposal to send a European Accountant-General to Patiala with the object of improving the financial condition of the State (*vide* paragraph 4 of the Selections No. 7), and suggests that nothing of the kind should be done before the Maharaja's younger brother, who was placed at the head of the Accounts Department only a short time back, has been given a fair trial. This, adds the Editor, is the more necessary as the Kanwar is said to be a very competent man, and has already succeeded in effecting retrenchments in the expenditure of the State. Government should not, besides, lose sight of the many valuable services rendered by Patiala, and thus give that loyal State cause for complaint. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 24th February 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 8, p. 90).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 26 February 1900**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 26th February 1900, is very glad to learn that there is no truth in the rumour that the Punjab Government intends sending a European Accountant-General to Patiala, and says that the report seems to have originate from the Maharaja having applied for the services of an experienced Accountant. The Editor understands that the chief duty of this official will be to compile, for the Maharaja's inspection, returns of the State's income

and expenditure, and communicate to the departments concerned the orders passed thereon by His Highness. The same paper says that several important changes have recently been effected in the administration of Patiala. In the first place, the Maharaja has abolished the Judicial Council, and replaced it by a High Court consisting of three Judges. The Judgeships, the Editors learn, have been conferred on Sardar Bhagwan Singh, Lala Bhagwan Das and Munshi Tafazzul Husain, all of who are noted for their ability and judicial experience. In the next place, His Highness has established an executive Council, with the Kanwar Sahib as President, and Sardar Gurmukh Singh and Khalifa Muhammad Husain as members. It is hardly necessary to mention here that the Kanwar takes great interest in affairs of State, and that the Sardar and the Khalifa have the reputation of being among the ablest and most honest officials of Patiala. General Gurdit Singh, whose honesty, gentlemanliness and humility have been acknowledged on all hands, will continue to work as Prime Minister on Rs. 1,000 a month. The post of Foreign Minister has been conferred on Khan Sahib Abdul Majid Khan, who was Nazim of Sirhind for a long time, and is acquainted with the working of every department of the State. General Pritam Singh, whose forefathers have served the State before him, has been appointed Commander-in-Chief in place of Bakhshi Ganda Singh. The Editor feels confident that these changes will result in a great improvement in the administration of Patiala. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd March 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 9, pp. 105–106).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 26–28 February and 1 March 1900**

A correspondent, writing to the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 26th, 27th, and 28th February and 1st March 1900, remarks that the only standard by which it is possible to judge accurately whether a certain Native State is well governed is to ascertain if its Public Works, Railway, Telegraph, Postal, Police, Judicial, Irrigation, Medical, Education and Military Departments are in competent hands and working in an efficient manner. Judge by this standard, the administration of Patiala must be acknowledged to be praiseworthy, while the financial condition of the State is satisfactory in the extreme. After referring to the valuable services rendered by the rulers of Patiala, the correspondent states that it is rumoured that, owing to the Maharaja's private expenses having exceeded all bounds, the Punjab Government is thinking of sending a European Accountant-General to the State. His Highness's extravagant habits, however, cannot constitute any justification for Government's interference in the internal administration of his territory. It may also be mentioned here that Patiala is the only Native State in the Punjab which has produced eminent writers; whose officials have received titles of honour from Government

and gained entry into Legislative Councils; and the ruler of which has personally fought under the British flag; and placed at the disposal of the authorities one of the coolest and most fertile portions of his territory. Government's proposal, therefore, to interfere in the administration of the State and send a European Accountant-General there is not only impolitic and uncalled for, but also contrary to the *Sanads* granted to Patiala. It is true that the contemplated change has for its object the improvement of the financial condition of the State, but this end can be gained by merely advising the Maharaja in a private manner. And there can be no doubt that His Highness will be only too glad to act up to such advice, and carry out the wishes of Government. He could easily secure the services of some pensioned native officer of experience, as well as effect retrenchments in his private expenses. The writer then exhorts the Maharaja and His Highness' advisers to improve the administration of the State and place all the departments of the public service under the control of able and competent officials. Should such persons happen to be rare in Patiala, Government should be requisitioned for them. The correspondent concludes by inviting the attention of Sardar Shamsheer Singh, Private Secretary to the Maharaja, to the matter. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd March 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 9, pp. 104–105).

#### ***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 3 March 1900**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 3rd March 1900, after referring to the establishment of a High Court, Executive Council, &c., in Patiala (*vide* paragraph 11 of the Selections No. 9) remarks that Government should now hold in abeyance its proposals to interfere in the administration of the State by sending a European Accountant-General there. The Editor also exhorts the State authorities to profit by the example of Kashmir, and improve the administration of Patiala, so as to prevent its extinction and virtual annexation. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th March 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 10, p. 119).

#### ***Khair Khwah-i-Alam*, 1 March 1900**

The *Khair Khwah-i-Alam* (Delhi), of the 1st March 1900, says that the administration of Patiala, which was once a model State in the Punjab, is far from being satisfactory. To make matters worse, the present Wazir, who is an experienced administrator and could have remedied the evil, has resigned his appointment, and drastic changes are about to be introduced in the management of the State in consequence. The Editor is, however, afraid that the putting of new and inexperienced officials in places of trust and responsibility will not bring about any improvement in the administration of Patiala, and advises the

Maharaja to take the reins of government into his own hands. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th March 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 10, p. 120).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 7 March 1900**

A correspondent of the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 7th March 1900, writing on the same subject, remarks that under the present circumstances there seems no necessity for Government to interfere in the management of Patiala. From all accounts the Maharaja appears to have awaked to a sense of his responsibilities, and is devising means to improve the resources of the State. His Highness is also anxious to see every department of the public service placed on a satisfactory footing, and has decided to apply to the Punjab Government for the services of a European Police Officer to help in the suppression of crime in Patiala. He is, moreover, considering a scheme for a temporary land settlement of his territories; and there can be no doubt that this will result in a substantial increase in the State's income from land revenue. It will, therefore, be impolitic on the part of the authorities to interfere in the management of Patiala at the present moment. Should, however, Government be anxious to do so, the best course for it to adopt under the circumstances would be to warn the Maharaja to introduce specified reforms in the State within three years or so, on the pain of its interfering in the administration of his territories on the expiry of that period. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th March 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 10, p. 119).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 13 March 1900**

A correspondent of the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 13th March 1900, says that the writer of the series of articles on Patiala which have recently appeared in its columns (*vide* paragraph 9 of the Selection No. 9 for 1900) seems to be retired Government official or the relation of one; for otherwise he would never have advised the Maharaja to appoint some pensioned Native officer to the post of Accountant-General of the State. He then refers to the changes recently introduced in the administration of Patiala, and feels confident that these will prove beneficial to the interests of the State. He also advises the Maharaja to make every one of his officials feel secure in his place, and never to punish a State servant without first giving him every opportunity to defend himself. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th March 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 11, pp. 132–133).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 24 March 1900**

A correspondent writing to the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 24th March, states that recently he sent to the *Akhbar-i-Am* a series of articles on the administration of Patiala. Some of these have appeared in the paper, but others have been left out presumably through inadvertence. The correspondent adds that in the latter he had referring to the financial prosperity of the State, the revenues of which now amount to 73 lakhs of rupees a year, and made mention of the services rendered by it to the Government from time to time. He further states that it has afforded him great pleasure to learn that Mr. Warburton has been appointed head of the State Police, and remarks that it would be still better for Patiala if the Hon'ble Raja Suraj Kaul were taken into the State service. The writer concludes by observing that in view of this prosperous condition of the State it seems inadvisable that Government should interfere in the internal administration of Patiala. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 31st March 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 13, p. 162).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 31 March 1900**

A correspondent of the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 31st March 1900, writing about the changes recently introduced in the administration of Patiala, remarks that if the rumour is correct that the new head of the State Police has also been appointed to supervise the working of the Executive Council, the Maharaja should lose no time in reversing this arrangement. In no Native State has an Inspector-General of Police been as yet entrusted with the task of looking after the management of every department of the public service. Indeed, no one person, more especially Mr. Warburton, who is on the wrong side of sixty, can ever perform this work in a satisfactory manner. The writer is afraid that in the event of the aforesaid Council proving a failure, its members will not find it difficult to lay the blame at the door of the retiring Assistant Inspector-General of the Punjab Railway Police. He then goes on to say that Mr. Warburton's doings in his new capacity are certain to take the public by surprise. No able official can brook interference in his legitimate powers, which is, besides, detrimental to the interests of good administration; and consequently it is to be feared that the proposed arrangements will lead only to quarrels and feuds in Patiala. Were, however, Mr. Warburton appointed only General Adviser to the Maharaja and had nothing to do with the Police, he would be in a position to interfere in the working of all departments of the State without giving rise to any heart-burning. The correspondent adds that it is rumoured that not a few Police officials, &c., in the Punjab feel confident of securing comfortable



berths in the State during Mr. Warburton's time, and he advises that officer never to favour outsider's at the expense of the State subjects. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 7th April 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 14, p. 174).

### ***Victoria Paper, 8 April 1900***

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot) dated the 8th April 1900, says that some newspapers of the Province have of late been talking a good deal of nonsense about the entry of Mr. Warburton into the service of Patiala. It is said that he has only nominally been appointed as head of the State Police and that practically he will be all in all in the State. These papers complain that the Maharaja has been very unjustly treated in the matter, and that His Highness's powers have been curtailed by the appointment of Mr. Warburton. They also allege that the late Assistant Inspector-General of the Punjab Police cannot render the Maharaja any valuable help in conducting State affairs. For, whatever ability he may possess in tracing criminals, he is not a good administrator and is devoid of that skill which is required in dealing with matters of government. The Paper observes that such remarks have evidently been sent for publication to the papers by persons of Patiala who fear that they will no longer have any opportunity of embezzling State money. As for Mr. Warburton's capacities to manage a State, they are as eminent as those which he possesses for hunting down criminals. He will in a very short time introduce such reforms in the State that even his enemies will begin to applaud him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 21st April 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 16, p. 198).

### ***Akhbar-i-Am, 20 June 1900***

A correspondent writing to the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 20th June 1900, regrets to state that the Maharaja of Patiala pays no attention to the administration of his State. After remarking that natives should be loyal to the British Government he says that the people of Patiala should not suspect the motives of Government in appointing Mr. Warburton to the post of Inspector-General of Police, Patiala. Why were false notions entertained regarding the deputation of Captain Bradshaw by Government to the Jind State? The correspondent assures the people that the motives of Government are always good. He then observes that it should be the duty of the Patiala Darbar to ask Government to lend them the services of an able European Officer for appointment as Settlement Officer in the State, and that Settlement work should at once be taken in hand. The writer is sanguine that the revenue of the State will rise to two crores. The nominal establishment of a settlement office by the appointment

of inexperienced and illiterate persons cannot satisfy Government. If there are financial embarrassments in the way, the Darbar should not hesitate to contract a loan. But any indifference in this direction is likely to be construed into selfishness on the part of the Biswadar officers of the State. The management of the Patiala Municipality, observes the writer, is also far from being satisfactory, as the sanitary arrangements are anything but good. The Octroi officials are plundering the people while the Octroi contractor gives unnecessary trouble to railway passengers entering the city. The Lambardars have to make presents of money before they are allowed to pay in the land revenue due from them. No one seems to trouble about the good government of the State. The writer, however, trusts that Mr. Warburton will give practical proof of his abilities in this direction, and win the hearts of the Patiala Subjects. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 14th July 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 28, pp. 339–340).

#### ***Khalsa Bahadur, 9 July 1900***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 9th July 1900, remarks that the Punjab Administration Report for the year 1898–99, after stating that the action of the Maharaja of Patiala in taking part in the Mohmand Expedition is an indication of the loyalty of the State, says: –

“The financial condition of the State is not satisfactory. The personal expenditure of the Maharaja is too heavy a charge on the revenue, and complaints are frequently received from firms in India of the difficulty they experience in getting payment for goods supplied. Petitions are still frequent complaining of the exactions of the Maharaja’s officials. A certain laxity in the administration is evidenced by the great delay in answering correspondence and attending to official business.”

The Punjab Government called the attention of the Maharaja to the matter His Highness promised to remedy the evil and appointed his brother a Member of the Council in order to place the finances of the State on a satisfactory basis. It is, therefore, strange that in the face of these facts Government should consider it proper to treat the State in the manner in which it is proposed to treat it. It was, however, inevitable that a Government of which Sir Mackworth Young is the head should act in such a way. Indeed, as soon as the news of his appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab was received all politicians in the Punjab declared that he would treat the Native States with great severity. What, however, surprises the Editor more than anything else is the fact that an enlightened and able statesman like Lord Curzon should have endorsed the recommendations made by the Punjab Government. After remarking that the Maharaja’s interview with the Viceroy could not have failed

to impress His Excellency in his (the Maharaja's) favour, and expressing a hope that His Excellency will be led to reconsider his decision, the *Khalsa Bahadur* remarks that the Local Government has for a long time been urging on the Maharaja the desirability of employing a European Officer as an Accountant (*sic*); that the Maharaja at first refused, but subsequently, owing to the pressure brought to bear on him by the Local Government, agreed to take such an officer for two years on the condition that he would be paid by the State and considered a servant of the State. Now-a-days, however, rumours are current in the bazars of Simla that a Resident is to be appointed at Patiala and that the Maharaja will be allowed a fixed pension. Some people say that a Council will be appointed to carry on the administration of the State. Some time ago, the Editor was told that the Punjab Government had, with the concurrence of Lord Curzon, asked the Patiala Darbar to employ an European Accountant-General; otherwise the Government of India would, in exercise of the authority vested in them as the Paramount Power in India, either appoint an Agent or make the nearest Commissioner act as Superintendent of the State. The Editor found it hard to believe that Government should have made a proposal opposed to treaty engagements; the more so as the Maharaja had expressed his readiness to remedy the evils complained of. He was also under the impression that Government would not treat with such utter want of consideration a State to which it is under peculiar obligations; but the persistency with which these rumours have been repeated compel him to believe that there must be some foundation with them. No one can of course prevent Lord Curzon from giving effect to the decision arrived at by His Excellency, but the *Khalsa Bahadur* being a national organ of the Sikhs cannot keep silent on an occasion like this. Before commenting on the remarks made in the Administration Report and the proposals subsequently made by the Punjab Government the Editor considers it necessary to point out that Patiala is the leading Sikh State; that the Sikhs hold the Phulkian States in great esteem on religious grounds and that the treatment proposed to be accorded to the Maharaja of Patiala will be received with great disfavour by them. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to nth August 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 32, pp. 393–394).

#### ***Khalsa Bahadur*, 16 July 1900**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 16th July 1900, in continuation of its previous remarks, says that the most essential qualification for a Feudatory Chief to possess is loyalty, the lack of absence of which alone can justify any interference on the part of the Paramount Power in the affairs of his State. Indeed, it is in order to make sure that the rulers of Native States are loyal, that Residents are appointed to Native Courts. As a matter of fact, the Residents have not

right to interfere with the affairs of the States to which they are accredited, beyond giving friendly advice when asked by the Chief. They, however, go beyond their province, and by meddling with the internal administration of the State become *de facto* rulers thereof, the Chief being a mere puppet in their hands. The loyalty of the Native States in the Punjab which have rendered meritorious services to the Government from time to time being above suspicion, no Residents or Political Agents have been appointed in those States. Unfortunately, the present Lieutenant-Governor and his two immediate predecessors were Residents before they were placed in charge of the Province, and the absence of Residents in the Punjab States was a matter of surprise to them. Accordingly they have all done their best to pave the way for the appointment of Political Officers in the Phulkian States, and it seems certain that the credit of bringing about this much desired consummation will fall to the share of the present enlightened, pious and angelic Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. The Editor then goes on to say that it is idle to expect that the Government will be prevailed upon to desist from giving effect to the decision at which they have arrived in regard to Patiala, but he considers it necessary to point out that the Sikh nation which loves the Maharaja and believes him to be an able ruler will feel greatly offended at the action proposed to be taken by the Government. As regards complaints of exactions on the part of the State officials, the *Khalsa Bahadur* observes that this is not to be wondered at, seeing that similar complains are made against Government officials by British subjects. Moreover, since it is laid down in the "sanad" granted to the Patiala State that no notice shall be taken of complaints made against the State or its Ruler, there is no reason why any action should be taken thereon, or why the subjects of the Maharaja should be encouraged to make complaints. Is not the present action of the Government opposed to their treaty engagements? With reference to the alleged unsatisfactory condition of the State finances the Editor remarks that there are three points worthy of consideration in this connection: –

- (1) From what date has the financial condition of the State been unsatisfactory and to what cause is it attributable?
- (2) Has the Maharaja done anything to remedy this state of things? And if so, why have not his efforts been attended with success?
- (3) Are not the steps taken by the Maharaja for improving the financial condition of the State likely to prove satisfactory, and if not, why?

As regards (1), the Editor states that the Maharaja squandered the State Treasury immediately after his installation when he was a mere youth of 18. It is said that most of his money found its way into the pockets of Musahibs and a certain relative of His Highness, but the fact is that those who benefited most

by the Maharaja's generosity were European merchants and others to whom it is unnecessary to refer in detail. The money given to State subjects in *bakshish* remains in the State, while that given to Europeans is a dead loss to the State. It is a pity that the then Wazir of the State took no steps to prevent all this extravagance. It is true that the Maharaja is fond of polo and horse races, but this is the result of the education he has received under the auspices of Government. In regard to (2), the *Khalsa Bahadur* observes that the Maharaja has from time to time adopted diverse measures for placing the finances of the State on a satisfactory footing, and considers it a matter for surprise that Government should treat him so harshly, now that he takes far greater interest in the administration of the State than at any previous period. In these circumstances it behoves the Government to give a fair trial to the steps recently taken by the Maharaja for improving the State administration; otherwise it will be charged with being highhanded towards the State. The treatment now being accorded to the Maharaja is in the first place the result of the policy adopted by the present head of the Punjab Government, and, in the next, it is due to the fact that His Highness is not in the habit of kowtowing to Civilians who have risen from humble posts to high positions. The Editor concludes by asking Lord Curzon to abstain from interfering with the internal affairs of Patiala for the next two years during which period His Highness will, it is hoped, be able to place the State administration on a satisfactory footing. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 11th August 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 32, pp. 395–396).

### ***Paisa Akhbar, 21 July 1900***

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), dated the 21st July 1900, remarks that in order to improve the financial condition of the Patiala State Government desires to place the finances under the control of a European officer. The officer in question it is stated will be responsible to the Punjab Government, and the Maharaja will have no right to interfere with his work. In these circumstances the position of the Maharaja will be not better than that of a mere pensioner. The reason why Government is going to interfere is that, not only has the Maharaja spent the crores of rupees which were accumulated in the State Treasury during the time of the Council of Regency, but that the State has actually run into debt. The fact, however, is that the Maharaja cares for nothing except racing, polo, &c., and that he spends money like water. Anyhow, in the interest of the State, it is desirable that its finances should be completely overhauled. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 11th August 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 32, pp. 396–397).

**Lahore Punch, 25 July 1900**

The *Lahore Punch*, (Lahore), of the 25th July 1900, commenting on the above, remarks that it has heard that Government has been pleased to allow the Maharaja a further period of two years within which to place the administration of the State on a satisfactory footing. The Maharaja should consider himself exceptionally lucky, as it is very seldom that such a concession is made. Let His Highness shun the society of Europeans and give up polo-playing, &c., and distinguish himself as an administrator in the same way as he has done in polo-playing and horse-racing. The Maharaja is an intelligent man, and knows full well the consequences of displeasing Government. The Editor also urges that Government should take steps to prevent Europeans visiting Patiala, as it is from them that the Maharaja has imbibed a taste of racing, and it is the gratification of this taste that has cost the State so dearly. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 11th August 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 32, p. 396).

**Sialkot Paper, 1 August 1900**

The *Sialkot Paper* (Sialkot), of the 1st August 1900, after referring to the rumour that the Maharaja of Patiala has applied to Government for the services of a Financial Adviser and a Settlement Officer, says that Mr. Crosthwaite will be the most suitable man for the former post. For the latter appointment the Editor suggests the names of Diwan Fateh Chand, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, and Munshi Firoz-ud-din, Revenue Officer, Dera Ismail Khan, and observes that both of them are hardworking and hones officials. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 18th August 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 34, p. 415).

**Victoria Paper, 5 August 1900**

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 5th August 1900, remarks that if Government decides to grant the Maharaja of Patiala's application for the services of a Financial Adviser and a Settlement Officer, it should see that really capable and hones men are sent to the State. It will, however, be still better if His Highness is told to confer the posts on some of his deserving officials, of who there is no dearth in Patiala. Besides, the presence in the State of Mr. Warburton, who can advise the Maharaja in almost everything, dispenses with the necessity of appointing outsiders to the posts in question. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 25th August 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 34, p. 432).

***Hamdard-i-Hind*, 4 August 1900**

The *Hamdard-i-Hind* (Lahore), dated the 4th August 1900, says that evil days are apparently in store for Native States and their rulers. It is said that a Financial Adviser is to be appointed in a certain State. The Editor while condemning the adoption of such a step by Government cannot help remarking that Native Chiefs themselves are much to blame, inasmuch as they take no interest in the welfare of their subjects and spend all their time in useless pastimes.

(*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 25th August 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 34, p. 432).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 20 August 1900**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 20th August 1900, remarks that the Maharaja of Patiala has been compelled to apply for a Financial Adviser and a Settlement Officer. His Highness was of course opposed to the appointment of a Financial Adviser, but according to the Punjabi proverb which says that "a strong man will not only beat a weak man, but will at the same time prevent him from complaining" he had no alternative but to acquiesce in the proposal made by Government. The matter is now before the Government of India, and it remains to be seen what turn affairs will take. Rumour has it that the Maharaja, disgusted with the treatment to which he has been subjected at the hands of the Punjab Government, has verbally applied to be placed under the control of the Government of India direct. This means that a Resident or Political Officer should be appointed at Patiala. The Editor praises the Government for the cleverness with which it has sought to deal with the question, because the action of the Maharaja in making such an application will disarm all criticism and close the mouth of the Khalsa nation. No one will, however, believe for a moment that an independent and able Chief like the Maharaja of Patiala has made such an application of his own free will. The *Khalsa Bahadur* intended writing at some length on the subject, but considers that silence is best where one is helpless. The Guru calls the Patiala house his own house, and the Editor leaves it to the Guru to preserve it. He, however, wishes to point out to the Government that even ignoring the fact that the Khalsa nation has served it with marked loyalty and devotion it does not behoove the authorities to forget the personal services of the Maharaja, which are still fresh in the memory of the public. Indeed, it would be undignified on the part of the Government to lose sight of such services, merely because the financial condition of the State happens to be unsatisfactory. If Lord Curzon were pleased to allow the Maharaja a further period of one year in which to put his administrative machinery into

order, he would place the Sikh nation under a deep debt of gratitude. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th September 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 36, pp. 463–464).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 27 August 1900***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 27th August (received on the 7th September), 1900, understands that the Maharaja of Patiala has contributed Rs. 22,00,000 towards the finances of his State from his private purse. If this is true, the charge of extravagance preferred against His Highness by Government falls to the ground, and there seems no necessity for sending a European Financial Adviser to Patiala. Should, however, Government still persist in compelling the Maharaja to apply for the services of such an officer, its conduct must be pronounced as highhanded in the extreme. The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 27th August (received on the 7th September), 1900, writing on the same subject, deprecates the pressure which is being brought to bear on the Maharaja to appoint a European Financial Adviser for Patiala. The Editor is afraid that such an appointment will entail an unnecessary burden on the State Treasury. Besides, when it is possible to secure the services of a competent native for the post on a smaller salary, there is no reason why a European should be employed. Lord Curzon is a far-seeing and sensible man, and it is to be hoped that His Excellency will give the matter the consideration it deserves. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th September 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 37, p. 480).

***Punjab Samachar, 1 September 1900***

A Correspondent writing to the *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 1st September 1900, observes that there is a good deal of truth in the remarks made by certain newspapers regarding the financial condition of the Patiala State. But this does not justify the Government in interfering with its internal administration. On the contrary, Government should advise the Maharaja in a friendly manner to devote more time to the administration of the State and allow him full liberty in the choice of his officers. If considered advisable, Government should even grant a loan to the Maharaja to improve the finances of the State, and should otherwise accord him such treatment as behoves the dignity of a ruler who has rendered good services to the Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th September 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 37, p. 480).



***Punjab Samachar*, 8 September 1900**

A correspondent writing to the *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 8th September 1900, says that doubtless the appointment of a Resident in the Patiala State is to some extent opposed to the terms of the treaties concluded with the State and the sanads granted to it. Besides, having regard to the personal qualifications of, and the services rendered by, the Maharaja, any interference with the internal administration of the State seems undesirable. The Maharaja, who contracted habits of extravagance during his youth, has greatly reformed himself. The writer therefore hopes that Government will not interfere with the State administration for at least two years, and that if by the end of that period the Maharaja fails to introduce reforms in his State to the satisfaction of the Government, the latter will be justified in taking steps to place the administration on a satisfactory footing. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd September 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 38, pp. 499–500).

***Singh Sahai*, 20 September 1900**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 20th September 1900, remarks that a sensible man hesitates to believe the rumours which are now-a-days current regarding the mal-administration prevailing in the Patiala State. It does seem strange that in spite of the presence of so many able officers in the State Patiala should have fallen a prey to the mischief-makers. The Editor hopes that the Maharaja will endeavour to steer clear of all shoals and sandbanks, and will devote greater time to the administration of his State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 13th October 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 41, p. 544).

***Victoria Paper*, 1 October 1900**

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 1st October 1900, remarks that if Government were to appoint the Hon'ble Raja Suraj Kaul as Financial Minister of the Patiala State, it would not only oblige the Maharaja, but would also silence the opposition which the rumours regarding the appointment of a European to the State have evoked. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 13th October 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 41, p. 544).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 1 October 1900**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 1st (received on the 10th) October 1900, remarks that if the rumour is true that one the application which the Maharaja was recently compelled to submit to Government on the subject, the Hon'ble Mr. H.C. Fanshawe has been appointed Financial Adviser, Patiala, with Fakir

Iftikhar-ud-din as his assistant, the arrangement will, so far from resulting in an improvement of the State Administration, constitute an unbearable burden on the Patiala Treasury. It is a matter of surprise to the Editor that Government should think of adding to the expenditure of a State, the financial condition of which it represents to be extremely unsatisfactory. Besides, it is not easy to understand why the aforesaid officials should be sent to Patiala on salaries of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 1,000 respectively, when several servants of the State are competent enough to hold the posts which, according to rumour, have been conferred on these gentlemen. The Editor, therefore, expresses the hope that Lord Curzon, whose watchword is justice, will look into the matter, and prevent the imposition of an unnecessary burden on the Patiala Treasury. The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 1st (received on the 10th) October 1900, writing on the same subject, remarks that, having regard to the fact that the Maharaja has contributed Rs. 25,00,000 towards the finances of the State from his private purse; that His Highness is averse to any European Officer being sent to Patiala; and that it was under pressure that he applied for the services of a Financial Adviser, it appears desirable that Government should abstain from interfering in the State Administration for at least two years to come. The Editor feels confident that Lord Curzon, who is not unaware of the loyal services rendered to the British throne by Her Majesty's Sikh subjects, will given the Maharaja another trial, especially as His Highness is a man of parts and seems determined to improve the financial condition of Patiala. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 20th October 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 42, p. 560).

#### ***Sanatan Dharm Gazette*, November 1900**

The *Sanatan Dharm Gazette* (Lahore), for November 1900, in the course of its remarks on the same subject, observes that the late Maharaja was a spendthrift of the worst type, and that His Highness' extravagance was a source of constant regret to his faithful servants. What, however, is still more regrettable in this connection is the fact that those who profited by this waste of money were almost exclusively low-born European and Eurasian vagabonds, who induced the deceased to indulge in European forms of pleasure and thereby lined their own pockets with gold. It is not exaggeration to say that if even a hundredth part of the loot secured by these adventurers had been spent on some laudable object, the Maharaja's name would have become widely known throughout the civilized world. It may be mentioned here that His Highness' companions consisted of obscure men, with who no gentleman would have consented to associate, and who are wholly illiterate and void of all sense of shame. These rascals did nothing beyond donning European dresses, and leading their

master to tread reprehensible paths. Nor is this all. They practiced such gross oppression on the residents of Patiala that they ought to have been flayed alive. After regretting that the deceased was the first Native Prince in the Punjab to marry a European wife and thereby set a bad example to his brother Chiefs, the *Gazette* says that His Highness was not altogether devoid of amiable qualities. He was a staunch believer in the religion of his forefathers, and kept his long hair to the end. He also proved the efforts of certain misguided persons to create estrangement between the Hindus and Sikhs. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 49, pp. 650–651).

***Sadai Hind*, 3 November 1900**

The *Sadai Hind* (Lahore), dated the 3rd November 1900, remarks that the Deorhi officer of the Maharaja of Patiala is an illiterate man and gives much trouble to those who go to the Palace to pay visits to His Highness. The Editor therefore hopes that the Maharaja will either pension off the officer in question or grant him some post in the army. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th November 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 45, p. 595).

***Khadim-i-Hind*, 5 November 1900**

One Sham Singh, of Patiala, writing to the *Khadim-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 5th November 1900, says that Patiala is about the worst governed Native State in India, and that certain selfish officials prevent the Maharaja from introducing reforms in the administration. After remarking that the order of the State Council are “honored more in the breach than in the observance,” the writer alleges that gross oppression is practiced on the residents of the State, and that their lot is pitiable in the extreme. He adds that the rumour that Government intends sending a European Financial Adviser to Patiala has revived the drooping spirits of the Maharaja’s subjects, whom, by the way, the exactions of His Highness’ private staff have reduced to very straitened circumstances. The correspondent further remarks that it draws tears from his eyes to think of the unbearable oppression which the Muhammadan population of Patiala has to suffer at the hands of the State authorities. As an indication of the attitude of responsible officials towards their Musalman fellow-subject, it may be mentioned that the officer in charge of the Deorhi considers it inauspicious to set eyes on a follower of Islam till 11/4 *pahr*\* after sunrise. To make matters worse, his subordinates are also imbibing his spirit of fanaticism; and it goes without saying that such a state of affairs is certain to prove highly injurious to the best interests of Patiala.

Commenting on the above the Editor alleges that he has received several other similar complaints; but that he would prefer to give publicity to Sham Singh's communications alone, should that gentleman decided to lay before the public the true state of affairs in Patiala. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th November 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 46, pp. 604–605).

\*A space of time about three hours in duration.

#### ***Lahore Punch*, 7 November 1900**

The *Lahore Punch* (Lahore), of the 7th November 1900, says that the existing mismanagement in Patiala is due wholly to the absence of able and loyal officials in the service of the State. The Maharaja himself is an intelligent man, and has the welfare of his subjects at heart. He is, however, powerless in the hands of certain selfish officials, who even go the length of throwing obstacles in the way of the smooth working of the Council which was recently established by His Highness to improve the administration of Patiala. The Editor further remarks that the Deohri Department is entirely manned by incompetent officials, and that its present head is an unmannerly, gruff old man, who is an utter ignoramus into the bargain. The *Punch*, therefore, requests both the Maharaja and the Council to effect radical changes in the *personnel* of this important department, and thereby lay the Patiala public under a deep debt of gratitude. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th November 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 46, p. 605).

#### ***Sadai Hind*, 10 November 1900**

The *Sadai Hind* (Lahore), of the 10th November 1900, writing about the death of the late Maharaja of Patiala, says that that sad event has come as a severe shock to both Hindus and Muhammadans throughout India. As for Patiala itself, it has been converted into a veritable mourning house owing to this melancholy death. And to tell the truth, the State subjects could ill-afford to lose an inoffensive ruler like the late Sir Rajinder Singh. The Editor concludes by expressing a hope that Government will lose no time in sending about their business certain officials of Patiala who draw handsome salaries, but do absolutely no work for the State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th November 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 46, p. 605).

#### ***Wakil*, 12 November 1900**

The *Wakil* (Amritsar), of the 12th November 1900, regrets to learn that the Maharaja of Patiala died after only five days' illness, and remarks that some

narrow-minded Musahibs tried their best to convert His Highness into a bigoted ruler, but they succeeded only partially in gaining their object. Until the death of the late Khalifa Syad Muhammad Hassan no one dared to interfere in State affairs, but since then certain meddlesome persons succeeded in having almost all the Muhammadan officials turned out of the State service. As their successors were incompetent, the administration of the State suffered. Their heir-apparent is very young, and it is difficult to say what arrangements will be made for carrying on the administration of the State. The Editor trusts that the claims of Khalifa Syad Muhammad Husain, who is an old and loyal servant of the State, besides being a great Statesman, will not be overlooked on this occasion. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 1st December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 48, p. 635).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 17 November 1900**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 17th November 1900, writing about the death of the late Maharaja of Patiala, says that His Highness was a spendthrift, and took very little interest in the management of his State. The greater part of the deceased's time was spent in playing cricket, polo, &c. Indeed, he had the frankness to admit to Lord Elgin that he was unfit to rule his country. His death therefore is of as little consequence to his subjects as that of the late Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan was to Bahawalpur. The Editor then suggests that the minor Chief of Patiala should be brought up in a careful manner, and that European officer should be sent to the State in order to improve its financial condition. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 1st December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 48, pp. 635–636).

***Punjab Samachar*, 24 November 1900**

The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 24th November 1900, publishes a communication in which the writer, in the course of an obituary notice on the untimely death of the Maharaja of Patiala, remarks that his death was due to excessive drinking, and bad habit which he had contracted owing to his coming in contact with evil counsellors. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 49, p. 651).

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***Victoria Paper*, 14 and 16 November 1900**

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 14th and 16th November 1900, writing on the same subject, remarks that the Lieutenant-Governor should see that

satisfactory arrangements are made not only for the purpose of giving the minor Maharaja a proper education, but also to render it impossible for persons of undesirable character to obtain access to His Highness. Steps should also be taken to expel from Patiala territory those officials who have been instrumental in reducing the State treasury to its present condition. Nor should such men be allowed to reside in the State whose evil habits or counsels are likely to lead to undesirable consequences. Such drastic measures, adds the Editor, may not commend themselves to Government, but they constitute the only means by which it is possible to improve the administration of Native States. He then suggests that in the event of an outsider being required to act as President of the Regency Council, the Hon'ble Raja Suraj Kaul should be selected for the purpose. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 1st December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 48, p. 635).

***Wafadar*, 15 November 1900**

The *Wafadar* (Lahore), of the 15th November 1900, says that arrangements for carrying on the administration of Patiala during the minority of its present Chief should be made in accordance with the provisions of the treaties concluded between Government and the Phulkian States. These treaties require that all such arrangements should be made after consultation with the rulers of Nabha and Jind, and the Editors feels confident that in the old and experienced head of the former State the authorities will find a valuable adviser. He then suggests that Sardar Sheodyal Singh of Bareilly and Kanwar Ranbir Singh should be appointed guardians of the minor Chief, and that the present Administrative Council should be allowed to manage the State till the Maharaja attains his majority. He adds that it is of course desirable that one of its members, namely, Sardar Gurmukh Singh, who is now physically unfit for further active service, should be retired and replaced by some able man like Rai Bahadur Nanak Bakhsh, the State's Motamid in attendance on the Lieutenant-Governor. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 1st December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 48, pp. 634–635).

***Nur Afshan*, 23 November 1900**

The *Nur Afshan* (Ludhiana), of the 23rd November 1900, writing on Patiala affairs, suggests that Sardar Gurmukh Singh and Khalifa Sayad Muhammad Husain, both of whom are very able and experienced officials, should be given seats on the Regency Council. The rulers of Jind and Nabha are also expected to propose some such arrangement, and there can be no doubt that the appointment of these gentlemen on the Council will give general satisfaction. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 49, pp. 650).

***Hamdard-i-Hind*, 1 December 1900**

*Hamdard-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 1st December 1900, observes that Government will do well to consult the Raja of Nabha, the old Patiala officials and European ex-officials of the State regarding the formation of the Patiala Council of Regency. The Editor suggests that Sikh officials should be appointed members of the Council. As far as possible, no Muhammadan or members of other communities should be selected. If, however, Government wishes to appoint any of its own European or Native officials, it should see that the men selected are, besides honest and competent, physically fit for such appointment and have the welfare of the State at heart. The Editor then points out the advisability of appointing the Kanwar Sahib as President of the Council. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 50, pp. 670–671).

***Sialkot Paper*, 8 December 1900**

The *Sialkot Paper* (Sialkot), of the 8th December 1900, says that, as required by the treaties concluded between the Government and the Phulkian States, the members of the Regency Council should be selected after consultation with the Raja of Nabha. Besides, His Highness is an able and experienced ruler, and may be trusted to give the authorities valuable advice in this selection. The Editor adds that the Council in question should also command the confidence of the State subjects, and should not be indifferent to their welfare. He then suggests the name of the Kanwar Sahib for the Presidentship of this assembly, and remarks that his presence on it will have the effect of preventing its members from doing anything improper or illegal. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 50, p. 670).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 10 December 1900**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 10th December 1900, alleges that certain selfish officials of Patiala have raised an outcry to the effect that Sardar Gurmukh Singh being related to the Raja of Nabha, his appointment on the Patiala Regency Council would prove injurious to the interests of the State. This apprehension is, however, wholly without foundation, seeing that the Sardar is a tried well-wisher of Patiala. It may be mentioned here that he is the only State servant who dared to complain to the late Maharaja of the malpractices of Jiwan Singh, Pretam Singh and others. The Editor then goes on to say that the persons most fit to serve on the Regency Council are the Kanwar Sahib, Sardar Gurmukh Singh, Khalifa Muhammad Hussain and Rai Bahadur Lala Nanak Bakhsh, and that after them come Lala Bhagwan Das, Syad Tufazzal Hussain

and Sardar Sampuran Singh. If, however, none of these gentlemen are to be given a seat on the Council, Government had better take the management of Patiala into its own hands during the minority of the present Maharaja. The *Akhbar* further remarks that since Mr. Warburton's appointment to the post of Inspector-General of Police there have been several undesirable occurrences in the State. Indeed, the Editor had foretold at the very outset that that gentleman's presence in the State was certain to prove injurious to its best interests. It may be mentioned here that whereas Mr. Warburton retired from Government service on the 15th May 1900, he was appointed to his present post on the 28th February last, and that with the exception of a few days he spent the whole of the period between these two dates in Patiala. Now, it will be readily conceded that the fact of a Government official in the position of Mr. Warburton sojourning in a Native State for about five months and entering its service before his retirement is puzzling in the extreme. At all events, the Editor is of opinion that that officers' services should be dispensed with at an early date, especially as Mr. Bruere, (late) District Superintendent of Police, Karnal, has stronger claims to the post of Inspector-General of the Patiala Police, and was recommended for the same by Mr. R. Clarke in 1898. This gentleman has rendered valuable services to the Phulkian States in the past, and possesses a unique knowledge of that part of the Punjab that side of the Sutlej. Again, he has never held out to any man of position the threat of entering his name in the confidential police diaries (*Kisi a'li martaba shakhs ko Khufia Police Diary ka ishara nahin kia*), and respects native etiquette and religions. It is, therefore, to be regretted that under the influence of the pressure brought to bear on him the late Maharaja should have overlooked Mr. Bruere's services and made an utterly undeserving person the virtual ruler of his State. Besides, when the Inspector-General of Police in a large State like Kashmir is paid only Rs. 800 a month, it is hardly fair that his *confrere* in Patiala, which is scarcely larger than a Commissioner's Division in the Punjab, should draw a higher salary. The Editor, therefore, suggests that Mr. Warburton should be replaced by Mr. Bruere, provided the latter agrees to work on Rs. 600 per mensem. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 50, pp. 669–670).

#### *Aftab-i-Punjab*, 10 December 1900

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 10th December 1900, takes exception to the suggestion that Sardar Gurmukh Singh, being a relative of the Raja of Nabha should be made to retire from the Patiala State service, and that the education of the young Maharaja should be entrusted to Mr. Warburton and Colonel Abdul Majid Khan. Mr. Warburton should not be appointed a member of the



State Council of Regency, seeing that Government made him retire on a pension because it found him unfit for further service. The Council should consist of a Sikh, a Hindu, and a Muhammadan member, inasmuch as there is no apparent need of any Christian member. The Kanwar, should, of course, be made President of the Council. It would be a mistake to appoint Khalifa Syad Muhammad Hussain, President, and the Kanwar, a member of the Council under him. The Editor believes that the Khalifa himself would not agree to such a proposal. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 50, p. 670).

***Lahore Punch, 12 December 1900***

The *Lahore Punch* (Lahore), of the 12th December 1900, suggests that the present Administrative Committee should be converted into the proposed Regency Council, as all its members are able, experienced and loyal servants of the State, and may be trusted to have the interests of their master always at heart. The Editor then ridicules the objections which certain newspaper have urged against the appointment of the Kanwar Sahib to the post of President of the said Council, and says that the authorities will not find it easy to secure a better man for the purpose. Nor does he agree to the suggestion that Sardar Gurmukh Singh should be replaced by some younger man, as the Sardar is still physically fit for further active service. Besides, he is one of the ablest and most experienced servants of the State, and his services are certain to prove of the greatest use at the present juncture. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 50, p. 670).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 17 December 1900***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 17th December 1900, (received on the 3rd January 1901), says that the ill-treatment to which certain highly-placed officials of Patiala have been subjected since the death of the late Maharaja is not only objectionable in the extreme, but also constitutes a gross insult to the memory of the illustrious dead. As an instance in point, the Editor states that General Pretam Singh, who occupied the exalted position of Commander-in-Chief of the State forces, and in whom the deceased reposed such great confidence that he had placed him in charge of his private purse, has, without any complaint having been made against him, been suspended and placed under surveillance. Similar treatment has been accorded to Sardar Shamsheer Singh, Chief Secretary to the late ruler of Patiala. He has been expelled from his house and is kept like a Political prisoner, a proceeding which cannot be justified on the score either of political expediency or of administrative necessity. Again,

Lala Amar Rao, Assistant Private Secretary, who used to do only writing work and is a distinguished graduate, has also been placed in police custody. After remarking that a like fate has overtaken Sardar Kanya Singh and Bhai Hardit Singh, the Editor alleges that, although the houses of all these gentlemen have been thoroughly ransacked, nothing suspicious has been found therein. In these circumstances he cannot refrain from remarking that the treatment accorded to them by the Administrative Committee seems to have been actuated by feelings of revenge. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 5th January 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 1, p. 7).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 17 December 1900***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 17th December 1900 (received on the 3rd January 1901), says that the appointment of Mr. Biddulph as Financial Adviser, Patiala, is perfectly unintelligible. All necessity for such an appointment may be said to have ceased to exist with the death of the late Maharaja and the step is tantamount to an infringement of the treaty concluded between Government and the State. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 5th January 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 1, p. 7).

***Akhbar-i-Am, 1 January 1901***

A correspondent writing to the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 1st January 1901, remarks that Sardar Shamsher Singh (Chief Secretary to the deceased Maharaja of Patiala), who was one of the officials placed under Police surveillance on the death of His Highness, is going to have recourse to law for the insult thus offered to him. The writer is, however, of opinion that it would be better for the Sardar to settle the matter out of court. Besides, the course he intends pursuing is calculated to prove highly injurious to the interests of the State and may prevent Government from appointing any Patiala official on the Council of Regency. It is to be hoped that the Raja of Nabha will endeavour to avert such a calamity. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 12th January 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 2, p. 23).

***Sialkot Paper, 16 January 1901***

The *Sialkot Paper* (Sialkot), dated the 16th January 1901, writing about recent appointments in Patiala, says that Major Dunlop-Smith possesses all the qualifications necessary for a Political Officer and that he may be relied upon to steer clear of party intrigues, which are very rife in the State. Again, he is an able Revenue Officer and has had previous experience of service in Native States. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that he will put an end to the prevailing

mismanagement in Patiala and thereby earn the sincere thanks of the public. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th January 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 4, p. 48).

***Punjab Observer*, 16 January 1901**

The *Punjab Observer* (Lahore), of the 16th January 1901, writing on the same subject, remarks as follows: –

“The announcement that the affairs of the Patiala State will be conducted by a Council of Regency consisting of three old and tried officials of the State, Sardar Gurmukh Singh, Khalifa Syad Muhammad Husain and Lala Bhagwan Das, during the minority of Maharaja Bhupendur Singh, whose succession to the gaddi has been recognized by Government, will meet with general approval. The Chief is yet only nine years of age, and the Council will have a long career of usefulness before it, if it works harmoniously, as we hope it would. The administration, it is hoped, will be placed on a sounder footing than ever, strengthened as the administrative machinery of the State has recently been by some experienced officers from British territory. Another proposal that has just been decided upon to have a Political Agent for all the Phulkian States, to serve as an intermediary between the States and the Punjab Government, is also likely to help the administrative work. The official selected for this purpose is Major J.R. Dunlop-Smith, C.I.E., and we do not think choice could have fallen on a more competent person such a duty, as by ability, experience and, above all, tact in dealing with the people. Major Dunlop-Smith is said to have few equals in the ranks of the Punjab Civil Service. He will probably take up his duties in November next, and in meanwhile Captain Popham Young will act as Political Agent, in addition to his Settlement duties.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th January 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 4, p. 49).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 18 January 1901**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), dated the 18th January 1901, says that the appointment of a Political Agent in the Phulkian States puts an end to their direct relations with the Government, which distinction they have enjoyed since 1870. It is of course true that had the rulers of these States known how to appreciate this direction, they would not have been deprived of it. They should, however, feel thankful that an officer like Major J.R. Dunlop Smith, who has already had some experience of Native States, has been selected to fill the post of Agent (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 19th January 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 3, p. 37).

*Tribune*, 19 January 1901

The following appears in the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 19th January 1901, on the same subject: –

“Our Patiala Correspondent writes: –

“It is very gratifying to see in your highly esteemed paper that the Supreme Government has sanctioned a Council of Regency for the Patiala State, with Sardar Gurmukh Singh as its President, Khalifa Muhammad Hussain and Lala Bhagwan Das as members. They were recommended by Their Highnesses the Rajas of Nabha and Jind to the Punjab Government. They are highly suited for their exalted posts. It was impossible or rather more than impossible, if I can use the impression (*sic*), to make a better or more judicious selection in the State. Their impartiality, love of justice, and decision of character have been put to severe test on more occasions than one. Their honesty, uprightness and disinterested love of duty cost them considerable loss and self-sacrifice under the times of the last *regime*. They had to face very severe trials and hardships, but their guiding principles have always been “path of duty,” and “Virtue is its own reward.” Their piety, experience and ability are well known like daylight all over the State. Had there been a general election by the subjects of the State, the choice of the 15 lakhs of its people could not have fallen on any other man than the ones already elected. The decision of the Supreme Government has given every satisfaction to the people of the State far and wide. This happy news has spread like wild fire all over the State. Everywhere you will find the same subject talked over. Joy and cheerfulness is evinced from the faces of the people. They are satisfied because their prayer have borne fruit and they are joyful because there is an end to the age of jobbery and favouritism. The expectation of an age of peace and prosperity and of general advancement in the moral, physical and intellectual condition of the people has filled with joy every sensible person in the State. The Councils of Regency in the Phulkian States have always been decidedly successful in the thorough and faithful discharge of their multifarious duties. It is sanguinely hoped, and there is every reason to believe, that the present Council will prove the fact to be an “axiom” in the history of the three sister States. I may by and by give a short sketch of the public life of each of the three members. It will throw more light on their merits, deserts, and the services they have rendered to the State. I conclude this letter with my most sincere and best wishes for the Patiala Council of Regency and the British Rule in India.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th January 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 4, pp. 49–50).

***Khalsa*, 23 January 1901**

The following appears in the *Khalsa* (Lahore), of the 23rd January 1901, under the heading “The fiat has gone forth” –

“The long-expected and much-feared change in the relation of the cis-Sutlej Sikh States with regard to the British Government has taken place. A Political Agent has appointed over Patiala, Nabha and Jind and the status quo that obtained before 1870 has been restored. ‘The new Agent,’ says the *Civil & Military Gazette*, ‘will not be Commissioner with the business of half a dozen Punjab districts on his hands; but an officer whose sole duty will be to act as an intermediary between the Lieutenant-Governor and the States.’ That is to say the Political Agent will be the ruler *de facto* of the three States whose princes will be rulers in name. For if ever they refuse or delay compliance with the wishes of the Political Agent their ‘reputation for loyalty which,’ according to the *Civil & Military Gazette*, ‘they have never failed to maintain’ will become a thing of the past. Their long-cherished feeling of loyalty will not have a free vent, while a little show of restiveness on their part will be construed into disaffection, as the history of so many other Natives States shows so well. In a previous issue, some months back, while commenting on the rumoured appointment of a Financial Adviser to the Patiala State we said that the Government of Sir Mackworth Young was led by the best of motives in proposing some workable scheme for placing the administration of the Patiala State on a satisfactory footing, and we shall not be far wrong when we say that even now the intentions of the Government are above suspicion. But we cannot help remarking that a less drastic measure would have very well removed all cause for maladministration and would have further given to the ruling Princes a freer hand in serving their people and the Government. In case milder reforms had failed to improve the state of things, there might have been some justification for having recourse to the violent change now made. However, it is useless to dwell further on the advisability or otherwise of the measure taken by the Government. The fiat has gone forth and time will show how far the new arrangement will be conducive to public good. We would only hope that the officer appointed would be fit to perform the delicate duties of the position in which he will be placed and that he will be able not only to introduce necessary reforms in the various branches of the administration of the States under his control, but that he will be wise enough to choose men of unimpeachable integrity to help him in carrying on the work entrusted to him. Even in British territory, where supervision is so well maintained, the subordinate *Amlah* is curse. What its depredations must be in States under double administration can well be imagined.”

The same paper publishes the following remarks about the appointment of a Regency Council in Patiala: –

“We understand that the Government has recognized the succession of Maharaja Bhupendra Singh, who is only nine years of age, to the Patiala *gud-dee*. During the young Chief’s minority a Council of Regency will conduct the administration. The veteran Sardar, Gurmukh Singh, will be President of the Council and Khalifa Sayad Muhammad Hussain and Lala Bhagwan Das will be the Sardar’s colleagues on the Council. The intelligence is gratifying for it precludes the possibility of the introduction of revolutionary measures; all the members of the Council being veteran statesmen of remarkable strength of character and sagacity. We feel confident that the interests of the State will be quite safeguarded by them until the young Chief comes of age and takes administrative responsibilities upon himself.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 2nd February 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 5, pp. 65–66).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 28 January 1901**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 28th January (received on the 4th February) 1901, writing about the appointment of a Political Agent in the Phulkian States, remarks that this reversion to the state of affairs prevalent prior to 1870 is wholly unwarrantable. Besides, it is scarcely a fitting reward for the unflinching loyalty which the States in question have always shown for the British throne. The *Civil and Military Gazette*, adds the Editor, says that the privilege of having direct relations with Government was conferred on the Phulkian States in recognition of the invaluable services rendered by them during the sepoy mutiny. It is not, therefore, easy to understand why this concession has been withdrawn now, especially as the administration of these States has been rapidly improving since 1870, and they have more than once proved to the world that their loyalty is as deep-rooted and sincere as ever. The Editor then quotes instances in support of this assertion and says that the appointment of a Political Agent in the Phulkian States has engendered a feeling of uneasiness in the minds of the Sikhs, and that Lord Curzon’s approval of this step has taken the public quite by surprise.

The same paper regrets that the Kanwar Sahib, in whom the late Maharaja reposed such great confidence that His Highness had appointed him President of the Administrative Committee, has not been given a seat on the newly appointed Council of Regency. It is of course true that the treaties concluded between Government and Patiala do not admit of the Kanwar being given a hand in the administration of the State. Government, however, could have

easily overcome the difficulty, and appointed him, though only in name, guardian of the minor Maharaja. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 9th February 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 6, p. 77).

***Punjab Samachar*, 2 February 1901**

The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 2nd February 1901, publishes a communication in which the writer requests the Regency Council to leave no stone unturned to bring up and educate the minor Chief of Patiala in a manner becoming his exalted position. The correspondent then exhorts the Council to work disinterestedly and smoothly; to think more of making the State subjects happy than of extorting money from them; and to make merit the sole test of employment and promotion in the public service. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 9th February 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 6, p. 77).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 11 February 1901**

A correspondent of the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 11th February 1901, writing about the appointment of a Political Agent in the Phulkian States, remarks that had this step been taken earlier the condition of Patiala and Jind would have been quite different from what it is at the present moment. Nor would the late Maharaja Sir Rajindar Singh have died a premature death or the Rana of Dholpur dared to behave at Patiala in the way he is said to have done. After alleging that Government had received secret information to the effect that the lives of the rulers of the Phulkian States have always been in danger, the writer says that the appointment of a Political Agent in these States has been sanctioned with the sole object of remedying this evil, and that consequently Government deserves nothing but praise for its action. He adds that Government detectives have also collected certain other information, and that it is quote on the cards that the Kanwar Sahib may be required to reside outside Patiala territory. After promising to find out the nature of this information, the correspondent commends the action of Government in deputing a European Medical Officer to look after the minor Chief of Patiala, and says that natives should never be entrusted with the task of educating, &c., Indian Princes. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th February 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 7, pp. 92–93).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 18 February 1901**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 18th February (received on the 11th March) 1901, says that a correspondent of the *Akhbar-i-Am* has recently endeavoured to justify Government's action in appointing a Political Agent in the Phulkian

States (*vide* paragraph 14 of the Selections No. 7). This conduct on his part may not appear objectionable to himself, but how would he feel if some strong neighbour of his were to declare him unfit to manage his own property and appoint a stranger to look after it and him? The correspondent is, besides, utterly wrong in thinking that the recent change in the administration of the aforesaid States is calculated to prove beneficial to their best interests. He should remember that the presence of a Political Advisor in Jind has so far proved of no good to that State. The Editor then goes on to say that a Political Agent is supposed to serve as an intermediary between a Native State and the Government and do this utmost to promote friendly relations between them. It is, however, to be regretted that not infrequently Political Agents try to make themselves virtual rulers of the States to which they are sent and thus bring these appointments into disfavour. A certain friend of the Editor's who holds a very responsible post in a Native State has more than once complained that the officials there have to serve to masters, and that if they endeavour to please the Chief they are certain to incur the displeasure of the Political Agent, and *vice versa*. This, it will be readily conceded, can never conduce to the welfare of a State, and consequently Government should be very chary of appointing Political Agents in Native States. In the case of the Phulkian States particularly, which have always been noted for their loyalty to the British throne, such an appointment should never have been sanctioned. This was the more necessary as the presence of a Political Agent in these States previous to 1870 has been proved to have been a source of numerous evils and intrigues. On the other hand, during the past thirty years they have been enjoying perfect peace and there has been very little intrigue. The Editor then expresses surprise that the Raja of Nabha should have silently acquiesced in the arrangements under reference, which are calculated to reduce the rulers of the Phulkian States to mere figure-heads in the near future and convert the States into a hot-bed of intrigue. He concludes by endeavouring to prove that it will be unfair as well as unnecessary to require the Kanwar Sahib to reside outside Patiala territory. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th March 1901, Vol. XIV. No. 11, p. 164*).

#### ***Khalsa Bahadur, 25 February 1901***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 25th February (received on the 21st March) 1901, deprecated Captain Popham Young's intervention between the Regency Council and the Inspector-General of Police, Patiala. The Editor does not know what has led the Political Agent to interfere with the Council's work in such an inconsiderate manner. There can, however, be no gain saying the fact that the incident bodes ill for Patiala and cannot be justified on the score either



of political expediency or of administrative necessity. Besides, Mr. Warburton being a servant of the State and the Council being invested with full powers of government, Captain Young ought not to have taken the step he is reported to have done. The Editor then expresses the hope that the Lieutenant-Governor will uphold the Council's orders and thereby preserve its prestige. This is the more necessary, as the reversal of its decision is calculated to make it difficult for that body to perform its work in an efficient manner. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 23rd March 1901, Vol. XIV. No. 12, p. 179*).

***Akhbar-i-Am, 7 March 1901***

A correspondent writing to the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 7th March 1901, says that so far as the public is aware of the Political Agent in the Phulkian States has no authority to interfere in the internal administration of these States. His conduct in connection with certain orders recently passed by the Patiala Regency Council would, however, show that he enjoys unlimited powers in this respect. The readers of the *Akhbar* cannot have forgotten that in his address to the Members of the Council on the 1st February last Captain Popham Young informed them that Government looked to them for a thorough reform in the administration of the State. Accordingly these gentlemen set about this work without delay, and decided that they should first relieve the Patiala treasury of those burdens which it could not conveniently bear. In pursuance of this policy they passed orders dispensing with Mr. Warburton's services and appointing Colonel Muhammad Abdul Majid Khan, Inspector-General of the State Police. These orders were perfectly reasonable and just, but strangely enough Captain Young caused their execution to be postponed and submitted them to the Local Government for final decision. The news has now been received that the Lieutenant-Governor has not approved of the Council's action, and has reversed the aforesaid orders. This has created great uneasiness in Patiala, and it is feared that the Council will not be able to perform its duties in a satisfactory manner if more considerate treatment is not accorded to it in future. The incident has, besides, made it clear that the Political Agent has been authorized to interfere in the internal administration of the Phulkian States, and that Government is determined to deprive them of all their rights. The correspondent then suggest that the Regency Council should, in a respectful manner, protest against this interference with its work, and thereby avert the evils to which the occurrence would otherwise be certain to lead. He has no doubt that if Sir Mackworth Young knew the true facts of the cause, and were informed that in its present financial condition the State cannot afford to entertain highly-paid European officials, His Honor would be willing to

reconsider his orders. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 9th March 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 10, pp. 147–148).

***Public Gazette, 8 March 1901***

The *Public Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 8th (received on the 16th) March 1901, writing about the reversal by the Punjab Government of the Patiala Regency Council's orders dispensing with Mr. Warburton's services (*vide* paragraph 18 of the Selections No. 10), says that the reason which led the Council to pass these orders have not transpired up to the present. It is not, however, unlikely that that body was prompted to take this step owing to Mr. Warburton's high-handedness in placing certain officers of the State under Police surveillance after the death of the late Maharaja. At all events, it is highly desirable that the public should be informed of the Council's reasons for wishing to dispense with Mr. Warburton's services, as well as the grounds on which their decision was reversed by the Lieutenant-Governor. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 23rd March 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 12, p. 179).

***Victoria Paper, 14 March 1901***

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 14th March 1901, says that certain newspapers have given out that the appointment of a Political Agent in the Phulkian States has not been viewed with favour by the general public. The Editor can, however, assert without fear of contradiction that not a single sensible Punjabi has anything to say against the recent change in the administration of Patiala, Jind and Nabha. After referring to the relations existing between Government and the States in question previous to 1870, the *Paper* observes that, but for the presence of the Political Agent in Patiala, the Regency Council would experience great difficulty in performing its duties, and intrigues would become general in the State. Sir Mackworth Young has therefore done well in taking steps to avert such a state of affairs, and deserves nothing but praise for sending a Political Agent to the Phulkian States. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 23rd March 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 12, pp. 178–179).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 25 March 1901***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 25th March 1901, says that the Local Government has reverse the Patiala Regency Council's orders dispensing with Mr. Warburton's services, and supported Captain Popham Young without giving the least thought to the prudential character of the Council's decision. It is of course true that Mr. Warburton may be depended upon to put forth his best

exertions to suppress crime in the State and make himself useful to the Political Agent in many ways. At the same time there can be no doubt that the Punjab Government's action is calculated to add to the anxiety of the Phulkian States about the preservation of their existence. It is also certain to convert Patiala into a hot bed of intrigue and thus put the Council as well as the Political Agent and the Government to the greatest possible trouble in connection with the management of the State. The Editor then ironically remarks that the Raja of Nabha, who is said to have given his consent in writing to the appointment of a Political Agent in the Phulkian States, deserves to be congratulated for the turn affairs have taken. Indeed, if Sir Mackworth Young has really disposed of the Council's orders in the manner alleged, His Highness should send his heir apparent to England to compete for the Indian Civil Services rather than leave the young man to succeed to the *gaddi* of Nabha. After remarking that the late Maharaja of Patiala was not only a very sensible man, but also a shrewd politician, and that His Highness gave up his life, *i.e.* died of disappointment, rather than continue fighting with Government for his legitimate rights, the Editor alleges that the reversal of the Regency Council's orders has considerably weakened that body's prestige in the State. The Punjab Government's action is, beside, contrary to all precedent and has consequently failed to commend itself to the general public. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 6th April 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 14, pp. 218–219).

#### ***Khalsa Bahadur*, 1 April 1901**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 1st April 1901, says that, as was to be feared, Government's reversal of the Regency Council's orders regarding Mr. Warburton has converted Patiala into a hot bed of intrigue. Everybody, whose expectations from the Council are not realized, at once joins a certain clique, which is credited with being in the good books of both the Government and the Political Agent and is receiving an extraordinary accession of strength in these days. This has placed the Regency Council in a strange predicament and rendered its position a very critical one. The Editor then goes on to say that the body was ill-advised in dispensing with Mr. Warburton's services, and that it should have first consulted Government on the point. He adds that Mr. Warburton, how is reputed to be a thoroughly good-natured gentlemen, should not take offence at the Council's conduct but should endeavour to break up the clique in question. In other words, he should prove himself worthy of his salt and prefer the State's welfare to supporting Government. Otherwise, concluded the Editor, both parties are certain to be losers in the long run. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 13th April 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 15, p. 231).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 13 April 1901**

A correspondent writing to the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 13th April 1901, deprecates the Patiala Regency Council's orders dispensing with Mr. Warburton's services, and says that the State Police have become more efficient under that officers and are certain to become the equals of their confreres in British India at not distant date. It is likely, adds the writer, that Mr. Warburton's connection with the defunct Administrative Committee and the insight into State affairs gained by him in that capacity is regarded with suspicion by the Council; but, at the same time it is a fact that his removal from Patiala would greatly endanger the lives and property of the State subjects. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 20th April 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 16, pp. 247–248).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 27 May 1901**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 27th May 1901, remarks that an Anglo-Indian newspaper of Simla has written a spirited leader under the heading "The Sikh States" in which the writer recounts the valuable services rendered to Government by the Phulkian as well as the Faridkot and Kapurthala States during the dark days of the Sepoy Mutiny, and exposes the highhanded manner in which these States are being treated by the present Government of the Punjab. He adds that in the furtherance of its own ends, Government does not hesitate to ignore the provisions of the treaties concluded between it and the States in question; and remarks that this policy is fraught with danger and does not bode good (? to Government). In conclusion, he indulges in some outspoke criticism, which reminds one of the following couplet: –

O, thou tyrant that oppresses the weak!  
How long will this state of affairs be suffered to last?

The writer has also dilated upon the intolerable hardships to which the late Maharaja of Patiala was subjected by Sir W. Mackworth Young during the latter part of the deceased's reign. And which, it will not be unfair to remark, broke His Highness' heart so completely that he did not care even for his life. After remarking that the article also condemns the appointment of a Political Agent in the Phulkian States, the Editor remarks that, although couched in very strong language, the article is based on facts. He concluded by promising to comment thereon after he has published a full translation of it. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th June 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 23, pp. 339–340).

***Watan*, 14 June 1901**

The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 14th June 1901, says that certain Anglo-Indian newspapers also seem to view with disfavour the appointment of a Political Agent in the Phulkian States. One of these, the *Simla News*, has recently published a very indignant article on the subject, and characterizes the appointment as a distinct breach of the treaties concluded between Government and the States in question. The *News* also alleges that Government's action has given great offence to the Sikhs, who once rendered invaluable help in preserving British rule in India. The Editor then publishes the substance of the article under reference (*vide* paragraph 6 of the Selections No. 23). (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 29th June 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 26, p. 388).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 5 August 1901**

A correspondent, writing to the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 5th August 1901, remarks that the Raja of Nabha has all along been managing his State in such an admirable manner that it is safe to assert that he has never made a mistake. The writer is, however, constrained to admit that His Highness' recent opposition to the appointment of a Political Agent in the Phulkian States is undoubtedly a mistake. Were he granted an interview with the aged Ruler of Nabha he would convince that Prince in almost no time that the appointment in question is calculated to prove highly beneficial to the interests of the States concerns. It here can of course be no doubt that it has inflicted great loss on the unfaithful officials of the said States; and most probably these worthies are misleading their masters into opposing the change. The writer then goes on to say that there is no truth in the rumour that the rulers, &c., of the Phulkian States are dissatisfied with the treatment accorded to them by the Officiating Political Agent, and alleges that Captain Popham Young is a sincere well-wisher of the States and has not so far issued a single order the property of which could be called into question. Equally unfounded is the statement that he intends giving Kanwar ... and Khan ... seats on the Patiala Regency Council. It is of course quite possible that the Captain may have been misled into looking upon the Khan as an able and truth-loving person; and if so, he ought to be undeceived without loss of time. Indeed, that officers should be advised to repose no confidence in those officials who are subjects of the Patiala State. He should be on his guard against the Khan in particular, and give the latter a very wide berth. It may be mentioned here that in order to serve his personal ends that worthy once resorted to falsehood and practiced deception on the State authorities. On another occasion he caused several innocent persons to be thrown into jail. After stating that he intends seeing the Political

Agent and unmasking the Khan, the correspondent remarks that the members of the Regency Council are the ablest and most faithful servants of the Patiala State. This remark is especially true of Sardar Gurmukh Singh, seeing that he has never attempted to add to his possessions by dishonest means. The only fault that can be imputed to him is that he tries to enrich his relations by pitchforking them into appointments in his gift, thereby inflicting great loss on deserving persons. In conclusion, the writer suggests that public offices in the Phulkian States should be filled by examination and not at the recommendation of influential persons. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th August 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 33, pp. 495–496).

#### ***Khalsa Bahadur, 8 March 1902***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 8th (received on the 22nd March 1902), writing about the recent plague riot at Patiala, says that the disturbance was the result of premeditation on the part of the Duggars. The Editor has also, been given to understand that, in order to save their own skins, the local Police told the rioters that they were free to do what they liked with the Doctors and the Hospital, and that if the Medical officials were for burning down the people's houses, the latter could set fire to those of the former. He then praises the Sardar Gurmukh Singh's efforts to quell the rising, and alleges that, although the Sardar was attached with brickbats, he never thought of deserting his post. He further remarks that but for the pretense in the State of a wise Political Agent, like Major Dunlop-Smith, certain selfish officials would have conspired to take advantage of the riot to discredit the Council of Regency. As it is, however, it is to be hoped that in his report to Government the Major will exonerate the Council from all blame. Indeed, both the President and the Members of the said body are able, honest, and God-fearing men, and cannot bear to see the State subjects put to any inconvenience. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 29th March 1902*, Vol. xv. No. 13, pp. 192–193).

#### ***Sada-i-Hind, 18 April 1902***

The *Sada-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 18th April 1902, reports that Sardar Gurmukh Singh, President of the Regency of Council, Patiala, has been granted a title and a *khillat* in recognition of the long and meritorious services rendered by him to the State. There can be no doubt, add the Editor, that the Sardar is an able and keen-witted official and possesses a special aptitude for solving difficulties. The only complaint made against him is that he objects to set eyes on a Muhammadan till after 10 AM. The Editor has no personal knowledge of this and can only say that if the complaint is true the Sardar should mend his

ways, seeing that he is the virtual ruler of Patiala and should, therefore, look on all classes of the State subjects with an equal eye. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th April 1902*, Vol. xv. No. 17, p. 267).

### ***Subah*, 22 August 1909**

The *Subah* (Lahore), of the 22nd August 1909, publishes a paragraph headed "President of the Patiala Council." Referring to the appointment of Sardar Bhagwan Singh as President of the Council, Patiala, the paper remarks that neither the Maharaja nor his subjects had any voice in the selection of the Sardar for his present post. The State subjects, it adds, are of opinion that Government should not have accepted the resignation of Sardar Gurmukh Singh who was an old and faithful servant of the State, wishes the British Government well and is an honoured member of the Sikh community. The paper does not mean to say that his successor is wanting in these qualifications or that he will not be able to do justice to the duties of his new office. All that is meant is that while the retiring President was a tried hand, Sardar Bhagwan Singh has yet to be tested, and that the difference is not such as can safely be ignored in introducing a great change. It concluded by remarking that no one can say from what considerations the appointment has been made. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 4th September 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 36, pp. 876–877).

## **5 Bhupinder Singh (1891–1938)**

### ***Tribune*, 13 November 1900**

The *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 13th November 1900, publishes the following under the heading "The late Maharaja of Patiala and his successor": –

"The Paramount Power did its best to give Rajendra Singh an education and training suited to his exalted station. No precaution was overlooked to keep the boy out of harm's way. The dignitaries of the State chose to initiate him into the mysteries of administration were loyal, honourable men. Above all, the royal lad early gave promise of turning out a first-rate Chief. Yet, his ten years' reign was one unbroken record of failure. The present Maharaja is said to be a bright, intelligent lad, even as his lamented father was at his age. No doubt, Government will give as much attention to the question of his up-bringing as it did in regard to his father. But the most important thing to be kept in view during the present minority would be to keep him beyond the reach of those

direct and indirect causes and influences that, in plain words, wrecked the life of His late Highness as a ruler, in spite of his exceptional gifts and inclinations.

“First, as to education. We would very much prefer, in common with our countrymen of all shades of opinion, the appointment of some retired *native* educational officer of character and experience, like Rai Sagar Chand or Rai Pearay Lal, as Tutor and Guardian to the royal child. For obvious reasons a *native* should be better able to look after an embryo *native* Prince than a European, however intimate the latter’s knowledge might be of this country. A European can never be expected to know much of the nameless evils that lie in wait in various alluring shapers at the threshold of the ‘high life’ in India. Besides, a Native Court ought to be the seat and the centre of true conservatism in the land. In this age of transition, when national customs and institutions, ideals and standards – in fact, everything that distinguishes ours from the modern Western civilization – are changing with such rapidity, the Native Courts ought to serve as models and regulators, so to say, to the bewildered community. And this can only be if our Chiefs are brought up under the eyes of the best type of native teachers, who, while they have imbibed the spirit of modern progress, have preserved the characteristics of the ancient culture of their race. Even from the lower point of view of practical utility, a native Tutor would be better able to detect and thwart the insidious attempts of a certain class of hangers-on at Court to spoil the youth than a European one. A Punjab Prince, who fell a victim to vice the other day, used to be supplied with spirits, when a boy, in the barrel of a rifle by a venerable-looking rascal who was never seen without his rosary, and who on account of his piety was appointed, by the European Superintendent, personal attendant to the little Chief! In the case of another juvenile ruler, his European tutor never suspected that the two well-behaved and quiet-looking boy attendants were girls in disguise, set to ruin the poor boy by an excourtier, who by this means hoped to forestall his fellows in the Chief’s favours when the latter came of age. A native Tutor, gain, would be in a position to exercise a guiding influence on the inner palace for the good of the Prince in his charge. To employ a European Tutor, according to the system in vogue, literally means the depriving of a Chief of the healthy influences of home. It is one of the deep-rooted prejudices – which we should be glad to see eradicated – of Anglo-Indians that a native zenana is the very last place for an innocent youth to pass much of his time in. The reigning house of Patiala, by the way, was once saved from extinction by the lofty character and resourcefulness of a Rani. However, in spite of the many and manifest advantage of getting a native Tutor, Government, we are sure, will not depart from



its traditional practice, and His little Highness will be made to sit at the feet of some European Governor.

“The mere work of teaching of the present minor Chief might be left to one or two experienced teachers; but Government will have to be very careful in selecting some one to be in place of father to him. The first aim and object, of course, ought to be to bring him up in such *manner that he may grow up in sympathy with native customs and feelings*. Not only the unfortunate case of the late Maharaja Rajendra Singh, but of some other young Princes now ‘reigning,’ ought to teach us never to lose sight of this end.

“Our society is so organised that even an absolute ruler, if he is in close touch with it, cannot help being influenced, even kept in check, by it. But under the present system of minor Chief is so brought up that he never learns to value the opinion of the society of which he is destined to be the head. Take the example of His Highness of X. He had a European tutor as a boy who never let him out of sight, honestly believing that contact with natives was contaminating under all circumstances. Consequently he lived in an artificial European atmosphere, had the refined and cultured daughters of his guarding for his companion, played and hunted with young European officers invited from neighbouring Cantonments for that purpose, and for-in-door amusement he had European games with European male and female partners. Besides, he dressed, dined, slept, rode, drove in the European fashion. It was only on great occasions that he was made to don native robes and receive the *nazars* and obeisance of the grandees and dignitaries of the State, their old-world manners furnishing matter of endless talk and amusement to him and his European male and female companions afterwards. On the rare occasions he visited the Inner Palace, the contrast of its inmates with European ladies was brought out glaringly to his eyes. No wonder that since His Highness has come of age, and has been invested with full powers, he has tried his best to keep himself aloof from the natives. It matters little to him what native public opinion is regarding himself, what native society thinks of him. The society of his European boon companions is his world, and on them he is spending the revenues of the State and more, and for their benefit he goes to Europe as often as he can. No wonder that he does not let his boys utter a single word of their mother tongue, and is bringing them up under European governesses. For Heaven’s sake, let nothing be left undone to save the Patiala minor from such a ruinous training!

“We recall with melancholy interest how, soon after his accession, the late Maharaja displayed his great natural abilities. He discharged the duties of the highest court of appeal in civil, criminal and revenue cases, and other functions pertaining to his exalted office, with an insight and grasp that spread consternation in the ranks of the dishonest officials. But soon, alas, a cloud

of 'white kites' settled around him, and left him no time to attend to affairs of State. Things would still have gone on smoothly if he had known to select his men; *but having seldom been in company with his countrymen* (except menial servants and court minions) in his minority, he had never learnt to read their character, and was led by appearances into putting his trust in unworthy parties. In conclusion, the most important thing we learn from the last reign is that a Native Chief ought to be brought up as a *native* Chief, and not as a European royal cad." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 24th November 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 47, pp. 615–617).

***Civil and Military News, 14 November 1900***

The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 14th November 1900, writing on the same subject observes that the minor ruler of Patiala should be educated and brought up in a very careful manner, and that he should not be allowed to grow up a mere imitation of the English gentleman. It is very necessary that he should receive an English education; but it is still more so that he should be thoroughly conversant with native etiquette and mode of life, and should learn to revere his ancestral religion as this is the only way to create a bond of sympathy between him and his subjects. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th November 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 46, pp. 605–606).

***Victoria Paper, 20 November 1900***

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 20th November 1900, says that if Government wishes the minor Chief of Patiala to derive any benefit from the teaching of his tutor (whoever he may be), it should see that only persons of approved and exemplary character are allowed access to His Highness. The Editor is, therefore, of opinion that the authorities should direct that those persons alone should be allowed to see the young Prince who have been permitted to do so by the "Hon'ble Mashir-ud-Daula" (? Khalifa Muhammad Husain). (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 49, p. 651).

***Sialkot Paper, 24 November 1900***

The *Sialkot Paper* (Sialkot), of the 24th November 1900, says that the minor Maharaja of Patiala should be placed under the instruction not of a European but of a native tutor, as His Highness has to rule over natives and can learn all about them only from a fellow-countryman of his. The Editor does not mean to insinuate that European tutors have been weighted and found wanting. He merely wishes to emphasise the fact that a native alone can be the fittest tutor

for an Indian Prince. He then suggests the names of Rai Bahadurs Pyare Lal and Sagar Chand, B.A., retired Inspectors of Schools, for the post of tutor to the Maharaja, and remarks that the appointment of either of these gentlemen is certain to prove highly beneficial to the interests of Patiala. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 49, p. 651).

***Victoria Paper, 5 February 1901***

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), dated the 5th February 1901, observes that one of the most important duties which have now devolved on the Hon'ble Khalifa Muhammad Hussain is the education of the young Maharaja of Patiala. The Khalifa, adds the Editor, should make arrangements for imparting some moral and religious training to His Highness, for in that case there will be little fear of the Maharaja's going astray in his youth. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th February 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 7, p. 93).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 18 February 1901***

The same paper [the *Khalsa Bahadur*] says that so far Government's practice of placing Native Chiefs under highly-paid European tutors has proved a source of unmitigated evil. Princes educated in this way have a tendency to throw Oriental manners, &c., overboard and hanker after European wives – They imbibe a taste for everything European, and are always to be seen surrounded by European merchants and adventurers. They like to entertain European guests and spend all their time in drinking, witnessing nautches, and the like. This extravagance soon empties their treasuries, at which juncture Government steps in and treats them in rather a severe manner. They are declared incompetent, and highly paid European Officers are appointed to manage their States. The Editor does not mean to insinuate that English education is subversive of morality and that the same should not be imparted to Indian Princes. All that he wishes to convey is that precautions should be taken to prevent this education anglicizing its recipients and making them dislike their ancestral religions and Oriental manners. He then suggests that should it be considered indispensable to appoint a European tutor for the young Maharaja of Patiala, Government should see that the gentleman selected for the purpose enjoys the confidence of the Sikh public and can be depended upon to strengthen His Highness' belief in the *Khalsa* religion. After remarking that Mr. Macauliffe, the erudite translator of the *Adi Granth*, is the only man who can accomplish this task, the Paper remarks that in the event of his declining to accept this responsibility some able and well-behaved Sikh graduate or under-graduate should be appointed to assist the European tutor. For this purpose the Editor

suggests the names of Narain Singh, M.A., a Pleader at Gujranwala, and Sodhi Sujan Singh, Principal, Khalsa College, Amritsar. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th March 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 11, pp. 164–165).

***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 2 March 1901**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 2nd March 1901, remarks that it is highly desirable that the minor Chief of Patiala should be educated and brought up in the best possible manner. The Editor would not advise the placing of His Highness under a European tutor, as he is thoroughly convinced that so far as Indian Princes are concerned modern bringing up has proved a complete failure. He would, therefore, suggest a reversion to the old system, and remarks that in order to be a successful ruler a Native Chief ought to be conversant with Oriental manners and ideas. He adds that Sikh Rases and officials of the old school are still extant in the Punjab and that one of these should be appointed tutor to the young Maharaja of Patiala. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 9th March 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 10, p. 148).

***Victoria Paper*, 14 March 1901**

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 14th March 1901, says that a certain newspaper has suggested that Mr. Macauliffe, the translator of the Granth, should be appointed tutor to the young Maharaja of Patiala. The Editor would, however, like Baba Sir Khem Singh, Bedi, to undertake the task, and suggests that that gentleman should be sounded on the subject. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 23rd March 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 12, p. 179).

***Hamdard-i-Khalsa*, 14 September 1901**

The *Hamdard-i-Khalsa* (Amritsar), of the 14th September 1901, regrets to hear that a *Nirmala* Sadhu has been appointed tutor to the young Maharaja of Patiala, and says that the appointment is calculated to give offence to the Sikh community throughout India. After remarking that the religious beliefs of the *Nirmalas* clash with the tenets of the Sikh faith, the Editor expresses the hope that the Council of Regency will rectify the mistake without delay. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 28th September 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 39, p. 595).

***Hamdard-i-Khalsa*, 4 October 1901**

The *Hamdard-i-Khalsa* (Amritsar), of the 4th October 1901, publishes a communication in which the writer deprecates the appointment of a *Nirmala* Sadhu

as tutor to the young Maharaja of Patiala (*vide* paragraph 12 of the Selections No. 39). (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 19th September 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 42, p. 659).

***Ahluwalia Gazette*, 16 October 1901**

“A Sikh” writing to the *Ahluwalia Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 16th October 1901, takes exception to the appointment of a *Nirmala Sadhu* as tutor to the minor Maharaja of Patiala, and says that the religious beliefs of the *Nirmalas* are opposed to the tenets of Sikhism. The writer, therefore, requests the Council of Regency to look into the matter and replace the present tutor by Bhai Bishen Singh, more than one members of whose family have been instructions to the rulers of Patiala. He adds that in case Bishen Singh is not considered fit for the post, the same should be conferred on Bhai Chatar Singh, who is an able man and a true Sikh. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th September 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 43, p. 672).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 24 December 1908**

Writing under the heading “A complaint regarding the Patiala State” the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 24th December 1908, says that a Bengali newspaper complains that, although the Maharaja of Patiala is a married man and of 18 years of age, His Highness is not allowed even to interfere in his household arrangements, let alone permitted to acquire experience of work in the different branches of administration. After remarking that, according to the journal referred to, the Maharaja was recently not allowed to have a private interview with the Chief of Nabha, the Editor deprecates the publication of the complaint in a Bengali periodical, saying that the Bengali Press has been in bad odour with Government of late. He is afraid lest the event should lead to undesirable results. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 9th January 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 2, p. 49).

***Sher-i-Babar*, 28 December 1908**

The *Sher-i-Babar* (Lahore), of the 28th December 1908 (received on the 11th January 1909) publishes a paragraph headed “Complications in the affairs of the Patiala State.” Some force, says the paper, stands in the way of the Maharaja realizing his wish to learn the work of administration before assuming the reins of the government of his State. It is at a loss to understand why His Highness, who is of eighteen years of age and has received a high education under the supervision of a special tutor, should be kept wholly aloof from State affairs and should not be allowed to attend the sittings of the council and to learn the work of administration. After remarking that only recently he was

not permitted to have a private interview with the ruler of Nabha, it says that although His Highness is a married man he is not allowed a free hand in connection with his household expenses, which is highly objectionable. Again, it is grossly unjust to appoint Muhammadans to posts of responsibility and importance in preference to the Guru's followers. The Editor cannot understand why the claims of the Sikhs should be so cruelly disregarded in a Sikh State. His co-religionists, he adds, have always been loyal to the British Government and it is a matter for regret that their legitimate rights should be interfered with. It is extremely improper on the part of Government to give a brave, loyal and law-abiding people cause for complaint. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th January 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 3, p. 70).

### ***Peshwa*, 12 June 1909**

The *Peshwa* (Lahore), of the 12th June 1909, publishes a paragraph headed "The Patiala State," in which the paper remarks that it is extremely injurious (for who the paper does not say) for every Native Chief to be wide-awake and to interest himself in the affairs of his State. It does not matter if (the ruler of) a small State so conducts himself. As regards the larger States, however, the more stupid, indifferent, dissolute and ill-behaved their Chiefs are, the more harmless and useful men they are considered to be. It may be said that Government imparts education to the sons of Native Chiefs, but it deeply pains the Editor to have to record that the training is but an empty show and that much of the time of the young Princes is simply thrown away. In other words, he adds, they are taught to love European habits, while the education imparted to them is worthless in comparison with that given to the sons of common people. They learn to drink at their colleges and contract several other (bad) habits. If any of them has the misfortune to escape evil influences, he is considered dangerous and is not invested with powers so long as he does not come into the right path (the expression is ironical). Continuing, the paper says that the Maharaja of Patiala has attained his majority and has been through the entire course of training at the (Aitchison) Chiefs' College. As, however, he entertains enlightened views, and Patiala is one of the larger States in the Punjab, he is considered a dangerous man and is kept deprived of ruling powers. He is not allowed even to attend the meetings of the (Regency) Council, which means that the man who is one day to be placed at the head of affairs in Patiala is precluded from having an insight into the practical administration of the State. It is said that, owing to want of occupation, the Maharaja passes the greater part of his time, and amuses himself, at the house of a European employee. It is further reported that His Highness is developing a taste for drinking. Will he not be invested with powers of government unless he marries a European lady (*mem*)

and renders himself useless by becoming a confirmed drunkard, so that the administration of the State may remain in the hands of selfish and interested persons? The paper adds that, according to rumour, it is about to be ruled that the Chief of any of the Phulkian States should not be installed on the *gadi* unless he is 25 years of age. An aged Raja (? the ruler of Nabha) has already affixed his signature to the proposal, the adoption of which will not only mean interference with the Hindu religion and laws and will constitute an injurious precedence in regard to Native States throughout India, but will also be the beginning of the decline of the Phulkian States. The Maharaja of Patiala is 18 years old and will have to suffer for a period of only seven years. If, however, the ruler of any other State happens to be a minor of only 5 or 10, the (Regency) Council and the Resident will enjoy themselves for 20 or 22 years. The *Peshwa* concludes by calling upon its contemporaries to interest themselves in the matter. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 19th June 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 25, pp. 569–570).

### ***Peshwa*, 29 June 1909**

The *Peshwa* (Lahore), of the 29th June 1909, publishes an article headed “The Patiala State,” in which it remarks that the scheme of studies does not in any way show what sort of education is (actually) imparted the sons of native Rulers at Chiefs’ College. Just as the elephant has one set of teeth to eat with and another set for show, what is (really) done (at the said college) is quite different from what is shown to the world. The sons of Chiefs (reading at these institutions) are not allowed to meet one another, so that they cannot benefit by the exchange of ideas and treat one another as friends. The Editor does not mean to say that they do not meet in the classroom or on the play-ground. They do meet there, but such close supervision is exercised over them by their European teachers (*lit.* Europeans), that the time spent by them in the classroom or on the play-ground hangs heavy on their hands, while they cannot see each other in private at any other hour. If there live some Europeans in a place they establish clubs or (other) societies to promote social intercourse among themselves. The sons of Native Chiefs (reading at the Colleges alluded to) are, however, men consigned to the lock-up or sentenced to simple imprisonment. If, instead of receiving the education imparted to them, they were to stay in their States, they would know more about State subjects (than they do now). They are kept blindfolded (, so to say,) at the Colleges. They are prevented from reading political literature. They are not allowed so much as to see newspapers conducted on independent lines, lest they should learn to understand politics. They are given only cooked (*lit.* corrected) histories to read. In short, the boys, for whom it is highly necessary to know most of the affairs of the world, are

kept in total ignorance. They are, however, kept ignorant only of things which can benefit them, while absolutely nothing is done to keep them from injurious pursuits. Nay, the existing state of affairs compels one to say that if their teachers do not themselves teach them (evil ways), they are undoubtedly guilty of connivance in the matter. Although the sons of Native Chiefs are placed under very able English tutors, who receive salaries of hundreds of rupees and cost thousands in other way, still they learn debauchery and drinking, and contract other grievous vices. Is this the way in which a tutor should perform his duties? The tutors named should be held responsible for the character of their pupils. This is not, however, done anywhere. On the contrary, the Editor suspects that they receive rewards and promotions for the above achievement. It is possible that his surmise may be incorrect, but then question arises, "How do the Princes learn evil ways when their tutors are always after them like a shadow and not let them even breathe freely?" The impression is gaining ground among Indian for no reason that these tutors are deputed to teach only the above things to the Princes and that, but for them, the last named would not perhaps know nothing of these virtues (the expression is ironical). In England the Prince of Wales receives his education in company with the sons of common people. There is not a single school in Europe for the education (solely) of Princes. In India, however, the sons of Ruling Chiefs are separately educated. Why are they not taught the art of government? Why are they not initiated into the mysteries of administration? Why are they kept confined in cages (as it were)? No one can tell. If good education is (really) imparted at Chiefs' Colleges and the tutors perform their duties faithfully, why are their pupils not invested with full powers when the opportunity offers itself, or why are they not taught the practical work of administration till the arrival of that opportunity? Continuing, the paper says that if Chiefs' Colleges impart as much education as the sons of Native Chiefs should possess, why is not the Maharaja of Patiala, who has undergone the full course of training (at the Aitchison College) and has also attained the legal age of majority, entrusted with the administration of his State? Is it sufficient that His Highness should only have been installed on the *gaddi* and feasts should have been enjoyed? Why is he not allowed to attend the meetings of the Council of Regency? Will he be allowed a hand (in the management of the State) after he has contracted some vice and been rendered wholly-useless? Is he being punished for the courage displayed by him in his speech on the occasion of the Delhi Darbar, when he publicly spoke of Lord Curzon (*lit.* an Allah Din of a Curzon) as "the illustrious servant of my ally" (the King-Emperor)? His Lordship was really a servant of the Maharaja of Patiala's ally. The Phulkian States were never conquered (by the British Government). They have been its allies since the time when the East India Company durst



not even utter the word “conquest” in the Punjab. The parties came to an understanding in order to protect themselves against Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Editor then goes on to say that (Government’s) hesitation in investing the Maharaja of Patiala with ruling powers has given Indians an opportunity of saying all sorts of things (about Government). After expressing the hope that the complaint will be removed at a very early date, he says that Political Agents are known to be all in all in Native States. Patiala, however, he adds, owns more than two Masters, and His Highness Maharaja Warburton is sucking the life-blood of the State like a leech. If he is an able and experienced officer, why did the British Government lose such a useful servant by retiring him on pension? Is the good fortune of receiving a gift of unserviceable “dak horses” reserved for Native States alone? Mr. Warburton is nominally the Inspector-General of the Patiala Police, but in reality he is the (virtual) ruler of the State. As he is known to be a very clever Police Officer and as some people think that he is Government’s chief spy in the State, one party (? of State officials) considers its salvation to consist in currying favour with him, with the result that the State has become a hot-bed of intrigue. Again, was he not a sufficiently heavy incubus on the State in his capacity of Inspector-General of Police that he should have been invested with higher magistral powers than any other officer? The people of British India are crying for separation of Judicial and Executive functions, a combination of which is not a very serious thing. In the (Patiala) State, however, the Chief Executioner has been made the Chief Qazi also. He makes arrests, hears cases and also inflicts punishments. May God have mercy on the subjects of the Patiala State! Can the British Government consent to confer such powers on a Police Officer in its own dominions? Again, if it were to do so, would this be just? For God’s sake let it turn Mr. Warburton out of the State. He has made sufficient provision (*lit.* arrangements) for the remainder of his life. Some able State subject should be given chance (of serving in the post now held by Mr. Warburton). It is only the influence wielded by Mr. Warburton which encourages the members of the (Regency) Council to form factions, which is causing injury to the State. In conclusion, the Editor says that in his opinion Government will not fail to attend to the above complaints. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd July 1909, Vol. XXII, No. 27, pp. 620–622*).

***Prem, 24 August 1909***

The *Prem* (Ferozepore), of the 24th (received on the 30th) August 1909, publishes a paragraph headed “The subjects of Patiala.” It says that the inhabitants of the State are anxiously looking forward for the day when the reins of the administration will be placed in the hands of the Maharaja, for the reason that

bribery has become rampant in the State and they are consequently in great trouble. It is difficult to understand, adds the paper, why the Maharaja should not be invested with full powers of government, so that he may relieve the sufferings of his afflicted subjects. It concludes by promising to revert to the subject at some future time. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 4th September 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 36, p. 877).

#### **Sahaik, 18 October 1909**

The *Sahaik* (Lahore), of the 18th October 1909, publishes an article headed "The sacrifice offered on the occasion of the installation of the Maharaja of Patiala." The paper says that it was customary in olden time to perform human sacrifices on the occasion of a Chief's accession to the *gaddi*. Subsequently, however, only goats, sheep, horses and the like began to be sacrificed on the occasions referred to. The present Maharaja of Patiala has revived the original practice, and the human sacrifice offered is Mr. Jawala Parshad, formerly a Government Engineer in the United Provinces. The latter has been arrested on a charge of sedition, and the only difference between his and a goat's sacrifice is that, while the latter is killed at once, the gentleman named will have, like Ram Das Soralia and others, to rot in jail for life and will die by inches. Continuing, the paper reports that several other persons, all of whom are said to be Arya Samajists, have also been arrested on the above charge. After contending that the Arya Samaj is not a seditious body and consists of peaceful men, it says that probably Mr. Warburton has tried to feed fat some old grudge against the Aryas. It is also possible that some one among the Patiala authorities, inimically disposed towards some members of the local Samaj, is responsible for the sacrifice. Or some person belonging to a non-Vedic religion may have wreaked his vengeance on the Arya Samajists. (*Selections from the native newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 30th October 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 44, p. 1061).

#### **Panjabi, 11 May 1910**

The *Panjabi* (Ludhiana), of the 11th (received on the 24th) May 1910, publishes a note headed "for consideration by Government." After enumerating the services rendered to the British Government by the Patiala State, the Editor remarks that the rulers of Patiala have always been devotedly loyal to the Crown and that the relations between the State and the paramount power have ever been most cordial. It is therefore a matter for regret, he adds, that some evil-minded person should, in order to ensure their enjoying themselves, be ever busy trying to weaken the State and to prejudice the Government against His Highness the Maharaja. He feels confident, however, that Major

Dallas, who is a far-seeing officer and has the well-being of the State at heart, as also the Maharaja and his highly-placed officers, will frustrate the designs of the hypocrites referred to. He also expresses the hope that the Government will not be misled by the mischievous and deceitful doings of the aforesaid wicked persons and will always be solicitous for the welfare of the loyal Patiala State. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 28th May 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 21, p. 464).

***Tribune*, 27 May 1910**

The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 27th May 1910: –

“The fierce searchlight of criticism that beats round the personality and position of rulers of men constitutes, in the modern world, the surest safeguards of the interest of the people committed to their charge. The letting in of strong light and fresh air into the cooped up and congested corners of an administration is a process that must be welcomed by all sensible and far-sighted administrators. And the young Maharaja of Patiala cannot claim any exceptional treatment in this respect. The one and only criterion by which he and his administration, like all others, will stand to be judged is the promotion of the welfare and progress of the subjects of the State. Such measures, and in so far as they promote this welfare and conduce to this progress, will determine the degree of the success and popularity of his administration and bring him the good will of the Government and the gratitude of the people. And the large number of useful and beneficent reforms which the young Maharaja has introduced in the administration of his State during the short period that has elapsed since he assumed power may be taken as a promising indication that he is already learning to realise his responsibility along the lines of progressive administration. But from what little has come to our notice of Patiala politics during the last few years, we think a word of caution is absolutely called for. The Imperial Government has evinced a paternal interest in the administration of the State and the young Maharaja may always count upon their friendly interest and helpful guidance. Fair play is one of the noblest traits of the English character and English administration, and doubtless Patiala will have it in an unstinted degree. That will have to be brought to bear upon the situation by others who would form a fair and accurate estimate. It is more or less an open secret that, during the late Council of Regency, Patiala, with notable exceptions no doubt, was rent into factions and cliques and, without implying any reflection on individuals, formed a hot-bed of intrigue and strife. It would be no breach of confidence to say that, when the Maharaja's period of minority was approaching its close, frantic efforts were made in certain quarters to put off ‘the evil day’ of the assumption of powers by the Maharaja. His

Highness's policy of steady retrenchment and rigid economy in cutting down the inflated State budget was bound to give some umbrage to vested interests and to rouse a hornets' nest, although, with commendable consistency His Highness set an example by cutting down his privy purse by several lakhs. The path of reform is not strewn with roses, and innovations, however useful and beneficial to the State, are not calculated to quiet down the tongue of malice, especially when they trench on vested interests. The ruler of a State, like the head of a household, must be free to choose his agents, and maneuvers and tactics are not exactly calculated to inspire confidence as bluff and bravado are not the shortest avenues to preferment. Sinecure jobs and easy-go-lucky ways naturally find favour with generality of men who are not likely to take kindly to a little tightening of reigns. And cases are conceivable in which there may be a beating of the breasts if the taskmaster demands that the wage should be earned. That there may be notable exceptions of men suffering for the sins of others at Patiala as elsewhere we readily concede, and such have our sympathy, but others who bewail their lot might profitably indulge in a little searching of the heart and perchance light upon the reason why?" (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 4th June 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 22, p. 487).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 21 June 1910**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 21st June 1910, publishes a paragraph headed "The changes in the Patiala State calculated to injure Muhammadans." The paper reports that the following important changes which have greatly decreased the Muhammadan and proportionately increased the Sikh element in the public service of Patiala, have (recently) been effected in the different departments: –

- (1) Khan Bahadur Colonel Abdul Majid Khan, the able, popular and experienced Foreign Minister, who performed his duties for 11 years with conspicuous ability, had to tender his resignation and has been succeeded by Sodhi Sujjan Singh, B.A., Professor of Philosophy, Mohindra College, who is not considered a suitable man for this new appointment.
- (2) Maulvi Fazal Matin has been appointed Chief Judge in place of Mir Tafazzal Hussain, who has been retired on pension.
- (3) Sardar Sampuran Singh, a Judge of the Chief Court, has been promoted to the post of Diwan, his former post having been conferred on Sardar Ajit Singh, B.A., L.L.B., who was once a Pleader at Ferozepur and has also worked as Personal Assistant to the Inspector-General of Police, Patiala.
- (4) Khalifa Syed Hamid Husain has been appointed one of the members of the newly constituted administrative committee, but no increase has

been made to his pay. The Maharaja's Private Secretary has succeeded the Khalifa to the post of Prime Minister.

- (5) Sardar Narain Singh has been placed in charge of the Revenue Department, although he has no experience of the work entrusted to him. He is the son of the late Sardar Gurcharan (Gurmukh) Singh, C.I.E., President of the Council of Regency.
- (6) Sardar Bachittar Singh, "Nazim, plague," has been appointed Inspector-General of the State Police.

The paper is at a loss to understand why the Maharaja should love a policy of excluding Muhammadans from the State service, which is calculated to injure those Musalmans, who are residents of, and truly loyal to the State. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 25th June 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 25, p. 561).

#### ***Vakil*, 22 June 1910**

The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 22nd June 1910, publishes a note entitled "Removals and appointments in Patiala." Adverting to the recent official changes in the State, the paper highly deprecates the policy of excluding Muhammadans from higher posts, which, it says, has of late been pursued (by the Maharaja). It has hitherto abstained from writing on the subject in the hope that the Maharaja would follow in the footsteps of his forefather and maintain the glorious traditions of his state. Its expectations have not, however, been realised, and it has, therefore, felt the necessity of discussing the new management of Patiala from the point of view of the State subjects. It concluded by promising to commence its remarks in its next issue. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 2nd July 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 26, pp. 587–588).

#### ***Tribune*, 27 August 1910**

The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 27th August 1910: –

"We believe the Government has under consideration the question of the early investiture of the Maharaja of Patiala with powers. For some time past His Highness has been attending to the affairs of his State and has made a good impression on his advisers and the representatives of the paramount Power. In this connection we respectfully venture to suggest that it would be both graceful and politic if the formal ceremony of investing the Maharaja with full powers and giving him wise advice at the same time were performed by His Excellency the Viceroy. If the investiture does not take place during the Viceroyalty of Lord Minto it will be performed shortly after Lord Hardinge's assumption of office. Events have happened in recent times to bring Indian States into closer relationship with the Government of India as evidenced by

the important correspondence that passed between the Viceroy and the Indian Princes on the suppression of sedition and revolutionary propaganda. Patiala is the chief of the Phulkian States and the premier Indian State in the Punjab and has revenue of nearly a crore of rupees. Simla, the summer capital of the Government of India, originally belonged to Patiala territory and was made over to the Government by the Durbar. In consideration of the importance of the State, from a political point of view, it is to be hoped that His Excellency the Viceroy will be graciously pleased to personally invest the Maharaja with the powers that will devolve upon him." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 3rd September 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 35, pp. 770).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 10 September 1910**

Writing under the heading "Misfortune of the Muhammadans of the Patiala State," the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 10th September 1910, says that it has received a heart-rending letter from a Muhammadan of Patiala, who gives a most touching account of the ill-treatment to which his co-religionists have been subjected in the State for some time past. The correspondent says that Muhammadans, whose families have long been residing in the State and whose forefathers also were loyal State servants, are being removed from their posts to further the revival of the Sikh religion. There are only two or three Muhammadans, he adds, among the numerous Gazetted officers in the State, and they also are under displeasure and have been divested of their powers. Commenting on the above, the papers says that it is an open secret that the descendants of those loyal Muhammadans, whose services made the State what it now is and who were highly valued by the former rulers of the State, have been reduced to a helpless condition. The Maharaja undoubtedly enjoys full powers of rule, but the Government of India is the protector of the rights of the entire population of India and cannot be ignorant of the tactics which are being followed by the highly-placed officers of the State. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 17th September 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 37, p. 818).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 7 October 1910**

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 7th October 1910, publishes the following: –

"It goes without saying that the announcement of Lord Minto's approaching visit to Patiala has been received with a thrill of satisfaction and rejoicing by the whole province and by the Sikh community in particular. The installation of the promising and progressive Maharaja on the *guddee* [*gaddi*] of his

forefathers as the Ruler of the largest and most prosperous of the Phulkian States is of the greatest significance not only to his subjects but to the whole Panth. It has been looked forward to with lively interest and enthusiasm. And it considerably enhances our pleasure to find that His Excellency Lord Minto is thus giving an additional and marked proof of his interest in and solicitude for the Sikh community by fixing the installation of His Highness to take place ere His Excellency lays down the reins of administration. The Sikh community in whose welfare and progress Lord Minto has taken such an abiding interest cannot be too grateful to His Excellency. The visit to Patiala is specially fraught with deep moment in that the formal installation of His Highness will be the last great administrative act of His Excellency's glorious regime in the Land of the Five Rivers. His Excellency Lord Minto visits Patiala on an auspicious occasion. Patiala is the largest and most prosperous of the Phulkian States. His Excellency has, throughout his august regime, evinced a deep-seated and large-hearted interest in the affairs of the Sikh community and shown an abiding solicitude for the progress and welfare of the community which has given practical and unquestioned proofs of its unflinching loyalty and fidelity to the Crown. The Ruling Princes who will be assembled have already given eloquent evidence of their love for the national institution by handsome donations. His Excellency has it in his power to give parting advice to the Sikh community that will place its premier national (educational) institution on a sound and firm footing and ensure it a career of lasting and increased usefulness. The buildings have to be completed and the Endowment Fund has to be collected and supplemented by further grants and we doubt not but that His Excellency's call will fall on only too willing ears, as the Ruling Princes and Chiefs and the members of the Khalsa Panth are deeply interested in its welfare and the progress of the coming generations. In completing the building opportunity may be taken to raise a memorial to the deep and abiding interest which Lord Minto has taken in the Sikh community and the country over whose destinies he has ruled so wisely and well and whose interests he has so zealously advanced. We trust His Excellency will leave behind an inspiring call which will help forward the work of the amelioration of the Sikh community and serve as a beacon-light to the workers in the cause of Panthic progress." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 22nd October 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 42, p. 933).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 21 October 1910**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 21st October 1910:—

"It goes without saying that the eyes of the whole Sikh community are at this moment turned towards Patiala where barely a fortnight hence His

Excellency Lord Minto, the august representative of His Gracious Majesty the King Emperor, formally installs His Highness Maharaja Bhupindra Singh Bahadur on the *guddee* [*gaddi*] of his forefathers. The auspicious day when this takes place will not only be a red-letter day in the history of the Patiala State, the largest and the most prosperous among the Phulkian States, but is looked forward to with the deepest interest by the Sikh community. His Highness the Maharaja took over the reins of administration some time back on attaining his majority and has already carried out a number of important and far-reaching reforms calculated to promote the welfare and happiness of his subjects and to improve the administration of State affairs. These furnish a clear and unimpeachable indication, if indication were required, that His Highness intends to run his administration on sound, healthy and progressive lines and to promote the true interests of those committed to his care. There are reasons why the Sikh community should look forward to the auspicious day with especial interest and delight. The State of Patiala has proved a tower of strength to Panthic institutions and its Maharajas have given with no grudging hands help to forward the educational and moral welfare of the Sikh community in this Province. The present Maharaja has already shown that as an intelligent and liberal-minded Prince he takes a deep and abiding interest in the institutions of the community, and that in up-hill work of advancing the educational and social and moral interests of the community we count upon His Highness' large-hearted sympathy and support.

"The installation of His Highness on the *gaddee* of his forefathers is of even more especial interest by reason of the circumstances attending it and the august hands by which it takes place. His Excellency Lord Minto who has throughout his memorable and epoch-making regime taken a deep and practical interest in the Sikh community and its welfare installs His Highness on the *guddee*. We take it as an indication that His Excellency's desire was to give the administration of His Highness a formal start ere he laid down the charge of his exalted office. The Sikh community of this Province is, it need hardly be said, grateful to His Lordship for giving this further indication of his solicitude for the people of the State and the Sikh community at large, and this at a time when His Excellency must be hard pressed on the eve of his departure from the country.

"The installation at Patiala almost synchronises with the forthcoming departure of one of the most successful Viceroys India has ever had. If it is true that the time to judge of a man's achievements is when he doffs his helmet and lays down his armour, it will be recognized on all hands that Lord Minto will bid farewell to this country with the highest reputation for sagacity, statesmanship and courage. Amid the troubles and difficulties which His



Lordship's administration has had to face – and no Viceroy in recent times has had to deal with the like of them – Lord Minto has kept his head cool and stood undaunted grappling with new problems with a single-minded devotion and a large-hearted sympathy that have extorted admiration and praise. The time has not yet come to pass in review the numerous measures and schemes which His Lordship promulgated for the benefit of the people unswerved from the path he had chalked out for his administration by the dark and wicked deeds of senseless youth, diabolic and dastardly outrages that evoked the horror and contempt of all thoughtful and law-abiding people." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 5th November 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 44, pp. 989–990).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 8 November 1910**

Writing under the heading "Lord Minto's speech at Patiala," the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 8th November 1910, says that the Viceroy asked the Maharaja "to clearly understand that in extending to you the hand of friendship the Imperial Government expects from you a full recognition of the duties you undertake and cannot divest itself of the ultimate responsibility for the good administration of the territories over which you are about to rule." The foregoing words, adds the paper, are equally applicable to all Native Chiefs and in a way warn those Princes that if they do not perform their duty of properly managing their States the Imperial Government will feel compelled to take necessary action in the matter. In the next sentence Lord Minto directs the Maharaja to "consult the Political Agent in important matters," but this is already being done in all Native States and the powers of Political Agents have so greatly increased that it is a matter for surprise that His Excellency should have specially given the above direction in the case of Patiala. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 12th November 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 45, pp. 1014–1015).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 14 November 1910**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 14th November 1910, has a note entitled "Departure of some influential men from Patiala." Adverting to the recent deportation of some (Sikh) Sardars from Patiala, the paper enquires whether the step has any connection with the visit of the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor to the State, and whether the same has been taken at the instance of Government. If the reply to the question is in the affirmative, the paper would like to know whether the deportees had any hand in the hardships which have befallen the Muhammandans in the State during the last 1½ years. Should it be hoped, it further asks that in future the Prophet's followers will receive

the treatment to which, as loyal and peaceful subjects, they are entitled? (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 19th November 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 46, p. 1035).

***Jhang Sial*, 19 November 1910**

The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 19th November 1910, has a note entitled "Installation and self-forgetfulness." After remarking that the Arya Samaj is a religious body and that the Patiala (sedition) case is considered to have been a false one, it expresses its inability to understand why the Arya *Mandir* at Patiala should not have been restored (to the Aryas) up to the present. Even the hope, it adds, that the restoration would take place on the occasion of the Maharaja's installation of the *Gaddi* has not been realized. It would ask His Highness to bear in mind that he will have to suffer for this act of forgetfulness on his part. The present treatment of the *Mandir* constitutes an insult to the Arya Samaj and is calculated to create in the public mind the impression that the Maharaja is a bigoted Sikh and cannot bear to see non-Sikhs live in his State. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 26th November 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 47, p. 1053).

***Parkash*, 29 November 1910**

The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 29th November 1910, publishes a note entitled "No appeal should be made to the Maharaja of Patiala." After remarking that the Maharaja's indifference to repeated appeals about the (evacuation of the) Arya *mandir* at Patiala has led to the Aryas urging that no (further) appeal should be submitted to His Highness, the paper reports that one Dharni Dhar, a Government Pensioner and Zamindar of Multan city, writes to say that some three months back he learned from a highly-placed official of the Patiala State that the Maharaja and his advisers were angry with the Aryas owing to the last-named having converted some Sikhs to Aryaism and cut the long hair of the converts. The correspondent adds that no further petition should be submitted to the Patiala Darbar, for there is no hope of its being taken into consideration. His suggestion is that the British Government, which has conferred complete religious liberty on its subjects and listens to complaints from the people, should not be petitioned on the subject. The editor cannot say what truth there is in the above reason for the Maharaja's indifference in the matter, but has not doubt that His Highness' conduct has created "a spirit of protest" among the Aryas. He is of opinion that if the Maharaja proves obdurate, preparations should be taken in hand for the construction of a new *mandir*. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 3rd December 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 48, p. 1069).

***Tribune*, 25 February 1911**

The *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 25th February 1911, publishes the following: –

“The more carefully we consider the appointment of the Hon. Khan Zulfiqar Ali Khan the more surprised we feel at the extraordinary step that has been taken. The Maharaja is young and he has just been installed on the *gaddi*. Some of the men who were said to have exercised a bad influence on him have been removed. He requires the assistance of experienced and tried officers, loyal and faithful, and with knowledge of the State and the people. he is about to proceed to England and Europe, presumably with the object of completing his education and broadening his outlook. Is this a time when a rank outsider, with no stake in the State, with an absolutely blank record and no knowledge or experience of affairs, should be brought in as the principal officer of the State? In the Supreme Legislative Council Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Khan has given no proof of ability of any kind. As we have remarked, he has never held any appointment in British India or any Native State and has never had any share in public life. Whatever capacity he may have is algebraical and hitherto unknown and unproven. He may have friends and he may have influence to back him, but not a word can be said in defence or justification of his appointment or selection, and no one is entitled to claim that a good beginning has been made in reforming the administration of Patiala.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 4th March 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 9, p. 217).

***Punjabee*, 2 March 1911**

The *Punjabee* (Lahore), of the 2nd March 1911, has the following: –

“A good deal of surprise and indignation has been caused in all knowing quarters by the appointment of Nawab Zulfikar Ali Khan as Prime Minister of Patiala. Those who are trying to make out that the objection is due to his creed are grossly misrepresenting facts. For generations Patiala has had powerful Ministers belonging to the Khalifa family. All sensible people are taking exception to the selection of the Nawab for the high and responsible post because persons with far greater experience and with hereditary claims on the consideration of the Chief were available in the State itself. There are names which will suggest themselves at once to those who know Patiala, but we do not care to show our preference for any particular one. It may well be asked, however, was there none among the distinguished officials who constituted the Special Tribunal for trying the great Sedition case as might be thought competent to act as Chief Adviser to the Maharaja? It is, indeed, a sad mistake the young Maharaja has been led to make by those he has relied on among his advisers in this matter.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 4th March 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 9, pp. 216–217).

***Hindustan*, 3 March 1911**

The *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 3rd March 1911, has a note under the heading "The Muhammadan Wazir of the Patiala State." Adverting to the appointment of Nawab Zulfikar Ali Khan, as Prime Minister of Patiala, the paper says that he has never served under Government or in any Native State. It cannot, therefore, be said with any degree of confidence that he possess administrative ability and experience and will prove equal to the great responsibilities attaching to the post of Wazir. The Maharaja is about to go on a trip to Europe, and a man of admitted experience should have been placed at the helm of the State during His Highness' absence. It is, however, a matter for surprise to the paper that this highly important work should have been entrusted to a wholly inexperienced man. It is not known on the strength of what special claims Nawab Zulfikar Ali Khan has been appointed to the high post of Wazir, which he apparently does not deserve, in a Hindu State. Cannot the Punjab Government enquire from the Patiala Darbar as to why such a mistake has been committed? (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 4th March 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 9, p. 216).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 8 September 1911**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 8th September 1911: —

"In the name and on behalf of the Sikh community we expressed over-heartfelt gratification at the recovery of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala from the sudden and serious illness which attacked him in England and have tendered His Highness our warmest congratulations on his safe return home. It was natural that His Highness's return to Patiala should be made the occasion of a right hearty welcome and an enthusiastic ovation from all classes of his subjects who vied with one another in expressing their loyal and enthusiastic feelings. The most notable of the addresses presented was undoubtedly that of the Sikh subjects and the Singh Sabha of Patiala. It is naturally referred to the sudden and serious illness from which His Highness recently suffered, an illness which was the cause of so much anxiety not only to the Sikh subjects of His Highness but to all Sikhs at home and abroad. The Maharaja's recovery equally naturally was a source of untold gratification to one and all. The earlier return of His Highness consequent upon his illness had no doubt deprived him of the full benefits contemplated from his sojourn in England, but there can be no question, as the address stated, and His Highness in his excellent reply agreed that the trip abroad must prove of enduring effect on the destinies of his subjects as it has furnished His Highness with a grand opportunity to study English manners, customs, institutions, society and civilization at first hand in England itself under the happiest of auspices and on a unique occasion. His

Highness was the first Phulkian Ruling Prince to visit England, and it must be an unfailing source of satisfaction to him and to all interested in him that that glorious and unprecedented occasion passed off without the slightest hitch. The address closed with a prayer that will find echo in all Sikh hearts, that the *Akal Purkh* may, in his Divine grace, ordain that His Highness's love for the Sikh faith, as evinced by his handsome donation of Rs. 1,40,000 for the founding of the Sikh Gurdwara in London, may ever continue unabated. It used to be the highest aspiration of all Sikhs of old to erect a Gurdwara when the *Akal Purkh* gave them the wherewithal to do so, and the young Maharaja has fulfilled the noblest tradition in this behalf. All honor to him for his noble and princely deed! Well might the Sikh hearts all over the world heave with legitimate pride at it, for the Maharaja has helped in the establishing a centre in the metropolis of the world from which will radiate the rays of light and *dharma* to all the four corners of the earth. It is with really gratified hearts that Sikhs will join in the prayer of the Address that the sacred saying of the Guru – 'Thy House is My House' – may ever remain true and effective. And finally we echo and re-echo the concluding portion of the prayer that His Highness's affection and loyalty towards the Imperial Throne and the Government may endure for all time to come. The address which was presented on the 27th August was read out by Sardar Bhagwan Singh, Senior Judge, Chief Court, and elicited a suitable reply which showed how eloquently and faithfully His Highness voices and represents the views of not only his Sikh subjects but of the whole community. By his endeavours to give a progressive and prosperous rule to his subjects it is evident that His Highness is winning a warm place in their hearts, and we fervently hope that the relation of the ruler and the ruled in the Patiala State will daily grow closer and strengthen." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 16th September 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 37, p. 943).

#### ***Zamindar*, 24 February 1911**

Writing under the heading "Wazirship of the Patiala State," the *Zamindar* (Karmabad), of the 24th February (received on the 6th March) 1911, expresses unbounded joy at the appointment of Nawab Zulfikar Ali Khan to the above post. The Nawab, it adds, being a wide-awake and enlightened gentleman, his selection to fill the above office will prove beneficial for both the Maharaja and the State subjects. It will also remove the numerous complaints which the Muhammadans of Patiala have entertained for some time past over the (recent) strange changes in the State. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 11th March 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 10, pp. 248–249).

***Jhang Sial*, 4 March 1911**

The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 4th March 1911, is unable to understand why the Maharaja has appointed Nawab Zulfikar Ali Khan to the post of Wazir. Was there, it asks, no one among the Sikhs and Hindus to His Highness' liking? Since his accession to the *gaddi*, adds the paper, the Maharaja has been doing strange things only. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to nth March 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 10, p. 249).

***Vakil*, 4 March 1911**

The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 4th (received on the 18th) March 1911, has a note entitled the "Wazirship of Patiala." After remarking that the Nawab's admitted ability gives him the strongest claims to the post in question the paper asserts that he is objected to by bigoted (Hindu) minds simply because he is a Muhammadan. The *Vakil* then refers to the *Hindustan* criticism (*vide* paragraph 18 of Selections No. 9) and enquires whether it is fair to doubt the ability of a member of the ruling Maler Kotla family, who is conversant with State affairs and has already been entrusted with the representation of Punjab zamindars on the Imperial Legislative Council. Continuing, the paper holds that his appointment is on all fours with that of Sir Kishan Parshad, who is Prime Minister of Hyderabad, and adds that it must have been made with the consent of the Local Government. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 18th March 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 11, p. 274).

***Tribune*, 28 March 1911**

The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 28th March 1911: –

"The administration of the State is now in the hands of Khan Zulfikar Ali Khan, Chief Minister, and Sardar Jogindar Singh, Home Minister. Both these officers draw Rs. 2,500 each per mensem with free lodging and establishment. The old Executive Committee has been dissolved and several Hindu officials who had a brilliant record of service in the State have been made to retire either with or without pension. Mr. Ram Parshad, Bar-at-Law, one of the Judges who tried the Patiala Arya Samaj Case, is also made to retire. At present there is no Hindu officers in the executive or the administrative branch of the State's service. The salaries granted to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister are very exorbitant as compared with the salaries of the Foreign Minister and the Judges of the Chief Court who get only Rs. 700 per mensem. Insecurity of tenure in the service of the Native States is proverbial. After the deportation of General Pritam Singh, General Sarup Singh, next in command, was appointed as officiating Commander-in-Chief of the Patiala forces. General Sarup Singh is

an educated young man who discharged his duties with credit and introduced several useful reforms in the Army Department. He has now been reverted to his substantive post as a General and Sardar Hira Singh who was on the retired list and was drawing only Rs. 100 per mensem as pension has been appointed Commander-in-Chief. Sardar Hira Singh was the General of the army in the days of Maharaja Rajinder Singh, but after his death the Council of Regency at once put him on the retired list. His present appointment is due to the Political Agent who recommended him to His Highness the Maharaja." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 1st April 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 13, p. 319).

#### ***Hindustan*, 14 April 1911**

The *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 14th April 1911, says that Nawab Zulfikar Ali Khan, the new Wazir of Patiala, is the Vice-President of both the Punjab and the All-India Muslim Leagues. It seems objectionable on principle, adds the paper, that the Prime Minister of a Sikh State should also be a prominent political leader of Muhammadans. The Nawab should, therefore, either throw up his Wazir's post or abandon, the political leadership of the followers of Islam. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 22nd April 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 16, pp. 392).

#### ***Khalsa Advocate*, 7 July 1911**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 7th July 1911: –

"Some time ago *Tribune* had commented on the action of Sirdar Jogendra Singh, Home Minister, Patiala, in having fixed certain dates for hearing certain appeals pending before him, on the ground that he would be in Simla, and it would cause much inconvenience and expense to the parties concerned to go over there. The fact is that Sirdar Sahib had come down to Patiala especially to hear the very appeals. A responsible paper like the *Tribune* should be more careful to make such hasty and thoughtless remarks against high officials. It shews to what extent a prejudiced mind can go. The side-shots in and out of season against the Sikh community have become the characteristic of this paper of late. There will be no gain from such a short-sighted policy, and we hope saner councils will prevail." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 15th July 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 28, p. 718).

#### ***Khalsa Advocate*, 9 February 1912**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of 9th February 1912: –

"Since the premier Prince of the Phulkian States came to his rights, his indefatigable endeavours for the amelioration of his subjects are well-known to the

public. He has adopted adequate measures for the dissemination of the education especially Primary education, and the department of literacy engages his unstinted attention. He is ever ready to further the measures which are calculated to improve the condition of those entrusted to this care. Every branch of the administration is efficiently supervised to see that the officials discharge their duties with proper care. He has issued orders limiting the use of intoxicants, and allowed large sums for the advance of higher education and foreign scholarships.

"An admittedly capable scion of a historical house – Sardar Jugindra Singh – has been selected for the internal administration. The magnitude of the reforms effected in the civil and criminal courts, does not require any mention. They are too well-known for that. The courts have been broad-based upon justice.

"True to the tenets of his faith he has laid the whole Sikh public under a debt by his generosity in many a cause. His princely gift of 1 ¼ lakhs for a Gurdwara in London will remain a permanent memento in Sikh hearts of the auspicious occasion of the Coronation of King George and of inviolable bonds of the love and devotion of the Sikhs to their Sovereign.

"His Highness is a devoted ally of King Emperor and a supremely loyal Prince of the Empire. The Government is highly pleased with His Highness and he has but recently been granted the title of G.C.S.I. which he richly deserved.

"He has taken every lively interest in the Sikh Procession in Delhi and done his best to ameliorate the social condition of the subjects of his State, for which all wishing the advancement of education in the State are thankful to him.

"In the face of such virtues in the potentate of the State, it seems almost unintelligible to us how he prevailed upon himself to oust General Sardar Gurdit Singh, Prime Minister and Sardar Pritam Singh, Commander-in-Chief of the State forces. We cannot understand how he with a kingly sense of justice and a sympathetic disposition could usher the procedure ne permitted and sanctioned in the cases of the gentlemen named above.

"If there was anything to be whispered against them they could have been put to a public trial. Doors of justice were not shut even upon Arya Samajists. On the other hand regular courts and judges were appointed and none was allowed a chance of complaint. They were given ample opportunities of proving their innocence, and the public were highly gratified at the procedure adopted under the order of His Highness. Sardar Gurdit Singh who was the old Prime Minister had left no stone unturned in improving the condition of the State. Every individual of the State is conscious of the very life-blood he spent in safeguarding interests of the state and looking after His Highness while he was a minor. His devotion and loyalty both to his State and to the Paramount



Power were well-known. The Government knows full well that he was scrupulously honest, hard-working and just.

"In spite of such qualifications, the treatment accorded to the Sardar seems incongruous to say the least.

"Had he been given a fair trial, he might have been able to prove his innocence. We trust that the same spirit as actuated His Highness not to deny justice even to Arya Samajists, will be brought into action in the case of an old and devotedly loyal servant of the State. Under the circumstances, we cannot but believe that the action taken in the case of Sardar Gurdit Singh is based upon wrong information and that somebody has poisoned the ears of the Ruler of the State, otherwise it was impossible for such a prince to issue the orders he did. As a long enough space of time has expired now and His Highness might by this time have arrived at the truth in the matter, we feel confident that the injury done to Sardar will be rectified. His Honour Sir Louis Dane, too, may out of his kindness exert his influence for the old servant of the State." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 17th February 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 7, p. 108).

### ***Panjabee*, 2 April 1912**

The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of 2nd April 1912: –

"His Excellency the Viceroy while replying to the toast of his health at the Patiala State Dinner on Saturday, made a lengthy speck alluding to the loyal and brave qualities of the ruling family. Incidentally His Excellency referred to the tremendous noise once made in that (*sic*) about sedition that did not exist. In doing so the Viceroy said: –

"Times are changing in these days. I think I may say that they are changing rapidly. Education is spreading, a new spirit is among the peoples of India and bringing in its train, I hope, loftier ideals and higher aspirations; but there is no doubt that here and there, and from time to time, this development has given unhappy birth to a certain restlessness and discontent, which on occasion may take a form hostile to the paramount power and I might almost say, to all Governments, and may require to be dealt with a firm hand.'

"What necessity there was for this unhappy allusion, we do not know. The sentiments are not pleasing at a time when the past is being forgotten and a sound basis for the future is being laid. As regards the effects of spreading education, Lord Hardinge state two facts. The first about which His Excellency *was not certain*, is the 'loftier ideals and higher aspirations.' The second about which '*there is no doubt*,' is the 'restlessness and discontent which may take a form hostile to the Paramount Power.' This frame of mind of the Viceroy was never suspected before and we are ignorant of the circumstances which called

forth sentiments like these in the peaceful State of Patiala. This speech is calculated to damp the spirits of those who are enthusiastic about educational progress and it would be disastrous if that could be the aim of the Viceroy." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 30th March 1912*, Vol. XXV, No. 13, p. 255).

***Loyal Gazette, 23 March 1913***

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore), of the 23rd March 1913, has a note entitled "An unholy attempt to bring the Maharaja of Patiala into disrepute." After praising the Maharaja's conduct in pardoning the accused in the Patiala sedition case and in permitting them to reside in State territory, the paper regrets that, instead of thanking the Maharaja for this act of kindness, certain Arya Samajists are going so far as to making the extravagant demand for the reinstatement in their former posts of those State officials who were concerned in the aforesaid cases. After enquiring whether Colonel Percy, the Commanding Officer of the 10th Jats, who was dismissed because his regiment was steeped in Arya Samajic doctrines, has been reinstated, the paper opines that the accused should thank the Maharaja for taking such a lenient view of their misdeeds seeing that their *confreeres* in British territory were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 29th March 1913*, Vol. XXVI, No. 13, p. 307).

***Loyal Gazette, 9 September 1917***

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 9th September 1917, remarks that, thanks to the good office of Bhai Arjan Singh, Sirdar Bahadur, of Bagrian, and Diwan Bahadur Diwan Daya Kishen Kaul, C.I.E., all the outstanding disputes and misunderstandings between the Maharajas of Patiala and Nabha have been removed, and amicable relations established between the two rulers. The editor considers this happy consummation a blessing not only for the Phulkian States but for the whole Sikh community. For this he congratulates, on behalf of the Sikh community, the Maharajas of Patiala and Nabha. May God perpetuate the amicable relations between the two rulers. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 22nd September 1917*. Vol. xxx, No. 38, pp. 734–735).

***Sikhs and Sikhism, 28 November 1917***

The *Sikhs and Sikhism* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 28th November 1917, writes: – "Though it is late now to note that most welcome event in the annals of the Sikh community – the reconciliation between the two premier Sikh Darbar of Patiala and Nabha brought about by the laudable efforts of His Holiness the

Bhai Sahib of Bagrian – yet, it is not altogether out of place to tender warm congratulations to both Their Highnesses with a hearty prayer that the affectionate relations so enthusiastically revived may even continue, becoming rather stronger and stronger day by day. And how beneficial this relation is to be to the Panthic movement can be easily imagined from the munificence of the gifts which some of them have received from Patiala and others from Nabha. Now that there will be no difference of choice, the whole Panth is to be warmly congratulated on the happy event.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 6th December 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 49, pp. 889–890*).

***Akhbar-i-Am, 26 January 1918***

*Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore, Hindu), of the 26th January 1918, says that the announcement by the *Rajput Gazette* that the Maharaja of Patiala is about to marry a Rajput lady, has filled the newspaper world with surprise. As the language used concerning His Highness is extremely deplorable some respectable Sikh Sardars of the Patiala State should throw light on the real facts, so that no misunderstanding might arise in the minds of the public. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 2nd February 1918. Vol. xxxi, No. 5, p. 71*).

***Loyal Gazette, 24 February 1918***

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 24th February 1918, states that the rumour about the Maharaja of Patiala's intention of marrying into the family of the Maharaja of Bikaner is quite unfounded. It is regrettable that certain newspapers have, on the basis of the above unfounded rumour, made attacks on the personality of the Maharaja of Patiala. They should bear in mind that the Maharaja holds a unique position and commands the greatest respect among the Sikh community. And what need has a leader of the Sikhs of becoming a Rajput. The *Loyal Gazette* warns Hindu and Muhammadans newspapers to exercise care while writing about the Maharaja of Patiala, seeing that an insult to the Maharaja is tantamount to injuring the feelings of the entire Sikh community. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 2nd March 1918. Vol. xxxi, No. 9, p. 129*).

***Loyal Gazette, 24 February 1918***

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 24th February 1918, publishes a communication referring to the assertion of the *Rajput Gazette*, that the marriage of the Maharaja of Patiala with a Rajput lady would be a degradation for Rajputs. The writer does not approve of such relationship, but he would point out that

Rajput Rajas frequently gave their daughters in marriage to Mughal Emperors and Nawabs. The ancestors of the Maharaja of Patiala on the other hand faced many difficulties and troubles owing to their refusal to give their daughters in marriage to Muhammadans. It is not likely, therefore, that the Maharaja of Patiala would marry a Rajput girl. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 2nd March 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 9, p. 129*).

***Rajput Gazette, 16 March 1918***

The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore, organ of the Rajput community), of the 16th March 1918, says that the *Loyal Gazette* has tried to show that some one other than a Sikh paper is responsible for conveying to the *Rajput Gazette* the unfounded news that the Maharaja of Patiala was about to be married into the family of the Maharaja of Bikaner. This is not right, for Amar Singh tried to inflame Rajput feeling by spreading the rumour and by writing that Rajputs had offered their daughters in marriage to Muhammadans. The paper does not like to indulge in quarrels in these days when a terrible war is going on in the world or to publish a rejoinder that may wound the feelings of any community. It can, however, prove that Amar Singh conveyed the intelligence to it and forced it to write on the subject. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 27th March 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 13, p. 186*).

***Loyal Gazette, 24 March 1918***

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 24th March 1918, accuses the editor of the *Rajput Gazette* of meanness in telling a lie and publishing letters from fictitious correspondents in support of his false statements. It was this paper which tried to create an agitation against the alleged marriage of the daughter of the Maharaja of Bikaner to the Maharaja of Patiala, though the only daughter of the former Maharaja is not more than two years old. This unfounded rumour was spread out of personal spite against the Maharaja of Bikaner, who never allowed the *Rajput Gazette* to come near him, and at the instance of some enemies of the Maharaja. The object of the *Rajput Gazette* is to create a scandal about the Maharaja of Bikaner. The *Loyal Gazette* will shortly publish an interesting history of the editor of the *Rajput Gazette*. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 6th April 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 14, p. 199*).

## Maharaja and State of Nabha

### 1 Bhagwan Singh (1842–1871)

#### *Punjabee Ukhbar*, 3 November 1865

The “Punjabee Ukhbar” of the 3rd of November notices that the Rajah of Nabha has been honoured by an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy; and further states that the ill-feeling existing in consequence of the recent unfortunate affairs in the Nabha State has been forgotten. It is now hoped, adds the Editor or the writer, that the people who were under suspension for being suspected of connivance in this affair will be exonerated from the imputations cast upon them. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces, from the 24th to the 30th November, 1865*, p. 482).

#### *Koh-i-Nur*, 27 May 1871

The *Koh-i-Nur* of the 27th May reports that the Maharaja of Nabha is extremely ill, and has given up all hopes of life. Horses, elephants, money, and other things bestowed by Natives in charity a little before their death have been given away. This critical juncture has caused much confusion, and the State is in great danger. It has already a debt of six lakhs of rupees, while fresh debts are being incurred. The writer wishes the Maharaja well, and prays for his recovery, in order that the State may be prevented from being involved in difficulties. The Maharaja is yet in his youth, and has no issue. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 3rd June, 1871*, p. 267).

### 2 Hira Singh (1843–1911)

#### *Panjabi Akhbar*, 20 August 1870

The *Panjabi Akhbar* of the 20th August praises the Chiefs and Princes of the Panjab for the active interest taken by them in promoting the good of their countrymen. The writer refers to the liberal donations made by the Maharaja of Patyala [Patiala] to the Panjab University from time to time, and has now the pleasure of noticing the repeated acts of munificence of the Maharaja of Nabha. His Highness at first made a donation of Rs. 11,000 to the university,

then offered a sum of Rs. 5,000 for scholarships to be founded in the name of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, and has now made a fresh donation of Rs. 1,000 to the university, as interest for the two sums of money for the time their payment has been deferred since the date of promise. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 24th August, 1870*, p. 313).

***Majma-ul-Bahrain*, 16 September 1871**

The *Majma-ul-Bahrain* of the same date notices the reforms introduced by the new Raja of Nabha in the management of the household. All superfluous expenses incurred in the time of the late Raja have been stopped, and economy has been so far kept in view in all matters, that even the money received in presents has been ordered to be paid into the treasury. The Raja is also praised for paying great attention to dealing out justice to his subjects, of which he has given a convincing proof in causing a letter-box to be placed at the gate of the court, in order that all persons who may have any complaints to prefer or grievances to represent, may easily do so by dropping their petitions into the box. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 23rd September, 1871*, p. 565).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 30 December 1871**

The same paper [the *Koh-i-Nur*] praises the Maharajah of Nabha for his administration justice. As a bright example of this is mentioned the case of a Goojur woman whose husband was killed by a factious rabble, and who had sought for justice at the court in the time of the late Rajah about a year ago. Not only has due notice of the case now been taken and the offenders brought to punishment, but a sum of Rs. 500 has been granted from the royal treasury for the maintenance of the infant child of the deceased. Other cases which fell into arrears during the time of the late Rajah are being cleared off, full justice and equity being dealt out in all. This has won for the Rajah the gratitude and affections of his people. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Province, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 6th January 1872*, p. 10).

***Aina-i-Aib-i-Numa-i-Hind*, 27 January 1872**

The *Aina-i-Aib-i-Numa-i-Hind*, of the 27th January, dwells on the tyranny and oppression practices by the reigning chief of Nabha on the widows and other relatives of the late rajah. He has confiscated the jagheers [*jagirs*] and tenements belonging to them, and scarcely allows them even the bare necessities

of life. But his cruel and ungenerous treatment of the unfortunate family does not stop there. He inflicts indignities on them in various ways, and has taken up his residence in the same palace with them. About two months ago, he freely entered the female apartments without giving notice, to the great mortification of the widowed ladies, who did not wish to survive this disgrace, and would have certainly put an end to their existence had not the thought of suicide being a sin prevailed. As their only plan for preserving their honour and chastity, they shut themselves up in a room, and remained in this state for five days without food and drink. The people of Nabha were so much grieved on hearing this that they refused food the whole day, as if it were the day of the funeral of the late rajah. The attention of Government is invited to the pitiable condition of the ladies, and it is advised to take the following steps in order to deliver them from the oppressions of Rajah Heera Singh.

- a) The rajah should be strictly prohibited from residing in the harem of his predecessor, and should be directed to keep his family in a separate house, in order that the privacy of the widowed ranees may not be disturbed.
- b) The jagheers and tenements of the ladies should be restored to them, and such of them as had no jagheers in the time of the late chief should be suitably provided for by Government.
- c) A special trustworthy officer should be appointed to make such representations to Government on the part of the ladies as may be necessary from time to time, without the intervention of the rajah.

(*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Province, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 17th February 1872, pp. 85–86*).

### ***Koh-i-Nur*, 6 April 1872**

The same paper [the *Koh-i-Nur*] praises the Rajah of Nabha for his energy in the management of the civil as well as the military affairs of his state, the interest taken by him in the education of his subjects – of which he has given a convincing proof by establishing schools in Dhoola and Phoolpore, – and for his liberal and charitable views in rewarding his subordinates, who display proofs of their energy in the discharge of their duties, and in laying out money in promoting the comfort and convenience of his subject. A sum of Rs. 1,000 has recently been set aside for providing tanks with water. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 13th April, 1872, pp. 191–192*).

***Panjabi Akhbar*, 29 June 1872**

The *Panjabi Akhbar*, of the 29th June, states, on the authority of a correspondent, that the Rajah of Nabha is practicing great extortions and oppression on his subjects, so much so that all the rich and respectable persons among them have privately arranged to quit the state and settle in Munsoorpore in the dominions of the Maharajah of Puttiala, who is said to have promised to assist them by pecuniary and landed grants, according to the rank and position of each – zemindars, for instance, having been offered 100 maunds of grain and a pair of bullocks each. A party of zemindars had even made all the necessary preparations a few days ago for quitting the city with their families and property, and were on the point of starting when Wuzeer Ali, Tehseeldar, becoming aware of this, prevailed upon them by entreaties and expostulations to abandon their intention. The Rajah is also blamed for acquitting grave offenders, who possess wealth and property enough to satisfy his rapacity. As instances of this, it is state that Budhoo, a brazier, who was convicted of the murder of Kishna, has been hanged, while Mussumat Ghungnee and other persons, who were his accomplices in the crime, have received no other punishment than confiscation of property – a mode of punishment to which the writer objects. He adds that had Budhoo been a rich man, he would have been acquitted. In the other case, one Choohiya, a sugar-baker, who killed his wife and child, escaped without punishment. It is added, that the Rajah contemplates passing an order to the effect that whenever any of his higher officers pass through the bazaar, all the shopkeepers should stand up to pay their respect. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 8th July, 1872*, p. 345).

***Pattiala Akhbar*, 19 August 1872**

The *Pattiala Akhbar*, of the same date, states that, in consequence of the recent heavy rain, thousands of houses were destroyed in Nabha. The Raja is praised for his exertions in assisting the people in the midst of the distress. He was seen mounted on an elephant, personally superintending the arrangements made for the outlet of water from the houses of the people. Credit is also given to the Raja for having made an addition to the salaries of those of his officers, who, in his opinion, deserved such increase, as well as for having appointed a Naib Nazim in each Nizamut – just in the same way as two Naib Nazims were appointed in each of the Nizamuts in Puttiala [Patiala] last year. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 31st August, 1872*, p. 498).



***Khair Khwah-i-Alam*, 15 February 1875**

The same paper [the *Khair Khwah-i-Alam*] alludes to a report that the Wazir of the Nabha Chief, named Sewa Singh, has taken by force certain lands in the Nabha country, and established villagers of his own, turning out the former owners. Several of these are about to take their case up to the Panjab Government for redress. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 20th February, 1875*, p. 84).

***Lauh-i-Mahfus*, 8 September 1876**

The *Lauh-i-Mahfus* of the 8th September in its correspondence column writes that Seva Singh, the *vazir* of the Maharaja of Nabha, has been thrown into prison by the Maharaja. Besides being guilty of corruption, he has been accused of plotting against the life of his master. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 16th September, 1876*, p. 483).

***Lytton Gazette*, 22 May 1877**

A correspondent of the *Lytton Gazette* of the 22nd May says that the Maharaja of Nabha has lately received a letter from the Panjab Government, requesting him to contribute, like other chiefs, a portion of six crores of rupees needed by the Government to meet the expenditure involved by famine relief works and the construction of canals, roads, &c. But as, notwithstanding the increased revenues of the State, the State coffers are totally empty, the Maharaja has set himself in good earnest to reduce the pay of all servants on the State, which has been a source of great distress to them. Moreover their pay is in arrears for the last eight or nine months. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 26th May, 1877*, p. 361).

***Lytton Gazette*, 7 September 1877**

The *Lytton Gazette* of the 7th September states on the authority of its correspondent that the Maharaja of Nabha had prohibited tobacco smoking in his State under heavy penalty, on the ground that the Sikh religion forbids the use of tobacco. The prohibition of smoking must be a source of great inconvenience to the people. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 15th September, 1877*, p. 629).

***Sahifa-i-Qudsi*, 20 May 1886**

A correspondent of the *Sahifa-i-Qudsi* (Delhi), of the 20th May, complains that in Nabha Musalmans are not allowed to offer their daily prayers loudly, to kill even goats for food except on the day of the I'd, or to smoke before a Sikh sardar. These disabilities are unjustifiable and should be removed. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 24th May, 1886*, p. 385).

***Siraj-ul-Akhbar*, 14 June 1886**

The *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* (Jhelum), of the 14th June, says that poor persons sometimes marry their young daughters, who are still in their teens, to men of fifty or sixty years of age, on receipt of large sums of money from the latter. These so-called marriages are nothing but a kind of slave-trade. The girls soon become widows and are exposed to life-long miseries. Some of them bring disgrace on themselves and their relatives by leading immoral lives. The Nabha Darbar has strictly prohibited such marriages. Moreover, in order to check extravagance in connection with marriages, the Darbar has issued orders to the effect that no bridegroom shall take more than sixty persons with him to the house of his father-in-law on the occasion of his marriage. The Government of India and other native princes should follow suit. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 21st June, 1886*, p. 453).

***Bharat Sudhar*, 1 February 1890**

The *Bharat Sudhar* (Lahore), dated 1st February 1890, praises the Raja of Nabha for his enlightened views on religion, and says that His Highness gave a prize of Rs. 11 to a boarder of the Arya School, Lahore, during his stay there and also gave a reward of Rs. 25 to Churanji Lal (an Arya preacher) on receiving satisfactory replies to some theological questions put by His Highness. Such praiseworthy action on the part of the Raja shows that he heartily sympathises with the Arya religion. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 8th February 1890*. Vol. III, No. 6, p. 46).

***Arya Gazette*, 24 July 1891**

The *Arya Gazette* (Ferozepore), of the 24th July 1891, publishes a communication from an Arya preacher named Charanji Lal, who, after thanking the Raja of Nabha for the kind reception accorded to him, states that His Highness

arranged for a controversy between him and the Pandits, and assisted him in answering the arguments of the latter. His Highness further invited him to deliver a lecture on the 13th July at the *Singh Sahai* at which he attended in his private capacity as one of the audience. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 8th August 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 32, p. 282).

***Bharat Sudhar*, 24 June 1893**

The *Bharat Sudhar* (Lahore), of the 24th June 1893, says that Lala Charanji Lal, an Arya preacher, delivered a most powerful address on the “Martyrdom of Hakikat Rai” before His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha. The lecture produced a great effect on all present, and at its conclusion His Highness ordered his *Mantri* to send Rs. 4,100 towards the Dyanand College Fund. The Maharaja was much pleased to learn that Lala Hansraj had taken up the Principalship of the Arya College without remuneration. The Maharaja has promised further support to the College. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 8th July 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 27, pp. 330–331).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 15 September 1893**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), dated 15th September 1893, eulogises the action of the Raja of Nabha in extending the period of limitation in civil suits from three to six years. This is a very important reform in the administration of the State, and will greatly benefit the State subjects. The Government of India should introduce a similar reform in British India. The Raja has also ruled that on all occasions of marriages in the Nabha territory, the number of guests should not exceed 21. This will curtail the expenditure in connection with marriages and will save people from ruin from extravagant expenditure on such occasions. Other Phulkian Chiefs should follow the example of the Nabha Chief, who takes a great interest in the welfare of his subjects. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 30th September 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 39, p. 490).

***Umballa Gazette*, 5 January 1897**

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 5th January 1897, takes the *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jullundur) to task for charging the Raja of Nabha with being a bigot. The *Aftab* states that somebody having advised the Raja to revenge himself on the Muhammadans for the oppression practiced by the Muhammadan rulers in ancient times. His Highness sent several Muhammadans to jail and dismissed others. This statement is incorrect, seeing that the officials who have been suspended are Hindus and not Muhammadans. The Editor then mentions the

names of certain Muhammadans who have been appointed to responsible posts in the State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 9th January 1897*, Vol. x, No. 2, pp. 24–25).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 8 April 1897**

A Correspondent writing to the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 8th April 1897, remarks that even the Native States have not escaped the conflagration that the Hindus have set on foot against the Muhammadans in connection with the murder of Lekh Ram. Take, for instance, the case of the old Raja of Nabha, who has issued an order to the effect that no Muhammadan shall in future be appointed to any office in the State, The Raja is also thinking of getting rid of the Muhammadans already in the State service, and the Mir Munshi has been pensioned off. The Hindus of Nabha have commenced to hate the Muhammadans. The Editor, commenting on the above, remarks that the action of the Raja is greatly to be deplored, not merely because it will lead to the expulsion of a number of Muhammadan officials from a Hindu State, but because it will tend to intensify the ill-feeling prevailing between the two communities. The Government itself will testify to the valuable services rendered by Muhammadan Wazirs to the Phulkian States, and it is to be hoped that the old Chief of Nabha will reconsider the order referred to above if he has actually issued it. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 24th April 1897*, Vol. x, No. 17, p. 304).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 9 April 1897**

The same paper [the *Paisa Akhbar*], of the 9th April 1897, publishes a letter from Sada Nand of the firm of Sada Nand Brothers, Lahore, in which the writer states that he has just returned from Nabha and can state from his personal knowledge that the relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans are nowhere so friendly as in that State. The Raja treats all classes alike, and both communities are loud in their praise of His Highness. The writer of the communication published in the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 8th instant must be labouring under a misapprehension. The Raja holds darbars twice a week, which are attended by the Raikes and officials of Nabha, both Hindu and Muhammadan. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 24th April 1897*, Vol. x, No. 17, p. 304).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 14 April 1897**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 14th April 1897, publishes a communication from Hamid Ali Khan, a medical student, who says that he was much aggrieved on reading an article in the *Paisa Akhbar* wherein the writer represented the

Raja of Nabha as being prejudiced against the Muhammadans. The writer can assert from his personal knowledge that the Raja of Nabha is an enlightened [sic] chief, and that it is impossible that he could have ordered the dismissal of the Muhammadan officials and directed that members of that community should not be employed in future. Probably the correspondent of the *Paisa Akhbar* has been led to make a complaint against the Raja on account of the Mir Munshi (who is a Muhammadan) having been recently pensioned off. The writer hopes that the Editor will hear from his correspondent that the Mir Munshi has been restored to his place, and that some additional honor has been conferred upon him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 1st May 1897*, Vol. x, No. 18, p. 332).

***Umballa Gazette, 20 April 1897***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 20th April 1897, remarks that there is no truth in the statement made by a correspondent of the *Paisa Akhbar* that the Raja of Nabha has ordered that no Muhammadan should in future be employed in the State. The allegation that the Mir Munshi was pensioned off because he was a Muhammadan is also untrue. As a matter of fact the Mir Munshi himself applied for permission to retire as he could not perform the duties of his office owing to old age. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th May 1897*, Vol. x, No. 19, p. 354).

***Paisa Akhbar, 22 April 1897***

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 22nd April 1897, publishes a communication in which the writer states that Hamid Ali Khan, Medical student, and Mr. Sada Nand are not in a position to contradict the statements published by him. They are both interested persons. There is no doubt that the Raja (of Nabha) is an impartial Native Chief, but now-a-days he is being imposed upon by the Hindu officials of the State and his judgement has been so obscured by their false stories that he cannot but be partial. The writer then mentions two cases of injustice on the part of the Raja, and states that His Highness has passed an order that in future the posts of Tahsildar and Thanedar should not be given to Muhammadans. The Mir Munshi too has been pensioned off as a matter of policy. A Muhammadan Bakhshi, who held a high position in the Army, has been appointed Mir Munshi. But as the Bakhshi knows very little of the work of Mir Munshi he will soon be dismissed on the ground of incompetency and thus the State service will be cleared of the Muhammadans. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th May 1897*, Vol. x, No. 19, p. 355).

***Khalsa Gazette, 22 April 1897***

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 22nd April 1897, remarks that the *Paisa Akhbar* has of late been reviling the Hindus and bringing false charges against them. Indeed, it may be said that to write against the Hindus and magnify their foibles is the chief end of that paper. It has not spared even the Hindu Chiefs, and has been bringing all sorts of charges against them. As an instance in point, the Editor states that the *Akhbar* wrote in a recent issue that the Raja of Nabha has passed orders prohibiting the employment of Muhammadans in his State, and that His Highness was thinking of getting rid of those already employed in the various departments, and had pensioned off the Mir Munshi. The *Gazette* challenges the *Paisa Akhbar* to produce a copy of the orders in question, or to publish a list of the names of the Muhammadans who the Raja wishes to get rid of. As for the appointment of the Mir Munshi, it has been given to a Muhammadan gentleman. It will not, however, be out of place to inquire if the bestowal of this appointment on a Hindu would have justified the *Paisa Akhbar* in making the remarks it has made. Does that paper consider that the post of Mir Munshi was created for the Muhammadans alone and should not be given to a Hindu if a capable Muhammadan is not forthcoming? It should, besides, remember that the Raja of Nabha is admitted to be a just and impartial ruler who accords the same treatment to all classes of his subjects. Can the *Paisa Akhbar* say the same of the Muhammadan Chiefs? (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th May 1897, Vol. x, No. 19, p. 354*).

***Kaisari Akhbar, 8 May 1897***

The *Kaisari Akhbar* (Jullundur), of the 8th May 1897, regrets that the evil influence of the ill-feeling between the Hindus and the Muhammadans has reached even the Native Chiefs. It is said that the Raja of Nabha has ordered that in future no Muhammadan shall obtain employment in the State, and has otherwise begun to oppress the Muhammadans. It is to be hoped that the Committee (at Lahore?) appointed to restore peace between the two communities will be successful in its efforts. The Editor thinks that the Committee commits a great mistake in confronting the parties with one another in order that one may convince the other of its mistakes. No one would admit his fault before an enemy. The best way would be for the heads of each community to admonish their respective co-religionists in private. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd May 1897, Vol. x, No. 21, p. 393*).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 1 June 1897**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 1st June 1897, remarks that the Raja of Nabha makes no effort to conceal his hostility towards the Muhammadans. He tells every one who goes to see him that what was written in their books has come true, and that the time has come when the Hindus should openly avenge themselves on the Muhammadans. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 19th June 1897*, Vol. x, No. 25, p. 466).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 11 June 1897**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 11th June 1897, publishes a communication from Maler Kotla in which the writer states that the Raja of Nabha is said to have dismissed some respectable Muhammadans and is otherwise practicing oppression on his Muhammadan subjects. The people of Nabha, however, declare that there is no truth in this assertion. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd July 1897*, Vol. x, No. 27, p. 500).

***Khair Khwah-i-Riyasatha-i-Hind*, 3 December 1897**

The *Khair Khwah-i-Riyasatha-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 3rd December 1897, publishes a communication in which the writer asks the following questions: –

1. Is it a fact that the Raja of Nabha has issued orders to the effect that in future no Muhammadan should be employed in any Department of the State, and that those already in the service should be removed from their posts?
2. Have any orders been issued regarding the removal of the Muhammadans from the city (of Nabha) and their settlement in the Bir (jungle)?
3. Is it true that in a certain case the Raja sentenced 27 persons to imprisonment for life for a very trivial offence?

(*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 11th December 1897*, Vol. x, No. 50, p. 1036).

***Ahluwalia Gazette*, 1 November 1899**

The *Ahluwalia Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 1st November 1899, publishes a communication in which the writer complains that great oppression is being practiced in the Nabha State. His Highness the Raja is a great bigot, who has begun to show his bigoted disposition in the administration of the State, where *Sikka Shahi* prevails. His Highness ordered a cattle fair to be held in the State. Traders attended the fair to make purchases from different parts of the country. An informant of the Raja reported that among the traders there was a certain butcher. His Highness, without making any enquiries, ordered him to be sent

to the lock-up. The spies of His Highness are having a good time of it. Two men cannot stand in a street and talk to each other. If His Highness happens to see some men talking to each other he at once issues orders to his officials to enquire into the subject of their talk. Some time again a student of the Nabha College got his beard clipped with scissors by a barber. Nihala, informant, reported the matter to the Head Master and told him to take action in the matter. The Head Master, however, told him that during vacations he could not do anything, especially in a private matter like this. Nihala thereupon informed the Raja of the whole affair, and the latter sent for the Head Master, the student and the barber. After ascertaining from them that the clipping of the beard did actually take place, His Highness dismissed the Head Master, who had served in the Education Department for ten years, and warned the student and the barber against doing such a thing again. It is to be regretted that the Raja of Nabha should pursue a policy of betraying such bigotry and superstition. The writer trusts that His Highness will mend his ways before the gross mismanagement prevailing in the State is brought to the notice of the public and the Government through the columns of this paper. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 11th November 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 45, pp. 644–645).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 4 May 1901**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 4th May 1901, says that the *Singh Sahai* of Amritsar reports that some coolness has arisen between the Raja of Nabha and his heir-apparent in connection with the latter's approaching marriage. The Raja wants the marriage ceremony to be performed by Brahmins according to the ancient practice, but the Tika seems determined to have it done according to Sikh rites. Neither the father nor the son shows any signs of giving way, and strained relations are likely to result. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 11th May 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 19, p. 284).

***Tahzib-i-Niswan*, 6 September 1902**

The *Tahzib-i-Niswan* (Lahore), of the 6th September 1902, publishes an article from the pen of Syad Mumtaz Ali, who on the authority of the *Dar-ul-Ulum* of Delhi, states that the Raja of Nabha has great respect for every religion and convenes daily meetings of learned men belonging to different religious denominations. The writer is of opinion that native Princes and Noblemen throughout the country would do well to follow the example of His Highness and imbibe principles of religious toleration. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 20th September 1902*, Vol. xv. No. 38, p. 498).



***Paisha Akhbar*, 11 July 1903**

A correspondent writing to the *Paisha Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 11th July 1903, reports that on the occasion of the Delhi Darbar the Raja of Nabha represented to Lord Curzon that old age and feebleness having rendered it difficult for His Highness to administer the State the heir-apparent might be seated on the gaddi during his (Raja's) lifetime. To this the Viceroy replied that he had nothing to say on the subject then, but that the Raja should send the Rika to Simla at some more suitable time, submitting simultaneously a petition embodying His Highness' wishes. This was done; but Government's reply to the ruler of Nabha is to the effect that the latter being in an indifferent state of health and his succession by his son during his lifetime being out of the question, it has been decided to appoint a council, with a European President, to administer the State. Commenting on the above the Editor remarks that if the foregoing report is true – and there is no reason to doubt it – every right-minded person must feel surprised at the decision of Government. So long as the Raja's administration is satisfactory Lord Curzon should not accredit a European Officer to Nabha and give the people cause for accusing Government of meddlesomeness. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 25th July 1903*, Vol. XVI. No. 29, p. 182).

***Gulzar-i-Hind*, 18 July 1903**

The *Gulzar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 18th July 1903, writing about the rumour that Government has decided to entrust the management of Nabha to a State Council, says that the step is not calculated to please an old and faithful Chief like the present ruler of the State. The Raja is well known for his peaceful policy and loyal sentiments; and had the heir-apparent been given an opportunity of learning administrative work under His Highness he would have been certain to follow in his father's footsteps. As it is, the appointment of the proposed Council will deprive the Tika of the opportunity of qualifying himself for the duties which are ultimately to devolve upon him. It is to be hoped that Lord Curzon will reconsider his decision and at least consent to the young Prince being appointed to the post of Wazir. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 1st August 1903*, Vol. XVI. No. 30, p. 193).

***Watan*, 31 July 1903**

The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 31st July 1903, writing on the same subject [Raja of Nabha's speech at Simla], says that the *Aligarh Gazette* also takes exception to the Raja's remarks. That paper is of opinion that even if one admits the truth of His Highness' allegations it should be borne in mind that religious bigotry was not peculiar to India, but that Europe also was not free from the reproach.

Besides, modern civilization requires that one should refrain from speaking or writing words calculated to inflame animosities. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd August 1903*, Vol. XVI. No. 33, p. 217).

***Curzon Gazette, 1 August 1903***

The *Curzon Gazette* (Delhi), of the 1st August 1903, writing about the Raja of Nabha's recent speech at Simla says that had His Highness taken the trouble to consult the History of India he would never have made his bigoted remarks against Muhammadans rulers. During the Muslem rule Hindus were not made to embrace Islam by force, nor were their temples pulled down. As to iconoclastic zeal, the stories about Mahmud of Ghazni are no better than myths. It is possible that during Muhammadan invasions several temples and idols may have been broken; but this was not peculiar to their invasions: all conquests were attended more or less with such result. At any rate, a Sikh Raja cannot prefer accusations against other rulers, seeing that the misrule of his co-religionists has passed into a proverb. Even at the present day Muhammadan subjects of Sikh States can neither say their Call for Prayer in a loud voice nor make converts from other religions. On the other hand, in Mussalman States not only Sikhs but even Hindus enjoy complete religious liberty, while in Hyderabad not a few Hindu temples have *jagirs* attached to them. Lord Curzon should call for an explanation from the Raja of Nabha as to why he made uncalled for remarks against the Muhammadan Rulers of India. Under the present benign *regime* even a personage of His Highness' position should not be allowed to injure the feelings of others with impunity. It can only be imagined what the lot must be of the Muhammadan subjects of a ruler who is so prejudiced against that faith. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd August 1903*, Vol. XVI. No. 33, p. 217).

***Hindustan, 30 July 1909***

The *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 30th July (received on the 9th August) 1909, publishes a note headed "Proscription of newspapers in the Nabha State." The paper says that a resident of the Nabha State writes to ask that his name may be removed from the list of subscribers, saying that the entry of newspapers into the State is strictly prohibited and that several State subjects have been fined for subscribing to newspapers. It has long been hearing that the Raja of Nabha is a wide-awake and enlightened ruler, and cannot, therefore, bring itself to believe that newspapers could have been proscribed in His Highness's territory with his knowledge. In the other event, however, it feels constrained to say that the prohibition constitutes an illustration of the adage about the

witness (the Raja) being more active than the complainant (Government). On the one hand, the Calcutta Police Court gladly accepts the declarations filed by (new) periodicals, although the press in British India freely criticizes the doings of Government. On the other hand, the ruler of a Native State has indiscriminately prohibited the entry of newspapers into his territories. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 14th August 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 33, pp. 788–789).

#### ***Kam Dhenu*, 1 September 1911**

The *Kam Dhenu* (Ludhiana, of the 1st September 1911, publishes a leader headed “A marvel of the 20th century.” It reports that a sub-postmaster, a postman, and several other residents of the Nabha state, as also a preacher and two other persons connected with the All-India Cow-protection Society, Hardwar, have been placed under arrest (in Nabha) for the offence of securing signatures to the proposed anti-cow-killing memorial. A certain neo-Sikh of the State, adds the paper, has issued orders to the officers in charge of the markets (*Afsran-i-mandi*) to direct the general public not to sign the memorial, saying that it is distasteful to His Highness the Raja and against the wishes of Government. After entering an emphatic protest against the above arrests, it says that, cow-killing being prohibited in the Nabha State, the Raja cannot take offence at the memorial. The *Kam Dhenu* further remarks that it is men like the aforesaid Sikh official who promote sedition in the country by representing Government as being opposed to the wishes of the people. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 16th September 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 37, p. 942).

#### ***Haq*, 8 and 15 September 1911**

In its issue, dated the 8th and 15th (received on the 27th) September 1911, the *Haq* (Delhi), has a note entitled “The Raja of Nabha’s wisdom.” It is a matter for deep satisfaction, says the paper, that the Chief named has seen through the cow-protection movement. After remarking that he is not one of those Hindus who waste their time in setting their co-religionists and Muhammadans by the ears, it refers to the recent arrest in Nabha in connection with the proposed anti-cow-killing memorial (*vide* paragraph 7 of Selections No. 37). (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 7th October 1911*. Vol. XXIV, No. 40, p. 1026).

#### ***Jhang Sial*, 9 September 1911**

The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 9th September 1911, expresses surprise that such oppression should be practices under a Hindu Raja. The fact, however, is, it

adds, that High Highness is absent from the State and that this has led to a neo-Sikh officer committing whatever irregularities he likes. It feels confident that the Raja will end the oppression as soon as he comes to know of the same. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 16th September 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 37, pp. 942–943).

***Rajput Gazette*, 30 September 1911**

The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore), of the 30th September (received on the 10th October) 1911, publishes a paragraph entitled “The proposal of the Raja of Nabha is not right.” It is rumoured, says the paper, that His Highness the Raja of Nabha has proposed that, in accordance with the custom prevalent during the Mughal rule, the *nazars* presented by the Rulers of the Native States of India to His Majesty the King Emperor, which, under the custom in vogue, are touched and remitted, should be credited to the Imperial Treasury on the occasion of the Delhi Darbar. After remarking that the suggestion is not a right one, the paper says that it is a pity that the Raja of Nabha has failed to see that there is a vast difference between the Mughal and British rules. (Some) Mughal rulers, if may be remembered, imposed taxes on Hindus (alone), and is it, therefore, justifiable for the British Government to resuscitate that old and unpleasant custom? (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 21st October 1911*. Vol. XXIV, No. 42, p. 1083).

**3      Ripudaman Singh (1883–1942)**

***Observer*, 31 January 1912**

The *Observer* (Lahore), of the 31st January 1912, publishes the following: –

“His Highness Maharaja Ripudaman Singh has succeeded his late revered father and held a Darbar on Wednesday last to announce his succession. In the course of his speech on the occasion, the new ruler of Nabha said: ‘My people of all creeds and communities may rest assured and rely on my word that I consider their happiness my happiness and their welfare my welfare.’ It is our earnest desire that His Highness may fulfil the promise made on such a solemn occasion to his subjects of *all* creeds and prove as successful as a ruler as the late Maharaja Hira Singh. We, however, feel bound to remind the Maharaja that as Additional Member of the Viceregal Council his utterances filled the Musalmans with apprehensions as to the fate of their co-religionists when his Highness would become the ruler of Nabha. If these fears prove groundless, if the Maharaja administers the affairs of his State with absolute impartiality and justice, if he helps the backward classes among his subjects and tries to

improve their condition, no one will more pleased and feel more grateful than the Muhammadans of India." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 3rd February 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 5, p. 73).

***Tribune*, 28 April 1912**

The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of 28th April 1912: –

"We received official intimation, which we published in our issue of the 23rd March, that his Highness the Maharaja of Nabha would be installed on the *masnad* and invested with full powers by the Political Agent of the Phulkian States and Bahawalpur at a public Durbar at Nabha on the 27th of that month. A month has passed, but we have received no information that the Durbar was held or that the Maharaja was invested with full powers. It seems very unlikely that no intimation of such an event should have been given to the public or the Press when an announcement was duly made of the forthcoming event. Assuming, therefore, that the Durbar was not held and the Maharaja has not yet been invested with powers may we inquire what is the hitch, or why the ceremony has been postponed? It will be remembered that the present Maharaja, when he was the Tikka Sahib, was a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and he created a most favourable impression by his intelligence and independence." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 4th May 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 18, p. 336).

***Loyal Gazette*, 5 May 1912**

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore), of the 5th May 1912, has a paragraph headed "Government itself should solve this riddle." Referring to the *Tribune's* note about the postponement of the installation of the Maharaja of Nabha (*vide* paragraph 14 of Selection No. 18), the paper expresses its inability to divine any reason for the occurrence, which, it says, has sorely disappointed the Sikh community (*lit.* Sikh societies). After remarking that the Maharaja has frequently afforded strong proof of his being an able and educated man, it remarks that, when even Native Chiefs of common parts are installed as soon as they have attained majority, why should the installation of an enlightened and just-minded prince be delayed for a long time? It is to be hoped that the kind Government will itself "solve this riddle" and reassure the public by giving out why the (installation) Darbar was postponed and when it is now to be held. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 18th May 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 20, p. 381).

***Panjabee*, 13 July 1912**

The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 13th July 1912: –

“His Highness Maharaja Hira Singh died on the 25th December last. In the ordinary course His Highness the Tikka Sahib, the present Maharaja, should have been formally installed in the course of a few weeks. On the death of the late Nizam there was no difficulty in installing the present Nizam. Even in Mysore, which is said to be a gift of the British Raj to the present Royal House, no difficulty arose with regard to installation on the death of Maharaja Chamarajendra Wodier. In Nabha the date of installation was formally fixed but was cancelled abruptly for reasons which are not well understood. Indian States are governed by treaties and engagements entered into by the British Government. Each state has its peculiar rights and privileges recognised in such treaties and engagements. But on occasions the Foreign Office which is guided by ‘precedents and prescriptions’ chooses to treat all States alike and calls them the members of one of the same family. But the Foreign Office is sometimes so unreasonable and obstinate that it refuses to treat the State as members of one family and persist in treating each on its own merits. It adopts the first course where it can bring all under a common denominator disregarding the pride and prestige of historic States. But it declines to adopt the same course where it is advantageous to individual States. The varying terms of engagements with the States with regard to salt, opium, ganja, railway police, civil and criminal jurisdiction over railways, post and telegraphs, imperial service and transport corps, employment of Europeans or British officials in particular offices and numerous other matters go to show that the Foreign Office is not very anxious to treat all States alike. Why then does it insist on uniformity in some other respects which the Sovereign Princes consider galling to their pride and prestige? The treaties and engagements of each State should be uniformly respected and the precedents of each State faithfully followed. Above all the Government should recall the incidents connected with Colonel Low’s Mission in Hyderabad (Daccan) in 1853 and with Lord Lytton’s transactions with Sir Salar Jung through Sir Richard Meade. Every States is not a Mysore. Government can afford to be magnanimous to Nabha for its splendid services during the mutiny.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Panjab. Examined up to 20th July 1912*, Vol. XXV, No. 29, p. 588).

***Panjabee*, 24 April 1913**

Writing under the heading ‘Uncharitable Remarks’ the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 24th April 1913, publishes the following: –

“We are thankful to His Honour Sir Louis Dane for his active sympathy with the temperance movement. The Punjab Excise Bill, which was introduced in the Provincial Legislative Council on Friday last, shows His Honours’s anxiety to further the cause of temperance in the Province. While laying the foundation stone of the new Temperance Hall at Amritsar the other day, to which we have already referred in a previous issue, His Honour expressed satisfaction that the Amritsar Temperance Society had received support from many of the Native States in the Punjab. This was certainly a welcome sign. But it is to be very much regretted that His Honour while replying to the address presented to him by the Society made some uncharitable remarks about a Native State which are not borne out by actual facts. His Honour is reported to have said on the occasion: – ‘He was glad to hear that the society had received support from so many of the Natives States. He regretted, however, that Nabha had not been mentioned. The drink evil was acute there and he hoped that the society would take suitable measures to spread their influence in that direction.’ The address stated that since His Honour Sir Louis Dane had delivered his speech at Faridkot on the occasion of the marriage of the present Maharaja the society had received full support from Faridkot and Kalsia and recently from Patiala, Jind and Maler Kotla States and other influential Chiefs and big landowners. Is it reasonable to infer from this that those States that have not contributed to the funds of the Amritsar Temperance Society do not support the temperance movement? In any case nothing could be more unjustifiable than the way in which His Honour singled out the State of Nabha and made such uncalled for remarks. In his review of the Excise Report for the year 1911–12, His Honour had himself remarked that strenuous measures against drink were contemplated by Nabha. His Honour must be aware that His late Highness Maharaja Hira Singh was a Patron of the Army Temperance Association and had framed strict laws and regulations for checking the drink habit. His Highness Maharaja Ripudaman Singh is an enlightened ruler of sober and temperate habits and those who are acquainted with his administration of the State will bear testimony to the fact that His Highness is an enthusiastic supporter of the temperance cause. It was only recently while touring in his territory that His Highness ordered at a place that liquor shops should in the future be located outside the villages, so that innocent people might not be tempted to drink. It is to be very much regretted that His Honour Sir Louis Dane should have gone out of his way to make disparaging remarks about an Indian Prince who is held in high esteem all over the country.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 26th April 1913*, Vol. XXVI, No. 17, pp. 385–386).

***Tribune*, 14 October 1913**

The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 14th October 1913:

“On the occasion of Dashera His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Nabha announced two reforms of great and lasting benefits to the State. These were the abolition of fees in Primary Schools and constitution of District and Advisory Committees. Native States in the Punjab have long remained in the background. While in other States great progress has been made, the Punjab States have, for reasons best known to themselves, generally adhered to the ancient and unprogressive methods. The Phulkian States in particular have long lacked enterprise. They seem to have even forgotten their traditional aptitude for combined and concerted action for reasonable and legitimate advance on progressive lines. For some years past each State has been vying with the other in hindering progress. Statesmanship has vanished, and the craze is for aping bureaucratic methods on up-to-date Simla-lines. There was a time when Viceroys and Governors were openly exhorting men like Dinkar Rao, Salar Jung, Madhava Rao, Seshayya Shastri and Ranga Charlu to persevere in their reforms. But soon even Viceroys and Governors changed their policy towards Native States. Then came the Simla model to discourage and thwart bold and original experiments. That was indeed a most discouraging circumstance for advocates of reform. However we are glad that the progressive ruler of Nabha has decided to try Mr. Gokhale’s scheme of Advisory Councils. We take it that the District Committees are to be elected by the people and they will be freely associated with the Nazims in the administrative work of the districts. The District Committees elect their representatives to the Central Committee at the capital. The functions of these Committees are yet to be fixed, but we make no doubt that His Highness has Mr. Gokhale’s model in view and is going to demonstrate how these Advisory Councils can popularise the administration. We heartily congratulate His Highness on the inception of this excellent reform.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 18th October 1913*, Vol. XXVI, No. 42, p. 911).

***Tribune*, 18 August 1916**

The following is taken from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 18th August 1916: –  
 “With reference to a report that Mr. Harkishen Lal, B.A., Barrister-at-Law, has been offered and has accepted a high appointment in Nabha State, the correct facts, we understand, are that His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Nabha has appointed Mr. Harkishen Lal Financial Adviser to himself. Mr. Harkishen Lal has not accepted any salary at present, nor has any been fixed. The appointment



will not necessitate Mr. Harkishen Lal's stay at Nabha, nor his absence from Lahore, except to meet His Highness from time to time as required at Nabha or Mussoorie, which may occupy a few days in the month. The whole thing is an experimental measure to see if the calls of this appointment can fit in with Mr. Harkishen Lal's other engagements and whether he can find the time to be of substantial use to the State. His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Nabha is an enlightened Ruling Prince who keeps himself in touch with the progressive advance of the country along intellectual, social and industrial lines. He knows that the present is a time in the industrial development when every State is carefully looking into its resources with a view to their proper organization and utilization, and evidently desires to take timely action in these and cognate directions. His Highness has, however, with this usual insight realised that such a systematic advance in developing the material and financial resources of the State is not possible without expert advice, and in this, as in many other directions, he has left the beaten track and sought that advice outside the ranks of regular officials. The success of the experiment will be its best justification." (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 26th August 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 35, p. 691).

***Bulletin, 18 August 1916***

Writing under the heading, "Forward Ho!" or "Backward Ho!" the *Bulletin* (Lahore), of the 18th August 1916, says: –

"We hear Lala Harkishen Lal has become a Minister in Nabha. This is rather a strange transition – from the captain of multifarious modern industries, supposed to run in progressive channels, to directing the complex affairs of a Sikh State with its old traditions and probably somewhat mediaeval tendencies. Shall we call it 'Forward Ho' or 'Backward Ho'? Is it a rise or a fall for one who has been known as the 'Napoleon of Punjab finance'? Events will prove. Is service rather than an independent career the best suited for Indian talent? What is to be the fate of the various joint-stock companies for whose birth Lala Harkishen Lal is responsible? This is a point on which public curiosity cannot but seek reliable information." (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 26th August 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 35, p. 691).

***Loyal Gazette, 3 June 1917***

A correspondent writes to the *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 3rd June 1917, saying that recently the *Khalsa Akhbar* published an article on the Maharaja of Nabha, who was represented as the beloved of the nation. The article was written by Ishar Singh, who took it to the Maharaja of Nabha. His Highness was extremely delighted and observed that he greatly appreciated the article. His

Highness gave Rs. 100 to Ishar Singh and promised him a substantial sum. Ishar Singh had a cartoon published in a recent issue of the *Khalsa Akhbar*, representing Bhai Dewa Singh of Amritsar as pulling the beard of Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia. Although the insult offered to a servant of the Panth is intolerable, still it evoked great mirth and amusement at Nabha, the Maharaja of Nabha himself keeping quiet. Ishar Singh is, however, considered worthy to receive the reward of Rs. 1,000. The correspondent swears to the truth of all he has written. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 21st June 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 25, p. 488*).

***Akhbar-i-Am, 17 November 1917***

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore, Hindu), of the 17th November 1917, publishes a communication from its special correspondent that in Nabha State relations between the Sanatan Dharm Sabha and the Singh Sabha are brotherly, and that there is no Arya Samaj in the State; since the late Maharaja ordered that no Arya Samaj was to be established in the State. Another noteworthy fact is that only country sugar is sold in the State. Any one dealing in foreign sugar is severely punished. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 29th November 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 48, p. 875*).

***Parkash, 2 December 1917***

The *Parkash* (Lahore, Arya), of the 2nd December 1917, says that some enemy of the Arya Samaj has announced in the columns of the *Akhbar-i-Am* that the late Raja Hira Singh of Nabha, while permitting all other religious denominations to preach their religions in the Nabha State, forbade the Aryas. The paper can confidently declare that the statement is untrue and a libel. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 6th December 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 49, p. 890*).

***Khalsa Advocate, 5 January 1918***

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 5th January 1918, writes: –

“Except that there is no effort, in the recent honours list on the New Year’s day, for the recognition of the valuable services of a large number of prominent Sikhs in spheres other than the war, the list is such that Sikhs should feel proud at. One thing however must be noticed and that is the absence of the illustrious name of the Maharaja Bahadur of Nabha. His Highness has done no less service in the war than any of the sister States has done. A part of these we have been able to publish in our War number. His Highness’ service demanded the award of at least G.C.S.I. to begin with. His Highness the Raja of Kalsia has also been left in the rear. His position as a ruling chief and relations of the

Kalsia House with those of Phulkian States and last though not the least the services of the State, deserved at least a salute of 11 guns for the Prince. We earnestly hope that this non-recognition of the services of Nabha and Kalsia States will be rectified soon." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 12th January 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 2, p. 37*).

#### ***Loyal Gazette, 6 January 1918***

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 6th January 1918, is disappointed to learn that the name of His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha has not been included in this year's list. It is necessary to raise the status of the Nabha State like other States. The number of salutes of guns fired in honour of His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha should be raised to 14. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 12th January 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 2, p. 37*).

#### ***Tribune, 7 April 1918***

The *Tribune* (Lahore, Hindu), of the 7th April 1918, writes: –

"It will be remembered that His Highness, as heir-apparent, was a distinguished member of the Indian Legislative Council during the Viceroyalty of Lord Minto. It is very appropriate that His Highness should have taken the lead among the Punjab Ruling Princes to establish an institution which serves not only to modernize the administration but also to confer a valuable privilege on the people." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 11th April 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 15, p. 216*).

#### ***Jathedar, 19 October 1922***

One Sardar Nihal Singh writing to the *Jathedar* of the 19th October publishes reports that Sardar Gur Narain Singh Darbari arranged a feast in Gillan-da-Gurdwara in honour of the birth of the Tikka Sahib of Nabha. The Maharaja selected the hall of the Gurdwara for the purpose. *Jhatka* was prepared for the Sikhs, vegetarian food for the Hindus and *halal* meal for the Muhammadans. All the guests sat in chairs with their shoes on and enjoyed the feast without caring for the sanctity of the Gurdwara. Besides, dancing-girls from different cities danced there till mid-night. The paper remarks that the account is so shameful and heart-rending that no Sikh can control his feelings on hearing it. (*Punjab Press Abstract. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 28th October 1922. No. 43, p. 529*).

## Maharaja and State of Kapurthala

### 1 Kharak Singh (1850–1877)

#### *Oudh Ukhbar*, 10 October 1865

The Rajah of Kuppooorthala [Kapurthala] is highly praised for the manner in which he managed his territory, and the consideration shown to the people under him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, published in the Punjab, North Western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces from the 1st to the 8th November, 1865*, p. 463).

#### *Oudh Ukhbar*, 6 February 1866

The “*Oudh Ukhbar*” of the 6th February, noticing the recent wedding in the family of His Highness the Rajah of Kuppooorthala, mentions that at the time of putting on the “*Sihra*” (wreath borne on the head of an Oriental bridegroom) the Rajah is reported to have given a lakh of rupees (£10,000) in charity, – that is, this sum will be placed in the Government Treasury, and the interest upon it will be devoted to the support and relief of the lame, the halt, and the blind, who have no other means of livelihood. A place for these will be built, and the arrangements managed by a Committee, consisting of a Hindoo, a Sikh, and a Mahomedan, while the charge of the work will be placed in the hands of an officer in the Rajah’s service. The Editor is of opinion that this generous act will add considerably to the already well-known character for liberality the Rajah of Kuppooorthala has established for himself. (An account of the marriage ceremonies and festivities follows) (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 1st to the 8th March, 1866*, p. 45).

#### *Oordoo Delhi Gazette*, 22 December 1866

The *Oordoo Delhi Gazette* of the 22nd of December refers to the dispute between the Rajah of Kuppooorthala [Kapurthala] and his brother concerning the jagheer [*jageer*]. The Lieutenant-Governor having, it is said, declined to interfere, the Supreme Council has been appealed to; and if this also proves unsuccessful, the case will, it is said, be taken to England. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 16th to the 24th January, 1867*, p. 27).

***Oordo Delhi Gazette, 9 March 1867***

The *Oordoo Delhi Gazette* of the 9th of March mentions that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab went to Kuppooortholah [Kapurthala] and reasoned with both the Rajah and his brother about the dispute between them, advising them to settle it amicably among themselves; but to no purpose, as neither one nor the other would listen to reason. It is also said that one of the parties entertained Mr. Taylor as his agent, and sent him with a petition to Government. An enquiry has been called for in the Punjab, and the Editor adds that "it appears likely that the whole affair will go to England; as, in the event of either party failing in this country, they will appeal to England." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjaub, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 1st to the 8th of April, 1867*, p. 145).

***Raih-noo-mai Punjab, 15 March 1867***

The *Raih-noo-mai Punjab* of the 15th of March notices in terms of praise the generosity of the Rajah of Kuppooorthola [Kapurthala], who, during a recent visit to Mooltan, behaved liberally to the religious institutions of the place, both Hindoo and Mahomedan. The Editor thinks it the duty of other chiefs to do likewise. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjaub, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 8th to the 16th April, 1867*, p. 162).

***Karnama Hind, 1 April 1867***

The *Karnama Hind* of the 1st April opines that the Kuppooorthala [Kapurthala] Rajah is the only chief in the Punjab who has done well in respect to the Orissa Famine Relief Fund, and the writer hopes that other of the same rank and standing will awake from their careless dreams and follow his good example. The above refers to the additional sum of Rs. 5,000 subscribed by the Rajah, and the writer proceeds to point out the improvements effected by His Highness in his own territory; at the same time remarking that, although all this good has been effected at great expense, the Rajah is really at all times to afford aid – not only to those who are dependent upon him in his own immediate neighbourhood, but to those who are in distress at distant places; "and," adds the writer, "we hope from our hearts that the Rajah will, for the third time, act generously towards those in such distress at Orissa." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjaub, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 24th to the 30th April, 1867*, p. 183).

***Dabdaba-i-Sikandari, 16 May 1870***

The *Dabdaba-i-Sikandari* of the 16th May notices the installation of the new Rajah of Kapurthala on the 25th April. His Highness made the following speech on the occasion to the representative of the Government, who had joined the ceremony to present him with a turban, a shawl, and other regalia: – “I am deeply indebted to the Government for their kindness in deputing you to condole with me on my unhappy loss, and would ask you to convey my sense of gratitude to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, His Excellency the Viceroy, and His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor. My father was always firm in his allegiance to the British crown, and it shall ever be my duty to follow the same path. The fact of your having been appointed by Government to convey to me these ensigns of their protection, will ever associate your name with my rule and enhance our friendship.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. From the 1st to 23rd May, 1870*, p. 204).

***Panjabi Akhbar, 21 May 1870***

The *Panjabi Akhbar* of the same date reports that, with a view to perpetuate the memory of the late Maharajah of Kapurthala, as also to give a convincing proof of their deep sense of gratitude for the benefits enjoyed under his rule, the people of Kapurthala and the residents of his jagir in Oudh raised a subscription of Rs. 1,25,000, and presented it to the young Maharajah, to be devoted to some memorial in commemoration of their late ruler. Out of this sum, supplemented by a lack of rupees from the Maharajah's treasury, His Highness proposed to set aside Rs. 20,000 for the existing school in his State, and Rs. 5,000 for the erection of a hospital, the remaining two lacs to be deposited in the Government treasury, thereby bringing an annual interest of Rs. 10,000, which sum, together with an equal amount to be paid by the Maharajah, will be devoted to the maintenance of a college to be founded in the late Maharajah's name. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. From the 1st to 23rd May, 1870*, p. 213).

***Vidya Vilas, 25 June 1870***

The *Vidya Vilas* of the 25th June learns from a correspondent that the new Raja of Kapurthala has applied to the Panjab Government for permission to visit England, entrusting the administration of the State during his absence to Kunwar Harnam Singh, and that the application has been sanctioned.

The editor praises the Rajah for his high spirit, and his desire to accomplish what his father was compelled to leave unfinished. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 22nd July, 1870*, p. 273).

**Marwar Gazette, 15 August 1870**

The *Marwar Gazette* of the 15th August reports the departure of the two younger daughters of the late Maharaja of Kapurthala to England under the guardianship of the widowed Rani, their mother, for the purpose of being there educated. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 24th August, 1870*, p. 315).

**Akmal-ul-Akhbar, 24 August 1870**

The *Akmal-ul-Akhbar* of the same date states that the young Maharaja of Kapurthala has offered the sum of Rs. 25,000 to be devoted to the perpetuation of the memory of Sir D.F. McLeod, late Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 31st August, 1870*, p. 327).

**Urdu Delhi Gazette, 7 January 1871**

The *Urdu Delhi Gazette*, of the 7th January, mentions that the young Raja of Kuppooorthula [Kapurthala] is doing his utmost to improve his State, and that although he is acquainted with the English language, he does not neglect study of it to perfect himself in every way. It is added that Muthra Dass is the Raja's Dewan, and that he is a person of note. Further, that the Raja's example in the attainment of knowledge is being followed by others, and that many people are sending their children to school in the hope that they may become as learned as the Maharaja. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 18th January, 1871*, p. 15).

**Allygarh Institute Gazette, 3 February 1871**

The *Allygarh Institute Gazette*, of the 3rd February, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an account of the progress of the Kuppooorthula [Kapurthala] State, under the young Maharajah, with some extracts from Mr. Forsyth's report on the subject. According to the writer, nothing could be better than the present system. The arrangements of the courts and office-records, the registry office, the establishment of schools, the sinking of new wells, the introduction

of English laws, wherever feasible, and the general progress throughout the Maharajah's territory – all come in for high praise from Mr. Forsyth, whose opinion, after personal inspections, is published. The schools are spoken of in the highest terms of praise, and the Maharajah receives the warm congratulations of Mr. Forsyth for the good work he has done, and is still doing, for the benefit of the people who look up to him as their ruler. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 8th February, 1871*, pp. 50–51).

***Panjabi Akhbar*, 18 March 1871**

The *Panjabi Akhbar*, of the 18th March, notices with pleasure the assignment of Rs. 1,000 by the Maharaja of Kapurthala towards the Durand Memorial Fund, and the willingness of the Maharaja to be a member of the committee entrusted with its management. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 25th March, 1871*, p. 131).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 6 January 1872**

The same paper [the *Koh-i-Nur*] of the 6th January praises the Maharaja of Kuppooorthulla [Kapurthala] for the active sympathy and feelings of loyalty shown by him during the recent illness of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. On receiving successive telegrams of the Prince's illness, the Maharaja caused the whole of his subjects to assemble on the bank of the river flowing through his territory, and dividing them into three groups, composed of men of the Hindoo, Sikh, and Musalman religions, desired them to pray to God with their sacred books before them after the forms and fashions of their respective faiths, and himself set the example by joining the Sikh group and praying with them. Besides offering these public prayers, the Maharaja distributed a large sum of money in charity to the poor, and appointed the devout men of each of the three religions to pray for the Prince's recovery for a month, who will receive liberal rewards. Similar gifts were made in Phugwara, a place in the Maharaja's dominions. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Province, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 13th January 1872*, p. 24).

***Akhbar-i-Alam*, 25 February 1872**

The *Akhbar-i-Alam* of the same date learns from the *Koh-i-Nur* that recently, on the arrival of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab at Kuppooorthalla [Kapurthala], a salute of the nineteen guns was fired from the Royal Fort both after the completion of the ceremony of presenting arms



by the Maharajah's army, arranged on both sides of the road which was to lead His Honor to the capital, and at the time of his paying a return visit to the Maharajah. The editor of the *Akhbar-i-Alam* fails to see why the salute offered was of nineteen guns, seeing that in the public papers relating to the salutes of guns to Government officers one of fifteen only is prescribed for Lieutenant-Governors. It may be that the Maharajah departed from this rule by way of compliment to the Lieutenant-Governor, in which case the number of guns might as well have been increased to twenty-one, the highest number fixed for rulers of States and Governors-General; or, perhaps, that the Maharajah as well as his officers, notwithstanding the long train of titles affixed to their names, should not be aware of the rule. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Province, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 29th February 1872*, p. 106).

***Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Punjab*, 21 March 1873**

The *Akhbar-i-Anjuman-i-Punjab*, of the 21st March, is glad to learn that the Maharajah of Kuppooorthulla [Kapurthala], and Baboo Dobendro Nath (a gentleman of Calcutta) have contributed the sum of Rs. 200 each in aid of the building about to be erected for the Sutt Subha at Lahore. The editor praises the donors for their liberality, and calls upon other Native gentlemen to assist in the undertaking. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 31st March, 1873*, p. 220).

***Mayo Memorial Gazette*, 15 November 1874**

The *Mayo Memorial Gazette* of the 15th November publishes the letter of a correspondent to the effect that Karnam Singh, the youngest son of the late Maharaja of Kapurthala, "has been betrothed to the daughter of the *Padri Sahib*." The editor remarks, – "Whatever the editor of the *Koh-i-Nur* wrote reminds me that he could not understand the reason of this prince becoming a Christian; but it is not clear. Well, suppose it so, then the case of Mr. Melville, *alias* Shaikh Abdul Rahman, and the case of this prince bear a similarity; but of course there is this difference, that the gentleman in question acted hastily, while the prince did so with deliberation and cunning. But be it as it may, God grant that day may come when we shall offer our congratulations." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 23rd November, 1874*, p. 573).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 5 December 1874**

The *Koh-i-Nur* of the 5th December, in its news columns, remarks that there is a rumour afloat to the effect that as a brother of the late Raja of Kapurthala has laid claim to the *gaddi*, the Government is about to institute a commission for the purpose of enquiring into the matter. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 16th December, 1874*, p. 620).

***Oudh Akhbar*, 16 February 1875**

The *Oudh Akhbar* of the 16th February notices the case of the heir-apparent of Kapurthala quoted from the *Pioneer* of the 12th instant, and the rumour which has got abroad to the effect that the boy is not the son of the Maharaja at all. A commission is said to have been ordered by the Government of Panjab to enquire into to the matter. The editor adds that he is sure that some enemy has given this out, but that the Government ought not to heed such absurd rumours. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 20th February, 1875*, p. 85).

***Panjabi Akhbar*, 5 June 1875**

A correspondent of the *Panjabi Akhbar* of the 5th June says that since Mr. Lepel Griffin has been appointed Superintendent of Kapurthala the administration of that State has been considerably improved, and various reforms have been introduced into to it. The Superintendent has also undertaken to curtail the unnecessary expenses with which the State is encumbered. The writer gives credit to Mr. Griffin for all this, but would at the same time invite his attention to the imperative necessity of reducing the Government demand on land, which is ruinous to the zemindars, to a level with that made in the adjacent districts of the British dominions. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 12th June, 1875*, pp. 269–270).

***Muir Gazette*, 4 July 1876**

The *Muir Gazette* of the 4th July, in a communicated article, writes that the administration of the state of Kapurthala has considerably improved; that the officers of the state perform their duties with zeal; and that corruption is no longer said to exist among them. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 8th July, 1876*, p. 318).

***Panjabi Akhbar*, 10 March 1877**

The *Panjabi Akhbar*, of the 10th March, says that looking at the good education which the Maharaja of Kapurthala had received, it was expected that he would conduct the administration in a manner conducive to the improvement of the State and the prosperity of his people. But we are sorry to find that he could not even take care of his own health. His intemperance brought on a serious disease, which was not reported to the Government till it was past all remedy. The officers of the State should have informed the Government in time, so that speedy measures might have been adopted for his recovery. The doctor, under whose treatment the Maharaja has been placed, is doing his utmost for his recovery which is in the power of Heaven and not of man. But the Government should not solely depend on a doctor. A native physician may be associated with the doctor with advantage. This measure will at least tend to secure the entire confidence of the relatives and friends of the Maharaja as to the way in which his health is looked after. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up 17th March, 1877*, pp. 184–185).

***Safir-i-Hindustan*, 15 September 1877**

The *Safir-i-Hindustan* of the 15th September, laments the death of the Maharaja of Kapurthala, and regrets to mention that many Native chiefs of the Panjab have died from the effects of drunkenness. In reference to the last four chiefs of Kapurthala, it may be asserted with certainty that they all died from the effects of over indulgence in sensual pleasures and spirituous liquors. The officers of the State cannot be altogether exculpated from blame in the matter. They never tried to check the evil habits of the late Maharaja, but rather encouraged them. These shameless officers are still present in the State. They represent themselves as being of noble birth, and are secretly bent on the ruin of the State. The Panjab Government should entrust the administration into the hands of its able and respectable officers during the interregnum. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 22nd September, 1877*, p. 648).

***Vrit-Dhara*, 17 September 1877**

The *Vrit-Dhara* of the 17th September, referring to the death of the late Maharaja of Kapurthala, says that the inhabitants of Kapurthala will have little reason for complaint if the Government entrust the administration of the State, during the minority of the young Maharaja, into the hands of Native regents as in Baroda. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in*

*the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 22nd September, 1877, p. 648).*

## 2 Jagatjit Singh (1872–1949)

### *Rahbar-i-Hind*, 1 December 1877

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* of the 1st December says that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, in the course of his speech delivered at the installation ceremony of the young Raja of Kapurthala, observed that the office of the Superintendent of the Kapurthala State would continue to be reserved for Europeans. The *Civil and Military Gazette* disagrees in the above view, and advocates the rights of natives with great impartiality. Our contemporary remarks that the English have taken possession of India to teach the natives the art of self-government, and that therefore it is not right on the part of the Government of India to interfere in the internal affairs of Native States. Our contemporary has also urged very strong arguments against the high salary granted to the Superintendent of the Kapurthala State. The income of the Kapurthala State is much less than that of an ordinary district. In these circumstances we don't see any reason why the pay of the Superintendent of that State should exceed that of Deputy Commissioner. It has been generally noticed that the Government fixes high rates of salary for European officers appointed to serve in Native States without any reference to the income of those States. Look at the income of the Chamba State and the pay of its Superintendent, and the truth of our remarks will be seen. As in Patiala, a council of regency consisting of some officers of the State should be established in Kapurthala; and, if necessary, a well educated and experienced native might be appointed on Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 1,100 a month to assist the council. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 8th December, 1877, pp. 838–839).*

### *Oudh Akhbar*, 27 August 1878

The *Oudh Akhbar* of the 27th August praises the Kapurthala State for its loyalty to the paramount power, and publishes the Persian letters sent by the Panjab Government and His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to the Maharaja of Kapurthala, in reply to his offer of troops to the Government when a war with Russia seemed imminent. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 29th August, 1878, p. 754).*

***Aftab-i-Panjab*, 31 October 1878**

A correspondent of the *Aftab-i-Panjab* of the 31st October, received on the 3rd November, writing from Kapurthala, says: Military preparations are actively being made in the State for the expedition. The best soldiers of the army will be picked out for the service. The troops are twice drilled every day. The pay of the men that are to be sent with the expedition will be increased by the State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to 9th November, 1878*, p. 946).

***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 8 March 1884**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 8th March, is glad to say that the Panjab Government has allowed the Kapurthala Darbar to send Colonel Altaf Ali, commander of the Kapurthala artillery, to England to complete his military education there. On his return from England he will reorganize the State army and bring it to an increased degree of efficiency. It is believed that a similar application was made by a member of the Maliar Kotla [Maler Kotla] family in the time of Sir Robert Egerton, but it was not sanctioned. Sir Charles Aitchison would do well to reconsider the order of his predecessor. Nothing could be more impolite on the part of the paramount power than to lead native chiefs to imagine that it distrusts them and is not disposed to suffer the spread of military education among them even in a limited degree. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 12th March, 1884*, p. 191).

***Aftab-i-Hind*, 21 August 1886**

The *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jalandhar), of the 21st August, complains that Mr. Ibbetson, Superintendent of Kapurthala, is a very hasty-tempered man and has fined or dismissed a number of officials in the service of that State. The newspaper gives a list of such officials, and complains that one Madho Ram, Nazir, was sent to the lock-up about a month ago on some false charge, and that Mr. Ibbetson has not yet passed final orders in his case and has refused to release him on bail. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 23rd August, 1886*, p. 602).

***Hindustan*, 10 December 1887**

The *Hindustan* (Kalakankar), of the 10th December, says that the Government of India should not accept the Raja of Kapurthala's offer of Rs. 5,00,000 for

the frontier defenses, inasmuch as the prince is still a minor and his State is under the management of a Civilian Superintendent. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 13th December, 1887*, p. 783).

***Aftab-i-Hind*, 8 March 1890**

The *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jullundur), dated 8th March 1890, states that the Maharaja of Kapurthala will be vested with ruling powers when visiting Simla during the approaching season, as was done in the case of the Maharaja of Patiala last year. The writer then eulogizes the Maharaja for his administrative abilities, and says that the instruction imparted to His Highness by Major Massy has made him a good administrator, and it may be confidently anticipated that he will prove a just, amiable, and impartial ruler. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 15th March 1890*. Vol. III, No. 11, p. 90).

***Ashraf-ul-Akhbar*, 1 September 1890**

A correspondent writing to the *Ashraf-ul-Akhbar* (Delhi), of the 1st September 1890, says that the statement of the *Civil and Military Gazette* that the Maharaja of Kapurthala intends to become a Freemason is entirely without foundation. His Highness being an orthodox Hindu does not entertain any such intention. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 13th September 1890*. Vol. III, No. 37, p. 339).

***Gham-Khwar-i-Hind*, 29 November 1890**

The *Gham-i-Khwar-i-Hind* (Lahore), dated 29th November 1890, says that on the occasion of the recent Kapurthala festivities about 200 Europeans were invited, but that the number of Sikh guests invited on the occasion was exceedingly small. It is a really matter of regret that Native Chiefs, who spend lakhs of rupees on such occasions, should not care about inviting a sufficient number of men belonging to their own nation to grace the gatherings by their presence. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 6th December 1890*. Vol. III, No. 49, p. 440).

***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 3 December 1890**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 3rd December 1890, publishes a communication in which the writer gives the following list of newspapers Editors who received rewards noted opposite to their names from Kapurthala: –

|                                                | Rs  |
|------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Victoria Paper                                 | 100 |
| Pandit Salig Ram, Khair Khwah-i-Kashmir        | 100 |
| Bakhshi Ram Lubhaya Ram, Bhera                 | 100 |
| Koh-i-Nur                                      | 100 |
| Rahbar-i-Hind                                  | 100 |
| Munshi Ghulam Nabi, Hafiz-i-Sihat              | 100 |
| "    Sajjad Hussain, Tuti-i-Hind (Meerut)      | 100 |
| "    Brij Lal, Victoria Paper (Sialkot)        | 51  |
| "    Kaisari Akhbar (Jullundur)                | 51  |
| Mian Kale Khan, Durbin (Lahore)                | 51  |
| "    Abdul Rahman, Pate Khan                   | 51  |
| "    Amir-ud-din, Amir-ul-Akhbar (Meerut)      | 51  |
| "    Ahmad Ali, Naiyar-i-Azam                  | 51  |
| Mir Nisar Ali, Rozana Punjab                   | 51  |
| Mian Abdul Aziz, Paisa Akhbar                  | 51  |
| "    Fakir Muhammad, Siraj-ul-Akhbar           | 51  |
| "    Fateh Din, Hafiz Jismiya                  | 51  |
| "    Nur Ahmad, Riaz-i-Hind (Amritsar)         | 51  |
| Daulat Ram, Singh Sahai (Amritsar)             | 41  |
| Mian Abdul Kuddus, Sahifa Kudsi                | 41  |
| Mirzal Gulam Muhammad                          | 41  |
| Ishfaq Ali                                     | 41  |
| Babu Ghulam Muhammad                           | 31  |
| Mian Didar Bakhsh, Lahore Gazette              | 31  |
| Ala Din, Mulla Dopiazza                        | 31  |
| Pandit Janki Nath                              | 31  |
| Mahan Narain, Rekhta Akhbar (Delhi)            | 31  |
| Pandit Jai Shankar                             | 21  |
| Sandhe Khan, Taj-ul-Akhbar (Rawalpindi)        | 51  |
| Dharm Sabha (Kapurthala)                       | 51  |
| Ibrahim Nabi Bakhsh, Moradabad                 | 31  |
| Pandit Partab Kishan                           | 51  |
| Nazakat Ali, Jalwa-i-Aizdi                     | 31  |
| Durga Parshad (Delhi)                          | 31  |
| Mahbub ali, Mahbub-i-Hind (Meerut)             | 31  |
| Mian Firoz Din, Punjab Punch (Lahore)          | 51  |
| Muhammad Hasan, Bijnaur                        | 21  |
| Pandit Jai Shankar, Manager, Banaras Orphanage | 21  |
| Bawa Arjan Singh, Nanak Prakash                | 21  |

|                                         |     |
|-----------------------------------------|-----|
| Mian Barkat Ali                         | 100 |
| Bawa Sarmukh Singh, correspondent       | 51  |
| Nihal Singh, correspondent              | 31  |
| Miran Bakhsh                            | 21  |
| Pandit Maharaj Kishan, Ghamkhwar-i-Hind | 100 |
| Aya Singh, Aftab-i-Alamtab              | 31  |

The writer in conclusion says that some of the papers above named have long since ceased to exist, but their proprietors had the impudence to go to Kapurthala for the sake of reward. Nor is this all. They were told by the State officials that they (the officials) knew that their papers had ceased to exist, and that it was the purpose of showing its generosity towards them that the State gave them khillats and rewards.

***Taj-ul-Akhbar*, 13 December 1890**

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), of the 13th December 1890, reproduces the substance of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's and of the Maharaja of Kapurthala's recent speeches at the Kapurthala Darbar and praises His Honor and His Highness for the noble sentiments expressed by them in the speeches. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 20th December 1890*. Vol. III, No. 51, p. 461).

***Khair-Khwah-i-Kashmir*, 15 December 1890**

The *Khair-Khwah-i-Kashmir* (Lahore), dated 15th December 1890, publishes a full list of the guests who were invited to attend the recent Kapurthala festivities and says that several Europeans attended the festivities uninvited. The list shows that 97 European gentlemen, 40 ladies, 21 Misses, 29 Native gentlemen, 45 Native editors and 3 correspondents of newspapers attended the occasion. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 20th December 1890*. Vol. III, No. 51, p. 461).

***Khair-Khwah-i-Kashmir*, 22 December 1890**

The *Khair-Khwah-i-Kashmir* (Lahore), of the 22nd December 1890, regrets to find that only 12 or 13 native gentlemen were invited to the present at the investiture of the Raja of Kapurthala, the number of European guests being about 200. His Highness the Raja and the State officials are, however, in no way to blame, as the arrangements connected with the festivities were entrusted to Major Massy. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 10th January 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 16).



***Sahifa-i-Kudsi*, 12 February 1891**

The *Sahifa-i-Kudsi* (Delhi), dated 12th February 1891, says that Government has made a mistake in conferring a *khillat* of Rs. 6,000 instead of one of Rs. 4,500 on the Raja of Kapurthala. The writer is of opinion that if this distinction had been conferred on the Maharaja after His Highness had proved himself to be a competent ruler, the action of the Government would have been productive of very good results. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 21st February 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 8, p. 73).

***Singh Sahai*, 1 April 1891**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 1st April 1891, states that it has received a communication giving an account of the journey of His Highness the Raja of Kapurthala to Bombay and of the valuables purchased by His Highness. The writer of the communication complains that the Raja evidently likes European articles of jewelry in preference to the State jewels. The *Singh Sahai* defers the publication of the communication to a future issue, and contents itself in the meantime with warning to the Raja against purchasing jewels which are worthless as compared with the old State jewelry. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 11th April 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 15, p. 142).

***Taj-ul-Akhbar*, 25 April 1891**

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), of the 25th April 1891, condemns the conduct of the Raja of Kapurthala in having brought a European mistress from Bombay. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 9th May 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 19, p. 177).

***Singh Sahai*, 20 May 1891**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), dated 20th May 1891, condemns the conduct of Raja of Kapurthala in keeping a European mistress, and remarks that His Highness has become unpopular in consequence. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 6th June 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 23, p. 206).

***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 12 June 1891**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 12th June 1891, publishes a communication in which the writer takes the Raja of Kapurthala to task for keeping a European Mistress. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 20th June 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 25, p. 222).

***Singh Sahai, 24 June 1891***

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), dated 24th June 1891, is glad to learn that the Raja of Kapurthala has dismissed his European mistress and married a Rajput lady. The Maharaja of Patiala should follow the good example set him by the Kapurthala Raja and discard the prostitutes by whom he is surrounded. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th July 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 27, p. 238).

***Taj-ul-Akhbar, 12 September 1891***

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), dated 12th September 1891, publishes a communication in which the writer states that it is rumoured that the Raja of Kapurthala is about to marry a Gaddi woman. The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* attributes this to the effects of the English education which His Highness has received. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 26th September 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 39, p. 339).

***Pate Khan, 21 October 1891***

The *Pate Khan* (Lahore), dated 21st October 1891, in giving an account of the Dassehra festivities at Kapurthala, states that the Maharaja entertained his European, Sikh, Hindu and Muhammadan friends on the 14th October in the Shalamar Garden. During dinner some of the Europeans got drunk and made themselves the laughing stock of the company, including the Maharaja. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 31st October 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 44, p. 366).

***Rahbar-i-Hind, 27 October 1892***

The same paper [the *Rahbar-i-Hind*] states that the Kapurthala State has passed a resolution to the effect that editors and correspondents of newspapers who visit the State without an invitation on the occasion of the Dasserah, &c., will not be treated as guests; nor will khillats, &c., be conferred on them. The resolution further states that the editors and proprietors of the following papers visited Kapurthala and received rewards at the last Dasserah Darbar: –

*Aftab-i-Punjab*, Lahore;  
*Nanak Prakash*, Amritsar;  
*Singh Sahai*, Amritsar;  
*Qasid-i-Punjab*, Lahore;  
*Aina-i-Hind*, Lahore;  
*Khair Khwah* and *Rekhta Akhbar*, Delhi;

*Satara-i-Hind*, Muradabad;  
*Ataliq-i-Hind*, Lahore;  
*Wafadar*, Lahore;  
*Riaz-ul-Hind*, Amritsar;  
*Khadim-i-Punjab*;  
*Ashraf-ul-Akhbar*, Delhi;  
*Aftab-i-Hind*, Jullundur;  
*Safir-i-Hind*, Jullundur;  
*Punjab Punch*, Lahore;  
*Lahore Punch*, Lahore;  
*Durbin*, Lahore;  
*Mulla Dopiazza*, Lahore;  
*Akhbar Jashn-i-Qaiseri*, Aligarh;  
*Siraj-ul-Hind*, Lahore;  
*Chalta Purza* and *Khair Khwah-i-Alam*, Delhi;  
*Rozana*, Delhi;  
 and Bawas Sarmukh Singh and Kharak Singh, correspondents.

(*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 5th November 1892*. Vol. v, No. 44, p. 417).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 2 January 1893**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 2nd January 1894, says that the most noteworthy event of the last sitting of the Congress on the 29th December 1893 was the visit of His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala. This shows that the Maharaja is a man of independence of character and liberal views. All present gave three cheers for His Highness. Those who hold aloof from the Congress from fear of incurring displeasure of Government should take a lesson from His Highness. This is the result of the high education which the Maharaja has received. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 6th January 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 8).

#### ***Koh-i-Nur*, 18 February 1893**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), dated 18th February 1893, referring to the approaching visit of the of Kapurthala to Chicago, observes that a Native Chief, who goes to America merely for the purpose of enjoying himself, cannot be expected to derive any benefit from such a visit. The *Koh-i-Nur* thinks that Native Chiefs should visit Europe in order to study the causes of the material prosperity of Europe and to introduce European machinery into their own States.

(*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th March 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 9, p. 119).

***Victoria Paper, 19 May 1893***

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 19th May 1893, says that a carriage has been built at Lahore for the Raja of Kapurthala at a cost of Rs. 45,000. It was the Raja's ancestors who made the State what it is, and it is to them that His Highness owes his present position. The *Victoria Paper* therefore advises the Raja to bear in mind, and act to the advice given to him by Sir James Lyall on the occasion of his installation. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 3rd June 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 22, p. 268).

***Sadiq-ul-Akhbar, 11 January 1894***

The *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* (Bahawalpur), of the 11th January 1894, says that hitherto Native Chiefs have held aloof from the Congress, but the example set by the Raja of Kapurthala will perhaps be largely imitated by others. His Highness, who has recently returned from a visit to Europe, is a well-informed Prince. He must have felt convinced that there was no harm in paying a visit to the Congress. The other Native Chiefs do not wish to see the Congress even in their dreams. The Muhammadan community have also held aloof from the movement from fear of the Government. Time alone will show which of the two parties is in the right. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 20th January 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 36).

***Akhbar-i-Kaiseri, 28 July 1894***

The *Akhbar-i-Kaiseri* (Jullundur), of the 28th July 1894, complains that great mismanagement prevails at Kapurthala. The State officials are divided into various parties. The Chief cares for nothing but pleasure, and the State subjects are being ruined. So long as Kapurthala was under British management the people were prosperous and signs of progress were visible on all sides. Unless the Raja remains in the State and takes an interest in every matter, including the administration of justice, there can be no hope of improvement. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 1st August 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 32, p. 362).

***Lyall Khalsa Gazette, 16 August 1894***

The *Lyall Khalsa Gazette* (Sialkot), of the 16th August 1894, states that it has received a communication in which the writer gives an account of a most scandalous incident which recently occurred in the camp of the Raja of Kapurthala

at Dharmsala. The *Gazette* is, however, unable to publish the communication without first satisfying itself as to the correctness of the account given by its correspondent. If the incident really occurred the Raja should dismiss all the officials who are directly or indirectly concerned in the matter. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 1st September 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 35, p. 393).

#### ***Lyall Khalsa Gazette*, 8 September 1894**

The *Lyall Khalsa Gazette* (Sialkot), dated 8th September 1894, states that the note published in its issue of the 16th August 1894, regarding a “scandalous incident alleged to have taken place in the camp of the Raja of Kapurthala,” was based on a mere rumour. On further enquiry into the matter it has come to light that a mountain has been made out of a molehill. The Editor learns from a reliable source that a large quantity of ornaments and jewellery, which was stated by Gurdit Singh to have been stolen from the Toshakhana, have been found in his house. Gurdit Singh no doubt deserves to be imprisoned. It is said that his father, Surjan Singh, was expelled from the State in the time of Raja Kharak Singh, and how he was allowed to return is not known. The Editor urges the Raja of Kapurthala to call upon the official, on whose recommendation the father and the son were permitted to return and were taken in the State service, to furnish an explanation. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 29th September 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 39, p. 451).

#### ***Wazir-i-Hind*, 10 August 1895**

The *Wazir-i-Hind* (Sialkot), of the 10th August 1895, states that it has received several communications in which the writers call upon the Raja of Kapurthala to attend to the affairs of the State and redress the grievance of his subjects. In the first place His Highness should establish a Council to hear final appeals. The orders of this tribunal should be final. Moreover, as all the State officials are not honest, and some of them are in the habit of intriguing, it behoves the Raja to personally attend to the affairs of the State instead of devoting his time to travel, &c. The Editor advises His Highness to overhaul his *Toshakhana* and see whether everything sent there from the time of his installation is intact. He should also inquire into the procedure adopted in deciding judicial cases and ascertain what are the grievances of the zamindars. The *Wazir-i-Hind* then goes on to state that the Raja suffered a serious blow at the hands of a disloyal servant who had been taken into State service on the recommendation of a certain person who considers himself all-wise. The State subjects constantly

call to mind the days of Mr. Rivaz when evenhanded justice was administered. Sikhs Shahi has been established in the State since the removal of the Resident. If the Raja does not establish a Chief Court, he should appoint one of the State officials to the office of Prime Minister. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 31st August 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 35, p. 498).

***Paisha Akhbar*, 24 August 1895**

The *Paisha Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 24th August 1895, publishes a communication in which the writer remarks that the Kapurthala State has been going from bad to worse since the accession of the present Raja, who wastes his time in pleasure and pays no heed to the affairs of the State. He went to London, then to America, and again to Rangoon. The State treasury is empty, and the officials are generally paid their salaries in notes (*sic*). A bridge near Sultanpura was carried away by floods four years ago and one or two persons are drowned every year for want of a bridge. Not only have the State authorities not re-built the bridge, but no action has been taken on the applications submitted by the people to repair the old bridge on a canal close by. The road is also out of repair, and will soon disappear, and the State subjects will have to content themselves with the old Sikha Shahi roadway. Palaces have been repaired at Kapurthala during the last three years, and the work has not yet approached completion. The amount sanctioned for these palaces is 25 lakhs, but all this money is being simply wasted. The Raja's Secretaries are inexperienced young men who love ease and prevent His Highness from attending to State affairs. If this condition of things continues Kapurthala will be reduced to the same plight as Bhurtpore. Thefts and dacoities are of frequent occurrence in the State as most of the Police employes are common people of suspicious character. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 14th September 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 37, p. 545).

***Kaisari Akhbar*, 30 November 1895**

The *Kaisari Akhbar* (Jullundur), of the 30th November 1895, states that the life of pleasure which the Raja of Kapurthala is leading has so far told on his mental faculties that His Highness can no longer understand the interests of his own State. He is a mere puppet in the hands of the officials, who can make him do whatever they like. The removal of Kanwar Harnam Singh is to be deplored, not in the interests of the Kanwar himself, but in those of the State, and there can be no doubt that the Raja will soon have cause to regret his folly. The money which His Highness is squandering in pleasure is the revenue of the

Oudh estates, of which the Kanwar has been the manager. When the Kanwar took over the management of these estates, the revenue did not exceed 2 lakhs, but under his able management the income has risen to 10 lakhs. But for this, the Kapurthala State would have become bankrupt long ago. To dispense with the services of so able a man merely for the sake of providing for a European (Mr. Wood), who has never done kardari work, is an act of folly. When the present Raja was installed, it was hoped that the Kanwar would be appointed Prime Minister, but unfortunately Sardar Bhagat Singh, a man of ordinary abilities, was selected, with the result that gross mismanagement prevails every where in the State and such incidents as the Editor feels ashamed to relate are happening. It has been given out that the Kanwar has been removed from the managership of the Oudh estates as he no longer wishes to remain in the State service. The public will, however, attach no importance to this statement. The Kanwar is a young man, and there is no reason why he should have expressed a desire to leave the State service unless the State had treated him in a manner of which he did not approve. The Raja should have endeavoured to please him, and if he had expressed a desire to sever his connection from the State service, His Highness should have prevented him from carrying out the resolution. The Raja, however, lacks common-sense. He is immersed in pleasures like Wajid Ali Shah, and, as was the case of Oudh, competent men are being dismissed and replaced by worthless persons. Government, which is trying to reform the administration of Bhartpur and Indore, should attend to the state of affairs at Kapurthala. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 7th December 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 49, pp. 720–721).

#### ***Kaisari Akhbar*, 14 December 1895**

The *Kaisari Akhbar* (Jullundur), of the 14th December 1895, takes the *Akhbar-i-Am* to task for unduly praising the Raja of Kapurthala. His Highness takes no interest in the administration of the State and spends his time in pleasure. He attends nautches, sports, &c., and wastes the State revenues on his personal requirements. His Highness' extravagance is a matter of notoriety. The amount of interest taken by His Highness in State affairs will appear from the fact that a red mark is made on paper intended to be signed by him and he signs these without even taking the trouble to peruse them. The Raja has gained nothing by his visit to Europe. Since his return he has not even written two pages (*sic*) with his own hand, and the State treasury instead of increasing is becoming empty, and a proposal to sell the State jewels is under contemplation. The administration of the State has been entrusted to self-interested persons. It is the duty of Government to attend to the affairs of this State, as, unless this is done, there is no hope of the administration being placed on a satisfactory

footing. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 28th December 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 52, p. 760).

***Singh Sahai*, 8 November 1896**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 8th November 1896, remarks that, in view to the state of famine prevailing throughout the country, relief measures are being taken everywhere. The people of Amritsar too the lead in the matter, thereby reassuring the poorer classes to a certain extent. The acute distress prevailing and likely to prevail in the future is causing serious anxiety. The rulers of Patiala and Nabha are doing much for their subjects, but the Raja of Kapurthala has as yet taken no action in the matter, although many of the better classes are living in a state of starvation. The case of the State servants drawing petty salaries is harder still, as they cannot get their pay in time and are selling their household property. The Raja should pay attention to the matter with a view to mitigating the sufferings of the poorer classes. It was hoped that the import of *makki* into the State would tend to bring down prices, but these hopes have been dashed to the ground owing to no restrictions being placed on its export. It is the duty of the State authorities to put aside all other work and devise measures to save the people and prevent the export of grain. The Sahukars of Kapurthala have become more parsimonious than the paupers themselves, and refuse to (*lit.* dare not) give any charity. The Raja should hold a public Darbar, listen to the grievances of the people, and take measures for the relief of the distress. His Highness, who is in the habit of spending lakhs of rupees on visits to Europe, &c., should buy grain worth one or two lakhs of rupees and sell it at cheap rates to the poor and give gratuitous aid to those who are helpless or are ashamed to beg. The Editor himself stayed at Kapurthala for a few days and found the better classes in a most deplorable condition. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 21st November 1896*, Vol. IX, No. 47, p. 660).

***Taj-ul-Akhbar*, 5 December 1896**

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), dated 5th December 1896, states that as a result of Western education all classes of the natives are inclined to adopt English fashions and English modes of living, and that even the Ruling Chiefs who have received such education are plunging headlong into vice, regardless of the welfare of their States and of incurring the displeasure of the authorities. They devote their time to sport and amusement, and the number of Chiefs who take an interest in the welfare of their people is very limited. The Raja of Kapurthala has completely given himself up to pleasure and dissipation, and the treasure which his ancestors had hoarded up is being wasted. It is stated



that after celebrating his birthday, for which preparations are being made on a large scale, the Raja contemplates a second trip to Europe, which will cost some lakhs of rupees, thereby involving the State in debt at a time when famine is raging. The Maharaja of Patiala also continues to indulge in extravagance, and has recently bought 30 ponies for Rs. 40,000. The State subjects are starving and the treasury is exhausted, but the Maharaja's love of polo and racing continues unabated. The Native Chiefs must understand that the money in the State treasuries is for the welfare and comfort of the people and not for the personal use of the Chief. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 19th December 1896*, Vol. IX, No. 51, p. 724).

#### ***Ahluwalia Gazette*, 18 December 1896**

The *Ahluwalia Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 18th December 1896, regrets that the Raja of Kapurthala has not fulfilled the expectations which were formed of him at the time of his accession to the *gaddi*. He has proved himself a voluptuary, who loves ease and pleasure instead of attending to the affairs of his State. The Raja has impoverished the State treasury and squandered a sum of Rs. 12,00,000 which the State had in the Agra Bank in 1886–87. During the time of Messrs. Young, Rivaz and Ibbetson and of Colonel Massey the Kapurthala State used to spend lakhs of rupees on works of public utility and still showed large surpluses; but, while not a single pie has been spent either on public works or education during the reign of the present Raja, the treasury is quite empty. The Editor observes that His Highness' extravagant habits and constant trips to Europe are responsible for this unsatisfactory state of things. But it is a matter of deep regret that instead of mending his ways the Raja is about to undertake another trip in March next, and has raised a loan to meet the expenses of it. His Highness should remember that the English Government does not approve of these trips, which add to burdens of his poor subjects, especially at a time of dire distress. The Raja would have done better if he had spent the amount raised by him in affording relief to his famine-stricken subjects, or in taking in hand some urgent works of public utility, such as repairing the road between Kapurthala and Sultanpur, which is in a disgraceful condition. But the worst of it is that during His Highness' absence in Europe the State will be in the hands of an official who is notoriously corrupt, and whose agents – Chuni, Melu, Misru and Ghali – have been sucking the life-blood of the people. The Editor threatens to expose the misdoing of which this official has been guilty since the time of the late Maharaja Kharak Singh, and promises to bring to light the enormities which he has committed through one Bassi. The Editor further complains that this official is in the habit of permitting the wives of prisoners to live with them in jail, and accepts bribes for refraining

from doing what it his duty to do. The Maharaja should take note of the speech delivered by the Viceroy at Baroda, in which His Excellency referred to the evils resulting from the Native Chiefs constantly absenting themselves from their States. The Editor advises His Highness to mend his ways and take an interest in the welfare of his subjects. The Raja is greatly mistaken if he imagines that the Government of India are ignorant of his reprehensible practices, or of the mismanagement and anarchy which prevail in the Kapurthala State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 2nd January 1897*, Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 11–12).

***Wazir-i-Hind*, 8 January 1897**

The *Wazir-i-Hind* (Sialkot), of the 8th January 1897, remarks that a great mistake was committed by the late Diwan Ram Jas in selecting Sardar Bhagat Singh for the office of Prime Minister of Kapurthala. The State subjects have suffered much owing to this unfortunate selection. The Raja has wasted lakhs of rupees on his visits to Europe and different parts of India. The people of Kapurthala have in no way benefited by these trips. The Sardar has displayed no ability in carrying on the State administration. This is not to be wondered at, seeing that he is illiterate and ignorant of the necessities of government. He is, however, fond of keeping quail and, like most Native Raises, loves ease. With such a Raja and such a Wazir it is only natural that the people should ill at ease. If the Raja, who has received an education in both Oriental and Western Sciences, were to devote a few hours a day to the administration of justice, the prosperity of the State would advance with rapid strides. There are several able men in the State, and it is not easy to understand why one of them should not be appointed as Prime Minister for a few months on trial. The mismanagement prevalent in the State, as also the grievances of the zamindars, and the injustice done to the people are concealed (from the Raja) who is busy with his trips, &c. As for the Sardar, he has neither the time nor the ability to attend to such matters. What are the people to do under such circumstance? Referring to the financial resources of the State, the Editor remarks that the revenue from the Estate in Oudh has considerably decreased, and does not amount to one hundredth part of what it used to when the Estate was under the management of the Kanwar. Nor is this all. Precious stones worth 24 lakhs have been sold from the Toshakhana for 8 lakhs, and replaced by imitations made of glass. The Editor has received a number of communications regarding the private affairs of the Raja, but he abstains from referring to them, his object in writing the present article being to impress on the Chief the desirability of promoting the welfare of the people, and selecting a competent man for the office of Prime Minister. If the present state of things continues, the Raja will

be sorry for not acting upon the advice which the Wazir has proffered in the interests of the State. The article concluded with the remark that the bridges and roads constructed in the time of Mr. Rivaz have never been repaired, and that the people are consequently put to much inconvenience. The state of disrepair into which these bridges have been allowed to fall remind one of the old Sikh days. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th January 1897*, Vol. x, No. 3, pp. 43–44).

***Taj-ul-Akhbar*, 6 February 1897**

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), of the 6th February 1897, states that the Raja of Kapurthala will proceed to England in order to attend the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, and will afterwards visit Russia and Turkey. The last visit of the Raja to Europe proved very injurious to his subjects, as the State Treasury was depleted and the construction of certain palaces was stopped by order of Government. The administration of the State is to be carried on by a single individual during His Highness' absence. What the result of this arrangement will be can be better imagined than described. It is a pity that Government should have allowed the Raja to visit Russia and Turkey after attending the festivities in connection with the Queen's Jubilee. The authorities should have taken into consideration the financial condition of the State before sanctioning the wasteful expenditure that the Raja's proposed trip will involve. Instead of following the example of the Rajas of Nabha and Faridkot, who have done so much to help their famine-stricken subjects, the ruler of Kapurthala is going to leave his State, and spend lakhs of rupees for the sake of recreation. This action of the Raja will one day cause a revolution in the State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 20th February 1897*, Vol. x, No. 8, p. 113).

***Ahluwalia Gazette*, 10 February 1897**

The *Ahluwalia Gazette* (Amritsar), dated 10th February 1897, states that at the present time of scarcity when even foreign countries are showing their sympathy towards the unfortunate people of India, the Raja of Kapurthala has taken it into his head to undertake a voyage to Europe. The subjects of a State, the ruler of which is extravagant and licentious, cannot be expected to prosper. The people of Kapurthala are starving, but no steps have been taken to afford them any relief. The Raja is squandering money regardless of the sufferings of his people. The Editor condemns the action of the Raja in undertaking tour that will cost lakhs of rupees and leaving his State in the hands of a man whose corrupt practices are a matter of notoriety. The agents of this man are ruining the people by openly taking bribes from litigants, and yet he is to be appointed guarding of the honor of the people. The Editor is in a position assert that the

corrupt practices of the Prime Minister can be brought to light if the Government will undertake to hold and open or secrete inquiry into the matter. The Editor then goes on to say that it is no longer a secret that deception was practiced on the Raja with a view to inducing him to order the dismissal of the Kanwal. The presence of the latter in the State was a check on the unlicensed practices of the corrupt officials. The result of all this will be that the complaints of the aggrieved people will shortly reach the ears of Government. His Highness wishes to leave his starving subjects on the pretext of taking part in the celebration of the sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign and thereby giving proof of his loyalty to the British Crown. If His Highness stays here he will be required to spend the money borrowed for his approaching visit to Europe on the relief of his subjects, and he is therefore anxious to proceed without delay to England and thence to Russia and Turkey. It is most unjust that the Raja should feel no sympathy for the people who find the money for his personal comfort and happiness. How long will such a tyrant be allowed to hold his present position? In order to save the down-trodden people of Kapurthala from the clutches of their tyrants, it is essential that things supposed to have been done in secret should be exposed and that a thorough inquiry should be made. Will not Government, when it learns all the facts, fix a monthly allowance for the Raja and appoint a Committee to administer his State? His Highness should remember that the indifference displayed by him in regard to the administration of the State proves him to be an incompetent ruler. The Raja should not place too much reliance on the polite words with which he is addressed by British officers, as the latter are certain to form an opinion regarding His Highness from the way in which his State is being administered, and the opinion thus formed by them will some day prove of serious moment to the Raja. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 20th February 1897*, Vol. x, No. 8, pp. 117–118).

***Bharat Sevak*, 10 March 1897**

The *Bharat Sevak* (Jullundur), of the 10th March 1897, learns that many costly articles of furniture belonging to His Highness the Raja of Kapurthala have been sold by public auction at Jullundur by order of His Highness of the Wazir. It is also well known that the Treasury Building at Kapurthala has not been completed as yet, and that the new palace are only half built. All these facts go to show that the State Treasury is empty, and that the Raja has sold his furniture to meet a part of the expenses which he will have to incur on his projected tour to England. The Raja's intended visit to England at a time when his famine-stricken subjects are dying of starvation is ill-advised. Besides, seeing that the presence of His highness cannot curb the rapacity of his officials, it is

difficult to believe that the latter will show greater mercy towards the State subjects during his absence. The Editor concludes by remarking that the Raja has also passed orders for the sale of his bungalows in Jullundur. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 20th March 1897*, Vol. x, No. 12, p. 194).

#### ***Bharat Sewak*, 25 July 1897**

The *Bharat Sewak* (Jullundur), of the 25th July 1897, states that when the Raja of Kapurthala left for England the State subjects complained that they would be subjected to gross oppression during His Highness's absence. That these fears have been realized is apparent from the following extracts taken from a communication received by the Editor at the time of going to press: – (1) That the appointment worth Rs. 25 a month has been sold by auction to the highest bidder for Rs. 1,400. (2) That Rs. 500 has been offered for the post of a Chaprasi which has recently fallen vacant. It is quite possible that a higher bid may be made. (3) That a Military Officer who was caught in the act of committing adultery with the wife of a private gentleman has been allowed to settle the matter on payment of Rs. 20. (4) The grandson of a high officer of the State committed rape on a reputable woman in the Shala Bagh. The poor woman lodged a complaint, which was, however, torn up. Who is responsible for this oppression? Let the Punjab Government and the Raja reply. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 21st August 1897*, Vol. x, No. 34, pp. 683–684).

#### ***Chaudhwin Sadi*, 1 October 1897**

The *Chaudhwin Sadi* (Rawalpindi), of the 1st October 1897, remarks that the *Sabah*, which is the sworn enemy of Turkey and the Muhammadans generally, reports that the Raja of Kapurthala has, in the course of his interview with the Sultan, stated that the deprivation of the Indian Muhammadans of their religious liberty is at the bottom of the frontier risings, and that the Muhammadans are ready to serve their Caliph. *Reuter* telegraphs that the English Ambassador at Constantinople complains that the Porte does not allow him to contradict the *Sabah's* report. The words put into the mouth of the Raja are as strange and incredible as the foregoing telegram. Why should not the Turkish Government allow Sir Philip Currie to contradict this false report? As for the Indian Muhammadans, they are better off and enjoy greater religious liberty under British rule than their brethren in any part of the world. The Editor feels confident that the report circulated by the *Sabah* is a mere *canard*. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th October 1897*, Vol. x, No. 42, p. 890).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 12 October 1897**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 12th October 1897, remarks that the statement of the *Saba* that the Raja of Kapurthala has told the Sultan that the cause of the present tribal risings is the deprivation of the Indian Muhammadans of the their religious liberty, &c., &c., is not correct. The Turkish Press has, however, refused to publish a contradiction of the report in question. It is no exaggeration to say that the presence of the Imperial Service Troops and several Native Princes on the frontier is an emphatic contradiction of the malicious report set afloat by the *Saba*. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 23rd October 1897*, Vol. x, No. 43, p. 911).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 3 November 1897**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 3rd November 1897, remarks that the account of the Raja of Kapurthala's interview with the Sultan of Turkey published by the *Saba* (*vide* paragraph 19 of Selections No. 42 for the week ending 16th October 1897) is a purely imaginary one. The fact is that His Highness had no interview with His Imperial Majesty during his stay in Constantinople. The words put into the mouth of the Raja are very mischievous and calculated to create the impression that the Indian Muhammadans are discontented with British rule and consider themselves the subjects of the Sultan. Tactics of this nature injure the importance of the Turkish Press, and cannot prove beneficial to the Sultan's Government in any way. The Editor concludes by remarking that it was impolitic on the part of the newspapers of Turkey to decline to publish a contradiction of the *Saba*'s report. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 6th November 1897*, Vol. x, No. 45, p. 948).

***Gham Khwar-i-Hind*, 14 May 1898**

The *Gham Khwar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 14th May 1898, writing regarding the forthcoming third visit of the Raja of Kapurthala to England, regrets that Government should permit Native Chiefs to leave their States to go on pleasure trips. These chiefs have very onerous duties to perform; and if they were made to discharge them in a faithful manner, their trips to Europe, which entail a heavy expenditure on their treasuries, would soon become a thing of the past. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 28th May 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 22, p. 335).

***Victoria Paper*, 17 May 1898**

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 17th May 1898, says that the Raja of Kapurthala has again left for Europe. Sardar Bhagat Singh will carry on the administration of the State during His Highness' absence from his territory. If

the climate of Europe is very agreeable to the Raja, the sooner he settles there for good the better. A large amount of money will be regularly remitted to him in Europe for his expanses, while Sardar Bhagat Singh may be trusted to manage the affairs of the Kapurthala State in an efficient manner. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 28th May 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 22, p. 335).

### **Victoria Paper, 16 June 1898**

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 16th June 1898, remarks that the Raja of Kapurthala is in the habit of visiting Europe every second year and spending large sums of money during his travels. The question, however, is whether the State benefits in any way by these visits, and whether the prolonged absence of the Raja does not tell on the administration of the State. The Editor is not opposed to Native Princes visiting England, but he fears that such visits, if repeated from time to time, are bound to add to the burdens of the State. If the State subjects are in any way benefited by these visits, then the Editor has nothing to say against them. What he is anxious about is that the Native Chiefs should take as much interest in the administration of their States as the Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governors take in the welfare of the Provinces committed to their charge. Now, neither the Viceroy nor his Lieutenants visit foreign countries during their term of office, leaving the administration to be carried on by their subordinates. There is no reason why Native Princes should not follow in the footsteps of these high officials. If the money spent on these visits were devoted to the relief of the famine-stricken, the country would benefit. The truth is that if Native Chiefs realized their responsibilities, they would not think of leaving their States every second year. The Editor concludes by asking what new knowledge the Raja of Kapurthala has gained during his present tour, and what steps have been taken to turn such knowledge to good account. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 2nd 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 27, pp. 412–413).

### **Singh Sahai, August 1898**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), for the month of August 1898, remarks that great credit is due to Sardar Bhagat Singh, Prime Minister of Kapurthala, for the marked ability with which he has been carrying on the administration of the State during the absence of the Raja in Europe. He is always ready to listen to aggrieved persons and to redress their grievances; and has gained great popularity among all classes of the people, whose welfare he is anxious to promote. In support of this view, the Editor states that when plague was raging in villages

adjacent to Phagwara certain native doctors wished to visit the town on pretence of plague, but the Sardar made his own arrangements, and succeeded in exterminating the disease without causing the slightest inconvenience to anybody. Compare this with what happened at Banga and Garshankar. May the Almighty save us from this awful calamity and the doctors who have brought about the ruin of the town and the ilaqa. If these people had been allowed to interfere in the State territory, they would have ruined it. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 24th September 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 39, p. 605).

***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 1 August 1898**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 1st August 1898, remarks that the great object of Native Chiefs in visiting Europe is to seek pleasure and not to promote the welfare of their subjects. The Raja of Kapurthala has gone to Europe a second time. His first visit was of no use to the State, and the present one is likely to prove equally barren of results, so far as the State subjects are concerned. If the money spent on these visits were devoted to the welfare of the State, the condition of the people would soon undergo a change for the better. The Editor then states that a rumour is current that the Raja of Faridkot is also about to visit Europe. If this is true, it may be confidently expected that the Faridkot State will benefit much from such a visit, inasmuch as the Raja, who has always done much to promote the welfare of his subjects, is sure to turn such a visit to good account, just as Peter the Great of Russia did. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 13th August 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 33, p. 504).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 15 August 1898**

A correspondent, writing to the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 15th August 1898, remarks that it is rumoured that the Kapurthala Imperial Service Cavalry regiments are to be disbanded and an addition made to the number of the foot soldiers. The State is perhaps going to take this step on its own responsibility. The expenses of maintaining a regiment of cavalry have quadrupled, while the State has still to pay Government three-eighths of its revenues for the protection afforded to it by Government. If the authorities desire that the Raja should maintain both cavalry and infantry regiments, it is only just that they should forego this payment. The practice obtaining in other States should also be followed in the case of Kapurthala. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 27th August 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 35, pp. 540–541).



***Akhbar-i-Am*, 2 December 1898**

A correspondent writing to the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 2nd December 1898, states that it is rumoured again that the Kapurthala Imperial Service Cavalry regiment is to be disbanded shortly, and that the Officer Commanding the Imperial Service Troops of the State has written a memorandum on the subject and proposes to retain only a few sowars. This has disheartened the regiment, and its members believe that their dismissal is only a question of time. The writer suggests that the sowars should not be dismissed, but that they should be retained on a reduced pay as a bansi risala (irregular troops?), so as to enable them to maintain themselves and their families. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th December 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 50, p. 772).

***Wazir-i-Hind*, 28 February 1899**

The *Wazir-i-Hind* (Sialkot), of the 28th February 1899, after praising the qualities of Kanwar Sir Harnam Singh, Ahluwalia, K.C.I.E., remarks that he is a wise administrator, and has quadrupled his income from his estate in Oudh without giving anybody cause to complain against him. The Editor then suggests that Government should empower the Kanwar to hear appeals from the orders of every Judge in Kapurthala, and thereby give a new lease of life to the State subjects. He does not mean to insinuate that the Magistrates and other officials of the State are not doing good work: all that he wishes to convey is that the present Madar-ul-Maham is an utterly incompetent person, and that since his appointment to his present post the zamindars have been full of complaints, and matters have been going from bad to worse. The evil can be remedied if Government acts upon the above suggestion, or appoints some well-wisher of Kapurthala, like Mr. Massy, to work as Supreme Judge in the State. The Raja is undoubtedly an able and just ruler, but what can a solitary individual achieve? (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 11th March 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 10, pp. 138–139).

***Wazir-i-Hind*, 10 April 1899**

The *Wazir-i-Hind* (Sialkot), dated 10th April 1899, publishes an article with a view to showing that it is absurd to expect justice unless a European or an able and experienced native Judge is appointed to hear final appeals at Kapurthala. The Editor concludes by inviting the attention of His Highness the Raja to the matter. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd April 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 16, p. 231).

***Ahluwalia Gazette*, 8 November 1899**

The *Ahluwalia Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 8th November 1899, publishes a communication in which the writer complains that a certain person named Misru is acting as Prime Minister of the Kapurthala State. He is plundering the litigants and sucking the blood of the people. It is to be regretted that the Raja should lead a life of ease and pleasure and leave his subjects to be oppressed and plundered. The State property situated at Amritsar has been sold by auction and a new bungalow erected at Mussoorie. The writer goes on to state that His Highness intends sending their heir-apparent to England for education under the superintendence of Mr. Wood. The writer condemns this idea, and remarks that His Highness should spend the money which he intends wasting on the heir-apparent in England, in helping the famine-stricken people and thus save them from starvation. The writer concludes by calling upon His Highness to listen to the complaints of his subjects and to redress their grievances. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 18th November 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 46, pp. 663–664).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 30 December 1899**

The same paper [the *Paisa Akhbar*] of the 30th idem understand that the Raja of Kapurthala is collecting money for another trip to Paris. The shops at Amritsar belonging to the State are being sold, while the fort (? At Kapurthala) has been divided into four parts and proposals for its sale are said to be under consideration. It is also rumoured that the Raja is willing to forego one quarter of the revenue demand if the zamindars agree to pay it at once. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 6th January 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 4).

***Punjab Samachar*, 13 January 1900**

The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), dated 13th January 1900, referring to the remarks made by the *Patiala Akhbar* (*vide* Selections No. 1, paragraph 3) regarding the rumoured trip of the Raja of Kapurthala to Paris, regrets to remark that Native Chiefs should sell their property for want of funds in order to attend exhibitions, especially at a time when their subjects are suffering from the pangs of hunger. It would be satisfactory if His Highness the Raja of Kapurthala gave over the proceeds of the sale of shops at Amritsar to relieve the sufferings of his famine-stricken subjects. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 20th January 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, p. 31).

***Sada-i-Hind*, 24 February 1900**

The *Sada-i-Hind* (Lahore), dated the 24th February 1900, writing about the coming trip of the Raja of Kapurthala to Paris, remarks that the State treasury being unable to bear the expenses of the tour, His Highness has recently issued a notice for the sale of the State Serai at Sultanpur. He has also made it known that the State will forego one-quarter of the revenue demand if the zamindars pay it at once. After remarking that Government seems to take no notice of such proceedings on the part of the Raja, the Editor observes that the extravagant habits of those Native Princes the management of whose education was in the hands of the authorities do not redound to the credit of Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd March 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 9, p. 106).

***Punjab Organ*, 4 April 1900**

The *Punjab Organ* (Wazirabad), dated the 4th April 1900, says that it is rumoured that the Raja of Kapurthala has again applied to the government for permission to visit Europe. His Highness has already paid two visits to Europe, and has on each occasion wasted 10 or 20 lakhs of public money. The Editor, therefore, hopes that the Lieutenant-Governor will not support the Raja's application and will thereby earn the gratitude of the already overburdened subjects of Kapurthala. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 14th April 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 15, p. 188).

***Victoria Paper*, 16 May 1900**

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 16th May 1900, states that the Raja of Kapurthala is responsible for the good government of his State to the same extent as other Rajas. The question, therefore, arises whether his frequent trips to Europe do not affect the interests of his State and whether it is proper that His Highness should spend a part of the revenues of the State exclusively on his own recreations. A District Magistrate is not authorized to remain absent from his district for more than ten days without another person having been deputed in his place, much less should a Ruling Chief remain absent so constantly from his State. The Editor is of opinion that if a Native Chief has been to Europe once he should be permitted to proceed again only if he has busied himself at least for five years in introducing administrative reforms in his State, and if the reforms introduced have given satisfaction to the British authorities. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th May 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 20, p. 253).

***Civil and Military News, 6 June 1900***

The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 6th June 1900, says that two Native Chiefs, *vis.*, the Raja of Kapurthala and the Maharaja of Baroda, have gone to Europe with the object of seeing the Paris Exhibition. In the latter State, the famine is so universal as to defy description; but this has failed to induce the Gaekwar to resist the temptation to attend the show. As for the ruler of Kapurthala, the public is aware of the frantic efforts His Highness had to make in order to raise money for his third trip to Europe. Had these princes, adds the Editor, stayed in India at this juncture, they would have proved a source of comfort and encouragement to lacs of their famine-stricken subjects, and the money they will squander in France, &c, would have helped to save innumerable lives. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 23rd June 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 25, p. 304).

***Curzon Gazette, 23 August 1900***

A correspondent writing to the *Curzon Gazette* (Delhi), of the 23rd August 1900, says that the cost of the Raja of Kapurthala's third trip to Europe will, as usual, be borne by the State Treasury. Does not the Government consider it reprehensible on the part of the Raja to spend large sums of money from the public treasury for the gratification of his personal desires.

(*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th September 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 36, p. 464).

***Victoria Paper, 30 August 1900***

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 30th August 1900, in commenting on the recent Government Resolution regarding the visits of Native Chiefs to Europe, suggests that inquiries should be instituted with a view to finding out how much money the Raja of Kapurthala's trips to Europe have costs his State; what results have followed from them; and how his sojourn in Europe has effected His Highness personally. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th September 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 36, p. 464).

***Victoria Paper, 30 September 1900***

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 30th September 1900, says that the Raja of Kapurthala will return to India in November next, and suggests that the Viceroy should ask him how much he spent in England and whether this expenditure was necessary. The Editor also asks if the Raja will in future be at full liberty to leave India for Europe whenever he likes. (*Selections from the Vernacular*

*Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 13th October 1900, Vol. XIII, No. 41, p. 544).*

***Lahore Punch, 31 October 1900***

The *Lahore Punch* (Lahore), of the 31st October 1900, states that it is gratifying to learn that the Raja of Kapurthala will return from his visit to Europe on the 22nd November 1900. Great disorder has prevailed in the State during the Raja's absence. The State subjects complain of being hardly dealt with. Corruption is rampant, and serious complaints are made against the Minister to whom the administration of the State was entrusted. The latter neither attends to State affairs, nor is he capable of managing the State. The complaints which have reached the Editor against the Prime Minister are of a very serious character. The Editor promises to give publicity to them after making further enquiries as to their truth. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th November 1900, Vol. XIII, No. 45, p. 595).*

***Singh Sahai, 5 April 1901***

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 5th April 1901, understands that the Kapurthala State has discharged several of its cavalrymen, and that it is also under contemplation to disband the entire cavalry regiment of the State. The Raja, should, however, remember that throwing a few low-paid servants out of employment can confer no benefit on the state, and the the only way to reduce its expenditure is to send about their business certain officials, who draw every large salaries but have little or not work to do. As an instance in point the Editor remarks that His Highness does not stand in need of the services either of his highly-paid European medical adviser or of his present cook, whom he pays at the rate of Rs. 500 per mensem. These gentlemen should be replaced by Dr. Sadiq Ali, &c., as the latter are competent enough to perform the duties in a thoroughly satisfactory manner. After alleging that the expenditure of Kapurthala has considerably increased since the days of the late Raja Randhir Singh, the Editor regrets that the present Chief's trips to Europe should not have borne better fruit. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 13th April 1901, Vol. XIV. No. 15, p. 232).*

***Victoria Paper, 16 May 1901***

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 16th May 1901, understands that the Raja of Kapurthala is about to pay a visit to Simla. His Highness, adds the Editor, stays in his State for only a short time and spends greater part of his time at Simla or in Europe. Evidently he does not know that under Lord Curzon's

recent circular, no Native Chief can absent himself from his State except in cases of extreme necessity. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 25th May 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 21, p. 312).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 20 May 1901***

The same paper [the *Khalsa Bahadur*] of the 20th May (received on the 3rd June) 1901, says that whatever Government may think of the Raja of Kapurthala, from all accounts he is an able and intelligent ruler and has frequently been seen transacting State business, – hearing appeals, checking accounts, &c., – from 12 noon till 5 PM. After remarking that the Raja has derived much benefit from his foreign travels, and that the administration of the State has been all that could be desired even during his frequent absence in Europe, the Editor observes that it is wrong to say that His Highness does no State work. It may also be mentioned here that the establishment of an Assistant (?) Council with Diwan Daulat Ram as Secretary has improved the administration of Kapurthala still further, and that the Raja frequently attends the meetings of that body. The Editor adds that the Raja of Faridkot also takes great interest in State affairs, and promises to prove a competent ruler. In these circumstances, it is very surprising to come across unfavourable remarks in official reports regarding the States in question, and it is to be feared that Government is either ignorant of the true facts, or it is its present policy to suppress the same. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th June 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 23, p. 340).

***Paisa Akhbar, November 1901***

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), dated the [no date] November 1901, remarks that a correspondent of the *Tribune* suggest the name of Kanwar Sir Harnam Singh, “the hero” of the Land Alienation Act, for the vacant post of Prime Minister, Kapurthala, quite forgetful of the fact that, for reasons which need not be specified here, the Kanwar is not likely to offer himself a second time for service under Raja Sir Jagatjit Singh. The name of Mian Aziz Bakhsh has also been mentioned in connection with the vacancy, but the present state of his health does not admit of his taking upon himself such heavy responsibilities. The Editor then goes on to say that the gentleman selected to fill the post in question ought to have the well-being of the State and its ruler at heart, and should also enjoy the respect of Government. He should, besides, belong to a good family and be endowed with all the qualities necessary for a Minister of the State. Again, he should be a resident of Kapurthala or some neighbouring town and have a thorough knowledge of Judicial and Administrative work.

All these qualifications, adds the Editor, are to be found in Sardar Pertap Singh, Ahluwalia, of Jullundur, than whom it would be difficult to find a better person for the vacancy. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th November 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 46, p. 717).

***Watan*, 8 November 1901**

The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 8th November 1901, also publishes identical remarks, and adds that the *Tribune* is wrong in stating that the vacant post is in the gift of Government. The Raja of Kapurthala, observes the Editor, is free to confer the post on whomsoever he likes, although His Highness seems desirous, as is but proper, of consulting the Lieutenant-Governor on the matter. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th November 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 46, p. 717).

***Hak Pasand*, 11 February 1908**

The *Hak Pasand* (Amritsar), of the 11th February 1908, writing about the recent marriage of the Raja of Kapurthala to a Spanish lady, enquires whether His Highness could find no beautiful lady in India to suit him. It would have been far better if the distinction of being his Rani had fallen to an Indian lady. The Raja is fond of imitating the ruling race, but has any highly-placed Anglo-Indian officer ever married a native woman? (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd February 1908*, Vol. XXI. No. 8, p. 103).

***Curzon Gazette*, 15 February 1908**

The *Curzon Gazette* (Delhi), of the 15th February 1908, says that the Raja has no son by his first Rani, and the poor lady undoubtedly deserves to be pitied since, if her European rival gives birth to a son, the throne will pass to him as a matter of course. The paper then goes on to say that the policy of Government in regard to Native States is too deep to be fathomed. Government claims responsibility for the peace and good management of Native States, but at the same time it allows Indian Princes to squander public funds on pleasure. In conclusion, the Editor says that if the new Rani gives birth to a son, the State subjects will never acknowledge him as the rightful heir to the throne. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd February 1908*, Vol. XXI. No. 8, p. 103).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 21 January 1911**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 21st January 1911, publishes an article headed "Admonition to the Kapurthala State." The paper says that it has received a

communication from Bhai Mehr Singh Chawala, a Municipal Commissioner and Wine Merchant at Lahore, who suggests that the forthcoming marriage of the Tika Sahib of Kapurthala should be performed on the lines laid down by the Sikh Gurus; that recitation from the *Granth* should be held on the occasion in all Gurdwaras and in the Raja's palace; that drinking should be strictly prohibited during the days taken up by the marriage ceremonies; and that the money set apart for dancing girls should be utilized for feeding the poor. Commenting on the letter the editor says that he cannot endorse all the suggestions made by his correspondent. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 28th January 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, p. 77).

***Tribune*, 10 February 1911**

The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 10th February 1911: –

“For a short time of two or three weeks Kapurthala has been alien in thought and action. It has been glorifying in its European guests, guests from France and other European countries. Among these are French Dukes and Marquesses, who in their native land are as numerous as blackberries. Among them, we are told, is also an heir to the French Throne? But we are not told whether Kapurthala has promised aid to this ‘heir’ in getting back his lost throne. ‘The *Temps*, *Le Matin* and *Le Figaro* are represented by reporters specially sent out.’ This is really delicious. We anxiously look forward to a graphic account in the French papers of the French spirit which dominates Kapurthala. There is only one thing which militates against the value of the extravagant show. Poor Kapurthala cannot hide from the visitors the real condition of its own tax-paying units at whose expense every one is now enjoying. It is extremely doubtful whether ornamental walls forming the frontage of streets are high enough to effectively screen the poverty, ignorance and helplessness of the people. We have a shrewd suspicion that the representatives of the *Temps*, *Le Matin* and *Le Figaro* are not likely to ignore the incongruity of Kapurthala’s holiday dress, although the rest of their countrymen in whose veins runs the blue blood of republican aristocracy might have no inclination to see Kapurthala in its everyday dress. The representatives of the French press would be wanting in their duty if they failed to mention that the Raja of Kapurthala levies a special tax from his subjects to meet the extravagant expenses of the marriage. They will have seen the magnificent palace costing 46 lakhs of rupees and they will also have seen the revenue-paying capacity of the people from whose pockets that huge sum has been wrung out. Can the Raja of Kapurthala suppress the comparison and contrast between the latest Parisian fashions and the barbarous levy of a marriage tax at half an anna in rupee from landholders and from one to twenty rupees from tradesmen?” (*Selections from the Native*



*Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 11th February 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 6, p. 128).

***Tribune*, 7 March 1911**

The *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 7th March 1911, has the following: –

“We notice that the Punjab Government has made an invidious distinction between State and State in describing the relation of the Government with the tributary States. The only information given about Kapurthala is that the Raja spent the summer in Mussoorie, and that ‘he left for Europe’ in February 1910. Of course, there is a reference to the advent of Mr. L. French. But is the Raja’s movement the only thing worth chronicling? Did no other ruling Prince spend the summer in the hills? Does not the Maharaja of Patiala, for instance, spend the summer at Chail or at Simla? In the report for 1908–09 again we read that ‘the Raja spent the summer months of 1908 in Europe.’ Time was when Punjab administration report referred in enthusiastic terms to His Highness the Raja and of the ‘flourishing condition’ of the finances of his State. In justice to the tax-payers of the State, the Punjab Government must now specify the improvements introduced by the costly European agency.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 11th March 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 10, p. 249).

***Harbinger*, 14 March 1911**

The *Harbinger* (Lahore), of the 14th March 1911, has the following: – “His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, a Native State in the Punjab, is an enlightened Prince, having been to Europe several times. He speaks French fluently and has many friends among the Europeans. In the recent marriage of his son several European grandees joined; among them was His Excellency the Duke of Orleans, and others. Such meetings of the Europeans and Hindus remove race hatred and promote amity and friendliness between them. At present His Highness the Maharaja is advised in administration by Mr. French, whose zeal and ability have made the State like a well-governed province in British India. If such officers as Mr. French be associated with Native Princess in administration, their States will make great progress in modern civilization.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 18th March 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 11, p. 274).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 24 March 1911**

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 24th March 1911, publishes the following: –

“The Sacred Thread Ceremony of Mian Hari Singh, Bahadur, son of late Sir General Raja Amar Singh, Sahib Bahadur, was performed sometime back

with great éclat. In connection with the above sacred ceremony we have to point out to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur of Kapurthala that the princes of His Highness have sufficiently grown up to receive *Amrita* (Sikh baptism). Will His Highness see his way to get it administered to the princes. There is no prince who does not follow his religion and does not uphold the tenets of his faith. The sooner this is done for the princes of Kapurthala the better.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 1st April 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 13, p. 320).

#### *Akhbar-i-Am*, 3 April 1911

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 3rd April 1911, publishes a communication from “A journalist,” headed ‘The Kapurthala State and its short-sighted enemies.’ In continuation of his previous remarks on the subject (*vide* paragraph 18 of Selections No. 13), the writer says that the *Tribune*, has not spared even the Punjab Government. That paper remarks that in his observations on the Kapurthala State in the last administration report, Sir Louis Dane merely says that the Raja went on a trip to Europe and passed the hot weather in the hills. It contrasts this to mean that His Honour is not satisfied with the administration of Kapurthala. It should, however, know that His Highness’ visits to Europe have made an impartial ruler of him and have also prompted him to pay attention to the question of education. Again, he has taken advantage of these visits to have his heir-apparent educated on European lines, which should be source of pride to the Kapurthala State. As to his passing the hot weather in the hills, that is no offence seeing that one can work harder in the hills than in the plains. Again, Government itself spends lakhs of rupees every year in removing its offices to the hills for the hot weather. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 8th April 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 14, p. 347).

#### *Panjabee*, 20 April 1912

The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore) of 20th April 1912: –

“We are informed that a big Gurudwara or Sikh temple is proposed to be built at Kapurthala and private subscriptions are raised for that. A lakh of rupees is the estimate and it is believed that the Maharaja and the Tikka Sahib have promised Rs. 25,000. A sum of Rs. 6,000 is promised by the mofussil people of the State and the balance will probably be raised in Kapurthala town. But a complaint has reached us that attempts are made to bring official pressure here and there to induce unwilling Hindus to pay fixed donations. It is said that a large number of Hindus are dreading the consequences of a refusal and have to borrow to pay their listed donations. It is for the State authorities to make enquiries and put an end to possible harassment of the people in this

undertaking. The Maharaja is absent in Europe and at this time, it is necessary to safeguard the interest of the people and protect them against every kind of direct and indirect pressure by the subordinates.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 27th April 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 17, p. 313).

#### ***Khalsa Advocate*, 1 May 1912**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 1st May 1912: –

“Our readers are aware that through the laudable efforts of a few well wishers of the community a Gurdwara is proposed to be built in Kapurthala. The need of a Sikh temple in the capital city of that State was felt a long time since and now that the efforts of its promoters are about to take practical shape, it appears to have begun to rankle as a thorn in the side of those who do not wish good of the Sikhs. As proof of this fact the *Panjabee* of Lahore has in a recent issue, attempted an insinuation which is as mischievous as it is without foundation. Our contemporary says that a complaint has reached it that attempts are made to bring official pressure here and there to induce unwilling Hindus to pay fixed donations (for Gurdwara). But as far as we are aware – and our information is from most reliable sources – no such attempt has been made to bring official pressure to bear in the collection of subscription at least in Kapurthala State.

“But we confess we are at a loss to understand the underlying policy of such mention. For had such been the state of things, the complaint would have appeared in some other Hindu papers of the Province as well. All this shows that the complaint is groundless and is simply meant to injure the feelings of the Sikhs and to serve as a hindrance in the way of the construction of Gurdwara by prejudicing the minds of the people. We understand further that the authorities of the Gurdwara Sub-Committee have enquired of the *Punjabee* whatever grounds it may have for publishing the note. As soon as they get a reply we hope to throw more light on the subject.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 11th May 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 19, p. 360).

#### ***Tribune*, 2 May 1912**

The *Tribune* (Lahore), of 2nd May 1912, has the following: –

“Complaints have reached us of the manner in which funds are being raised for a Gurdwara at Kapurthala. Considerable pressure is being brought to bear upon the people who are reluctantly compelled to subscribe larger sums than their means permit.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 11th May 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 19, p. 360).

***Bande Mataram*, 28 June 1921**

A correspondent of the *Bande Mataram* of the 28th June states that those who were engaged in the peaceful and lawful task of inducing the people to give up the use of wine have been arrested in the Kapurthala State, as they were alleged to have interfered with the freedom of those who drink wine. Why do these godlike authorities confine thieves, dacoits and others in jails and deprive them of their freedom? When a *hartal* occurred in Kapurthala locks were broken open, shopkeepers were shoe-beaten and steps were taken to crush the public spirit in every way. Our Raja is a simpleminded person. He does not care whether the authorities act in a good or in a bad manner. People may live or die, but he must have his tours and enjoyment. When the horizon of Kapurthala was overcast with dark clouds, the sun rose and dazzled the eyes of the authorities. The latter moved their lips and ordered Lajpat Rai to go back by means of a verbal order. 'O foolish heart! How can the citizens of Kapurthala be so fortunate as to witness a god when their Raja is so self-complacent and selfish and when the authorities are so tyrannical and demon?' (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 9th July 1921, No. 27, p. 298).

***Bande Mataram*, 1 September 1921**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 1st September remarks that Maharaja of Kapurthala has excelled even the Maharaja of Baroda in having made Europe his home. If he comes to his State at all, he comes as a stranger and returns to Europe with money after a few days' stay. Readers will be surprised to learn that two tennis players have been sent to England by the Kapurthala State to play matches there, and their expense will exceed twenty thousand rupees. Famine is prevailing in the country and people are starving, but the Maharaja is going to spend twenty thousand rupees on a tennis match in England. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 10th September 1921, No. 36, p. 390).

***Kesari*, 11 December 1921**

The *Kesari* of the 11th December refers to the circular in which the Maharaja of Kapurthala says that no one among his subjects has any right to meddle with the affairs of the State at the instigation of outsiders and that offenders shall be brought to book and dealt with as conspirators. This means that the people of Kapurthala are not entitled to demand their rights from His Highness. The poor men are gagged by force like animals. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 24th December 1921, No. 51, p. 594).

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#### *Punjab Samachar*, 28 January 1911

The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 28th January (received on the 7th February) 1911, publishes a paragraph under the heading “A marriage tax in Kapurthala”. After remarking that the marriage of the Tika Sahib of Kapurthala has been estimated to cost about three lakhs, the paper reports that a sum of 6 pies for every rupee of land revenue paid by them is being recovered from all zamindars to meet the cost and that shopkeepers and money-lenders have been required to pay from Rs. 1 to Rs. 20. Nor is this all. Extreme rigour is being employed in collection of this marriage tax, as should be evident from the case of one Bhana Mal of Talwandi Chaudhrian, Sultanpur *tahsil*. A tax of Rs. 6 was imposed on this man, and, on his applying to the Tahsildar at Sultanpur for exemption from the payment, he was threatened with confinement in the lock-up unless the amount was paid in. A marriage tax of this description has never been levied in any State, and the Raja had better cancel (his) orders on the subject. It is unbecoming (in His Highness) to displease (his) subjects for the sake of a small sum of money. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 11th February 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 6, p. 128).

#### *Tribune*, 5 March 1911

“Novalis” contributes the following to the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 5th March 1911: –

“I hear Mr. French of Kapurthala is very angry because you wrote very strongly against the marriage tax. On the other hand, the people are very pleased, and I heard a telegram was sent to you conveying the grateful thanks of the people of Kapurthala. Other Indian States and Chiefs are also very pleased, and declare that you have rendered an important public service. If I may be permitted to say so, Mr. Editor, I would back you against a battalion of men like Mr. French who may fume and fret till they burnt. You have pursued the straight path of duty, and you have the approval of your own conscience and of the general public.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 11th March 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 10, p. 249).

#### *Tribune*, 7 March 1911

The *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 7th March 1911, has the following: –

“Since not a single public institution benefited by the marriage tax which was imposed in Kapurthala at the instance of Mr. French some curiosity may be felt as to where the money went. We are able to present the reader with one item of expenditure to-day. Members of the French nobility, including

an aspirant to the French throne, were the principal guests. The contract for the catering of the guests was given by Mr. French to Mr. H. Wutzler, who has hotels at Lucknow and Mussorie, at the rate of Rs. 25 per head per day! Mr. Wutzler's little bill came up to Rs. 32,000, and was of course promptly and cheerfully paid. What do the public and the Government think of this scandalous and unheard-of extravagance? The guests had not the remotest connection with the State or the country, and they were not even Englishmen. And yet a sum of over thirty thousand rupees wrung from a poor and indigent people was spent on feeding a number of rank outsiders and foreigners. Does this kind of extravagance justify the choice of Mr. French for his present position? We do not think a capable Indian official would have been guilty of such reckless and scandalous waste, and all the well-wishers of Kapurthala and other Indian States will join in hope that Mr. French may be removed and replaced by a capable and careful Indian revenue officer." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 11th March 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 10, p. 249).

***Tribune*, 23 March 1911**

The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 23rd March 1911: –

"The great boon of free primary education in Kapurthala, we stated, was supplemented by the enhancement of fees in State schools. But Mr. French has gone one better, and the status of the Phagwara High School has been lowered to that of a Middle School. The announcement that *Begar* was abolished, on the occasion of the marriage is misleading. *Begar* was abolished in the State on paper long ago and a schedule giving the rates from coolies, ekkawalas, &c., has been in existence from some time. Along with the proposed increase in the salary of the lower servants said to be under consideration there is a simultaneous proposal for the reduction of these servants in every department of the State. The result will be that a large number old, if humble, servants of the State will be thrown out of employment and will have to leave the State. It is to be sincerely hoped that His Highness the Maharaja will veto this outrageous proposal of Mr. French and refer the whole question to a committee of the present and past officials of the State. Mr. French is making himself intolerable in Kapurthala in many ways, not the least among which is his personal rudeness and arrogance. A man of his temperament should be never allowed to enter an Indian State. The Maharaja himself is full of courtesy and it is scandalous that his Chief Minister should be systematically offensive." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 25th March 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 12, p. 297).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 24 March 1911**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 24th March 1911, publishes a communication from "A Journalist," entitled "Enemies of the Kapurthala State." The writer finds fault with the *Tribune* for that paper's note condemning Mr. French in connection with the imposition of a tax on the occasion of the recent marriage of the heir-apparent of the Raja of Kapurthala (*vide* paragraph 21 of Selections No. 10). After referring to the reforms introduced by Mr. French in honour of the marriage, he says that the *Tribune* concludes its note as follows: –

"All well-wishers of Kapurthala and other Indian States will join in the hope that Mr French may be removed and replaced by an Indian revenue officer." These words reveal the real object of the said paper, as also the fact that the strings are being pulled by a man working in the dark. The extract shows that the *Tribune* is ill-disposed towards Mr. French owing simply to that officer being a European. The paper named and those who are using it as a tool to bring odium on Mr. French and the State should, however, rest assured that their efforts are doomed to disappointment. All well wishers of Kapurthala have welcomed the reforms introduced by Mr. French and are of opinion that the Raja should request the Punjab Government to extend the period of his deputation to the State. If he continues in his present post for five years longer, the income and expenditure of the State will assuredly increase and go down respectively, (some) most valuable reforms will be introduced, and every part of the administrative machinery will be put in order. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 1st April 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 13, p. 319).

***Tribune*, 1 April 1911**

The *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 1st April 1911, has the following: –

"That Mr. French has been suffering from a swelled head since his translation to Kapurthala does not admit of much doubt. He insists that every one in Kapurthala should salute him with joined hands touching the bended head. This form of salutation is usually given to a Brahman by a man belonging to a lower caste. In Kapurthala only the Maharaja and the Tikka Sahib are saluted in this manner, and no third man has any right to demand such a salute. The matter has been brought to the notice of the Maharaja and probably an order has been issued to the effect that no one except the Maharaja and the Tikka Sahib is to be saluted in this fashion." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 8th April 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 14, pp. 346–347).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 1 April 1911**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 1st April 1911, publishes a communication headed "The Kapurthala State and the *Tribune*." The writer, who represents

himself as a journalist, takes the *Tribune* to task for its recent adverse criticism of Mr. French, Chief Minister of Kapurthala. He also praises the officer named for the reforms introduced by him into the State, and asserts that the efforts to bring Mr. French, as also the Raja, into bad odour proceed from those people whom the aforesaid reforms have thrown out of employment and who are not using the *Tribune* as a toolk. Further, the correspondent charges the *Tribune* with opposing Mr. French owing to simply that the officer being a European. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 8th April 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 14, p. 347).

### ***Tribune*, 29 April 1911**

The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 29th April 1911: –

“As an instance of the successful administration of Mr. French, may be mentioned the expenses in connection with the Tikka Saheb's marriage. The Maharaja has been informed that no money had to be taken from any bank for this purpose. The heavy items of expenditure were the bill for the catering of European guests, the bill for furniture furnished by Mr. Gosney, late cutter, and Messrs. Ranken and Co. and the entertainment of the Maharaja of Kashmir and party. To meet these expenses about five lakhs and a half were available. Has the whole amount been spent or is there any saving? It would be also interesting to learn what saving, if any, has been effected during the year and a half that Mr. French has been in Kapurthala. Formerly in spite of the alleged mismanagement, the State used to save Rs. 1,50,000 every year. The state used to pay Rs. 3,50,000 every year as an instalment for palace expenditure. This amount has not been paid this year. The Phagwara settlement brings in Rs. 50,000. Putting all these figures together Mr. French should be able to show a large saving in spite of the expenditure incurred on the marriage.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 6th May 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 18, p. 442).

### ***Tribune*, 29 April 1911**

The *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 29th April 1911, has the following: –

“Among the miracles performed in Kapurthala during the last eighteen months, one may be mentioned. During the minority of the present Maharaja, the hospital used to be under the charge of a qualified European doctor appointed by the Superintendent in consultation with the local officials. Surgical instruments and medicine were kept in the hospital, patients were attended to and operations were performed. The same arrangements were continued when the Maharaja came of age. Latterly, Dr. Jagannath, who was for a long time Chief Medical Officer at Jammu, was appointed State physician at Kapurthala and everything went on satisfactorily. One of Mr. French's



earliest reforms was the compulsory resignation of Dr. Jagannath. No one has been appointed to succeed him and there is now no qualified doctor in Kapurthala. Nor surgical cases are attended to because there is no one capable of undertaking them. In every case of illness in the Maharaja's family, the Civil Surgeon of Jullundur has to be called in. The State officials have to do the same thing. People have to go to British territory for medical relief. The salary that was paid to Dr. Jagannath has been saved, but the people of Kapurthala have been deprived of medical help. Just now there is plague in Kapurthala and the surrounding district, but there is no relief of any kind. That is one phase of the millennium in Kapurthala. While the State has a highly paid Civil servant as Chief Minister, it has not got even an Assistant Surgeon and it is apparently no part of the Chief Minister's duty to get one." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 6th May 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 18, p. 442).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 2 May 1911**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 2nd May 1911, publishes a communication headed "The Kapurthala State and Mr. French." The writer, one Danishmand Suqrat, refers to the gross oppression practiced in the subjects of Kapurthala by the State officials before the appointment of Mr. French to the post of Chief Minister. The advents of Mr. French, he adds, afforded the greatest joy to the State subjects who began to cherish the hope that their troubles would be put an end to. On the other hand, the State officials, who could not longer plunder the people, commenced devising means to safeguard their interests and to influence the Chief Minister not to stand in their way. As regards Mr. French, he soon made himself popular with the State subjects: the oppressed began to obtain justice and a curb was placed on the public servants. It is, however, a matter for regret that this state of affairs did not last long and the officials managed to win the day. They put forth different efforts to humiliate and discredit Mr. French, and it is to be feared that they have played a winning game. The Chief Minister, instead of concerting measures to promote the welfare of the people and to put down oppression and irregularities, took to winning the hearts of the officials. The result is that the last named are beginning to resume their old haughty ways and to commit some extremely astounding irregularities. Respectable people are insulted in open courts and their applications to Mr. French to seek legal redress are rejected by that office. If things continue in their present condition for some time longer, there is a fear of the State subjects being involved in ruin. It is, therefore, necessary that Mr. French should bring his administrative ability into play and prefer sympathy to the people to humouring the officials. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 6th May 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 18, p. 442).

*Panjabee*, 27 June 1911

The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 27th June 1911: –

“Our contemporary the *Tribune* has done good public service by throwing light on many incidents that took place in Kapurthala during the last six months under the administration of Mr. French, but we do not understand how our contemporary could omit to publish some very important incidents which throw so much light on the State administration.

“Some time about the beginning of last winter Mr. French motored fast to the stables and came opposite the guard room. The poor soldiers of the Imperial Service Troops had no time to detect the occupant of the motor care and failed to salute Mr. French. His temper had no bounds. The motor was at once stopped and out jumped Mr. French. One of the sepoys was thrown over the bench, his turban rolling down. Another broke some teeth, and his protruding teeth looked like a smile, and this Mr. French could not bear. We have no hesitation to say that Government officers and the inspectors of the Imperial Service Troops are well aware of the fact, but no steps are taken, even when the King’s uniform was thus disrespected. Would they have been silent in this manner if Mr. French were any other person?

“Ganda Singh, Veterinary Assistant in His Highness’ stables, were sent to lock-up under the direct order of Mr. French, soon after the Tikka Sahib’s marriage and one day after the Maharaja of Kashmir had left. The charge was that he desired to get some *rasad* for an order issued by the authorities from some of the Maharaja of Kashmir’s States staffs. To Mr. French this seemed to be a heinous crime. Ganda Singh was let off after some time and proceedings were taken. This is how the Maharaja’s laws are respected in the State, or let us say these are the sort of reforms that Mr. French has introduced.

“More recently an unprecedented and most keenly-felt incident is reported to have occurred in the house of the Revenue Minister, where Mr. French was. It was at the end of the last month and a relation of the ruler – a member of the highest family in the State – felt greatly aggrieved. If this could happen in a Minister’s house, what elsewhere?” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 1st July 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 26, pp. 651–652).

*Tribune*, 21 June 1914

The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 21st June 1914: –

“The chair was worthily filled on the occasion by Raja Sir Harnam Singh, a noble son of the Punjab, who has been uniformly and consistently supporting the reforms urged by the Congress school of politicians. His opening speech on the present occasion bids fair to rank with the best and most notable utterances of our great public men; and especial weight and importance attach to the views he has put forward on the present occasion by reason of

his distinguished position as a scion of the royal house of Kapurthala. Raja Sir Harnam Singh has made it abundantly clear in his speech that Indian appreciation of the beneficent rule of Lord Hardinge is not an empty and meaningless profession of personal admiration of a few men here and a few men there. On the contrary, it is the result of a critical and intelligent estimate of His Excellency's policy and acts of State, an estimate which is acceptable to all classes of people through the length and breadth of the country, as has been amply testified to by the simultaneous demonstration in the several parts of the country. Consolidation of reforms and conciliation of the races, classes and creeds have been the avowed objects of His Excellency, and the active efforts put forth by His Excellency for the realization of those objects are discernible in every one of the instances cited by Raja Sir Harnam Singh. These are now matters of history, and the value and importance of the work will perhaps be better appreciated by future generations than by the present, some of whom are obsessed by personal predilections." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 27th June 1914*, Vol. XXVII, No. 26, p. 660).

#### 4 Representative Assembly

##### *Tribune*, 19 December 1916

The following is taken from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 19th December 1916: –

"Both His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Kapurthala and the people of the Kapurthala State are to be heartily congratulated on the latest reform sanctioned by His Highness, the inauguration of a representative assembly. The enlightened and go-ahead Maharaja Sahib in announcing the momentous reform said the institution, 'modest though it be in its inception, may in time to come prove to be the fore-runner of representative institutions the achievement of which should,' in His Highness's opinion, 'be the goal of all civilized and progressive communities.' The elective element bears too small a proportion, but we welcome His Highness's assurance that with the efflux of time and experience it may be possible to augment this element." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 4th January 1917*, Vol. xxx, No. 1, p. 8).

##### *Panjabee*, 19 December 1916

The *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 19th December 1916, writes: –

"The step which the Maharaja of Kapurthala has just taken of inaugurating the beginnings of a representative assembly in his State, though extremely

cautious, is a step in advance on which His Highness will be generally congratulated." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 4th January 1917*, Vol. xxx, No. 1, p. 8).

***Desh*, 20 December 1916**

The *Desh* (Lahore), of the 20th December 1916, remarks that these are days of political progress and the cry is being raised from all sides that people should be governed with their consent and the help of their representatives. Kapurthala is the second Native State to grant an independent Council to the people. May matters assume so pleasant an aspect in the coming year that the newly-established Council in Kapurthala may attain the position of a State parliament. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 4th January 1917*, Vol. xxx, No. 1, p. 8).

***Kisan*, 23 December 1916**

The *Kisan* (Lahore), of the 23rd December 1916, cannot adequately express its pleasure at the grant of a parliament by the Maharaja of Kapurthala. Will the other Indian rulers of Native States take advantage of this precedent and establish representative assemblies in their States? (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 4th January 1917*, Vol. xxx, No. 1, p. 8).

## Raja and State of Faridkot

### 1 Wazir Singh (1811–1874)

#### *Koh-i-Noor*, 20 May 1865

The Rajah of Furreedkote has, it is said, pardoned half the debt owed to him by his people: this was done after his return from bathing in the Ganges. He is also reported to have given 40,000 maunds of grain, with elephants and horses, on the occasion. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, published in the Punjab and the North Western Provinces, from the 1st to the 8th June, 1865*, p. 282).

#### *Oordoo Delhi Gazette*, 22 December 1866

It is reported that the people of Furreedkote [Faridkot] have petitioned the British Government to interfere and put a stop to the tyranny and oppression they are subjected to by the Rajah. An enquiry into the case is said to be going on. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 16th to the 24th January, 1867*, p. 27).

#### *Koh-i-Noor*, 7 May 1867

From Furreedkote [Faridkot] it is learnt that the *Kazee* has been fined Rs. 100 by the Maharajah for crying out the *khutba* (religious lecture or sermon) with a loud voice.

The translation of the letter sent is given, “but,” adds the writer, “because a complaint like this has never before appeared against the Maharajah, we doubt the authenticity of it; for if such an orders has been passed by the Maharajah, it amounts to a crime and tyranny.” The following is a translation of the letter: – “*Munshi Sahib, salamut*” (after the usual compliments), – “Fresh news from Furreedkote is to the effect that on the *Eed* some 700 Mahomedans were assembled, and, after prayers, were hearing the *khutba*. Close to this *Eedgah* there is a garden belonging to Teeka Sahib, where the Maharajah and Teeka Sahib were. The voice reciting the *khutba* fell on their ears, and the Maharajah said angrily, – ‘Look, the *mosla* are giving tongue; the *Kazee* ought to be imprisoned for thus calling out his prayers in my government.’ The Teeka Sahib remarked that no one had power to do so, and suggested that some one was reading a tale, or prayers. On this the Rajah became angry, and declared that

the Mahomedans were bad. Teekajee replied, – ‘If they are bad, they ought be turned out of the *elaka*, whether they be servants or *ryots*.’ The order was then passed for imprisoning the *Kazee*, but Teekajee interceded – saying that it was their new year, and that, as many people had collected together, it was not right; and that the Rajah might ‘let out his fever’ some other day. But the servant, a spearman, was sent to seize the *Kazee*, and the Maharajah followed, abusing the *Kazee* and ordered him to be taken to prison. When the Mahomedans saw this they began to rub their hands together with wonder, and a deputation of the most respectable of their number went to the Maharajah to use their endeavours to get the *Kazee* released, declaring that he had not given the call to prayers. On hearing this the Rajah ordered them to sit down and directed his *sepahis* (soldiers) to give each 25 blows with a shoe, which having been done, they returned to their houses declaring that it was not wise to seek justice from the Rajah; and this has occupied the minds of all Mahomedans. On the same evening the Bukshee Bunoolla Khan and the Thannahdar Gooman Singh interceded for the *Kazee* and asked for his release, upon which an order was passed to fine him Rs. 100; and if not paid at once, the fine to be increased, with the intimation that without a fine the *Kazee* should not be released. These proceedings have confused the people very much.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjaub, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 24th to the 31st May, 1867*, pp. 232–233).

***Oordoo Delhi Gazette*, 11 May 1867**

The *Oordoo Delhi Gazette* of the 11th May notices the circumstances of the Rajah of Furreedkote [Faridkot] having attempted to bribe the *Serishtadar* of the Commissioner’s Office, Umballa, and the enquiry ordered by Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjaub, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 24th to the 31st May, 1867*, p. 237).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 10 May 1873**

The *Koh-i-Nur*, of the 10th May, in its correspondence columns, states that confusion, similar to that existing in Chumba, is prevailing at Furreedkote [Faridkot]. A few of the officers of the state have been imprisoned; while some have disappeared or fled from the State, and Teeka Sahib himself has departed to his father-in-law’s house. The Rajah, who has come back from the Haurdwar [Haridwar] Fair, is a prey to great anxiety. The writer thinks it worth while to add that three years ago a poison plot was formed in the State, the effect of which had reached Teeka Sahib himself. (*Selections from the Vernacular*

*Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 26th May, 1873, pp. 354–355).*

***Nur Afshan, 7 May 1874***

The *Nur Afshan* of the 7th May, mentioning the death at Umballa of the Rajah of Fureedcote [Faridkot] (Punjab), invites attention to the improper conduct of Bukhshee Beer Singh, a leading officer of the state, who accompanied His Highness on his pilgrimage. He is said to have kept the Rajah's illness secret from his heir-apparent, and to have purposely neglected to call in the services of a physician, and shortly before the Rajah's death he made off with the great seal. All this is a source of much grief to the heir-apparent, and has not unreasonably led the people to suspect some unfair play on the part of the Bukhshee, especially as he has made his brief career in the state memorable for various abuses. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 15th June, 1874, p. 212*).

**2      *Bikram Singh (1842–1898)***

***Delhi Punch, 1 November 1882***

A correspondent of the *Delhi Punch* (Lahore) of the 1st November, writing from Faridkot, complains of the alleged prevalence of maladministration in that State. The State officials are quite incompetent, and the simple-hearted Maharaja is a mere puppet in their hands. They have brought a false suit against Sardar Bir Singh, and have uselessly spent a great deal of money in prosecuting it. It has been already dismissed by the Deputy Commissioner and the Commissioner, but they have now instituted an appeal in the Chief Court. The darbar has made a road from Faridkot to British territory, but a toll is levied on all traffic that is carried on that road. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 16th November, 1882, pp. 768–769*).

***Delhi Punch, 20 February 1884***

The *Delhi Punch* (Lahore), of the 20th February, complains that since the Maharaja of Faridkot has made a metalled road in his State some Europeans have paid a visit to that State almost every week, under the pretext of shooting or amusement, to partake of the hospitality of the Maharaja. Such frequent visits put the State to unnecessary expense and are objectionable. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces,*

*Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 27th February, 1884, p. 163).*

***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 19 November 1887**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 19th November, referring to the attack made by the *Civil and Military Gazette* of the 14th idem on the Raja of Fardikot in connection with the display of a photograph of Dalip Singh at the anniversary meeting of the Sikh Religious Association, called the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha, condemns the attack as a most unjust one, and says that before Government takes any action in accordance with the advice of the *Gazette*, it should take the following questions into consideration: – (1) Is the worship of a photograph of Dalip Singh enjoined by the religious doctrines of the Sabha? (2) Was the photograph of the Maharaja honoured at the meeting of the Association at the instance, or at least with the consent, of the Raja of Faridkot? (3) Had the Raja permitted his representative to allow the display of the photograph at the meeting? (4) Was the Raja ever guilty of any act of hostility which could justify the presumption that he is disaffected towards the British Government? (5) Is the patron of an association responsible for all its acts and proceedings? As regards the first question, the *Civil and Military Gazette* will probably admit that the worship of a photograph of Dalip Singh is no part of the religious duty of the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha, or of any other class of the Sikh community for the very simple reason that he had not even been born when the Sikh religion was founded. The Sikhs may sympathize with him in his distress owing to his being their co-religionist. They may be sorry to learn that he has foolishly ruined himself, and they may desire that the Czar may send him to a lunatic asylum in order to cure his madness; their sympathy can go no further. The principles of the Sikh Association above referred to are in no way opposed to the British Government. The Lahore English journal must answer the second question in the negative. If the Raja has ever had occasion to express his opinion about Dalip Singh, he has always expressed dissatisfaction at his conduct. He had no reason to think that a photograph of the Maharaja would ever be displayed at any meeting of the Sabha. The third question, which is closely connected with the second one, must also be answered in the negative. The Raja did not know that anything would be done at the anniversary of the Association against the British Government, and his vakil attended the meeting simply in order to add to the *éclat* of the occasion the Government itself is best able to answer the fourth question. A reference to the records of the Foreign Office will at once show what important services have been rendered to the paramount power by the Faridkot State in troublous times, and how much the present ruler of the State is attached to the British throne. With reference to



the fifth question, obviously the patron of an Association cannot be responsible for all its proceedings; of course, he is to blame if there is anything objectionable in the principles on which it is founded. The Hon'ble Mr. James Lyall himself is the patron of a Sikh Association; if it does anything objectionable, it will be unjust to hold His Honour responsible for it. The Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha is a religious and not a political body, and its principles are open to no objection, as stated before. Hence the Raja of Faridkot was perfectly justified in becoming the patron of the Association. The *Civil and Military Gazette* states that Sir Charles Aitchison's Government gave an unfavourable decision in a case of the Raja, and that the prince has felt sore since then. To the knowledge of the *Rafiq*, no decision was ever recorded by Sir Charles Aitchison against him. His Honour's judgement in the muafidar's case was in his favour, but was reversed by the Supreme Government: he has appealed to the Secretary of State. He has no ground for disappointment until, the final rejection of the appeal. At the same time it is preposterous to imagine that the rejection of his appeal would incline him to hostility to Government. As regards the display of a photograph of Dalip Singh at the anniversary of the Sabha, there were no pictures at the place where the meeting was held. However, among other pictures a photograph of the Maharaja was no doubt placed in an outer room. But the mere keeping of a photograph of the Maharaja at one's house is no slur on his loyalty. No honour was shown to the photograph of Dalip Singh at the meeting of the Sabha, nor there was any expression of sympathy with him on the occasion. On the contrary, Bawa Udaya Singh, the President, and Bhai Narain Singh, the Secretary of the Sabha, delivered long speeches in praise of the British Government; the Bhai also referred to the ill-treatment of the Hindus and the Sikhs in the time of the Muhammadan Kings, and thanked Providence for placing them under the just and benign rule of the British Government. If the possession of a photograph of Dalip Singh is an unpardonable offence, as the Lahore English newspaper is inclined to think, thousands of Europeans and natives will have to be condemned to the gallows. The question naturally arises, why has the newspaper raised such a loud clamour against the Raja of Faridkot? The answer is to be found in the strong mutual enmity and jealousy which have lately been prevalent among the different classes of the Sikh community, and to which the Gazette itself refers in the article under review. A small body of Sikhs, who are opposed to the Raja of Faridkot and the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha, have lately freely used the columns of the *Gazette* for abusing their adversaries. The charge brought against the Raja in the issue of the 14th November was not the first attack. Hence the Government of India should carefully satisfy itself of the truth of such statements before giving credence to them. The article of the Lahore English journal is a very impolitic

one, inasmuch as it will give Dalip Singh an undue idea of his importance and cause unnecessary grief to the Raja of Faridkot. In fact all Native Princes will be highly disappointed to find that, in spite of their loyalty and attachment to the British Government, the Anglo-Indian newspapers indulge in such unjust attacks upon them. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 22nd November, 1887*, pp. 727–730).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 19 November 1887**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 19th November, commenting on the same subject, says that the article in the *Civil and Military Gazette* is a tissue of falsehoods, and is a good example of making a mountain of a mole-hill. The *Gazette* should be ashamed of the article: it appears to have been deceived by some evil-minded Sikh, who seems to take pleasure in ruining the sacred temples of his community. At the anniversary of the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha there was no picture in front of the *gaddi*. A number of pictures, which a Bhagat had been able to collect, were placed by him outside the enclosure simply with a view to adorning the place; and as the meeting was held in the evening, the place was of course illuminated. Among the pictures put up at the place, there happened to be a photograph of Dalip Singh, and there is no doubt that the man, who collected the pictures, would have used even a photograph of the Czar if he had got one. The Lahore English newspapers should be ashamed to call itself the *Military Gazette* when it so much fears even a photograph of Dalip Singh. Is the possession of his photograph a sign of disloyalty? If so, several Noblemen at Lahore, who keep his photographs at their houses, must be condemned as rebels. In the same category must be placed the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, there being a large well-mounted photograph of Dalip Singh at the Government House at Lahore. If the argument of the *Gazette* were carried to its legitimate consequences, it would follow that those men, who do not possess photographs of Her Majesty, are also rebels. Hardly two or three thousand men in this country must have got her photographs: then all the other persons, including the editor of the *Gazette* whose office is probably without her photograph, should be blown from a gun. The fact is that English newspapers pride themselves in attacking native princes on the most trivial pretexts. The Raja of Faridkot is no more responsible for the proceedings of the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha than the *Civil and Military Gazette* is for those of the Salvation Army. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 22nd November, 1887*, pp. 730–731).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 1 December 1887**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 1st December, after quoting the comments of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, of the 29th November, on the photograph incident, says that the *Gazette*, finding that the Raja of Faridkot has stopped his connection with the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha, has withdrawn all the charges which it had brought against him in a previous issue. The *Koh* thanks it for the withdrawal of the charges, but says that it is wrong in stating that native newspapers had represented His Highness as the patron of the Sabha; they had only accepted the statement of the *Gazette* as to this. It remains to be seen when the Lahore Anglo-Indian newspaper will frankly confess that it was deceived by interested persons in making an unjust attack on the Raja. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 6th December, 1887*, p. 763).

***Aftab-i-Panjab*, 5 December 1887**

The *Aftab-i-Panjab* (Lahore), of the 5th December, is glad to say that the *Civil and Military Gazette* has lately withdrawn the charges which it had brought, in its issue of the 14th November, against the Raja of Faridkot in connection with the display of a photograph of Dalip Singh at the anniversary of the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha. The *Gazette* has been well advised in withdrawing the charges; otherwise the matter would have assumed serious dimensions, and there was no knowing where it would have ended. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 13th December, 1887*, p. 782).

***Subodh Sindhu*, 7 December 1887**

The *Subodh Sindhu* (Khandwa), of the 7th December, says that it appears from the Hindu Puranas that Kans, the King of Muttra, was so greatly frightened by Sri Krishna Chandra's enmity that he always saw his enemy's image, whether he was at work or at dinner or in sleep. He trembled through fear and anger at the very mention of his enemy's name. Similarly, the Anglo-Indian newspapers have been quite alarmed at Dalip Singh's going over to the Russian Government. They invent strange stories about him every day, and even wrongly represent natives as being his secret friends. The *Sindhu* then refers to the attack made by the *Civil and Military Gazette* on the Raja of Faridkot and the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha in connection with the photograph incident, and advises the Anglo-Indian newspapers to refrain from indulging in such unjust attacks. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab*,

*North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 13th December, 1887, p. 782).*

***Koh-i-Nur*, 10 December 1887**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 10th December, says that the *Civil and Military Gazette*, of the 29th November, in noticing the telegram addressed to the editor of the *Gazette* by Babu Gopal Chander Chatarji, Financial Minister of Faridkot, remarked that the telegram showed that the Raja of Faridkot would have not connection with the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha in future. It appears, however, from reference to the telegram that the Babu meant that His Highness had never had any connection with that association. The Anglo-Indian newspaper of Lahore was misinformed by interested persons as to the photograph incident. However, it should not have made such a violent attack on the Raja, even had the facts of the case been what they had been represented. His Highness must have been much grieved by the slander, for which the *Gazette* owes him an apology. Does the Lahore Anglo-Indian journal consider it a humiliation to confess its mistake? It thought that it did a great service to Government in bringing to notice the alleged disloyalty of a native prince, but it has really done great harm to Government by unnecessarily hurting the feelings of a loyal feudatory chief, such as the Raja of Faridkot. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will not allow the unfortunate incident to pass unnoticed. It should at least express its deep regret at the unjust attack made on the Raja by the *Gazette*, so that the authors of the calumny may feel ashamed and the Raja may be conciliated. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 13th December, 1887, pp. 781–782).*

***Nanak Prakash*, 29 May 1890**

The *Nanak Prakash* (Kapurthala), dated 29th May 1890, received on the 16th June 1890, states that the Raja of Faridkot has instituted a Civil suit against Bawa Udai Singh, *Rais* of Banachar, for the recovery of Rs. 900. At first the Raja used to look upon the Bawa with great favour and asked him to institute a libel case in 1887–88 against the Editor of the *Khalsa Akhbar*, which had published a drama indirectly attacking the Raja and the Bawa. The Raja paid all expense, but did not wish to be openly mixed up in the case. A short time after the Raja asked Bawa Udai Singh to hand him over some document which the Bawa declined to deliver and hence there arose some ill-feeling between them. The Raja being very anxious to obtain the document in question sent some of his trustworthy servants to Lahore. The latter asked Babu Seva Singh and Narain Singh, Secretaries of the Guru Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha, to secure

the restoration of the document promising pecuniary aid to the Sabha if they succeeded in getting back the document. The amount of money to be paid was also settled and several Raises mediated between the parties who swore on the *Guru Granthji*. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 21st June 1890*. Vol. III, No. 25, p. 228).

### ***Singh Sahai*, 15 July 1891**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 15th July 1891, in an article on Faridkot affairs observes that the Raja is a most vindictive character, and that his vindictiveness is ruining the State. As an instance of this the *Singh Sahai* cites a law suit which has been pending for some time, and which has cost the State more than the value of the property in dispute, and now threatens to prove still more costly, as the Raja has sent an agent to prosecute the case in England. What is worse, however, is that the Raja's vindictiveness is not confined to his subjects, but extends to his family. The Kanwar has become disgusted with the treatment to which he has been subjected. Indeed, the treatment accorded to him is of such shameful character, that the *Singh Sahai* under ordinary circumstances would have hesitate to give publicity to it. It will, however, be necessary to expose the facts in a future issue, and these facts have been supplied by the Kanwar himself. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 25th July 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 30, pp. 261–262).

### ***Singh Sahai*, 16 November 1892**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 16th November 1892, says that the following passage occurs in Jan Muhammad's *Jangnamah*, or History of the Sikh War, written at the time of the war: –

“Paharah Singh was a friend of the English, and was on bad terms with the Sikhs.”

The Paharah Singh referred to above was the grandfather of the Raja of Faridkot. He owned a few villages. After the battle of Ferozepore the Sikhs were retreating towards the Punjab and the English towards Hindustan, each party being under the impression that it had been defeated by the other. Paharah Singh, however, informed the English, that the Sikhs were flying and induced them to return and take the field again, with the result that they gained a victory. For this service Paharah Singh received a grant of some villages and the title of Raja. It is therefore idle on the part of the Sikhs to expect any good from the present Raja, whose grandfather betrayed the Sikhs. In support of this view the *Singh Sahai* states that a number of Sikhs went to Faridkot on the occasion of the Dasehra in the hope of getting a reward from the State, but they had to return disappointed after spending from Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 each. A party of Nirmalas

also went to the State, but one of the *Musahibs*, named Giani Singh, threatened to expel them with disgrace unless they bribed him. The poor *Sadhus* who expected great rewards from a Sikh State were compelled to pay a bride of Rs. 200 to the *Musahib* in question. The State did not give them even the amount extorted from them. It is easy to form an idea of the system of administration in the State from the above incident. The Tikka has left the State and is living on the bounty of the Maharaja of Patiala. Such a thing would never have happened if the State had been properly managed. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 10th December 1892*. Vol. v, No. 49, p. 490).

#### ***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 10 December 1892**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 10th December 1892, takes the *Singh Sahai* to task for its uncalled-for attack on the Raja of Faridkot (*vide* Selections No. 50). The *Singh Sahai*, the *Rafiq* says, has also found fault with Raja Phar Singh merely because he aided the British during the Sikh War, and consequently the article in question is not only an attack on the Faridkot State but on the Government as well. The *Rafiq* then goes on to say that the allegation made by the *Singh Sahai*, that the Faridkot State has never done anything for the benefit of the Sikhs, is devoid of truth seeing that the State has done more for the Sikh religion and the learned men among the Sikhs than any other State in the Punjab. It is true that the Raja is not in the habit of allowing revenue of the State to be squandered in an improper way, but he has always liberally aided the Sikhs in every matter affecting their welfare. After stating that there is no truth in the allegation that their heir-apparent of Faridkot is living on the bounty of the Maharaja of Patiala, the *Rafiq* calls upon the *Singh Sahai* to withdraw its stupid allegations regarding the State, and also the charge it has preferred against one of the State officials, otherwise it will suffer for the nonsense it has written. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 24th December 1892*. Vol. v, No. 51, p. 527).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 6 July 1895**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 6th July 1895, learns from a correspondent that the heir-apparent of Faridkot recently became angry with three of his servants at Kasauli for reasons which the writer does not consider it proper to detail. The servants in question fled to Faridkot, but the Tikka followed them and caused them to be subjected to the most barbarous punishments. The men were whipped so severely that they bled. Salt and red chillies were then sprinkled on their wounds, and the poor wretches were paraded through streets on donkeys with the faces blackened. The writer hears that one of the

men has already succumbed to this injuries and the other two are under treatment in Hospital. The Raja of Faridkot, who had gone on pilgrimage, has called upon the Wazir, Bawa Hardit Singh, to explain why he allowed such a thing to occur during His Highness' absence. The Government and the Commissioner of Jullundur should attend to the matter, and inquire into the causes which led the heir-apparent to inflict such brutal punishment. As Government does not allow such punishments to be inflicted on any human being, there is no reason why a Native State under its protection should be permitted to act like this. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 20th July 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 29, p. 395).

#### ***Nur Afshan*, 26 July 1895**

The *Nur Afshan* (Ludhiana), of the 26th July 1895, states that according to the *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 6th July the heir-apparent of Faridkot caused some of his servants to be beaten in such a brutal manner that one of the poor fellows died from the effects of the wounds and that the rest are in hospital. The Editor asks Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick whether the matter is one which should be allowed to pass unnoticed or whether it does not deserve to be inquired into by Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 17th August 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 33, p. 465).

#### ***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 7 January 1897**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 7th January 1897, learns from a correspondent that the Raja of Faridkot has opened some old granaries of the time of his grandfather, and is selling grain at cheap rates to the poor. This grain has become discoloured, and is almost as dark as indigo. The writer has learnt from reliable persons that several deaths have occurred among those who ate this grain. Government should attend to the matter, and cause the grain in question to be destroyed. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th January 1897*, Vol. x, No. 3, p. 36).

#### ***Punjab Samachar*, 1 February 1897**

The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), dated 1st February 1897, complains that the Raja of Faridkot has provided the poor zamindars of the State with wheat which has become discoloured from being buried for a long time. This wheat is supplied to those who agree to give in return an equal quantity of new wheat at the next harvest or pay for it at 10 annas per maund. The Editor has received a sample of the rotten wheat, which can be inspected by any one who likes to do so. It is said that several people have fallen ill from eating this wheat. The

Raja of Faridkot certainly deserves the thanks of the people for giving them an opportunity of putting an end to their miserable existence. Humanity, however, demands that the attention of the Government should be invited to the matter, as this wheat which is unfit even for the consumption of animals produces deadly effects on those who eat it. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 13th February 1897*, Vol. x, No. 7, p. 99).

### 3 Balbir Singh (1869–1906)

#### *Singh Sahai*, August 1898

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), for August 1898, remarks that the Sikhs are much grieved to hear of the death of Raja Bikrama Singh of Faridkot, but that they are glad to find that His Highness has left a son who is in every way fitted to take the place of his father. The State subjects are anxious that Government should at once confer the usual *khillat* on the Tika and invest him with full ruling powers, which he is fully qualified to exercise. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 24th September 1898*, Vol. x1, No. 39, p. 605).

#### *Aftab-i-Punjab*, 5 September 1898

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 5th September 1898, remarks that although the reins of the government of Faridkot have not as yet formally passed into the hands of the Heir-Apparent of the late Raja, the affairs of the State are managed under the direction of His Highness. Like his late father, the Tika Sahib possesses a clear brain and a vigilant eye, and looks after the working of every department of the State. His Highness's brief administration of Faridkot gives promise of his being able to endear himself to this subjects. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th September 1898*, Vol. x1, No. 38, p. 585).

#### *Victoria Paper*, 9 September 1898

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 9th September 1898, writing on the same subject, remarks that the death of Raja Bikrama Singh is regarded as the precursor of a great revolution in the Faridkot State, and that it is, therefore, desirable that proper arrangements should be made for its future administration. The Editor is of opinion that the Punjab Government should continue to exercise personal (sic) supervision over the State administration until it is satisfied



that its affairs are working as smoothly as in the lifetime of the late Raja. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 24th September 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 39, p. 605).

***Nazim-ul-Hind*, 7 October 1899**

The same paper [the *Nazim-ul-Hind*] observes that the Faridkot State is making remarkable progress, and that its prosperity bears eloquent testimony to the high administrative ability of the late Raja. It is also gratifying to learn that the present Chief promises to prove a worthy successor of his deceased father, and that His Highness has appointed able and trustworthy persons to responsible posts in the service of the State. The Editor then praises the members of the State Council for working conscientiously and having the interests of Faridkot always at heart. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 28th October 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 43, p. 614).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 10 February 1900**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), dated the 10th February 1900, publishes a communication from one Ralla Ram of Hoshiarpur who states that Guru Ram Narain Singh of Anandpur arrived at Faridkot from Patiala on the 19th January 1900. On the 25th idem the Guru administered *amrat* [*amrit*] to Raja Balbir Singh, ruler of the Faridkot State, who is a sincere believer in his faith. Great rejoicings, says the writer, were held on the occasion, and both the Darbaris and the army showed great respect for the Guru. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th February 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 7, p. 77).

***Wakil*, 17 May 1900**

The *Wakil* (Amritsar), dated 17th May 1900, complains that the Raja of Faridkot who has not yet been invested with full ruling powers by the Government recently fined all the Muhammadans of village Kot Kapura, which is a Railway Junction Station, at the rate of one rupee per house for the offence of pronouncing the *Azan* (call to prayer) aloud. The Muhammadan Lambardars have been fined Rs. 15 each, the Hindu Lambardar and Chaudris Rs 7-8-0 each, and the Hindu residents of the village annas 8 per house, for not preventing the Muhammadans from saying the *Azan* aloud. The *Imams* of the mosques, who were 11 in number, have been imprisoned. The Editor trusts that the Punjab Government, and the Commissioner and Superintendent of the Jullundur Division, who is also the Political Officer of the State, will interfere and have justice meted out to the aggrieved. They will, it is hoped, also take measures to prevent the recurrence of such *Nadir Shahi* in the State. (*Selections from the*

*Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th May 1900, Vol. XIII, No. 20, p. 252).*

***Hakam*, 31 May 1900**

The *Hakam* (Kadian), dated 31st May 1900, takes those people to task who are in the habit of accusing the Mirza of Kadian of praising the Government, and observes that Government really deserves praise for granting religious liberty to the people. This liberty, remarks the Editor, contrasts with the oppression that has recently been practiced on the Muhammadans of Faridkot State where, in a parganah called Kot Kapura, the Muhammadans have been fined for pronouncing the *azan* aloud. The Editor promises to revert to the subject in a future issue. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 23rd June 1900, Vol. XIII, No. 25, p. 304).*

***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 9 June 1900**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 9th June 1900, publishes a communication in which the writer, expressing regret at the Muharram riots at Jodhpur, observes that the example of the Raja of Faridkot should be imitated by other Native Chiefs. A Muhammadan employe of the Public Works Department at Faridkot having applied for leave in order to observe the Muharram and parade the *Tazias*, His Highness not only granted the leave applied for, but also permitted the application to collect subscriptions from the State officials and to take furniture, &c., from the State Toshakhana. The Raja also promised that offerings should be made by the State. Such impartiality and religious toleration on part of His Highness has won the hearts of the Muhammadans. Khwajah Mastan Shah, of Kabul, was also present in the State and preached sermons, and the Hindus and Muhammadans benefited alike by his preaching. Prayers were said for the long life of the Raja. Perfect union prevails among the Hindus and the Muhammadans of Faridkot. His Highness the Raja of Faridkot is to be congratulated on his successful administration, and other Native Chiefs should follow his example. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 30th June 1900, Vol. XIII, No. 26, p. 322).*

***Singh Sahai*, 5 July 1900**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 5th July 1900, publishes a communication in which the writer complains that one Buti Ram, Sarishtadar to the Raja of Faridkot, was convicted and punished thrice in the time of the late Raja. He was once sentenced to imprisonment, then he was dismissed, and the third time he was fined Rs. 50. The files of these cases are to be found in the State. At the time of the accession of the gaddi of the present Raja, Buti Ram deceived

the Commissioner and the Raja, and stated that he had served 40 years in the State. He thus secured the post of Mir Munshi on the recommendation of a certain person. He is now plundering the people. If the Commissioner and the Raja institute secret enquiries everything will be brought to light by the persons aggrieved. The writer remarks that it will be shown hereafter how much money belonging to the State has been misappropriated by Buti Ram, and calls upon His Highness the Raja to suspend him and make enquiries into his conduct. Buti Ram does whatever he likes and no complaint can reach the Raja's ears, even through the post, and hence nobody dares complain against him. The writer observes that if the Raja institutes enquiries into his conduct he will fly from the State. It is, therefore, necessary that His Highness should suspend him and direct him to be kept in custody while enquiries are being made. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 21st July 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 29, pp. 352–353).

***Singh Sahai, 15 July 1900***

The *Singh Sahai*, (Amritsar), of the 15th July 1900, says that the Raja of Faridkot has been advised to confer the post of Wazir on Babu Baroda Kant Lahiri. The Editor is, however, unable to support the proposal inasmuch as Faridkot, being a Sikh State, it is highly desirable that a Sikh should be selected for the post. The Babu was, doubtless, Prime Minister of the State once before, but the late Raja was a strong ruler, and all persons could find easy access to him. All this has been changed now, and it is essential under the circumstances that the office of Prime Minister should be conferred on an able Sikh. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 11th August 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 32, p. 397).

***Public Gazette, 24 October 1900***

The *Public Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 24th October 1900, reports that at the Darbar held by His Highness during the Dussehra celebration of the Raja of Faridkot expressed regret that certain affairs of State had so far prevented him from introducing reforms in the administration, and promised to take greater interest in the welfare of his subjects in future. He then declared that he had decided to establish a cattle market, &c., in Faridkot, and spread education in the State. The Editor hopes the Raja will walk in the footsteps of his late father, during whose time Faridkot was in a flourishing condition. For the present he would request His Highness to discontinue the practice of permitting gambling on the occasion of the Dewali on payment of fees, as it does not become a ruler to encourage this vice in his subjects. (*Selections from the Vernacular*

*Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd November 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 44, p. 581).

***Ahluwalia Gazette*, 16 May 1901**

The *Ahluwalia Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 16th (received on the 27th) May 1901, says that it has received several complaints regarding the oppression practiced on the State subjects by certain corrupt officials of Faridkot State. After divulging the names of the officials, the correspondents allege that owing to the highhandedness of these worthies, several cases have been pending or the last 14 years; that certain persons belonging to a respectable family have been rotting in jail since a long time; that the subordinate officials of the State have not received their salaries for several months past; and that there is not hope of their doings so at an early date. It may also be mentioned here that no payments are made to merchants for good bought for the State, and that also under the regime of the present just and generous Raja. One of the corrupt officials in question is Maulvi Wali Ullah, who is in the habit of withholding all payment for all work done for him. For instance, recently, he got a number of his books bound by a certain book-binder, but has not so far paid anything to the man. After expressing his unwillingness to disclose the names of the other officials, the Editor urges the Raja to put a stop to such scandals by punishing the officials complained against. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 1st June 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 22, p. 314).

***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 25 May 1901**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 25th May 1901, says that the subjects of the Faridkot State are to be congratulated on having as their ruler an enlightened, educated and kind-hearted Prince. The present Raja, adds the Editor, has greatly improved the tone of his administration by appointing capable men in all its branches, while he himself takes great interest in public affairs. Again, the State is very fortunate in having secured the services of an able and successful lawyer like Rai Baroda Kantha Lahiri for the post of Prime Minister. After remarking that the Rai takes great pains in supervising the working of every department, the *Rafiq* observes that the residents of Faridkot are much better off than those of many other Native States. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th June 1901*, Vol. XIV. No. 23, p. 340).

***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 8 February 1902**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 8th February 1902, is grieved to learn that an attempt has been made to prejudice the Commissioner of Jullundur against

the popular Raja of Faridkot. A certain document purporting to have been written by His Highness has been laid before the said officer, but the former denies that it has come from his pen. At all events, the matter is a trivial one, and it is to be hoped that the Commissioner, who is an able and wide-awake officer, will not wound the feelings of the popular and loyal ruler of Faridkot by making a mountain out of a mole hill. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th February 1902*, Vol. xv. No. 7, p. 98).

***Singh Sahai-i-Punjab Gazette*, 1 June 1902**

The *Singh Sahai-i-Punjab Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 1st June 1902, learns that the Raja of Faridkot has been advised by the Commissioner to settle all complaints made against him within six months, and to devote himself more energetically to the administration of his State. The Editor approves of the advice, and expresses a hope that His Highness will get rid of his corrupt officials and follow in the footsteps of the late Raja Bikram Singh. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 28th June 1902*, Vol. xv. No. 26, p. 370).

***Hamdard-i-Hind*, 14 January 1905**

The *Hamdard-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 14th January 1905, writing about the recent Imperial Service Troops meeting at Faridkot, alleges that the function has cost the Raja as much as six lakhs of rupees, the victualling contractor alone having pocketed Rs. 36,000. The Editor finds fault with the Raja for wasting money like this, and adds that if His Highness continues to be the spend-thrift he is, the sum of Rs. 97,00,000 left by his father will soon slip through his fingers. And were Lord Curzon to take notice of his extravagant habits his investiture with full ruling powers would be postponed indefinitely. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers Published in the Punjab, Received up to 21st January 1905*, Vol. xviii, No. 3, p. 15).

***Army News*, 17 February 1906**

The *Army News* (Ludhiana), of the 17th February 1906, after expressing regret at the death of Raja of Faridkot says that Government should enquire as to why most of the rulers of Native States die at an early age. If Lord Curzon were at the head of affairs, the Editor would urge the appointment of a commission to enquire into the matter. He then goes on to say that since Government has taken the responsibility of educating the Native Chiefs it is also bound to ascertain the cause of their premature death and remedy the evil. (*Selections from*

*the Native Newspapers Published in the Punjab, Received up to 24th February 1906*, Vol. XIX, No. 8, p. 55).

#### 4 Brijinder Singh (1896–1918)

##### *Sher-i-Babar*, 5 January 1909

The *Sher-i-Babar* (Lahore), of the 5th (received on the 15th), January 1909, publishes a paragraph headed "The Faridkot State Council." Referring to the approaching retirement of the present president of the above Council, the Editor says that if vacancies like the one which is to be caused by the said event had been filled irrespective of any considerations of policy there would have been no necessity for him to write anything on the present occasion. As it is, he adds, considerations of the above nature have much to do in the filling of such vacancies, with the result that the Guru's followers are kept in the back-ground in Sikh States, where they ought to possess a commanding influence. It is an open secret that the appointment of non-Sikhs to the Councils of Sikh States injuriously affects the interests of the Sikh community. The paper does not, therefore, consider it unbecoming on its part to suggest that some able Sikh should be selected for the vacancy which will shortly be caused on the Faridkot State Council. It invites the attention of the responsible authorities to the matter and expresses a hope that they will not follow a deep policy under the pretence of (favouring) experience. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th January 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 3, p. 71).

##### *Civil and Military News*, 18 July 1910

The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 18th July 1910, publishes a communication headed "The Medical Department of the Faridkot State." The writer regrets to have to record that there should be not a single qualified doctor in the service of the State. There is, of course, he adds, a Hospital Assistant in the army, but he looks after soldiers alone. He then goes on to say that the Medical Officer of the State is a failed student of the Military Hospital Assistant Class. After finding fault with the latter's knowledge of medicine, the correspondent alleges that the residents of Faridkot have to go to Ferozepore and Moga to have even common ailments diagnosed. Recently His Highness the Raja was taken ill and the Medical Officer treated him for fever, whereas the Civil Surgeon, Ferozepur, who was telegraphed for after three day's unavailing treatment, was of opinion that the Raja was in trouble from tonsillitis. In conclusion, the writer

suggests that an able Assistant Surgeon at least should be appointed to the post of Medicial Officer. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 23rd July 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 29, pp. 645).

### ***Tribune*, 4 March 1911**

The following is from the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 4th March 1911: –

“Faridkot is a Sikh State as well as Kapurthala, but while Kapurthala has a large territory and a large revenue, Faridkot is a very small State. The heir to the Kapurthala State was married, recently and the young Raja of Faridkot has also just been married. The principal official in Kapurthala is Mr. Fenech, a Civilian, while the Faridkot Council of Regency is presided over by Sardar Bahadur Dayal Singh Man, who was formerly a revenue officer under the Punjab Government. In Kapurthala a marriage tax was imposed and extorted from the people – an unheard of practice in a Sikh State. The ruler derives all his wealth from the people, but the people had also to find the money for the waste and extravagance of the marriage festivities. Guests were invited from France and Timbuctoo, and probably also from the moon. No money was spent on a single benevolent object or work of public utility. The whole affair was scandalous and reflected the greatest discredit on Mr. French, the principal official. At Faridkot there were no nautches, no drinking, but instead of a theatrical performance organized by a temperance society exposing the evils of drink. Rupees 10,000 were given to various religious and other institutions on the occasion of the marriage; the Faridkot Durbar have undertaken to establish and maintain a girls’ school at Shahzadpore, where the Raja was married and which is in the Ambala district; the Dane granaries with elevators were opened by the Lieutenant-Governor on the same occasion; and the Council of Regency are to be warmly congratulated on the admirable manner in which the Raja’s marriage has been commemorated.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 4th March 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 9, p. 217).

### ***Zemindar*, 16 September 1911**

The *Zemindar* (Lahore), of the 16th September 1911, has a note under the heading “A noble-minded and enlightened Sikh gentleman.” The Editor states that a few days back some Muslim residents of Faridkot told him that, as the wife of Sardar Dayal Singh Man, President of the Regency Council, was ill and felt upset by loud voices, some influential friend of the Sardar’s had ordered that men in charge of the neighbouring places of worship not to make calls for prayers in a loud tone of voice, and directed them to abstain from ringing bells and blowing conches. He was also given to understand that the order had given offence to the general public; but as he knew that Sardar Dayal Singh was a

most just, enlightened, and peaceful gentleman, he wrote to the last-named to ask for the truth. In the reply (which is reproduced) received by him the Sardar states that he now learns that a Muhammadan friend of his asked the *Muazzin* (in the adjoining mosque) to make the call for the morning prayer only in a low tone of voice; but that it would please the Editor to know that this had absolutely no effect on the man. The Sardar adds that he is a well-wisher of Islam and Muhammadans; that he has caused (several) copies of the Quran to be bought for the use of Muslim prisoners; that he visits the Jail (at Faridkot) every second or third day to advise the said convicts to recite the book named and to observe prayers and fasts; and that he wishes to have repairs done to the (local) *Idqah*, which is now in ruins. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 30th September 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 39, p. 1001).

### ***Panjabee*, 27 August 1912**

The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 27th August 1912: –

“The Faridkot Princess is to be married some time in November to the young Maharaja of Bharatpur. The Maharaja was born on the 4th October 1899, so that he is just 13 years of age and the Princess who is to marry him is a year younger than him. Sardar Bahadur Dyal Singh Man is according to Hindus a very fortunate man for he will have brought about two marriages during his regime. We note that Bharatpur has just imported a tutor all the way from England for the Maharaja on a salary of Rs. 1,300 with free quarters, &c. He will have the unique privilege of witnessing the marriage of his ward and carrying away with him the impression of that happy event to his country.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 31st August 1912*, Vol. XXV, No. 35, p. 718).

## **5 Council of Regency (1918–1934)**

### ***Khalsa Advocate*, 7 January 1919**

Writing about the death of the Maharaja of Faridkot, the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 7th January 1919, says: –

“Evidently a Council of Regency shall have to be formed to carry on the administration. ... We would ... request the Government to avoid any person who may not have a real love for the late Maharaja and on his account with the bereaved Royal family. ... Sardar Sahib Sardar Indar Singh is the best man (to appoint as President of the Regency Council) and we hope his services will be availed of. He has learnt to love and admire his late pupil and master since



boyhood and we hope no better selection can be made. Sardar Sahib is a highly educated and a well qualified gentleman. He has been connected with State as Home Minister since the last regency period expired, and has therefore a sufficient knowledge of its affairs. ... As to the member of the Council we respectfully urge the rights of the State subjects and the Sikhs. The State is a Sikh State and the appointment of a non-Sikh to the highest office of the Regency Government will be for reasons of both policy and principle most undesirable." (*Selections from the Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 11th January 1919. Vol. XXXII, No. 2, p. 20*).

***New Herald, 30 March 1919***

The *New Herald*, of the 30th March 1919, writes: –

"There is a strong rumour that a certain favourite of a certain high official is to be appointed President of the Council of Regency, Faridkot. We wish to bring it to the notice of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor that in the opinion of the Faridkot public the best interests of the State and the family of the late lamented Maharaja Brijindar Singh demand that only a Sikh should be entrusted with the great responsibilities of the post. The young prince requires the guidance of an orthodox Sikh, because it is only then that, when grown up, he would be able to serve the State and Imperial Government like his forefathers." (*Punjab Press Abstracts. Vol. XXXII, Lahore: The 5th April 1919, No. 14, p. 138*).

***Khalsa Advocate, 19 August 1919***

The *Khalsa Advocate*, of the 19th August 1919, writes: –

"We learn that [the late Maharaja of Faridkot] requested the Punjab Government for the loan of the services of a judicial officer. Before any decision was made His Highness fell ill and passed away. Now the appointment has been made and a Hindu gentleman of the provincial service has been selected. This, we beg to submit, is hardly just either to the Sikhs or the State. The State is a Sikh State and it is quite unjust that they should be thus precluded and others preferred over them. In the service there are several and capable Sikh officers and any one of them could be appointed. We beg to invite the attention of the Punjab Government and request that the interests of the State, and of the young princes, demand that preference be given to Sikhs, whose care for the State must be spontaneous and natural. We hope some Sikh members of the service will be taken in even now, as was desired by His Highness, and that in future special preference will be given to the Sikhs." (*Punjab Press Abstracts. Vol. XXXII, Lahore: The 23rd August 1919, No. 34, p. 271*).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 28 January 1921**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 28th January: –

“When the late lamented Maharaja [of Faridkot] died we pressed on the Government the necessity of appointing a Sikh as President of its Council. Sir Michael O'Dwyer had, however, a protégé in Rai Bahadur Ganga Sahai, and in his anxiety to provide him with a good billet, other interests were not so much heeded as they deserved to be. With all his experience of different States and British service, the Rai Bahadur is essentially a non-Sikh and his art of government is the one he learnt at the feet of his master Sir Michael. ‘Devoid of sympathy and love, he knows how to carry on.’ The people have found in him a cold master and his colleagues as mechanical chief. His health is now shattered. ... We, therefore, now give a timely counsel to our sympathetic Governor that no further mistake may be committed in selecting his successor. The State wants primarily a Sikh officer of experience, ability and character. There is no lack of such Sikhs now in the Provincial Civil Service. ... Apart from other questions of administration, the betrothals and marriages of the princes and princesses of the ruling family, the publication of the Faridkot commentary of Sri Guru Granth Sahib ... and other kindred subjects require a thoroughly Sikh heart, born and bred in Sikh lore to guide the destinies of the State during the long impending minority of the Tikka Sahib. Let us hope that our Governor-in-Council will not disappoint the Sikhs by his selection of the next President.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 5th February 1921, No. 6, p. 68).

***Akali*, 25 December 1923**

The *Akali* reports that Sardar Indar Singh, President of the Council of Administration, Faridkot, has issued a communiqué to the effect that Sikhs should not offer prayers and deliver national speeches in gurdwaras on pain of being severely punished. The communiqué shows what ideas are entertained by the Sardar and Colonel Minchin to ruin the Akalis. If the Sardar does not soon change his attitude he will shortly be humiliated as Gurdial Singh was and his name will be entered in the list of the betrayers of the Sikh community. In view of the above communiqué we consider it necessary to request the Akali heroes and those devoted to the country and nation to treat such documents as the brave and valiant Kaiser treated the Anglo-German treaties, that is as scraps of paper. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 5th January 1924*, No. 1, p. 10).

***Punjab Darpan*, 8 February 1924**

The *Punjab Darpan* has received reports to the effect that S. Indar Singh, President of the Council of Administration, Faridkot, is doing his best, at the instance of the bureaucracy, to crush the Gurdwara reform movement in that State. It is an ordinary thing for him to sentence Akalis to seven years' imprisonment each. They are not only fettered and handcuffed but are tied with pegs fixed in walls, from which they are suspended on becoming unconscious. They are accorded such brutal treatment that a recital of it makes one's hair stand on end. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 23rd February 1924*, No. 8, p. 71).

## Other Princely States

### 1 Maharaja and State of Jind

#### *Oudh Ukbar*, 26 February 1867

The *Oudh Ukbar* of the 26th February states that His Excellency the Viceroy has signified his pleasure at the conduct of the Rajah of Jheend [Jind] in having issued a prohibitory order concerning the sale of female children in his territory. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjaub, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 24th to the 31st of March, 1867*, p. 131).

#### *Urdu Delhi Gazette*, 14 November 1874

The *Urdu Delhi Gazette* of the 14th November mentions a rumour current at Ambala, to the effect that the son of the Raja of Jhind has attempted to poison his father. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 23rd November, 1874*, p. 572).

#### *Oudh Punch*, 9 April 1878

A correspondent of the *Oudh Punch* of the 9th April, writing from Kangra, says that the Rajas of Jhind and Faridkote are coming to this district on a pilgrimage to Jwalaji in order to purify themselves from the sins of the imperial assemblage. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 13th April, 1878*, p. 314).

#### *Azad*, 17 November 1885

A correspondent of the *Azad* (Lucknow), of the 17th November, complains that tyrant and oppression prevail in Jhind, and that consequently large numbers of people have migrated from the State. No one can build a new house without paying something to the Darbar. A fee of one rupee has to be paid to the State on the occasion of the birth of a male child in a family. Officers extort bribes from well-to-do persons in a variety of ways. The Maharaja never makes a tour in the State to enquire into the high-handedness of his officers. It would be well if a Resident were appointed in Jhind. (*Selections from the*

*Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 24th November, 1885, pp. 830–831).*

***Azad, 23 March 1886***

A correspondent of the same paper [the *Azad*] complains of the alleged prevalence of maladministration in Jhind. The officials are notoriously corrupt and fleece the people. Taxation is very heavy. A tax has to be paid to the State even on the birth of a son in a family. The administration of justice is most unsatisfactory. Many persons have long been relegated to the jail for indefinite periods. But, of course, any prisoner can obtain a release by paying bribes to the officers. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 30th March, 1886, p. 258*).

***Koh-i-Nur, 10 March 1887***

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 10th March, expresses deep regret at the death of the Raja of Jind, and says that he was an able and good ruler and a faithful adherent of the British Government. The intelligence of his death will be received with great sorrow and concern by the Panjab Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 15th March, 1887, p. 171*).

***Umballa Gazette, 19 February 1895***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 19th February 1895, complains that the Jind State officials embezzled large sums of money on the occasion of the marriage of the Raja's sister. One official bought sugar worth Rs. 10,000 at Rs. 9 per maund and sold it to the State at Rs. 12–12–0. In the same way charpoys worth Rs. 3 each were charged for the rate of Rs. 5–2–0. The Editor complains that the provisions supplied to the guests were of an inferior quality, and that great mismanagement prevailed on the occasion. The same paper states that one of the member of the Jind Council of Regency recently proposed that, in order to give the Raja an insight into the management of the State, His Highness should be allowed to undergo practical training in the work of the State administration, but that the remaining two members were opposed to the proposal, which accordingly fell through. The Editor calls upon the Punjab Government to direct the members of Council to train the Raja in administrative work. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 9th March 1895. Vol. VIII, No. 10, p. 138*).

***Umballa Gazette, 10 September 1895***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 10th September 1895, is at a loss to understand why the Council of Regency should not teach the young Raja of Jind the work of administering the State. Has the Council received no orders from Government? If the Council behaves in such a way it will suffer. How is it that the application made by Hakim Faiz Muhammad Khan offering to teach His Highness has not been considered. It is said that certain disloyal people have become hostile to the Hakim for making this application; but if he discharges his duties honestly and conscientiously no body can injure him. If the Council does not really intend to train the young Raja, why should His Highness be required to attend its meetings and waste his time. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 21st September 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 38, p. 560).

***Umballa Gazette, 5 September 1896***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 15th September 1896, remarks that the Raja of Jind having attained his majority and completed his education should be invested with ruling powers, so that High Highness may not contract bad habits for want of employment. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th September 1896*, Vol. IX, No. 39, p. 550).

***Umballa Gazette, 22 September 1896***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 22nd September 1896, urges that the Raja of Jind should be invested with ruling powers, otherwise His Highness will be spoilt. If Government intends conferring these powers on the Raja after the lapse of a further period of six months, it should direct the Council to allow His Highness to sit with them and take part in deciding cases. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd October 1896*, Vol. IX, No. 40, p. 563).

***Punjab Samachar, 22 November 1896***

The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 22nd November 1896, remarks that although the Raja of Jind has not yet ascended the *gaddi*, charges of incompetency are already being brought against him, and efforts are being secretly made with a view to persuading the Government to appoint an adviser (Political Ataliq) to His Highness as soon as he is invested with full ruling powers. The Editor considers it anything but fair to condemn a ruler without giving him a trial and before he has entered on his career. When the Raja visited Lahore on the occasion of the last Darbar he appeared a clever and intelligent

youth and no complain serious enough to justify the adoption of the course recommended has ever been heard against him. There is therefore no reason why His Highness should be treated like the rulers of Bhurtpore and Jhallawar unless convincing proofs of his unfitness are forthcoming. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 5th December 1896*, Vol. IX, No. 49, p. 690).

***Umballa Gazette*, 24 November 1896**

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 24th November 1896, remarks that the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore) republished in a recent issue a paragraph from a certain Anglo-Indian newspaper which stated that the young Raja of Jind did not promise to make a good ruler. The Editor is unable to endorse this view, and remarks that the Raja has done nothing to justify the assumption that he is not fit to rule. Moreover, the Treaty engagements between the Government and the Phulkian States contain no provision to the effect that a Raja should not be invested with ruling powers on attaining his majority until he has passed an examination proving his fitness for the high office he is called upon to fill. The Raja is as able as young Native Chiefs ordinarily are. If certain officials now exercising unlimited powers are anxious that His Highness should not be invested with ruling powers, then it is a different thing. The Editor is of opinion that the motives of Government will be suspected even if it delays conferring ruling powers on the Raja, as this action would lead the public to infer that Government is anxious to retain its hold on the State regardless of Treaty engagements. If the Chief indulges in extravagance, he will injure himself and not the State. If Government does not invest him with powers, he will consider that he has not been fairly treated, and will cherish feelings of resentment against the authorities; but if he is installed at once, he will feel himself under a special obligation to the Paramount Power. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 12th December 1896*, Vol. IX, No. 50, pp. 706–707).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 15 December 1896**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), dated 15th December 1896, publishes a communication in which the writer remarks that the young Raja of Jind, whose investiture with full powers is anxiously looked forward to by his subjects, has issued certain orders for mitigating the severity of the prevailing distress, which reflects great credit on him. He has prohibited the export of grain from his territory, and prices have consequently fallen. His Highness has proposed to grant one lakh of rupees as *takavi* advances to zamindars. Some money will

also be spent on charitable relief, and the Tahsildars of the State have been called upon to submit lists of famine stricken people who deserve gratuitous relief. The Tahsildar of Dadu has also submitted proposals for opening certain relief works. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th December 1896*, Vol. IX, No. 52, p. 742).

***Rafiq-i-Hindustan*, 26 January 1897**

The *Rafiq-i-Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 26th January 1897, states that the heir-apparent of the Raja of Jind wastes his time in playing cricket, polo, &c., but is represented as making good progress in education. The Editor complains that a respectable State official lately married a woman who was a beggar in the streets. The woman has acquired a complete mastery over her husband, who is led by the nose in the discharge of his official duties. The woman now takes *nasrana* (presents) with the same hands which she used to spread before the people in begging. This has caused great confusion in the State, and oppression is being practiced on the people. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 6th February 1897*, Vol. x, No. 6, p. 88).

***Rafiq-i-Hindustan*, 1 February 1897**

The *Rafiq-i-Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 1st February 1897, complains that the great mismanagement prevails in the Jind State. Bribery and corruption are rampant, while the work of the Judicial Department is carried on in a most unsatisfactory manner. The Members of Council instead of attending to the work entrusted to them waste their time in intriguing. It is a matter of regret that the young Raja also spends a great deal of his time in licentiousness and play. The Editor promises to expose the *ahlkars* who prevent the Raja from learning the administrative work of the State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 13th February 1897*, Vol. x, No. 7, p. 105).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 13 February 1897**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 13th February 1897, publishes a communication in which the writer states that the Raja of Sangrur has developed a great liking for sport, and that his shooting expeditions are proving the ruin of the already famine-stricken zamindars of the Amargarh Tahsil in the Patiala State, as the scanty crops which they have raised with great difficulty are trampled down during the Maharaja's hunting parties. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 27th February 1897*, Vol. x, No. 9, p. 136).



***Umballa Gazette, 11 May 1897***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 11th May 1897, remarks that those officials of the Jind State who have enjoyed unlimited authority during the minority of the Raja and who are now in fear of losing the same on the Raja's installation are spreading evil rumours in order to prejudice the Government against His Highness. The Editor has never heard any report regarding the Raja's incapacity to manage the State. Some people find fault with him for being fond of hunting and polo. The Editor is of opinion that there is no harm in these innocent pastimes which afford pleasure and at the same time make a man active. Others complain that His highness wears English dress. For this, however, the blame, if any, rests with the British Government and the Council of Regency which placed the Raja under a European. The Maharaja of Patiala was invested with full powers before he was eighteen, and there is no reason why the Raja of Jind, who has completed his eighteenth year, should not also be invested with ruling powers. The Editor remarks that if any delay occurs on the part of Government in conferring such powers, it will lead the people to suspect its good faith and give offence to the other Chiefs of the Punjab. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd May 1897*, Vol. x, No. 21, pp. 393-394).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 6 September 1897***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 6th September 1897, regrets that Government seems inclined to withdraw the concessions granted to the Phulkian States of Patiala, Nabha and Jind in recognition of the services rendered by them to the British Government during the Sikh Wars and the Sepoy Mutiny. One of these concessions was that no Resident or Political Agent should be appointed to these States. Accordingly no European official has up to the present been accredited to these States to perform the functions of a Resident or Political Agent. Efforts were of course made to induce the present Maharaja of Patiala to appoint some European official of Government as his adviser or Private Secretary, but these proved abortive. The young and simple Raja of Jind, who is very fond of power, has, however, been caught hold of now. It is rumoured that Government has obtained from the Raja a written agreement (*tahrir*) to the effect that the Jind Council should be abolished; that His Highness should be invested with full powers; and that some European Officer should be lent to him to manage his affairs. The Editor understands that Colonel Massy will be sent to Jind as the Raja's Agent and will have the entire management of the State in his hands. It is a matter of regret that such a step, which will have the effect of impugning the good faith of the British

Government, should have been taken by the Government of an able and experienced Lieutenant-Governor like Sir Mackworth Young. It may be mentioned in this connection that in the time of the late Maharaja Narindra Singh it was agreed upon between the Phulkian States that should the ruler of any one of them be incapable of ruling his State owing to his being a minor or for any other reason the other two should, with the previous sanction of Government, undertake the management of the State. This agreement was ratified by the Supreme Government. Under these circumstances the authorities have no excuse for interfering in the management of Jind. It is stated that the rulers of Patiala and Nabha have not approved of the decision of the Punjab Government. This is as it should be. Sir Mackworth Young declines to reconsider this decision, the matter should be taken up to the Government of India and, if necessary, to the Secretary of State. If this is not done and the evil is not nipped in the bud, the contagion will spread to Patiala and Nabha also. Besides, Government should not forget that the Phulkian States have always stood by it and will not hesitate to make any sacrifice for its sake. It will therefore be impolitic as well as unwise to interfere in their management. This will, moreover, wound the feelings of the Sikhs, who are the most loyal subjects of Her Majesty. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 2nd October 1897*, Vol. x, No. 40, pp. 853–854).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 13 September 1897**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 13th September 1897, understands that the Raja of Jind has not requested the Punjab Government to lend him the services of any European official. On the other hand, it is the Government which has decided on this step of its own accord. The European official in question will exercise a sort of supervision over the Raja as also over the Jind Council. But has European supervision done any good to His Highness in the past? The Editor is of opinion that if the Raja really stands in need of supervision, the task should be entrusted to the rulers of Patiala and Nabha, who will always have his interest at heart. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 2nd October 1897*, Vol. x, No. 40, p. 854).

***Umballa Gazette*, 20 September 1898**

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 20th September 1898, is glad to learn that Sir Mackworth Young intends visiting Jind on his return from Simla. As the articles published in the Gazette are laid before the Punjab Government, the Editor considers it his duty to bring to notice of His Honor the fact that the State subjects are at a loss to understand why the young Raja has not yet

been invested with ruling powers. The Raja is fully qualified to carry on the administration of the State, and it is not easy to see why the authorities, who have taken such pains in educating him, should any longer hesitate in the matter. The Editor, therefore, respectfully urges the Government to confer ruling powers on the Raja without further delay, so as to remove the unfavourable impression produced on the minds of the State subjects regarding the motives of Government in withholding such powers. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 1st October 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 40, p. 625).

#### ***Umballa Gazette, 4 October 1898***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), dated 4th October 1898, regrets to learn that His Excellency the Viceroy will return from his tour to Nabha without visiting Jind. The news has caused general regret among all concerned. Had Sardar Jagat Singh been alive at present, things would not have come to such a pass and given cause for sorrow and regret to the people. His successor, Sardar Sher Singh, is in the habit of making purchases personally at the shops of common *kabaris*. The Editor promises to revert to the subject in some future issue. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th October 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 42, p. 657).

#### ***Victoria Paper, 5 October 1898***

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 5th October 1898, writing regarding the Raja of Jind's intended trip to England, says that Government should permit His Highness to leave his State only on the condition that he behaves himself in England, takes only old and well-conducted Musahibs with him, and abstains from travelling on the Continent. The authorities should, moreover, see that the trip does not involve the Jind State in endless debts. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd October 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 43, p. 674).

#### ***Umballa Gazette, 18 October 1898***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of 18th October 1898, states that the heir-apparent of Jind is an able and competent man who has been brought up under the tutelage of Mr. Bradshaw. The time is fast approaching when the public will see for themselves the able manner in which he dispenses justice. The Editor is aware that Government receives confidential reports regarding all matters, and if the heir-apparent of Jind is invested with full powers at his investiture, Government will not only earn the gratitude of the heir-apparent, but will also win the hearts of the Sikh community. Selfish people do not wish

that full powers should be conferred on him, but the Government will not, as in justice bound, listen to such self-interested people.

(*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd October 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 43, p. 674).

***Umballa Gazette, 13 December 1898***

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), dated 13th December 1898, regrets to remark that Government has not turned its attention to its suggestion regarding the investiture of the Raja of Sangrur with ruling powers. His Highness is an able man, who has received his training and education under high officials of Government. He is an enlightened ruler and it is time that Government should confer full ruling powers on His Highness, as it is feared that he may otherwise contract bad habits owing to want of employment. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th December 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 51, p. 787).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 15 January 1900***

The same paper [the *Khalsa Bahadur*] of the 15th January (received on the 12th February) 1900, remarks that by reading between the lines the Lieutenant-Governor's speech on the occasion of the investiture of the Raja of Jind with full ruling powers, it becomes abundantly clear that, to all intents and purposes, Mr. Irvine will be Government's Political Agent in the State. After referring to His Honor's remarks about the working of the Council of Regency during the minority of the Raja, the Editor expresses his inability to discover the reasons which induced Government to take the education of the young Prince in its own hands in 1897. It cannot, he adds, be supposed for a moment that the predecessors of the tutors appointed since that year were incompetent or undesirable persons, seeing that one of them, Mr. Clark, has since been appointed private tutor to the Nawab of Maler Kotla, a student of the Lahore Aitchison College. At all events, if the Punjab Government did think it necessary to interfere in the education of the Raja, why did it select as his tutor a junior Civilian, wholly unacquainted with the manners and customs of the people. The plea that European tutors exercise a wholesome influence on minor Chiefs cannot hold water for a moment, seeing that Mr. Irvine's predecessors were also of the same nationality. In conclusion, the Paper remarks that the Raja's European tutors alone are to blame for the charge preferred against him by the Lieutenant-Governor that "until quite recently His Highness was a mere child in his tastes and interests." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th February 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 7, pp. 76–77).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 19 February 1900***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 19th February 1900, in continuation of its previous remarks (*vide* paragraph 5 of the Selections No. 7) says that it rumoured that when the Raja of Jind reached his eighteenth year, the Punjab Government was, in the ordinary course of things, requested to invest His Highness with full ruling powers. Experience having, however, shown that it was undesirable to confer unrestricted powers of administration on young chiefs of that age, Sir Machworth Young was of opinion that the Council of Regency in Jind should be abolished, and that a European officer should be sent to the State as Political Superintendent. But the adoption of such a course being contrary to the Sanads granted to the Phulkian States, the rulers of Patiala and Nabha strongly protested against the contemplated change; and this led to the matter being referred to the Government of India. The Supreme Government's decision, adds the Editor, was that the Raja being then incapable of managing the State the Council of Regency should be retained for the time being. At the same time it was decided that the Lieutenant-Governor's proposal should be adopted by slow degrees, and a European Officer, intended for Political service in Jind, was appointed tutor to its ruler. In other words, the Government of India also thought with the Local Government; and now after the lapse of two years the Council has disappeared and the tutor has become Government's Political Officer in the State. This change, observes the paper, can admit of only two explanations, *viz.*, either the Government is of opinion that the Raja is not a fit person to be entrusted with full ruling powers, or it considers it necessary to keep its Political Agents in the Phulkian States. In either case the change ought not to have been introduced without the consent of Patiala and Nabha. The Editor, therefore, exhorts both the Lieutenant-Governor and the Viceroy to reconsider the question, more especially as the appointment of a Political Adviser in Jind is causing anxiety in the other Phulkian States. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th February 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 7, pp. 76–77).

***Sanatan Dharm Gazette, October 1900***

The *Sanatan Dharm Gazette* (Lahore) for October (received on the 4th December) 1900, writing about the recent marriage of the Raja of Jind with a European girl, remarks that the whole affair is deeply to be regretted, and that it is a shame that a Sikh Prince should have married a barber's daughter. After remarking that His Highness is endeavouring to bribe over his European father-in-law to his side, the Gazette calls upon Lord Curzon to take steps to make such scandals impossible in the future. (*Selections from the Vernacular*

*Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 49, p. 652).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 29 October 1900***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), dated 29th October 1900, ironically remarks that Government is to be congratulated on the good results that have accrued from the English education imparted to Native Chiefs and the placing of those Chiefs under European Advisers. As an illustration of this the Editor refers to the case of the young Raja of Jind, who has married a European balloonist, a girl 15 years of age, and named her Rani Jaswant Kaur. It is to be presumed that such marriages are not considered politically objectionable, seeing that the marriage in question took place under the nose of the Political Adviser. Had His Highness married a European girl belonging to a high and respectable family it would have been a matter for congratulation indeed. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th November 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 45, p. 594).

***Lahore Punch, 31 October 1900***

The *Lahore Punch* (Lahore), of the 31st October 1900, learns that the Raja of Jind has married a European girl and christened her Sri Rani Jaswant Kaur. The Editor is at a loss to understand in what way the Native Chiefs gain by marrying European girls. The only result of such marriages is that their expenditure is considerably increased. The Raja is said to be licentious, and appears to have given himself up to debauchery on being invested with ruling powers. It is extremely improper for a Native Chief to indulge in licentious habits instead of attending to the administration of his State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th November 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 45, pp. 594–595).

***Lahore Punch, 7 November 1900***

The *Lahore Punch* (Lahore), of the 7th November 1900, remarks that the young Raja of Jind has brought a host of troubles on his head by marrying a European girl. It is rumoured that the girl's father consented to the marriage only from money considerations; but that while he has not as yet touched a penny of the Raja's gold, a third party has already managed to fleece His Highness to the tune of Rs. 40,000. The father is also said to be thinking of instituting legal proceedings against the Raja, while it is reported that Government has asked His Highness to separate himself from his European wife on pain of deposition. The present plight of the ruler of Jind would not, therefore, appear to

be enviable, and it is devoutly to be hoped that there is no truth in the above rumours. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th November 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 46, p. 606).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 8 November 1900**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), dated 8th November 1900, learns from a Jullundur Paper, that the European girl who has been married to the Raja of Jind, has embraced Sikhism and cannot be divorced according to that religion. The Government, however, it is said, has advised His Highness to turn her out, otherwise he will be deposed. The Editor, however, cannot vouch for the accuracy of the last statement. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th November 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 46, p. 606).

***Public Gazette*, 8 November 1900**

The *Public Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 8th November 1900, states that the Raja of Jind purchased the daughter of a European barber at Bombay for Rs. 40,000 and married her so secretly that Government learnt of the fact only after the marriage was performed. The girl only 15 years of age cannot she be regarded as a minor? And if so, has not her father committed an offence by selling her? To keep up appearances it has been given out that the marriage was performed according to the Sikh religion and that she was named Jaswant Kaur. Had Government been informed beforehand it would have interfered in the matter. Will the Raja's son by this wife be entitled to succeed him? If so, will such a half-caste prince have the welfare of the State at heart? Even if Government does not declare this marriage to be null and void, it has several points to decide in connection therewith. The action of the Raja in intriguing with the European girl and then marrying her, sufficiently shows that His Highness is given to licentiousness and is a slave of his passions. The writer regrets to state that none of the Native Chiefs in the Punjab, excepting the Raja of Nabha, is a good ruler. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 24th November 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 47, pp. 617–618).

***Nur Afshan*, 16 November 1900**

The *Nur Afshan* (Ludhiana), of the 16th November 1900, understands that the Raja of Jind's European father-in-law has instituted a case against the former, and remarks that it remains to be seen what defence His Highness can put forward. The Editor is of opinion that Government should profit by this incident, and that in future it should invest Native Chiefs with full ruling powers only after thorough inquiries as to their character and pursuits. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 1st December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 48, p. 636).

***Singh Sahai, 25 December 1900***

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 25th December, 1900, writing about the recent marriage of the Raja of Jind with a European girl, remarks that the incident has lowered His Highness in the estimation of both the Government and the people. The Editor is of opinion that this regrettable occurrence is the result of the Raja having been given an English education and having an Englishman for his Adviser. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that those Native Chiefs who have been educated differently, and are not guided by British officials, have never been known to commit such follies. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 5th January 1901, Vol. XIV. No. 1, p. 8*).

***Patiala Akhbar, 24 October 1902***

The *Patiala Akhbar* (Patiala), of the 24th October 1902, says that the Raja of Jind is a model ruler and kind and courteous gentleman. The services rendered by the Raja in connection with the Tirah Expedition and the Transvaal War are referred to, and Government is requested to confer some title on His Highness in recognition of these services. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th November 1902, Vol. XV. No. 45, p. 563*).

**2 Maharaja and State of Kalsia*****Akhbar-i-Am, 29 October 1901***

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 29th October 1901, publishes a communication in which the writer says that the present Chief of the Kalsia State possesses all the qualities which go to make a successful ruler. Indeed, the Commissioner of the Delhi Division has more than once borne testimony to this, while on the occasion of the last Darbar at Delhi the Lieutenant-Governor himself expressed gratification at Sardar Ranjit Singh's excellent manners. After remarking that the Sardar is now of age and thoroughly fit to administer the State, the writer requests Government to invest the young Chief with full ruling powers. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 2nd November 1901, Vol. XIV. No. 44, p. 688*).

***Akhbar-i-Am, 3 February 1902***

A correspondent writing to the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 3rd February 1902, says that Tika Ranjit Singh, Chief of the Kalsia State, attained his majority some time back. Again, his qualities of head and heart place him on a level with the heir-apparent of Nabha, while he has given entire satisfaction in the performance of the judicial work entrusted to him by the Commissioners. It



is not, therefore, easy to understand why the Tika has not so far been invested with ruling powers. Presumably no one has thought it worthwhile to draw Government's attention to the matter. Indeed, on the occasion of the last Dusehra the Commissioner made some such confession and promised to get the Chief of Kalsia invested with powers of administration. The writer concludes by reminding that officer of the promise and calling upon him to look into the matter at an early date. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th February 1902*, Vol. xv. No. 6, pp. 81–82).

## Religious and Social Reformers

### 1 Baba Khem Singh Bedi

#### *Aftab-i-Panjab*, 6 May 1887

A correspondent of the *Aftab-i-Panjab* (Lahore), of the 6th May, says that in the afternoon of the 29th April, the European and native friends of Sir. W.G. Davies, Financial Commissioner, mustered strong at the railway-station to see him off. On the eve of his departure Sir. W.G. Davies and Mr. Young, Secretary to the Panjab Government, told Baba Khem Singh Bedi, C.I.E., at the railway-station, that the Panjab Government had been pleased to grant him four tracts of land, 8,500 *ghumaos* or acres in area, in Pakpattan, Montgomery, where he already has a large landed property. This large accession to his estate will raise his income to Rs. 1,25,000 a year. The *Aftab* congratulates the Baba on receipt of this new jagir, and says that the Government could not have done anything better to increase its popularity among the Sikh community who hold him in very high respect. It is well known that Sir Charles Aitchison always took the Baba with him in his tours in the frontier districts where a large portion of the population are Sikhs. The Baba was a strong body-guard to him. One day when the Baba was encamped in a frontier district with Sir Charles, he received Rs. 2,000 worth of valuable presents from the Sikhs. Sir Charles was much struck at this, and told him that he was a king among his community. The jagir granted him by the Government will not only be a great stimulus to the loyalty of the warlike Sikhs, but will also secure the good wishes of the thousands of the sick, the lame, and the needy, on whose support he spends a large portion of his income, and whose blessings are more powerful than an army. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 16th May, 1887*, pp. 300–301).

#### *Koh-i-Nur*, 7 October 1893

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 7th October 1893, remarks that a large meeting of the Sikhs was held in Amritsar on 3rd October 1893 for the purpose of thanking Government for appointing Baba Khem Singh, Bedi, C.S.I., as additional members of the Legislative Council, and congratulating the Bedi on the honor conferred upon him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 21st October 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 42, p. 544).

## 2 Kanwar Bikrama Singh Bahadur

### *Aftab-i-Hind*, 3 January 1885

The *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jallandar), of the 3rd January, publishes a communicated article in praise of Sardar Bikrama Singh, C.S.I. The writer urges that the title of Raja should be conferred on the Sardar. His income considerably exceeds that of many nobles who are called Rajas. He possesses a large state in Oudh which was granted to him by Government itself in recognition of his important services during the Mutiny. He also receives a handsome pension from the Kapurthala State. He is, moreover, a very able and generous nobleman. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 6th January, 1885*, pp. 6–7).

### *Vazir-i-Hind*, 6 November 1887

The *Vazir-i-Hind* (Sialkot), of the 6th November, referring to the death of Sardar Bikrama Singh, Ahluwalia, C.S.I., regrets to say that it is believed that the Kapurthala Darbar desires to avail itself of the occasion to reduce the pension received by him. He received a pension of Rs. 60,000 a year, but the darbar desires to pay a moiety to his son and heir, Kunwar Partab Singh, and that only for life. The proposal involves a great injustice to the family of the deceased Sardar. In view of his loyal services to the Kapurthala State and the Government of India, the Panjab Government should interfere and induce the darbar to continue the full pension to his heirs and descendants in perpetuity. Moreover, his debts, which amount to about two lakhs, should be paid by the state. The Nizam has ordered Sir Salar Jang's debts to be paid from the Haidarabad Treasury. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 15th November, 1887*, pp. 717–718).

## 3 Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanvalia

### *Aftab-i-Panjab*, 31 December 1886

*Aftab-i-Panjab* (Lahore), of the 31st December, says that it appears from another newspaper of Lahore that the Commissioner of Rawalpindi lately reported to the Panjab Government that Sardar Gurbachan Singh, son of Thakur Singh Sindhanvalia, and Assistant Commissioner, Shahpur, had not yet rejoined his appointment, although his leave had expired, and that he was reported to be at Pondicherry. On this the Panjab Government sent a telegram to the

Sardar, asking him to return to duty or to apply for further leave, if he required it for any special reasons; otherwise he would forfeit his appointment. He is reported to have telegraphed in reply that he would send by post an answer to the Government's message. If the rumour is well founded, all honour is due to Sir Charles Aitchison, who did not allow himself to be influenced by the report that the Sardar and his father had joined Maharaja Dalip Singh in Russia, and sent such a polite message to him. The people were warranted in some degree in supposing that the father and the son had gone over to the Maharaja. Their sudden disappearance, with their family and baggage, from their home was very suspicious. Some persons are of opinion that Sardar Thakur Singh, being heavily involved in debt, has left his home in order to escape persecution by his creditors. Be that as it may, so much is clear, that he is still at Pondicherry and has not gone to Russia or France. The *Aftab* will not be surprised if the rumour regarding Maharaja Dalip Singh's going over to the Russians is unfounded. The Maharaja is probably still lingering about Paris, secretly repenting his folly in quarrelling with the British Government. It would be well if the British Government could see its way to offering him leave to return to England and restoring his pension. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 4th January, 1887*, pp. 1–2).

#### ***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 25 December 1887**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 25th December, adverting to the same rumour regarding Sardar Thakur Singh's and Sardar Gurbachan Singh's going to Pondicherry, says that it is not known how far the rumour is well founded. If the father and the son have really gone to Pondicherry, they have committed a great mistake. Government has always shown great favour to their family, and it is to be regretted that they should misbehave themselves in this way. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 4th January, 1887*, p. 2).

#### ***Delhi Punch*, 19 January 1887**

The *Delhi Punch* (Lahore), of the 19th January, publishes a picture in which Maharaja Dalip Singh and Sardars Thakur Singh, Gurbachan Singh, and Suchet Singh are represented as riding on a donkey called Folly, with drawn swords in their hands, and calls them traitors. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 25th January, 1887*, p. 48).

***Aftab-i-Panjab*, 9 March 1887**

The *Aftab-i-Panjab* (Lahore), of the 9th March, says that some time ago some native newspapers spread a rumour to the effect that Maharaja Dalip Singh, Sardar Thakur Singh and some other Sikh Sardars had gone to St. Petersburg. The *Mulki Shuhda* went the length of declaring that the Maharaja had already reached the Afghan frontier at the head of a large Russian army! But these rumours were quite unfounded, as is obvious from a letter which Diwan Buta Singh, the proprietor of the *Aftab*, has lately received from Sardar Thakur Singh. The *Aftab* publishes the letter, which is dated Pondicherry, the 25th February, and in which the Sardar states that he is a well-wisher and a loyal adherent of the British Government, and asks the Diwan to renew correspondence with him and to send his newspaper to him as before. Hence it will be perceived that the Sardar has not gone to Russia, but is at Pondicherry and calls himself a friend of the British Government. There is good reason to think that Maharaja Dalip Singh, too, is still at Paris. (The *Panjabi Akhbar*, Lahore, of the 12th March, republishes from the *Aftab-i-Panjab* Sardar Thakur Singh's letter, and remarks that if he is loyally devoted to the British Government, he made a great mistake in secretly leaving his home with his entire family. His secret departure naturally created suspicions in the minds of the people. But the Panjab Government is still more to blame for its reticence in the matter. When it was fully acquainted with the circumstances under which the Sardar had silently disappeared from the Panjab, it should have communicated the information to newspapers in order to re-assure the public mind.) (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 15th March, 1887*, p. 166).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 15 March 1887**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 15th March, says that in a letter addressed to the proprietor of the *Aftab-i-Panjab* newspaper, Sardar Thakur Singh professes friendship and loyalty to the British Government. Supposing he is still loyally attached to Government, the question is why he went to Pondicherry and why he does not return to his home. His secret departure from the Panjab and his stay in foreign territory show that either he has become mad, or that his professions of loyalty are moonshine. Indeed, he has brought about the ruin of Maharaja Dalip Singh and has also reduced himself to such straits by his folly. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 22nd March, 1887*, p. 183).

#### 4 Gurbachan Singh Sandhanvalia

##### *Akhbar-i-Am*, 12 April 1890

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), dated 12th April 1890, referring to the attempted escape of Sardar Gurbachan Singh and others from Pondicherry, says that the Sardar has contradicted the statement in the following letter to the Editor of the *Akhbar*: –

My dear –

In reply to your enquiry I have the pleasure to inform you that up to the present time neither I nor my brothers have ever thought of going to Europe or elsewhere, nor has any member of our family ever embarked on a ship with the intention of escaping. We are all well through the blessing of Almighty God.

Sardar Gurbachan Singh

The Native Press is very often accused of giving publicity to false rumours without inquiring into their authenticity, but curiously enough the above false rumour was published in more than a dozen “reliable” English daily papers, none of which attempted to enquire into its truth. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 19th April 1890*. Vol. III, No. 16, p. 133).

##### *Aftab-i-Hind*, 20 September 1890

The *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jullundur), dated 20th September 1890, says that the Government of India has been pleased to pardon Sardar Gurbachan Singh, Sindhanwalia [Sandhanvalia], and his brothers, and expresses regret that these Sardars should have sided with Maharaja Dalip Singh and thereby brought about their own downfall. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th September 1890*. Vol. III, No. 39, p. 351).

##### *Siraj-ul-Akhbar*, 29 September 1890

The *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* (Jhelum), dated 19th September 1890, publishes a communication in which the writer is glad to notice that Her Majesty the Queen-Empress has been pleased to pardon Maharaja Dalip Singh for his past conduct and thereby relieved him of the misery which he would otherwise have suffered in his old age. His Highness’ return to England has greatly lowered him in the estimation of the public, but this he cannot help. Sardar Gurbachan Singh and his brothers, who had espoused the cause of Dalip Singh, finding that they had hitherto been building on false hopes, also asked the Government of India to pardon them, and, as might have been expected, Lord Lansdowne

was graciously pleased to grant their prayer. The writer congratulates the British Government on the failure of Dalip Singh and his sympathisers in their intrigues against it. As long as Dalip Singh remained out of England the Government was obliged, of course, to show special favour to the Sikhs and to watch the movements of the Sindhanwalias and the other supporters of the Maharaja. It was for this reason that honorary titles and jagirs were conferred on a number of Sikhs and one of them was appointed Member of the Viceregal Legislative Council. The writer says that the policy adopted by Government in connection with Dalip Singh is praiseworthy, and calls upon the Sikhs to understand that no special favours will be shown towards them in future and that they should consider themselves lucky indeed to have convinced Government of their loyalty. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 11th October 1890*. Vol. III, No. 41, p. 368).

## 5 Bhai Gurmukh Singh

### *Singh Sahai*, 27 December 1893

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), dated 27th December 1893, learns from a reliable source that Bhai Gurmukh Singh made every effort to induce the Sikhs to hold aloof from the Congress, but in vain. A great many educated Sikh Sardars joined the movement and took great interest in its proceedings. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 6th January 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 9).

### *Singh Sahai*, 31 January 1894

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 31st January 1894, states that Gurmukh Singh, having been expelled from the Khalsa Diwan at Amritsar several years ago, formed another association under the same name at Lahore, but the latter has never been recognized by the Gurdwaras as a representative body of the Sikhs. Three Sikhs, it is said, were expelled from the so-called Khalsa Diwan of Lahore for joining the Congress, but as this Khalsa Diwan itself composed of men who were expelled from the true Khalsa Diwan of Amritsar, no importance need to be attached to the matter. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 10th February 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 6, p. 61).

## 6 Bawa Sarmukh Singh

### *Bharat Sudhar*, 31 May 1890

The *Bharat Sudhar* (Lahore), dated 31st May 1890, publishes an article contributed by a Sikh who states that the excitement that lately prevailed among the Sikhs regarding the publication of a book called *Granthi Phobia* is now bearing fruit. Bawa Sarmukh Singh, who is a petition-writer, has called upon the Sikhs to subscribe towards a fund started for instituting a libel case against the author of that publication. The writer warns the people against being imposed upon by the Bawa, who is as clever as Narain Singh, Pleader, who a short time ago opened a subscription list for making efforts to receive the *Mazhabi* Sikhs on a footing of social equality with the *Khalsa* Sikhs. No account of the money received was ever published by the Bawa, who is probably in collusion with the latter. The writer then tries to prove that the Aryas are not to blame for speaking disrespectfully of the Sikh *Gurus* as the Sikhs were the first to find fault with the Arya religion. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 7th June 1890*. Vol. 111, No. 23, p. 208).

### *Lyall Khalsa Gazette*, 8 July 1893

The *Lyall Khalsa Gazette* (Sialkot), dated 8th July 1893, publishes a communication in which the writer gives the following account of the past career of Bawa Sarmukh Singh: –

- (1) The Bawa cares more for money than anything else in the world. In fact he would do anything for the sake of money.
- (2) That formerly he was a *Kuka*, a fact that can be ascertained from the people of Jullundur, where he acted as petition-writer.
- (3) That when Maharaja Dalip Singh was permitted to return to India, the Bawa made certain statements in his work entitled the *Khurshid-i-Khalsa* against Government with the object of getting money out of the Maharaja. Such an act was likely to bring the *Khalsa Panth* into trouble, but fortunately the *Panth* was saved, and the Bawa himself was made to suffer for his folly.
- (4) That Government has not pardoned him as yet, and this fact may be ascertained by a reference to Mr. Warburton or the Punjab Government.
- (5) That in the revised edition of his book he has entirely omitted the portion against Government, whereas he ought to have altered the wording of the portion in question. It is clear from this that he is still disloyal to Government.



- (6) That he often deceives officers of the British Army, and has made money by deceiving people.
- (7) That he tried for many years to get the *Mazahabis* admitted by the Sikhs, and took a good deal of money from them. Now he is in favour of the Sanatan Dharm movement.
- (8) That in 1887 the *Khalsa Diwan*, Amritsar, excommunicated him.  
(*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 22nd July 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 29, p. 357).

#### ***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 7 September 1894**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 7th September 1894, publishes a letter in which the writer says that Bawa Sarmukh Singh, finding that Mr. Henry Court had made certain disparaging remarks regarding Guru Nanak at page 8 of his book entitled "Sikhan de raj ki katha," served a notice on the author calling upon him to expunge the objectionable passage. No reply having been received from Mr. Court, the writer calls upon the higher authorities either to ask the author to expunge the remarks in question or to exclude the book from the curriculum of military instruction. The writer has written to Chanda Singh, the blind Pleader, on the subject, and hopes that he will take up this national matter with his usual zeal. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 22nd September 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 38, p. 429).

#### ***Singh Sahai*, 28 March 1895**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 28th March 1895, publishes a letter from Bawa Sarmukh Singh, who thanks the Editor for calling the attention of the Khalsa nation to two mischievous works entitled *Darpok Singh* and *Pitat-pawan* [*Patat Pawan*]. The Bawa thinks that the Editor has by so doing rendered a great service to the Government, seeing that the action of the Shudi Sabha is openly making the Muhammadans eat pork is calculated to lead to a religious disturbance. A short time ago a pamphlet was published by a Nihang (Gyan Singh) with a view to causing a riot by exciting the animosity of the Khalsa and the Hindus against the Muhammadans. Such works are certain to lead to a breach of the peace and deserve to be destroyed. A letter received from the committee of the Sikh Raikes of Lahore states that the *Darpok Singh* contains a statement to the effect that Guru Hargovind [Hargobind] Singh was half a Muhammadan and half a Hindu. The writer is of opinion that the author of such a calumny cannot be a Sikh, and asks whether the members of a party which holds such views can be allowed to serve any longer on the Khalsa College Committee. The Bawa warns the Sikhs against such men and

expresses surprise that they should have asked Government to regard them as leaders of the Sikh nation and to consult them in religious matters. What are the Takht Sahibs and the descendants of the Gurus and the Hon'ble Khem Singh, Bedi, for, if these men are to be consulted in such matters? (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 6th April 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 14, p. 179).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 8 April 1895**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 19th April 1895, states that a letter received from Bawa Sarmukh Singh of Jullundur shows that at page 117 of the *Patat Pawan* written by Bhai Gyan Singh, Nirmala, who resides in the Dadu Panth Dharamsala at Patiala, it is stated that all Hindus drink brandy, which is prepared from beef, and that the medicines used in hospitals contain beef and pork. Ma'-ul Lahm (extract of meat) is also prepared from beef. Will not such writings rouse in the minds of the ignorant Hindus and Muhammadans feelings similar to those which culminated in the Mutiny of 1857? (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th April 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 17, p. 224).

***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 29 March 1897**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 29th March 1897, published a communication from Bawa Surmukh Singh, who states that the simple Sikhs consider it lawful to drink water from *massakhs* [*mashk*], but they are not aware whether such *massakhs* should be made of *Jhatka* or *Kutha* (killed after the Muhammadan fashion) skins. The Bawa has done his best to put an end to the existing practices, and called the attention of Sikh soldiers to the matter; but, unless the Takht-i-Akal Bunga of the Amritsar Darbar Sahib issue an order on the subject, his efforts are not likely to be attended with a full measure of success. When soldiers return home on leave or when their relations visit them in Cantonments they cannot help associating with each other. It is to be hoped that the Guardians of the Golden Temple at Amritsar will take steps to put an end to the objectionable practices alluded to. The Bawa further states that Sikhs other than those belonging to the Jat caste are not enlisted in the Army. This is very bad, and the Bawa begs the Commander-in-Chief to remove this disability, as according to the Guru all Sikhs of whatever caste are on a footing of equality with one another. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 10th April 1897*. Vol. x, No. 15, p. 253).

*Aftab-i-Punjab*, 25 July 1898

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 25th July 1898, publishes a communication from Bawa Surmukh Singh, who states that Gopal Das, an Arya preacher, was recently prosecuted for insulting the Sikh religion at Amritsar. The charge was almost proved, and the man was about to be convicted, when Sardar Sohan Singh, acting on behalf of the Sarbarah and in collusion with the Aryas, compromised the case on the preacher tendering a simple apology. Sohan Singh's action in the matter has given great offence to the Sikhs, inasmuch as he did not impose any terms and compromised the case without previously consulting the Sikhs. In his statement before the Court the Sardar said that he had effected the compromise with the consent of his co-religionists, but as a matter of fact no Sikh Sabha or Gurdawara [Gurdwara] was consulted. The Khalsa Panth ought to take notice of this matter. All well-wishers of the Sikh religion are about to appeal to the Panth in the matter, so that the case may be fought up to the Chief Court. This is desirable, as the Aryas are becoming very bold. There would have been no harm in pardoning the preacher if a proper apology had been tendered. The Sikh Barristers are of opinion that, having regard to the terms in which Gopal Das spoke of the Granth, it is impossible for a Sikh to grant a pardon. The words used by the preacher were: "I can wipe by backside the leaves of the Granth and throw them away. Guru Nanak was a mad man, &c., &c." Some of the Sikhs who were engaged in conducting the case were of opinion that no pardon should be granted unless the leading Aryas personally called on the Sikhs to tender an apology and paid such penalty as the Khalsa Panth might impose, besides executing an agreement to the effect that no Arya preacher would in future attack the Granth in a manner calculated to offend the Sikhs. The Sikhs are of opinion that Sardar Sohan Singh must be an Arya, inasmuch as it is impossible for a true Sikh to accept a commonplace apology from so bitter an enemy of the Gurus. The Sardar has become hostile to the Sikhs who took part in conducting the case and has gone the length of complaining against them to the authorities. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 6th August 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 32, p. 486).

*Sanatan Dharm Gazette*, August 1898

The *Sanatan Dharm Gazette* (Lahore), for August 1898, publishes a communication from Bawa Surmukh Singh of Amritsar, who remarks that the series of articles which the *Khalsa Akhbar* of Lahore is publishing against Hinduism, and which have given offence to the followers of that religion, do not reflect the views of the Khalsa Panth or of any section of it. They merely represent the personal views of the Editor of the aforesaid paper, who is a Ramdasia by

caste, is making attacks on the Hindus merely because the latter have refused to admit him into their society. The Hindus may rest assured that the writings of this man do not carry the slightest weight with the Sikhs, who are, moreover, far from swishing to pick a quarrel with the followers of a religion, for the protection of which the Khalsa Panth was called into existence by the great Guru. The Hindus are of the same origin as the Sikhs, and an indissoluble bond binds the two communities together. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th September 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 37, p. 570).

## 7      **Sardar Attar Singh of Bhadaur**

### *Koh-i-Nur*, 1 June 1872

The *Koh-i-Nur*, of the same date, praises Sirdar Utter Singh, Chief of Bhudour, in the Loodhiana District, for his love of learning, the useful way in which he spends his time, and the interest taken by him in promoting the welfare of his subjects. Three schools have been opened by him for imparting instruction in English, Persian, and Sanscrit; while a hospital is in course of erection, where the sick will remain under treatment, and be provided with boarding and lodging till they are restored to health. The hospital is said to have been founded in commemoration of the recovery of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales from his recent illness. The Sirdar is also prominent as one of the Senates of the Punjab University – an honour which has been conferred on him in consideration of his superior scholastic attainments. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 10th June, 1872*, pp. 291–292).

## 8      **Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia**

### *Panjabi Akhbar*, 18 October 1873

The *Panjabi Akhbar*, of the 18th October, praises Sirdar Dyal Singh, a native gentleman and Honorary Magistrate of Umritsur, for having established an English school in Mujeetha, a town in that district. A magnificent house has been set aside for the school, and a tract of land yielding an annual income of Rs. 360 has been permanently endowed for its maintenance. The attendance at the school numbers 125, and there is every prospect of its making a rapid progress. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 25th November, 1873*, pp. 634–635).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 20 February 1877**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* of the 20th February reports, for the information of the people of the Panjab, that it has been decided to hold a meeting at Amritsar during the next Baisakhi fair to consider the question of memorializing the Government for the formation of native volunteer corps. Outsiders coming to Amritsar with a view to take part in the meeting should report their arrival to Sardar Dyal Singh Majith, a rais and Honourary Magistrate of Amritsar. Volunteer corps consisting of educated and respectable natives will be of far greater service to the state in an emergency than Eurasian volunteers, who have no other recommendation but their English-fashioned dress. The Government should expect no help in time of need from men who the pleasure of carrying about a rifle and killing birds has induced to enlist themselves. At the same time the number of Eurasians is very limited, and all of these are not volunteers. A few thousands of Eurasian volunteers can be of no appreciable service in so vast an empire as India. The martial spirit of the people of the Panjab stood in good stead to the Government in the mutiny of 1857. The frontier affairs are becoming more delicate and critical every day, and the Government may count on the people of the Panjab for no small assistance in case of any hostile outbreak. The enlistment of native volunteer corps will be an additional source of strength to the State, and a ready means of improving the physique and mental capacity of the respectable classes of natives who are now rusting from idleness and inaction. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 24th February, 1877, pp. 129–130*).

***Vakil-i-Hindustan*, 25 May 1878**

Sardar Dayal Singh has resigned the office of honorary magistrate as was expected. Several raises are panting for this vacant office, and are trying in a variety of ways to obtain it. A friend of ours facetiously suggests that the vacancy should be filled by drawing lots, each candidate being required to pay Rs. 1,000. We are convinced that a man, ambitious of honour, will willingly pay even Rs. 5,000 for the office. It is rumoured that the office of honorary magistrate was once purchased for Rs. 5,000. We are glad to hear that our district officers will exercise great care and discretion in appointing a new honorary magistrate. The candidate to the office may be disappointed of their hopes. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 30th May, 1878, p. 469*).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 3 September 1890**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 3rd September 1890, expresses regret that a man of the position of Sardar Dyal Singh should be prosecuted for defamation. For this, however, the Sardar has either himself or his friends of the local bar to blame. There was not necessity for the Sardar to have started a newspaper of the type of the *Tribune*, which indulges largely in personalities. After remarking that Dyal Singh would have served the country better by starting a non-political press and journal, the writer says that he is not in a position to assert that the Sardar will be convicted. The mere fact, however, of his being prosecuted on a charge of libel is in itself a disgrace which native *Raises* consider worse than death itself. If the Sardar has associated with elderly men of good family instead of hankering after the praises of educated youths, he would not have brought this disgrace on himself. The writer also condemns the raising of subscriptions for the defense of the Sardar, who is rich enough to defend himself. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th September 1890*. Vol. III, No. 39, p. 352).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 20 September 1890**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* (Lahore), dated 20th September 1890, takes the *Koh-i-Nur* of the 13th September 1890 to task for charging it with making unjustifiable attacks on Sardar Dyal Singh, which accusation the *Rahbar* denies and asserts that it merely gave him friendly advice. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th September 1890*. Vol. III, No. 39, p. 352).

***Victoria Paper*, 23 December 1891**

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 23rd December 1891, remarks that Sardar Dyal Singh belongs to an old and respectable family, and that he is not to blame for libels published in the *Tribune* by his Editor. The Sardar derives no profit from the paper, which he has started with a view to bringing the requirements of the people to the notice of the Government. After remarking that the *Tribune* has brought many matters to the notice of the Government the *Victoria Paper* urges that Government should remit the fine imposed on the Sardar in consideration of the loyal services rendered by this family. If it is sometimes desirable to punish a proprietor for articles written by the Editor it is equally desirable that Government should exercise its prerogative and pardon the proprietor if he belongs to a high family of unblemished character like Sardar Dyal Singh. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 9th January 1892*. Vol. V, No. 1, p. 8).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 12 September 1898**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 12th September 1898, writing regarding the death of Sardar Dyal Singh, Majithia, remarks that, although every human being must leave this world, the death of persons, who possessing wealth and leisure devote their lives to the service of their fellow-countrymen, must be considered nothing short of a calamity. The deceased belonged to a family which has given more than one proof of its sincere attachment to the British Government, and was an educated, wise and public-spirited nobleman. His death will be felt as a personal loss by every patriotic Indian. Sardar Dyal Singh was patriotic to the core, and, what is more, his patriotism was thoroughly disinterested. He himself did not want for anything, but he was not insensible to the wants of his fellow-countrymen; and the generosity and the moral courage which he displayed in getting those wants supplied deserve to be remembered with gratitude for ever. He was the leading spirit of the National Congress movement in the Punjab; and the presence of men of his exalted position among the ranks of that body is a standing refutation of the ignorant charges preferred against it by its opponents. If, instead of being a sincere well-wisher of Government, the Congress were actuated by feelings of disaffection, educated and wealthy persons like Sardar Dyal Singh would never countenance the movement. Such men can never forget the favours conferred on them by the present rulers of India. Again, the flatterers of Government are in the habit of accusing the Congress of being a gathering of discontented persons, but its connection with men of the position of the deceased renders the accusation valueless. The Editor further remarks that Sardar Dyal Singh was the founder of the well-known newspaper "*The Tribune*," which has rendered such conspicuous service to the Punjab. It is to be hoped that the Sardar has made some provision in his will for continuing the publication of the paper, for its discontinuation will be a misfortune to the Punjabis. The deceased nobleman was also the founder of the "Union Academy," which has done so much to raise the standard of education in the Province. The Editor then praises the unostentatious charities of the Sardar, and remarks that his death has proved a calamity to a number of poor families and orphans, who depended on his for their support. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 24th September 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 39, p. 615).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 4 June 1900**

A correspondent writing to the *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 4th June 1900, says that the *Khalsa* is very angry at the Sardar Dyal Singh case having been decided according to the Hindu Law, and declares that Sikhs are not Hindus.

That paper, adds the writer, should, however, remember that there being no Sikh Law, and the Khalsa Panth having originally sprung from Hinduism, the Chief Court was perfectly justified in deciding the case as it did. He adds that if the Sikhs wish to put an end to such anomalies, the learned men among them should apply themselves to the task of compiling a *Khalsa Dharm Shashtra*. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th June 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 24, p. 291).

### ***Peshwa*, 18 June 1909**

The *Peshwa* (Lahore), of the 18th June 1909, publishes a paragraph headed "Strange execution of a will," in which it remarks that the late Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia, who was a man of highly liberal views, left property worth lakhs of rupees for the benefit of the country and the nation. After remarking that the property was intended to be utilized for maintaining a College, a library, and a newspaper, the journal says in all probability the proposed College will not be established for many years to come. As to the newspaper (the *Tribune*) it exists no doubt, but has been converted into a base flatterer of Government. A library was established last year, but the fact that the *Modern Review*, which is a first class magazine, has been excluded from it, will show that it is no longer the Dayal Singh Library, but a concern of Lala Har Kishen Lal's and that the Sardar's money is being spent in proving (the Lala's) loyalty to Government. The *Peshwa* regrets that its contemporaries should not take up the matter, seeing that the money bequeathed for the good of the country is being used to benefit Government. At the time of the death of the testator, it adds, Lala Har Kishen Lal was a Congressman of the first rank, and this was why he was included among the trustees. Now, however, that the epithet Honourable has been prefixed to this name, what can he have to do with the country and the nation? He should therefore be removed from his post of trustee, especially as his wealth and influence deter other trustees from bestirring themselves. If his is not done, he will continue to trample on public opinion and to have things his own way. The paper then enquires from the Lala why he does not establish the proposed College and why he stands in the way of the spread of education. Again, why has he so changed the policy of the *Tribune* that it applauds the action of the authorities against the people, and contents itself with saying ditto to himself? What right, moreover, had he to exclude the *Modern Review* from the Library, when the public, for whom Sardar Dayal Singh bequeathed his money, wishes to read that journal? He is free not to read the magazine himself, as also to trumpet abroad his loyalty. He may be a great man, but he is not greater than the nation. He will have to carry the Sardar's wishes into



effect. The Editor will revert to the subject from time to time. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th June 1909, Vol. XXII, No. 26, pp. 602–603*).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 1 December 1911**

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of 1st December 1911, publishes the following over the initials “H.S”:

“Who knows not the name of S. Dyal Singh Majithia? He was the scion of a distinguished Sikh house. He was, in spite of being related to the Sikhs, considered a Brahmo from the society he moved in, and to all intents and purposes this was a fact. He consecrated a considerable moiety of his princely estate to the Brahmo School and College. We have always held that although the Brahmos as a sect are not Sikhs yet on the whole they revere the Gurus, and in their meetings they express their readiness to act upon their principles. What a pity it is that Mr. Gupta, the Second Master of the school, which owes its very foundation and depends for its maintenance upon the gift of a Sikh family, should have cast such aspersions on the ancestral faith of one who was perhaps the greatest benefactor of the Brahmo church, as curdled the blood of the school students. We are, however, thankful to the Head Master who disowned Mr. Gupta’s words and apologized for the expression of the speaker. Dyal Singh School is a public institution, and one is ashamed of Mr. Gupta as a teacher. But I am personally acquainted with him and therefore I am not only sorry for his attitude as a teacher but also feels injured as a friend. One could never imagine from his behaviour in Training College that he would turn out such a thoughtless firebrand as one should conclude him to be if the report of his notorious speech is true. I feel confident that better counsels will prevail among the conductors of the school, and that they will fight shy of following in the footsteps of the Arya Samajists.

“Here, however, several questions may naturally come uppermost in the mind of every person. The reason is plain: the Sikhs in general, and those of Lahore in particular, are wanting in self-respect. Where are several thousands of rupees subscribed some years back by the Khalsa-ji abroad for a Sikh High School at Lahore. In whose custody is the handsome amount lying in these days. What amount of interest has it fetched, – is it distinct from some fifteen thousands announced more than once as the gift of S. Meher Singh Chawla for the same purpose? These are the queries which a Lahori may well answer, besides another and equally pertinent one, namely, are not the Lahore Sikhs capable of starting their own school? Well, if the answer is in negative I only cry pity!

“Before concluding I feel it my duty to warn the Brahmos of the danger of the new policy as broached by their veteran Gupta. This attitude is bound to alienate the sympathy of the Sikhs.

“The attention of the Director of Public Instruction may also be invited to this phase of religious activity in public schools. He will be doing lasting good to all if he can see his way to issue a circular prohibiting such religion diatribes in schools. They are calculated to do untold harm.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 9th December 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 49, p. 1226).

## 9      Sardar Umrao Singh Majithia

### *Arya Patrika*, 17 February 1912

The following is from the *Arya Patrika* (Lahore), of 17th February 1912: –

“A marriage under Act III of 1872 took place at Lahore at the house of the Hon’ble Zulfaquar Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of the Patiala State, when Sirdar Umrao Singh Majithia, was married to Miss A. Gottesmann, a young Austrian lady. Sirdar Umrao Singh is a widower and father of three sons and a daughter, who only recently was married to the son of a Sikh Sirdar of Patiala according to the Anand Marriage rites. This marriage has been noticed by the Press, and called a notable marriage, but we fail to understand, what do they mean when they designate it as a notable marriage. We have said, the Sirdar is a widower and above 43 years old and he has married a young virgin girl of about 22. According to the Vedic ideal of marriage the alliance cannot be commendable. Though, we know, that Sirdar Umrao Singh does no longer believe in the holy Scriptures, yet for a learned man like the Sirdar we expected something higher. Sirdar Umrao Singh is a lover of Sanskrit literature, a *Sadhu*, and a cultured man in the true sense of the word and as such the religious world cannot rejoice with him in his present rejoicings.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 24th February 1912*, Vol. XXV, No. 8, p. 125).

## Chiefs, Public Servants, and Politicians

### 1 Raja Sahib Dayal Singh

*Oudh Ukbar*, 12 March 1867

This paper alludes to the remarks made by Rajah Sahib Dyal Singh concerning the custom of betrothal in India. The Rajah compares this betrothal to nothing less than the selling of children; and he declares that the system is on the increase day by day. He describes it as a sort of slave trade which is illegal, &c., &c., and goes on to point out the evils of it, and the way in which money is taken from different parties, and the result – a suit in court. The writer is of opinion, however, that such cases should not be heard in the courts of law, but that the registers in towns and villages should be duly warned to make strict enquiries before registering a betrothal, as to whether there has been any money transactions connected with it; and if so, not to register it on pain of severe punishment, &c., &c. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 8th to the 16th April, 1867*, p. 158).

### 2 Raja Harbans Singh

*Panjabi Akhbar*, 16 August 1879

A local correspondent of the *Panjabi Akhbar*, Lahore, of the 16th August, urges that the Government should appoint Raja Harbans Singh, the chief of Shekhupura, Lahore, a Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. Titles were very liberally distributed by Government at the late Delhi Assemblage, but his claims were overlooked even on that occasion. He is a respectable and an able chief. He is the son of Raja Tej Singh, who was a distinguished General of Maharaja of Ranjit Singh's army, and held the possession of the district of Batala. Sialkot was given to him by Government in place of Batala, and afterwards Shekhupura in place of Sialkot. He was held in great respect by Government. Shekhupura is not so fertile a place as Batala or Sialkot, and, therefore, at all events, a suitable title should be bestowed upon Raja Harbans Singh in consideration of the loss he has suffered. When all tahsildars and extra assistant commissioners are addressed as Khan Bahadur or Rai Bahadur, it is surprising

that a chief who has some servants equal in position to tahsildar, should have no title. During the late Afghan crisis he exhibited his loyalty and offered his services to the Government. He is an honorary magistrate, and pays his *amla* out of his own pocket. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to 21st August, 1879, p. 653*).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 21 October 1882**

The same paper [the *Koh-i-Nur*] publishes the proceedings of the meeting of the Hindu Sabha, Lahore, held on the 30th September last. Raja Harbans Singh is the president of the sabha. Pandit Shiva Narayan Agnihotri delivered an able speech on local self-government on the occasion. It was resolved to send addresses to Lord Ripon and Sir Charles Aitchison, thanking them for the self-government scheme. Munshi Har Sukh Rae, the proprietor of the *Koh-i-Nur* press, and Lala Salig Ram, the proprietor of the *Arya* press, agreed to print two thousand copies of the Pandit's speech at their own cost for distribution among the public. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 26th October, 1882, pp. 711–712*).

***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 26 January 1884**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 26th January, finds fault with Raja Harbans Singh for raising those questions which he had agreed not to raise, and expresses regret at the refusal of Sir Charles Aitchison to interfere in consequence. The editor warns the Raja of the heavy expenses which a recourse to the courts of law will entail both upon himself and the Sardar, and advises him to withdraw the frivolous objections he has unwisely put forward, to apologize to the Lieutenant-Governor, and to entreat His Honor to take up the case. The editor also takes the *Rahbar-i-Hind* to task for opposing the Lieutenant-Governor's intervention in the case. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 30th January 1884, pp. 74–75*).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 27 January 1884**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 27th January, regrets to state that the case of Raja Harbans Singh and Sardar Narendra Singh, the sons of the late Raja Teja Singh of Lahore, will shortly be put into the courts of law. Sir Charles Aitchison kindly agreed to settle the dispute amicably, but it is believed that Raja Harbans Singh has since raised a very unfortunate question which has induced

His Honor to abstain from intervention. The Raja questions the legitimacy of the Sardar. It would seem that the former, being an adopted son of Raja Teja Singh, has not felt the least hesitation in bringing forward such an objection. The scene will be really a very edifying one when the Sardar will endeavour to show that he is a legitimate son of Raja Teja Singh, and Raja Harbans Singh will endeavour to show that he is not. It is to be deeply regretted that such a question will have to be publicly discussed in a court of law. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 30th January 1884*, p. 74).

#### ***Aftab-i-Panjab*, 9 January 1885**

*Aftab-i-Panjab* (Lahore), of the 9th January, rejoices to hear that Sir Charles Aitchison has again undertaken to arbitrate between Raja Harbans Singh and Sardar Narendra Singh and to settle their dispute amicably. If the rumour is true, they ought to be very thankful to His Honor for his intervention, because in that case they will be saved the enormous trouble and ruinous cost of civil litigation. The Panjab may be justly proud of having such a kind and sympathetic ruler. (The *Akhbar-i-Am*, Lahore, of the 7th January, also expresses great satisfaction at His Honor's intervention). (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 13th January, 1885*, p. 22).

#### ***Koh-i-Nur*, 5 February 1885**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 5th February, rejoices to state that Sir Charles Aitchison has amicably settled the dispute between Raja Harbans Singh and Sardar Narendra Singh regarding inheritance, and saved them the cost and trouble of civil litigation. The *Koh* also publishes the terms on which the compromise has been effected. (The *Akhbar-i-Am*, the *Rafiq-i-Hind*, and some other Lahore papers express satisfaction at the amicable settlement of the dispute, and thank His Honor for his intervention. The *Victoria Paper*, Sialkot of the 7th February, observes that it would be a good thing if, like His Honor, other European officers always endeavoured to settle such disputes among persons of rank and position amicably.) (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 10th February, 1885*, p. 93).

#### ***Panjab Punch*, 30 December 1885**

The *Panjab Punch* (Lahore), of the 30th December, complains that, when a suit of Raja Harbans Singh came on for hearing before the Small Cause Court at

Lahore on the 23rd idem, the Court chaprasi's cry, as quoted by the *Punch*, may be rendered into English by the words: 'O! is any Raja Harbans Singh present?' The Raja is not an obscure person that the chaprasi should have prefixed the word 'any' before his name. He is a well-known nobleman and possesses a large estate. The *Punch* asks Rae Buta Mal, the Judge of the Small Cause Court, to see to this, and praises him for his industry. He generally holds Court from 10 AM to 8 PM (The *Aftab-i-Panjab*, Lahore, of the 28th December, finds fault with the conduct of the chaprasi, and observes that even the Viceroy of the Lieutenant-Governor would not address the Raja in such an objectionable way. Officers should insist on chaprasis showing more respect to persons of rank and position). (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 5th January, 1886*, p. 7).

### ***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 17 July 1886**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 17th July, complains that lately an elephant belonging to Raja Harbans Singh, a nobleman of Lahore, broke loose in the evening and roamed about in the streets of the city during the whole night. Next morning the animal killed a Muhammadan coolie, and was secured with great difficulty by its old driver. The newspaper finds fault with the police for not taking measures to secure the animal at night, and urges that should take action against the owner under section 289 of the Penal Code. (The *Ghamkhwar-i-Hind*, Lahore, of the 22nd July, in answer to the strictures of the *Rafiq*, charges its contemporary with prejudice, and remarks that the animal was secured by chains, but it broke loose on being teased by a grass-cutter. The police and the Raja's men tried their best to keep the animal confined to one place, but were unsuccessful). (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 26th July, 1886*, pp. 534–535).

### **3      Sardar Lehna Singh**

#### ***Sadiqu-i-Akhbar*, 13 September 1883**

The *Sadiqu-i-Akhbar* (Bahawalpur), of the 13th September, gives a brief history of the high family to which Sardar Lehna Singh, Honorary Magistrate, belongs, and urges that the jagir of RS. 4,000 granted to him and his brother for life should be assigned in perpetuity, in order that their descendants may live in ease and be always thankful to Government. The Sardar should be also made an extra assistant commissioner or a munsif. (*Selections from the Vernacular*

*Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 19th September, 1883, p. 765).*

#### 4      **Sardar Ajit Singh Attari**

##### *Aftab-i-Panjab*, 18 March 1887

The *Aftab-i-Panjab* (Lahore), of the 18th March, publishes a long article, communicated by a correspondent at Amritsar, regarding the quarrel between Sardar Ajit Singh, C.I.E., of Atari, President of the District Board, Amritsar, and Mr. Nicholl, Secretary to the Municipal and District Boards there. The writer says that the *Aftab* in a late issue, adverting to the approaching Municipal elections at Lahore, advised the voters to elect able and independent men who might express their opinions freely. It would seem that the *Aftab* does not know that such native members cannot possibly pull on with the European members and are soon reduced to great straits. The writer could quote many instances of this, but he would refer only to the case of Sardar Ajit Singh that has lately occurred at Amritsar. Before giving an account of his ill-treatment by Mr. Nicholl, Secretary to the Municipal and District Boards, it will not be out of place to give a brief history of the two gentlemen. The Sardar, who is President of the District Board, is the grandson of the well-known Sardar Sham Singh of Atari. He has received the title of C.I.E. and has been appointed Honorary Magistrate of the first class and also Honorary Subordinate Judge. Hitherto only two other natives have been made Honorary Subordinate Judges in the Panjab – namely, the late Raja Sahab Dayal Singh, K.C.S.I. of Kishankot, and Sodhi Man Singh of Firozpur. On the contrary, Mr. Nicholl was formerly a mere office clerk. Colonel Hall, the late Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, taking a fancy to him, at once raised him to the office of Secretary to the Municipal Committee. He was subsequently also appointed Honorary Secretary to the District Board, and Colonel Lang, the present Deputy Commissioner, who is very kind to him, has made him Registrar and has also recommended him for appointment as Honorary Magistrate. According to Rules 17 and 19 of the Rules framed by the Lieutenant-Governor under section 26 of Act XX of 1883, the President of the District Board has the power to appoint, dismiss, or suspend officials in the service of the Board. But at Amritsar the Secretary has assumed the power and resents its exercise by the President. Sardar Ajit Singh ordered transfers of native road agents, but the transfers were cancelled by Mr. Nicholl! A chaprasi who had been unjustly dismissed by the Secretary was ordered by the Sardar to be reinstated, but Mr. Nicholl got the President's order of

reinstatement cancelled by a general meeting of the Board. The Secretary has obtained from the Board the power to appoint or dismiss men employed in his office and teachers in schools, but the Board had not the power to grant him such powers. Babu Faiz-ulla was dismissed on the charge of having changed the period of his leave from three to five months in his application after the leave had been sanctioned, but still he was paid a gratuity equal to one year's pay, which was Rs. 90 a month. If he was guilty, no gratuity should have been paid him; but if he was not guilty, his dismissal was unjust. Contrary to the provision of Rule 1 of the Rules framed by the Local Government under section 26 of Act XX of 1883, the Secretary convened a meeting of the Board on the 5th March without the consent of the President. The meeting was held at 10 instead of 12 AM, which is the usual time, and the just and legal proceedings of the President were reversed before his arrival. The tone of Munshi Kanhya Lal's motions at the meeting, in which a violent attack was made on Sardar Ajit Singh, shows that they had been originally written in English and leaves no doubt as to the identity of the real author. The writer draws the attention of Sir Charles Aitchison to these matters and praise Sardar Ajit Singh for his justice and impartiality. In his estate the strong are unable to oppress the weak in any way, and he pays his officials liberally in order to prevent them from taking bribes from the people. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 22nd March, 1887*, pp. 186–188).

## 5 Sardar Bikrama Singh Ahluwalia

### *Victoria Paper, 16 April 1882*

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot) of the 16th April publishes an article in praise of Sardar Bikrama Singh Ahluwalia, Honorary Magistrate and Honorary Civil Judge, Jalandhar. He is a very able man and is a friend of his country and the Government. His loyal services to Government during the mutiny are well known. The people are quite satisfied with his administration of justice. He should be appointed a Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. The editor then regrets to state that sometimes men who are quite incompetent and unprincipled, and who are not held in estimation by the people, are appointed Honorary Magistrates. They abuse their powers and oppress the people. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Rajputana. Received up to 26th April, 1882*, pp. 271–272).



## 6 Sardar Sher Singh

### *Rafiq-i-Hind*, 9 July 1887

A correspondent of the *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 9th July, writing from Amritsar, says that Sardar Sher Singh, Munsif of Batala, sent 300 copies of the rules framed by a public meeting held at Batala on the 28th March last with a view to reducing the marriage and funeral expenses among the Jats to Lieutenant-Colonel Lang, Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, for distribution among the Jat cultivators in the district. The Deputy Commissioner convened a large public meeting at the Town Hall on the 17th June for the purpose. The local authorities, the gentry of the city, and respectable cultivators of the district attended the meeting. Lieutenant-Colonel Lang, in a short but impressive speech, said that the present unsatisfactory condition of many classes of the native community was due to their extravagance on occasions of marriages and deaths in their families, and advised the cultivators of Amritsar to follow the rules framed by the inhabitants of Batala for the curtailment of such expenses. Mr. Perkins, retired Commissioner, and some native officials and pleaders, then delivered suitable speeches, of which a brief abstract is given by the writer. In conclusion copies of the rules received from Batala were distributed among the Jat cultivators who expressed their willingness to follow the rules. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 18th July, 1887*, p. 437).

## 7 Sardar Gurdial Singh

### *Anjuman Panjab*, 2 January 1880

The *Anjuman Punjab* of the 2nd January expresses much satisfaction at the appointment of Sardar Gur Dayal [Gurdial] Singh as a probationer under the new civil service rules, and praises Dr. Leitner for having given him such a good education that he has been considered worthy of admission to the civil service. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to 8th January, 1880*, pp. 24–25).

### *Kashi Patrika*, 30 January 1880

The *Kashi Patrika* of the 30th January states that the reader is aware that the chief recommendation which the probationers recently appointed have for their admission to the Civil Service is their high decent. It appears from the

*Bengali* that Sardar Gurdial Singh, who is one of the probationers, is the son of Sardar Gur Bakhsh Singh, the ex-Vazir of the Raja of Nabha, who was convicted of having been an accomplice in the murder of one Mahtab Kunwar, and was consequently expelled from the state by the Raja at the instance of the Panjab Government. True, says our contemporary, an offence committed by a father should not affect the rights and privileges of his son, but it cannot but affect the position of the latter. Hence it is obvious that the Government has not been sufficiently careful in making the nominations. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to 5th February, 1880*, pp. 89–90).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 19 March 1898**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 19th March 1898, remarks that Sardar Gurdial Singh is the first Civilian in the Punjab who has been suspended on charges of bribery and corruption. It is to be presumed that when Government has suspended a highly-placed official like a Sessions Judge, it considers the case against him very strong indeed. One cannot help praising the perseverance and strength displayed by the Punjab Government in not hesitating to institute legal proceedings even against a high official suspected to have been dishonest in the performance of his duties. The great merit of the English law is that it treats equally all the subjects of Her Majesty, high as well as low. The whole Province is watching Sardar Gurdial Singh's case with interest. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th March 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 13, p. 195).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 4 April 1898**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 4th April 1898, remarks that the services rendered by the Sikhs and the loyalty and devotion displayed by them towards the British Government are as clear as the noonday sun. It is, therefore, to be regretted that a respectable member of that community, *e.g.* Sardar Gurdial Singh Man, who is considered the ablest man among the Sikhs, and who was the first to enter the Native Civil Service, has been suspended, after twenty years' meritorious service, on a charge of bribery, owing to the secret backbiting of European officials and the investigations secretly made by the police. It is impossible to say how far the charges brought against the Sardar are well founded or otherwise, but there is no denying the fact that the manner in which the secret enquiry has been made at the instance of backbiters may not improperly be called worse than an open enquiry. The Editor also cannot help saying that the investigation has not been conducted in a judicial spirit, that malice (*sid*) and animosity had much to do with it, and that those who bore

personal grudges against the Sardar took a prominent part in it. The Punjab Police was specially dissatisfied with Gurdial Singh, probably on account of his letting off a large number of accused persons. No complaint was made against him so long as he was at Ferozepore. It is said that the charges brought against the Sardar are based on old cases in the Muzaffargarh, Mooltan and other districts. The people of Sahiwal, Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Delhi, &c., where he was posted as Assistant Commissioner from time to time, never made any complaints of the kind, and it is for this reason that the entire Sikh population, whether in the army or the villages, are expressing regret at his suspension and sending memorials to the Government. An additional cause for regret is to be found in the fact that the Sikhs, who ruled the Punjab before the British Government, have hitherto received but little share in the Civil administration of the country, but now that Government has commenced to pay some regard to their claims, though not to any appreciable extent, and that a man like the Sardar has risen to a high position, efforts are being made to secure his expulsion from the service. The members of other communities openly take bribes and their doings are known to the public, but no notice is taken of their conduct. On the contrary, complaints made against them have been connived at as a matter of policy. The Sikh public also hesitates to believe the charges brought against the Sardar as he belongs to a respectable family and possesses property. Moreover, no complaint was made against him by the public, and the secret enquiries referred to above were made at the instance (backbiting) of the Police and subordinate European officers whom the Sardar, in his capacity as a Judicial officer, treated in strict accordance with the law. It was through the police, who are adepts in the art of trumping up cases, that these enquiries were made. It is this fact that gives offence to the Sikhs and creates in their minds a suspicion that the charges, so far from being true, are the result of enmity. In addition to these facts, the Sardar continued to receive promotion during the regime of Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, who dismissed a European official and caused a Muhammadan officer belonging to a high family to be judicially tried. The enemies of the Sardar sent anonymous petitions against him during the time of Sir Dennis, who, however, found that the allegations made therein were without foundation and that the Sardar had numerous enemies. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick's Government, so far as the Editor is aware, was an impartial and just one. The Sardar continued to receive promotion during his regime, and if there had been anything wrong Sir Dennis would never have promoted him. There is great truth in the proverb that a man's worth is only properly appreciated after he has gone. Oh how ardently are the people sighing for Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick! The Editor then goes on to say that the members of the Bar, who naturally dislike a corrupt Judge, have been loud in their praises

of the Sardar, and that none of them has ever complained against him. It is for these reasons that general regret is felt at the Sardar's suspension and that universal sympathy is being expressed for him from one end of the Punjab to the other. No one expected that a wise and experienced ruler like Sir Mackworth Young, who is not unaware of the loyalty of the Sikhs, would thus prey upon (sic.) a respectable member of their community. It must not, however, be understood that the Editor in any way suggests that Sir Mackworth Young's Government does not wish to do justice, or that His Honor bears any particular animosity towards the Sikh nation. What the Editor means to say is that the Sardar's enemies have grossly poisoned His Honor's mind against him and that Sir Mackworth has allowed himself to be imposed upon by the police. It is a strange coincidence that not only have the Sikhs suffered most in Military affairs on the frontier, but that in Civil affairs too, in the heart of the country, it is now one of their nation – a man of whom they were all proud – who has been involved in this trouble. The Editor concludes by praying to the Akal Purkh to enable the Sardar to emerge unscathed out of his present ordeal and to excite the compassion of the Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 9th April 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 15, pp. 221–223).

#### **Victoria Paper, 9 April 1898**

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), of the 9th April 1898, observes that no newspaper should publish any remarks on a case which the authorities have decided to hand over to a court of law. Government does not delight in punishing any body, and it is extremely wrong to ascribe improper motives to it for taking legal proceedings against any person, such as accusing it of having done so in order to wound the feelings of any particular community. Government does not prosecute any one merely to give offence to a particular class of people, nor can it abstain from making inquiries into an individual's conduct, simply because such individuals happens to be the leader of a community. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th April 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 16, p. 243).

#### **Khalsa Bahadur, 2 May 1898**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 2nd May 1898, states that nine charges of bribery have been brought against Sardar Gurdial Singh and that a Commission, consisting of Messrs. Tweedie and Jhonston, has been appointed by the Government of India to inquire into these charges. It is strange that a respectable paper like the *Civil and Military Gazette* should call this inquiry a trial. A trial is a judicial investigation and not a departmental inquiry. It is to be

hoped that the Akal Purkh will enable Gurdial Singh to emerge unscathed from the ordeal, as the eyes of the entire Sikh nation are turned towards him. It is a matter for surprise that the fact of the Sardar being charged with taking bribes has evoked universal sympathy for him, whereas it ought to have roused a feeling of utter disgust. All classes of Hindus and Sikhs, whether educated or illiterate, are praying for Gurdial Singh. Recitations are being held and prayers offered at the Sikh temples, while some people have made vows to the effect that they would feed the poor on Karah Parshad in the event of the Sardar being acquitted. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 7th May 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 19, pp. 283–285).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 11 May 1898**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 11th May 1898, writing regarding Sardar Gurdial Singh's case, remarks that the idea that the Commission appointed to enquire into the charges preferred against the Sardar is not likely to do impartial justice deserves to be treated with contempt. Those who entertain this idea may be said to admit that the case for the prosecution is very strong indeed. The Editor feels confident that the Commission will do its work in an impartial spirit, as Sardar Gurdial Singh's case is being watched by lacs of persons, and involves very important issues. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 21st May 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 21, p. 314).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 14 May 1898**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 14th May 1898, remarks that the charges preferred against Sardar Gurdial Singh are very old ones. It is not easy to see why they could not have been enquired into earlier. Some of the acts of corruption ascribed to the Sardar are said to have been committed in 1892, that is, exactly six years back, and it is strange that the case against him could not be completed before 1898. At any rate, it was a mistake to order an enquiry into the charges at a time when the world is ringing with the praises of the Sikh soldiers for the gallant deeds performed by them in the recent frontier campaign. But the arrow has left the bow and cannot be recalled. If the charges turn out to be true, no one will have the least sympathy for Sardar Gurdial Singh, for a corrupt Judicial Officer may be said to be the greatest enemy of his country inasmuch as he brings disgrace on the community to which he happens to belong. The Editor then goes on to say that the motives of Government in ordering the enquiry under reference cannot be called into question. At the same time it is important to remember that the mere fact of the Sardar being placed on his trial should not be taken to mean that he is undoubtedly guilty. After referring to the sympathy of the Khalsa nation with the accused, the *Akhbar* says that

some very startling revelations are certain to come to light in the course of the enquiry, and that if it is proved in the end that the Sardar was the victim of a conspiracy, the prosecution will not have failed for want of skill, ability, exertion or experience. In conclusion, the Editor observes that it is very important that the Commissioners should not have to complain of heat. They have to test the honor of a gentleman – and honor is more precious than gold or diamonds – and for this purpose the possession of a cool head is indispensable. But heat and cool heads never go together. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 28th May 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 22, pp. 332–333).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 16 May 1898***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 16th May 1898, writing regarding the case of Sardar Gurdial Singh, says that the entire Sikh community sympathises with the Sardar, and that prayers are offered in every Gurdawara for his success. People who have never seen the Sardar are reciting the Granth Sahib for his behoof, and have taken vows to distribute *Karah Parshad* if he wins his case. This universal sympathy with the accused among the Sikhs is really unique and surprising. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 28th May 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 22, p. 332).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 23 May 1898***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 23rd May 1898, reproduces from the *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 14th idem an article on Sardar Gurdial Singh's case (*vide* paragraph 22, of the Selection of the week ending 28th May), and remarks that the Sikh community sympathises with the Sardar because it believes him to be an honest official. It, moreover, considers the manner in which the Police have worked out the case illegal, and has consequently no faith in the investigation made by them. In addition to this, the mere fact that several black sheep in the service have been let alone, and Sardar Gurdial Singh, who had been receiving promotions regularly, even during the time of a vigilant and just Lieutenant-Governor like Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, has been specially selected for prosecution, engenders in one's mind a strong suspicion of the existence of enmity and ill-will against the Sardar. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 4th June 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 23, p. 344).

***Akhbar-i-Am, 23 May 1898***

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 23rd May 1898, publishes a communication from Fateh Singh (Mukhtar of Bhangala, at present staying in Kapurthala), who remarks that he cannot presume to say that Sardar Gurdial Singh is innocent,

or that the accused might not have committed some illegal act unknown to him. God alone can know that. He cannot, however, refrain from saying that he never heard a single whisper against Sardar Gurdial Singh's honesty while he was District Magistrate at Hoshiarpur. During this time the writer instituted a civil suit of the value of Rs. 30,000 in the Sardar's Court. The Sardar, however, advised the parties to come to a compromise, and his persuasion was so earnest that the case *was* compromised at last. If the Sardar were a dishonest official, is it probably that he would have given this advice to the parties at every hearing of the case? Besides, what kind of a corrupt Magistrate must be he who abstains from greasing his palms in such a big suit. The writer further remarks that he was Sarishtedar in the Settlement Office at Mooltan for about six years, and that it was during this period that Zaildars were appointed in the districts of Mooltan and Muzaffargrah. A Zaildarship is not a governorship, and the writer never heard of any person offering a bribe of Rs. 1,000 to secure the post of Zaildar. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 4th June 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 23, pp. 344–345).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 30 May 1898**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 30th May 1898, in publishing the proceedings of the bribery cases pending against Sardar Gurdial Singh, remarks that Messrs. Sinclair, Warburton, &c., are putting up in the Nawab of Bahawalpur's Kothi at Mooltan and drive in carriages belonging to His highness. The case has been tried at Mooltan as a matter of policy, but the sympathy expressed with the Sardar is so universal, that the Sikh nation cannot be too proud of it. The members of the Sikh Sabhas as well as other leading men of the community have gone to Mooltan from Ferozepur, Lahore, Amritsar, &c., while the Hindu population of Mooltan throng the Court everyday. It is possible that the public should thus sympathise with an official if they knew him to be addicted to bribery? The Editor then gives an account of the first day's proceedings in order to enable his readers to form an idea of how matters stand at present. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 11th June 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 24, p. 359).

***Aftab-i-Hind*, 23 July 1898**

The *Aftab-i-Hind* (Jullundur), of the 23rd July 1898, publishes a communication from Bawa Narayan Singh, Pleader of Amritsar, who remarks that Government should now and then look more to expedience than to abstract questions of right and wrong. Failure to observe this rule sometimes leads to disastrous consequences. The English Government lost the United States of America by

giving offence to a single American. Again, it offended Babu Surendaro Nath Bannerji, with the result that the Indian National Congress, which has proved a source of fear and alarm to the entire British nation, has been established in India. The prosecution of Sardar Muhammad Hayat Khan was also impolitic, although subsequently the case against him was dropped on the representations of the Muhammadans. The appointment of a Commission to enquire into certain charges of bribery against Sardar Gurdial Singh, Divisional Judge, was also ill-advised. The entire Khalsa nation has expressed its regret at this, and submitted memorials to the Government of India on the subject. The Sardar is not an ordinary man, but an able and enlightened gentleman and a respectable member of the Sikh community. The authorities should not offend or disgrace him for a trivial thing, or he will raise a storm (todah tufan) against Government. The writer further remarks that Government daily hears complaints against its European employees, but not the slightest notice is taken of them. As regards bribery, all officials – high as well as low – are notorious for their corrupt practices, but the authorities are powerless to remedy the evil. Nay, it is better to draw a veil over such things. The dismissal or reinstatement of Sardar Gurdial Singh cannot affect the administration for either good or evil, nor will his conviction deter public servants from accepting bribes in the future. It, therefore, behoves Government to stop further proceedings in the Sardar's case. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 20th August 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 34, pp. 527–528).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 20 August 1898**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 20th August 1898, remarks that no one has found fault with the Government of India for dismissing Sardar Gurdial Singh, who has been found guilty of taking bribes. It is a matter for regret that an office invested with the power of passing death sentences should have the meanness to be addicted to the shameful practice of bribery. Government officials are paid handsome salaries in order to place them beyond the reach of temptation. Who can be a greater wretch than a judge who does not discharge his duties honestly, and who can have any sympathy with such a man? The Sardar must be considered lucky in that he has been tried by a Commission and not in a Judicial Court, in which case severer punishment would have certainly been awarded. The failure of the Sardar to produce any evidence in his defence has disappointed his best friends. It would, however, be highly unjust to infer from the dismissal of Sardar Gurdial Singh that bribery is rampant among native officials only, seeing that Mr. Crawford of Bombay, Mr. Fordyce of Bengal and Mr. Larpent of the Punjab have already been convicted of similar charges.



The *Tribune* condemns the action of Government in entrusting the investigation of such cases to the Police. There is much force in the objection raised, but it is of no use so far as Gurdial Singh is concerned.

The same paper remarks that a Calcutta contemporary learns from Simla that the Government will not content itself with dismissing Sardar Gurdial Singh, but intend to prosecute him judicially. The Editor disclaims all sympathy with officers who abuse their powers; but if the Calcutta paper is correctly informed, the Sardar will be the first official of the high position of Sessions Judge to be criminally prosecuted. The Reader of the Judge at Rangpore, who used to take bribes and write judgements on behalf of the Judge, was not even dismissed, but merely escaped with a transfer. Mr. Crawford, who was found guilty of taking large bribes from both parties and decided cases in favor of the one which gave the largest amount, was merely dismissed. Having regard to these cases and taking into consideration the services rendered by the Sikhs, the *Akhbar* considers it would be politic on the part of Government to content itself with the dismissal of the Sardar, which is a sufficiently degrading and ignominious punishment. The Editor does not mean to defend the Sardar, whose conduct has been condemned by his own co-religionists. What he is anxious about is that Government should not create an impression in the public mind that it is guided by considerations of race and colour even in dealing with such disgraceful cases. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 27th August 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 35, pp. 544–545).

#### ***Gham Khwar-i-Hind*, 20 August 1898**

The *Gham Khwar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 20th August 1898, commenting on the dismissal of Sardar Gurdial Singh, remarks that all sensible men are agreed that Government should leave no stone unturned to rid the service of corrupt officials. No one can sympathise with an officer who sells justice, and it is to be hoped that the fate of Sardar Gurdial will serve as a warning and a deterrent to those whose actions cannot bear light and who are guilty in the sight of both God and man. The only thing to be regretted in this connection is that the dismissal of the Sardar has afforded the Anglo-Indian Press a pretext for impugning the honesty of all native officials and making all sorts of attacks on them. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd September 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 36, p. 560).

#### ***Punjab Samachar*, 20 August 1898**

The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 20th August 1898, writing on the same subject, remarks that the evidence produced against the Sardar was strong, and that the orders passed by the Government are fully justified. Even if sufficient

evidence had not been forthcoming, the dismissal of the Sardar would have been justified if Government had been morally convinced of his guilt. The Sardar may have fallen a victim to enmity, as is generally believed to be the case, but there can be no denying the fact that the acts committed by him are unworthy of a high and able officer. The Editor is, however, of opinion that Government made a serious mistake in employing the Police in working up the case, seeing that the Police were allowed to have no hand in the case of Messrs. Crawford and Fordyce. The action of the Government in employing a Police officer, who had come into some disrepute, to collect evidence in such an important case was singular in the extreme. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd September 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 36, p. 560).

***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 22 August 1898**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 22nd August 1898, remarks that the Commission appointed to enquire into the bribery charges brought against Sardar Gurdial Singh have found him guilty and recommended that he should be dismissed the service. Government have accepted this recommendation and declined to sanction the criminal prosecution of the Sardar. Unless some new misfortune overtakes the Sardar, the recommendation of the Commission is one on which Gurdial Singh may well be congratulated; because, if a judicial trial had been ordered from the first, the result would not have been so favourable. Government deserves great praise for tempering justice with mercy in the case under notice. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd September 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 36, p. 560).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 23 August 1898**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 23rd August 1898, writing on the same subject, regrets that a high official like the Sardar should have come to grief, but thinks that Government is in no way to blame in the matter, seeing that it did all in its power to see that even handed justice was meted out to the Sardar. The Editor praises Government for accepting the finding and recommendation of the Commission, as there was nothing to prevent it from directing the criminal prosecution of the Sardar. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd September 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 36, pp. 560–561).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 8 September 1898**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 8th September 1898, remarks that probably no further action will be taken in regard to the bribery charges brought against Sardar Gurdial Singh, who has been dismissed after a lengthy inquiry which

occupied the Commission for four weeks. It is doubtless true that Government has dismissed the Sardar after satisfying itself that he had abused his official position by taking bribes. The question, however, is whether dismissal from the public service is adequate punishment for the offence proved against the Sardar, and that too, after the expenditure which Government has incurred by placing Mr. Warburton and his subordinate on this work, and the appointment of a Commission consisting of two Judicial officers, &c., &c. It would have been much better if Government had allowed the Sardar to resign, as in that case, all this expenditure would have been saved. The case of the Sardar reminds the Editor of that of another Judicial Officer who was sent to jail and fined on a similar charge being proved against him. Nay more, the officer in question died in consequence of the shock caused by the sentence of imprisonment. The question naturally arises why one Judicial officer charged with the same offence as the other was judicially tried and sentenced to a term of imprisonment after being worried for months and spending his well or ill-gotten gains, while the other, who (according to the *Sindh Gazette*) occupied a higher position and took larger sums as bribes, has neither been judicially tried nor sentenced to undergo a term of imprisonment or pay a fine. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th September 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 38, pp. 591–592).

#### ***Chaudhwin Sadi*, 23 September 1898**

The *Chaudhwin Sadi* (Rawalpindi), dated 23rd September 1898, observes that the punishment of dismissal awarded to Sardar Gurdial Singh, late Divisional Judge, has been considered adequate, and that Government does not appear to contemplate a judicial trial. Some people considered that the simultaneous murder of the two principal witnesses for the prosecution in the case against the Sardar could not have been a pure accident. But it is not known what the Police investigation has proved. The question is not, why Government has so easily let off the Sardar, but why Malik Ahmad Khan, Tiwana, was so rigorously dealt with. If in the case of the Sardar consideration has been shown for the services rendered by his family and the Sikhs, the Malik's community and his father have also rendered similar services to Government. What then deprived the Malik of the consideration shown to the Sardar? Is bribe-taking by an Extra Assistant Commissioner a graver offence than it is in the case of a Divisional Judge? Government must know that these kinds of invidious distinctions cannot but have their effect on the minds of its subjects. The Muhammadans believe that they are not behind any other community in their fidelity and loyalty to the British Government, but the occurrence of such events weakens this belief and disheartens them. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th October 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 41, p. 647).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 2 November 1898**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 2nd November 1898, remarks that, although the Government of India has taken a long time in coming to a decision to prosecute Sardar Gurdial Singh criminally, it is gratifying to learn that it has at last done its duty. Indeed, there was no reason why the Sardar should not have been prosecuted after having been proved guilty of bribe-taking. Many a mistaken impression had sprung up in the public mind owing to Gurdial Singh having been let off so cheap, and ignorant people were openly saying that Government was unwilling to punish the Sardar on account of his co-religionists forming the major portion of the Indian Army. This was, of course, a mistake on their part, but the delay in ordering his criminal prosecution helped to lend strength to it. The Editor concludes by referring to the rumour that the accused has left the Punjab and has sailed for Europe with the object of making a representation to the India Office in his case. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 5th November 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 45, p. 712).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 3 November 1898**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 3rd November 1898, writing on the same subject, remarks that the charges proved against Sardar Gurdial Singh have been found to be of such a serious nature that his dismissal from the service has not been considered an adequate punishment, and the Government of India has, on pressure from Mr. Warburton, sanctioned the criminal prosecution of the Sardar. Meanwhile Gurdial Singh has disappeared, and it is rumoured that he has either fled to Europe or taken refuge in Pondicherry. At any rate his shameful character as a Government servant has affected native officials very injuriously, so much so that certain English newspapers are making indiscriminate attacks on the entire native service and questioning its honesty. The Editor then goes on to say that those newspapers which have made Sardar Gurdial Singh's corrupt practices a pretext to cast slurs on the honesty of all Hindu officials should remember that the Sardar himself more than once declared in his speeches that the Sikhs were not Hindus. In conclusion, the *Akhbar* observes that no Hindu or Muhammadan has any sympathy with Gurdial Singh, and that his disappearances has given still greater prominence to his meanness of character. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 5th November 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 45, p. 712).

***Gham Khwar-i-Hind*, 12 November 1898**

The *Gham Khwar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 12th November 1898, says that the general opinion in the Punjab is that the dismissal of Sardar Gurdial Singh from the public service was a sufficient punishment for a highly-placed official like him, and that when the Commission appointed to inquire into the

charges preferred against the Sardar merely recommended his dismissal, Government is ill-advised in ordering his criminal prosecution, and that too, a long time after the finding of the Commission. Although the Editor has not the slightest sympathy with corrupt officials, he cannot help agreeing with this opinion, and thinks that, considering the services which the co-religionists of the Sardar have rendered to Government, as also the high social position and official rank which the dismissed Session Judge of Sialkot occupied, the punishment already awarded to him is adequate. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 19th November 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 47, p. 736).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 12 November 1898**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 12th November 1898, after remarking that the *Tribune's* correspondent, "A Singh," is wrong in holding that Government has no power to prosecute Sardar Gurdial Singh criminally after making his conduct the subject of an inquiry by a Commission, refers to the services rendered to the British Government by the Sikhs, and observes that if for nothing else, at least in recognition of these services, the Government of India should cancel its recent orders regarding the criminal prosecution of the Sardar. This seems to be the general desire among the Sikh community. Besides, Gurdial Singh's fall has been great, and the ends of justice seem to have been satisfied in his case. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 19th November 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 47, p. 736).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 16 November 1898**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 16th November 1898, writing on the same subject, takes those newspapers to task which are characterizing Government's orders regarding Sardar Gurdial Singh's criminal prosecution as "improper," "Illegal" and "unjust," and remarks that if the finding of the Commission was above suspicion, no other course was open to the Government. Besides, an impression was gaining ground among the public that Government was withholding its sanction to the criminal prosecution of the Sardar on account of its being afraid of his co-religionists, and the order in question have had the effect of setting it right with the people. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 19th November 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 47, p. 736).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 18 November 1898**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 18th November 1898, remarks that Government should take into consideration the arguments advanced by "Mercy" in his letter to the *Civil and Military Gazette* against the criminal prosecution of

Sardar Gurdial Singh. There is no precedent for the criminal prosecution of an official after his conduct has been made the subject of an inquiry by a Commission. It would have been wiser to order the prosecution of the Sardar in the first instance. Government is of course at liberty to do whatever it likes; but should be prudent enough not to lay itself open to a charge of vindictiveness. And the fact cannot be ignored that, after his dismissal from the public service, the criminal trial of Gurdial Singh will be a mere farce, and that his defence will be completely thrown away. If, therefore, Government is inclined to be revengeful, which is not likely, the Sardar should be thrown into jail without the formality of a trial. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th November 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 48, p. 748).

***Salah Kul*, 1 December 1898**

The *Salah Kul* (Amritsar), of the 1st December 1898, remarks that it is impossible to find fault with Government's decision regarding the criminal prosecution of Sardar Gurdial Singh. The accused used to draw a salary of Rs. 1,500 a month, but this did not prevent him from extorting bribes. Although, therefore, his fall has been great, the remembrance of his corrupt practices is sufficient to harden one's heart against him. After saying that Sardar Gurdial Singh was the first person to create estrangement between the Hindus and the Sikhs, the Editor observes that at man, who has sinned against both his Government and nation, deserves no sympathy at the hands of his fellow-countrymen. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th December 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 51, p. 793).

***Punjab Samachar*, 3 December 1898**

The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 3rd December 1898, regrets that several Muhammadan newspapers, especially the *Paisa Akhbar*, are bringing pressure to bear upon Government to prosecute Sardar Gurdial Singh criminally. An idea of the meanness of spirit which they are displaying in this connection may be gathered from the paragraphs published by the *Paisa Akhbar* on the subject. That paper argues that the charges preferred against the Sardar having been proved, there was no reason why he should not have been prosecuted criminally. It adds that the refusal of the authorities to do so would have been construed to mean that they were afraid of the Sikhs. This is a piece of clever reasoning on the part of the *Paisa Akhbar*. The real fact, however, is that if Government can see its way to drop the criminal prosecution of Gurdial Singh, the people will, so far from accusing it of being afraid of his co-religionists, feel grateful to it. Besides, there being no precedent for the criminal prosecution of an official after his conduct has been made the subject of an inquiry by a

Commission, there is no reason why the Sardar should be treated differently. At any rate, Government should take a merciful view of the short-comings of the dismissed Sessions Judge of Sialkot. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th December 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 50, p. 776).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 28 December 1898**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 28th December 1898, remarks that the object of the Government in sanctioning the prosecution of witnesses in the Gurdial Singh case under Section 163, Indian Penal Code, is to make an example of them, so that others might not perjure themselves lightly. The Editor admits that the Police are notorious for unscrupulousness, but he has not sympathy for those who attempt to defeat the ends of justice by encouraging or inducing witnesses to commit perjury. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 7th January 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 1, p. 9).

#### ***Umballa Gazette*, 4 April 1899**

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 4th April 1899, states that it has learnt from a London paper, dated the 1st April 1899, that Sardar Gurdial Singh, Man, has been arrested in France, and that he is now on his way to India. The Sardar has already been sufficiently well punished by his self-imposed exile from his country, and it is to be hoped that Government will inflict no further punishment on him and order his release. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th April 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 15, p. 223).

#### ***Umballa Gazette*, 11 April 1899**

The *Umballa Gazette* (Umballa), of the 11th April 1899, states that a correspondent writing from a Native State remarks that there is no doubt that Sardar Gurdial Singh, Man, has fallen victim to enmity. The Muhammadans were jealous of him, and the Police hated him with all their heart. The employment of the Police for working up cases against him is regarded on all hands as a mistake on the part of the Government. In the murder case of the butchers of Raekot and Jagraon and in a hundred others it has been proved beyond doubt that the Police do not shrink from allowing real murders to escape and getting innocent men hanged in their stead. The Sardar has throughout his career as a Judicial Officer been known as a most sagacious man; whereas the evidence adduced against him by the Police proves him to be a most reckless person. It is therefore clear that either, as the Police say, the Sardar was a most reckless person, which, however, we know he was not, or that the charges preferred against him are false. Out of the four charges preferred against him the writer can himself say that the one in which he is said to have been bribed by the

father-in-law of the Nawab of Bahawalpur is entirely baseless. It is too well known to the Government that high officials and relatives of Native Chiefs have in several instances, while cases have been pending against them in the Courts of officials in British territories, applied for pecuniary assistance to their masters, urging that large sums of money were needed to bribe the British officials, and that the Native Chiefs, little aware of the fact that the money loan from them would be misappropriated by their own officials and fearing lest the conviction of their relatives might bring disgrace on the State, have acceded to their requests. The writer then cites the case of two officials of the Patiala State who, during the minority of the present Maharaja of Patiala and in spite of the strict supervision of the Council of Regency took thousands of gold mohars from the State Treasury with a view to bribing the Commission of European Officers appointed to enquire into charges against them. The father-in-law of the Nawab of Bahawalpur did as it seems take a large sum of money from the Nawab with a view to bribing Sardar Gurdial Singh with it. The fact was duly reported to the Government which took it for granted that the Sardar had accepted the bribe without however first ascertaining whether the money taken from the State had actually been paid to the Sardar or not. The Nawab's father-in-law would probably have not perjured himself before the Court had he himself not been in fear of being prosecuted by the Police, in case of his not doing so. Besides, as he had taken the money from the Nawab for the purpose of offering it as a bribe to the Sardar, he would have had to render an account of it to the Nawab had he given evidence to the effect that he had given no bribe to the Sardar.

As regards the punishment of Sardar Gurdial Singh, it would have been better had the Government contented itself with his dismissal. The order for his criminal prosecution has had the effect of rousing the sympathies of his countrymen, who regard him as a persecuted man. Mr. Crawford of Bombay, and Mr. Larpent of the Punjab, and other Europeans against who similar charges have been preferred, have been very leniently treated, and even now undue partiality has been shown to a European officer of Rawalpindi. It is a great pity that a leading member of the Mansahia family whose military fame extends over 200 years, and which in time of war could have supplied the Government with a large number of warriors, should have been thus disgraced. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 29th April 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 17, pp. 247–248).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 7 June 1899**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 7th June 1899, says: –

“It is rumoured that the witnesses for the defense in the Gurdial Singh case, who appeared before the Commission, are being prosecuted in the Court of



an Extra Assistant Commissioner at Mooltan. The Chiniot case and that of Bhagwan Dasare being heard by the Court. It is said, though we hesitate to believe it, that Government intends prosecuting the Pleaders who appeared for Gurdial Singh. Rumour has it that the Pleaders of Montgomery have already been served with notices. The charge against them is producing false evidence. Government is naturally authorized to do anything and everything, and therefore it is regarded as next to God on earth, but if these rumours are true, they are undoubtedly very strange and astonishing. Sardar Gurdial Singh's whereabouts are unknown, otherwise it would have gone very hard with him." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th June 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 24, p. 324).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 28 June 1899**

The same paper [the *Akhbar-i-Am*], of the 28th June 1899, publishes the following communication from one Iqbal Singh of Sialkot: – "Sir – You have taken Sardar Gurdial Singh to task in the *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 17th instant. There is no proof that the Sardar ever received any bribe. The Commission's finding is not final. One court convicts and punishes a person: another releases him and establishes his complete innocence. Government has no doubt preferred certain charges against Gurdial Singh, but I feel certain that it will recall him to India at no distant date, and reinstate him in his former post. Nay, it will give him an increase of pay."

Commenting on the above, the Editor says that he was perfectly right in finding fault with Sardar Gurdial Singh, and that the very fact that the Sardar has absconded is a proof of his guilt. Had the dismissed Session Judge of Sialkot been innocent, he would not have fled from justice. Anyhow, his disappearance goes against him, and it is difficult to refrain from expressing disapproval of his conduct. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th July 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 27, p. 367).

#### ***Victoria Paper*, 27 September 1899**

The *Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), dated the 27th September (received on the 9th October) 1899, remarks that those officers of Government who from time to time made favourable remarks on the work of Sardar Gurdial Singh, Man, in the Punjab, and on that of Raja Chit Pal Singh in the North-Western Provinces, or on whose reports the Sardar and the Raja were promoted from grade to grade, should be required to explain the grounds on which they made such reports and remarks. In case of the explanations being unsatisfactory their future promotion should be stopped, if they are still in the Government service. But, if they have already retired, their pensions should be reduced by

one-tenth. The Editor further remarks that those officers, who were granted promotions or taken into Government service on the reports of the Sardar and the Raja, should be placed under the superintendence of honest officials, who should, after a supervision of three months, submit reports as to their fitness for retention in the public service. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 21st October 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 42, p. 609).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 21 March 1902**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 21st March 1902, says that it has received an anonymous letter in which the writer alleges to have seen Sardar Gurdial Singh, Man, at the Anand Station, Guzerat, in the guise of a *Sadhu*. He adds that the Sardar gives himself out to be a Brahman; that he never stays in a temple; and that at present he is at Surat. The Editor doubts the genuineness of the communication, especially as the correspondent, who by the way is a resident of Peshawar, has doomed the veil of anonymity. Again, while he represented to have posted the letter at Anand, the envelope bears the post-mark of Amrath. The Editor requests the writer to disclose his name, as also to communicate with the Inspector-General of Police, Punjab. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd March 1902*, Vol. XV, No. 12, p. 180).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 16 August 1906**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 16th August 1906, remarks that the event reminds one of the sad end of Malik Ahmad Khan Tiwana. Charges of corruption, which were, however, neither as serious nor as numerous as those preferred against Sardar Gurdial Singh, were brought against the Malik also and he was, after a regular trial, punished with imprisonment, passing away before his release from jail. In other words, because he did not try to baulk justice he had to expiate his offences with his life. As to the Sardar, who had far worse charges against him, but who was clever enough to abscond in the nick of time, he has been granted a free pardon and allowed to pass his remaining days at home on his past (dishonest) earnings. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers Published in the Punjab, Received up to 25th August 1906*, Vol. XIX, No. 34, p. 215).

**8      Bhai Ram Singh**

***Lahore Punch*, 21 December 1892**

The *Lahore Punch* (Lahore), of the 21st December 1892, referring to the return of Bhai Ram Singh of the Lahore Arts School, who was sent to England to decorated Osborne House, sarcastically remarks that the silver cup presented by

Her Majesty to Ram Singh has relieved him from all future anxiety as to his livelihood. Ram Singh will not drink water from the silver cup instead of taking food. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 31st December 1892*. Vol. v, No. 52, p. 540).

### ***Paisa Akhbar*, 22 December 1893**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 22nd December 1893, says that some time ago Bhai Ram Singh of the Lahore School of Art went to England and decorated a room for Her Majesty the Queen. He gave entire satisfaction and was praised by Her Majesty for the skill he displayed in executing the work. It was expected that on his return to Lahore the Bhai would be appointed to some good post and that his pay would be raised. Nothing has, however, been done for Ram Singh, who is still drawing Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 per mensem. Another able artist, Sher Muhammad, a teacher of the same school, is also drawing similar pay and has no prospect of promotion. Sher Muhammad and Ram Singh are as good artists as any that are to be found in Europe, and it is a pity that their abilities should not be rewarded. In former times if an architect succeeded in pleasing a king, the latter would enrich him and make him independent for the rest of his days, but in this age of enlightenment an architect who has given satisfaction to a sovereign like the Queen-Empress must content himself with serving on a few rupees a month. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 30th December 1893*. Vol. vi, No. 52, pp. 705–706).

## **9      Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia**

### ***Prem*, 7 September 1909**

The *Prem* (Ferozepur), of the 7th September 1909, publishes a paragraph headed "Blind imitators," in which it says that meetings are being held in different places to express joy at the appointment of the head of the (*Khalsa*) *Samachar* party (Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia) to the Viceroy's Legislative Council in return for his having made over to Government the (*Khalsa*) College, which is worth 25 lakhs of rupees. After enquiring why no such fuss was made at the time of the appointment of the Tika Sahib of Nabha to the Council and after remarking that the services rendered by the Tika on the Council will live for ever in the history of the Sikhs, the paper observes that Sardar Sundar Singh, who has already handed over the *Khalsa* College to Government, is likely to place in its hands the Chief *Khalsa* Diwan also, of which he is the Secretary. In conclusion, it says that the Sikhs should also so conduct themselves that they may not have to face shame and disgrace afterwards. (*Selections from the*

*Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 18th September 1909, Vol. XXII, No. 38, p. 932).*

***Urdu Bulletin, 15 June 1916***

The *Urdu Bulletin* (Lahore), of the 15th June 1916, says that all Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs will be surprised to find that the Hon'ble Sardar Sundar Singh has been unanimously elected by the non-official members of the provincial Legislative Council as their representative on the Imperial Council. The Sardar is indeed lucky in that though he is not considered fit to be a member of the Punjab Council, he has been elected to the Imperial Council without dissent. No exception could have been taken to his election if there had been a complete dearth of capable persons in the provincial Council; but in existing circumstances his election reveals the depth of degradation to which the Punjab has fallen. (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 17th June 1916. Vol. XXIX, No. 25, p. 506*).

***Panjabee, 17 June 1916***

In its leader of the 17th June 1916, the *Panjabee* (Lahore), has the following: –

“That Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia is not a representative of the educated middle class is so notoriously true that we do not think there is a single man in the province, whether official or unofficial, who is likely to deny it. He was not even an elected member of the local Council. It is the literal truth to say that in the local Council itself there were several persons whose right to represent the people of the Punjab generally and the educated community in particular was much greater than his while if we take the province as a whole, one can easily name a score of men who if a plebiscite were taken, would have no difficulty in defeating the Sardar. And this is the man, a man who would not have the ghost of a chance of being returned by the province or by the educated community, who is returned practically without opposition by the non-official members of the local Council, with the result that the most important section of the community in the province goes unrepresented. Could anything show more clearly or more conclusively that the present system of representation is a huge, a gigantic failure? We do not for a moment believe that the authors of the reformed Councils, or even the framers of the regulations, contemplated the return of such a man to the Supreme Council by the non-official members of the Provincial Council. If they did, nothing would be easier for them than to do away with the obscure and inconvenient process of election altogether and to provide that the third Punjab member, like the first and the second, should be nominated by the Local Government. It is, indeed, obvious that the results of the nominations could not possibly have been worse than the results

of elections have been.” (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 17th June 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 25, p. 506).

***Observer, 21 June 1916***

In a leader on the election of Sardar Sundar Singh to the Imperial Council, the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 21st June 1916, says: –

“It is a fact that the Hon’ble Rai Bahadur Saran Das was standing on behalf of his community for the Imperial Council seat. He was even proposed in the meeting of the non-official members which elected unanimously the Hon’ble Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh. But no Hindu Councillor out of the seven in the meeting seconded the proposal in his favour. The Hindu community, which we think has unjustly suffered during the last six years through the Tat-Khalsa – Muslim pact, has a right to call upon its representatives to account for the hopelessly muddling fashion in which they transacted this important affair. We for our part are sorry, since this culpable disagreement amongst the Hindu members helped in the unanimous return to the Imperial Council of a Punjab representative whom we considered absolutely unfit, and also deprived the majority of the Muslim Councillors of an opportunity of demonstrating their solicitude of the removal for a long-standing grievance of the Hindus of the province and thereby of expiating the sins of their predecessors towards their Hindu neighbours.” (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 24th June 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 26, p. 524).

***Panjabee, 21 June 1916***

The *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 21st June 1916, says: –

“Much has been said about the unanimous election of Sardar Sundar Singh. We have heard something about this unanimous election, but we will not tell it. We will only state one or two facts. It is not the case that the Sardar was unanimously elected in the sense of every one of the non-official members voting for him on the ground that he was the fittest man to represent the province on the Supreme Council. As a matter of fact, until an hour before the election was held it was a matter of practical certainty that the Sardar would have some votes – these might or might not be the majority – and not all. Several Hindu and a number of Muhammadans and other voters had actually promised to support a rival candidate. At the meeting itself, the name of this candidate was proposed by one of his supporters, but the proposal, we learn from our Simla correspondent, fell through because no one seconded it. What precisely had happened between the time when this rival candidate could count upon the votes of a considerable number of members and the time when the election was held has not transpired and is not likely to transpire. It may safely be asserted, however, that tergiversation like this is without a parallel in the

history of Council elections in any other province.” (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 24th June 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 26, p. 524).

### ***Observer*, 1 July 1916**

In an article on the election of Sardar Sundar Singh, to the Imperial Council, the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 1st July 1916, says: –

“As for the sorry election result, every right-thinking person in the Punjab feels that the non-official Legislative Councillors, who have been in any wise party to the return of Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, than whom none worse as a public representative can be even imagined, have been guilty of a great breach of public trust. It is to be regretted that public life in the province should have fallen so low as to elect to the Imperial Council seat a gentleman who is hopelessly out of touch with the great movements of thought that under the silent and imperceptible influence of western education are altering the very structure of Indian society. But, despite the disappointment, there is at least the gleam of hope in the fact that this action of the non-official members of the Punjab Council has met with a chorus of disapproval at the hands of the public. If anything, the election of such an unsuitable person despite popular disapproval shows that the Punjab has yet a huge leeway to make up, and that before it can come up in line with the other provinces of India, it must purge its public life of such sore instances. Men like Mr. Gokhale, the very soul of sincerity and patriotism, might under the present nomination-weighted regulations suffer election defeats against aristocratic idiots, and it would be violating human sentiments and the best of human nature to represent such polling scandals as the triumph of the cause of righteousness. On the contrary, it would be far more apposite and proper to call them, if insistence upon the use of language sublime is a condition of the description, as the temporary triumphs of the forces of Cimmerian darkness and evil over those of effulgent light and righteousness.” (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 1st July 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 27, p. 545).

### ***Loyal Gazette*, 2 July 1916**

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore), of the 2nd July 1916, refers to the comments of the *Hindustan* on the election of the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh Majithia to the Imperial Legislative Council, and says that though the Sardar has been unanimously elected, the *Hindustan* and the *Bulletin* have been writing against him, simply because he is a Sikh, and this notwithstanding the fact that no one in the Punjab has rendered such great national service as the Hon'ble Sardar. It may be borne in mind that he was unanimously elected, notwithstanding the opposition of some bigoted and meanminded newspapers.

Indeed, there can be no denying the fact that that portion of the Punjab press which is in the hands of Arya Samajists has insulted several capable leaders. It is to be regretted that the *Hindustan* has been guilty of the same bad habit, notwithstanding its attempt to reform the Arya papers. (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 8th July 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 28, p. 564).

***Parkash, 16 July 1916***

The *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 16th July 1916, calls the *Loyal Gazette* a foolish friend of Sardar Sundar Singh. Some newspapers had asked what services the Sardar had rendered that he should have been returned to the Viceregal Council, and the *Loyal Gazette*, which is at present engaged in flattering the Sikh raises, mentions the services which as a Sikh the Sardar has rendered to the Sikh community. His silence is explained away by the remark that he is a practical worker and averse to seeking fame by making speeches in the Council, and contents himself with drawing the attention of the Government to such matters as require notice. But why should he then occupy a seat in the Council? Can he not easily do this work without being a member of Council? Why should not his seat be filled by a capable person who is ready to bring to the notice of the Government the feelings of the people not by entering into correspondence with it but by representing their rights in the Council? Who asked him to go to the Council? Is delivering a speech in Council or asking a question in it the negation of practical work? Does it imply the seeking of reputation? If so, most leading Indians will plead guilty to the charge. (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 22nd July 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 30, pp. 610–611).

***Khalsa Akhbar, 18 May 1917***

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 18th May 1917, states that the Punjab Chiefs' Association, of which the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sunder Singh is President, has submitted to Government a memorandum, which among other things, demands that the Chiefs' Association may be granted the right of electing one Hindu and one Muhammadan member to the Provincial Legislative Council. But how can the Sikhs repose confidence in the Hon'ble Sardar, who though claiming to be a Sikh leader does not believe Sikhs to be separate from Hindus? We would empathically request him to refrain from injuring our communal rights on personal grounds. The Sikh community will feel much indebted to him if he gives up its leadership. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 31st May 1917*. Vol. XXX, No. 22, p. 419).

***Sikhs and Sikhism*, 20 March 1918**

The *Sikhs and Sikhism* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 20th March 1918, writes: –

“We hear that perhaps realizing his unfitness for the heavy, onerous and responsible work entrusted to him and conscious of his circumstances and position of a fortunate chief born with a silver spoon in his mouth, the Hon’ble Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia has expressed at a recent meeting of the Education Committee that if he were relieved of his present duties he would present the Panth with a handsome sum of R. 5,000. If the report is true, and we pray it may be so, we suggest to the Hon’ble Sardar to make this gift to the G.N. Khalsa College, Gujranwala, and retire at once, caring not a bit for the entreaties of selfish men.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 27th March 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 13, p. 186*).

***Tribune*, 12 October 1920**

The following is from the *Tribune* of the 12th October: –

“There is a strong and persistent rumour that the appointment of Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia as the first Indian member of the Punjab Executive Council is favoured in high official quarters. We do hope, both for the good name of the Government and for the success of the reforms, that the rumour is without foundation. Against Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia personally we have not a word to say. Our objection is based solely on public grounds. We have never heard of any liberal views being associated with the Sardar Sahib in any sphere of life with which the Government is even remotely concerned. It is not as if he were a dark horse. He has for some time been a member of the Viceroy’s Legislative Council, the period of his membership synchronizing with a period of great official and popular activity, and the proceedings of the Council are there to show how poorly he has acquitted himself. To appoint such a man as the first Indian member of a professedly reformed and reforming Government would be an absurd anachronism. We do not think that for these appointments either race or community, apart from the fact of a man’s being an Indian, should be any consideration. Still if it is intended to appoint a Sikh, we have not the smallest objection. Only the nominee have the necessary qualifications, the most important of which, of course, is that he should be a man of progressive views.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 16th October 1920, No. 42, pp. 418–419*).

***Loyal Gazette*, 10 October 1920**

A correspondent writing to the *Loyal Gazette* of the 10th October states that with the exception of a small section of the Sikhs, almost the whole Sikh community is displeased with Sardar Sundar Singh, and his appointment to the



Council will cause dissatisfaction, not only in the Punjab, but throughout India. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 16th October 1920, No. 42, p. 419).

***Imam, 13 October 1920***

The *Imam* of the 13th October expresses the hope that Government will not commit the mistake of appointing Sardar Sundar Singh as the first Indian member of the Council. In the other event, the Councils will undoubtedly prove a farce and the boycott movement will receive a stimulus. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 16th October 1920, No. 42, p. 419).

***Desh, 14 October 1920***

The *Desh* of the 14th October believes that the appointment will evoke a strong protest in all quarters. The Sardar never protested in the Viceregal Council whenever efforts were made to pass a law in opposition to the unanimous voice of the country and the nation. It is most necessary in order to safeguard the interests of the Punjabis in the reformed Councils that only a man truly representative of the nation could be appointed to the Council. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 16th October 1920, No. 42, p. 419).

***Sidaqat, 14 October 1920***

The *Sidaqat* of the 14th October refers to the rumour about the appointment of Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia as the Indian member of the Punjab Executive Council, and says that it remains to be seen whether his presence on the Council will prove useful for his country and community. The Punjab needs on this Council a true and sincere adviser of both Government and the public. The latter will never like the appointment of a man who prefers Government's approbation or policy to the legitimate desires and aspirations of the ruled. We complain against Government and not Sardar Sundar Singh, because it deliberately makes such men its confidants as are not trusted by the people. The public should forthwith raise its voice against the proposed appointment. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 23rd October 1920, No. 43, p. 429).

***Partap, 15 October 1920***

The *Partap* of the 15th October says that to appoint Sardar Sundar Singh to the Punjab Executive Council is to insult the intelligentsia of this province. The Sardar possesses neither knowledge nor experience nor courage, and the Punjab can, therefore, derive no benefit from his appointment. He was a member of the Imperial Council for many years, but did he ever fight for the rights of

Indians? Government is welcome to confer the honour on a Sikh, but its choice should fall on a capable man. After remarking that Sardar Jogindar Singh is a far abler man than Sardar Sundar Singh, the paper says that it is the duty of the Sikhs to protest against the latter's appointment to the Punjab Executive Council. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 23rd October 1920, No. 43, pp. 429–430).

***Bande Mataram*, 15 October 1920**

The *Bande Mataram* of the 15th October is of opinion that it would be better to appoint a European to the Council instead. He will prove more useful for the administration than Sardar Sundar Singh from the point of ability. Government is paving the way for non-cooperation, and the supporters of the movement should feel pleased at the appointment. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 23rd October 1920, No. 43, p. 430).

***Khalsa Akhbar*, 15 October 1920**

The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 15th October says that in view of the services rendered by him the appointment of the Sardar Sahib to the Council is not surprising. He has kept himself aloof from the National Congress and has left nothing undone to keep his community also out of its camp. Besides, he alone is fit to sit on the Council, seeing that he is a "silent member". We congratulate Government on the selection, and respectfully ask those who are opposed to non-cooperation whether the authorities' present attitude is calculated to promote union and sympathy [between the rulers and the ruled]. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 23rd October 1920, No. 43, p. 430).

***Sikh*, 16 October 1920**

The *Sikh* of the 16th October writes: –

"As he has hitherto been known only to be a 'silent member' of the Indian Legislative Council, and if he has ever said a word he has done so in support of the official side, it is but natural that his appointment, if proposed or actually made, should be opposed by the public. ... If we opposed the appointment in the interest of the country we might be accused of opposing the interests of a Sikh leader. If, on the other hand, we support and welcome it, we shall run the risk of rightly displeasing the whole country. But we can easily be saved from the difficulties of the present dilemma if Sardar Sundar Singh would come forward to decline the appointment if it is offered to him, or contradict the report if it is a mere rumour. ... The appointment of a Sikh as a member of the Punjab Executive Council will be gratifying.... in one respect. It will furnish a practical proof of the Government recognizing the claims and position of the Sikhs in

their own province, which they have so sadly ignored when allotting us seats in the Councils. ... There is no doubt that the paucity of Sikh leaders create a great difficulty for the Government to choose and for the people to suggest a suitable man. ... In fact who is there in the whole Panth whom we may unanimously recommend and trust for such a high office. ... We are sure that just as circumstances reclaimed a reactionary of Mr. Shafi's past notoriety, similarly circumstance can amend a 'silent member' of Sardar Sundar Singh's record, only if he has a mind to reclaim himself." (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 23rd October 1920, No. 43, p. 430).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 19 December 1920**

The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 19th December 1920 expresses disappointment at the elevation of Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia to the Punjab Executive Council. The *Sardar*, it says, has never taken a practical part in public affairs, nor is he credited with holding advanced views. His appointment is also a mistake on principle. Muhammadans preponderate in the Punjab and a member of that community should have been appointed to the Executive Council. But even if a non-Muslim was to be appointed the choice should have fallen on some one else than Sardar Sundar Singh. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 1st January 1921, No. 1, p. 4).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 21 December 1920**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 21st December 1920 writes: –

"We whole-heartedly congratulate the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, C.I.E., on his being appointed by His Majesty the King Emperor to be the first Indian member of the Punjab Executive Council. We have not the least doubt that the Hon'ble Sardar will acquit himself in his new office in a manner which will not only give entire satisfaction to his countrymen but will also be conducive to the best interests of the motherland. There lies a great opportunity of vindicating his position as a patriot and a progressive and independent Punjabi." (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 1st January 1921, No. 1, pp. 4–5).

***Ranjit*, 22 December 1920**

The *Ranjit* of the 22nd December 1920 expresses pleasure at the appointment of Sardar Sundar Singh as a member of the Punjab Executive Council. It is necessary, adds the paper, that there should be a Sikh Minister also. The educational and other requirements of the Sikhs entitle them to this. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 1st January 1921, No. 1, p. 5).

***Sikh*, 26 December 1920**

Writing about the constitution of the new Executive Councils the *Sikh* of the 26th December 1920 says: –

“Of the Indian members appointed to these various Councils there are four Hindus, four Muhammadans and one Sikh. Further, of these nine Indians only two are without any title or honour being added to their names, while all other have each a long tale of titles or honours. This shows how in making selections in this connection, Government has had its own point of view in preference to that of the public. It being a general belief that there is little difference of views between the officials and such non-officials as have always been the recipients of the choicest blessings that are in store with the Government to bestow upon those who always march with it, is not this the very negation of the object with which the reforms are going to be effected in India? We doubt if any one of the Indians so elevated has, with one or two exceptions, ever prominently belonged even to the moderate party of the Congress, whom the Government people are never tired of extolling to the skies whenever they find an opportunity of saying anything against the extremists. Moreover, we have reasons to believe that past services to Government and not experience in administration has been the criterion in selecting members. ... Government has not been wrong in selecting the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia for the Punjab Executive Council. It has killed two birds with one stone, *viz.*, first, it has appointed a Sikh for the province which, only seventy years ago, was itself independently ruled by the Sikhs; secondly, it has selected, from among the Sikhs, a person whom only a week or so before the community themselves elected as president of such a responsible body as the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. Now the interests of *jathebandi* demand that we should heartily welcome his appointment to the Executive Council, for it affords him the best and also the last opportunity of doing what service he can to the *Panth* and the Motherland. For our part we congratulate him warmly and wish him every success and popularity in his new career.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 1st January 1921, No. 1, p. 5).

***Loyal Gazette*, 14 May 1922**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 14th May reports that the Hon'ble Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia has refused to control the Jail Department by way of protest against the disregard of his orders by the officers of the Department. So long as the latter do not realise that they must obey orders, whether the orders emanate from an Indian or an English member of the Executive Council, Sir John Maynard will control the Jail Department and the Sardar will have nothing to do with it.

Sardar Sundar Singh has shown praiseworthy moral courage. If his colleagues had stood in his way, he would have resigned his seat on the Executive Council as well. The Imperial Government will see that the reforms are an empty show so far as the delegation of powers to the Indians is concerned. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 20th May 1922. No. 20, pp. 235–236).

***Kesari*, 15 May 1922**

Writing about the administration of the Punjab under the Reforms Scheme, the *Kesari* of the 15th May says that Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, who was in charge of jail administration, could not, in spite of his honest effort of one year, secure any reform in the Jail Department and has now transferred the jail work to Sir John Maynard. If Sardar Sundar Singh has given up the jail work in consequence of the insubordination of the European officers of the Department he has betrayed cowardice. If any European officer was remiss in carrying out his orders he, instead of relinquishing jail work, should have punished such officer himself or got him punished. The action taken will serve no useful purpose. We are strongly of the opinion that Sardar Sahib should take the jail administration back under his own charge. In any case the truth about the reformed administration as well as his own helplessness must have been brought home to Sardar Sundar Singh. There is another aspect of the reformed administration which should not be lost sight of. What little powers were conferred on the Indian Ministers have made them capable of injuring the interests of the communities to which they do not belong. One concrete instance of such injury is afforded by the present Education Minister, who has done incalculable harm by raising the question of communal interests. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 20th May 1922. No. 20, p. 236).

***Tribune*, 16 May 1922**

The *Tribune* of the 16th May writes: –

“A rumour has found publicity in the press that the Hon’ble Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, Revenue Member of the Governor’s Executive Council, has resigned charge of the Jail Department. Will the Government issue a communiqué stating whether there is any truth in the statement or not and if the former the circumstances leading up to it?” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 20th May 1922. No. 20, p. 236).

***Loyal Gazette*, 11 June 1922**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 11th June remarks that the Government has indirectly announced that Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia has given up charge of the Jail Department not through displeasure, but for his own convenience. It

is probably the first time that a minister or ruler has consented to remove his authority over any department on account of pressure of work. We learn from a very reliable source that there was a difference of opinion between the Sardar and his subordinates and he gave up charge of the Jail Department because he could not, in spite of his efforts, make any improvement in the jails. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 24th June 1922. No. 25, p. 289).

#### ***Akali-te-Pardesi*, 24 November 1923**

The *Akali-te-Pardesi* asserts that Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh, Majithia, spurt venom against Sardars Kharak Singh and Mahtab Singh when they were imprisoned in connection with the keys affair. He went to the Guru-ka-Bagh but in order to please the bureaucracy he neither entered the *gurdwara* nor went to see the wounded Sikhs at Amritsar. His henchmen went about saying that he had not consented to the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee being declared as unlawful association. But the secret has been now exposed. By becoming a tool in the hands of the bureaucracy in its final attack upon the Panth, this traitor has sullied the name of his family. The Chief Khalsa Diwan should sever its connection with him. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 1st December 1923*, No. 49, p. 630).

#### ***Akali and Akali-te-Pardesi*, 6 December 1923**

The *Akali* and the *Akali-te-Pardesi* write that during Mughal rule one Jassa Singh came to fight with the Mughal troops against his co-religionists, but he repented and sought the shelter of Sikhs on hearing the shouts of "Sat Sri Akal" in the Gobindgarh fort. Is it too much to hope that when the same shouts are now raised in the Amritsar jail, Sardars Sundar Singh Majithia, Harbans Singh of Atari and others will go to the Akal Takht and place their services at the disposal of the Panth? (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 8th December 1923*, No. 50, p. 637).

#### **10      Sardar Daljit Singh**

##### ***Tribune*, 25 February 1915**

Writing under the heading "The India Council Appointment," the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 25th February 1915, comments as follows: –

"We confess to a sense of disappointment in regard to Lord Crewe's choice of a successor to Sir K.G. Gupta on his Council. The only thing that must reconcile us to the appointment is that the new member is a Punjab. It cannot for a moment be contended that he has anything in common with the member to

whose shoes he is asked to step in, and it is utterly incomprehensible what led Lord Crewe to fix his choice of the Hon'ble Sardar Daljit Singh, to the exclusion of every one else in the Punjab. Perhaps Lord Crewe attaches importance to the position of Sardar Daljit Singh as an elected member of the Viceroy's Council; but that only goes to show the unreality of *election* as it is known to us in this Province. This appointment is perhaps of value as fitting illustration of what a selection would be from the panel which was mentioned in the Bill that was rejected by the House of Lords. The present appointment, instead of weakening, greatly strengthens our demands as put forward at the Madras Session of the Indian National Congress. While we are sadly disappointed at the choice, we note that Lord Crewe desired to have a Punjabi this time on his Council. Sardar Daljit Singh has risen to the highest position he can aspired to. We can only hope that he will maintain his native independence as a Punjabi and will try to justify his appointment in the eyes of the world." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 27th February 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 9, p. 111).

#### ***Sher-i-Punjab*, 25 February 1915**

The *Sher-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 25th February 1915, says the Sikhs are rejoicing over the appointment. To speak the truth, Lord Crewe has, by appointing the Hon'ble Sardar Daljit Singh to an exalted office, laid under a heavy debt of gratitude the Sikh community, which though backward in the field of progress is the foremost in homage and loyalty. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 6th March 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, p. 126).

#### ***Desh*, 25 February 1915**

The *Desh* (Lahore), of the 25th February 1915, is pleased at the appointment of the Hon'ble Sardar Daljit Singh to the Council of the Secretary of State. He is the first Punjabi to be so appointed and his selection for the exalted office is a matter of special honour for the people of this Province. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 6th March 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, p. 126).

#### ***Panjabee*, 25 February 1915**

The *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 25th February 1915, has the following: –

“\* \* \* He is a member of both the Punjab Legislative Council and the Supreme Legislative Council. This last is probably the reason which has led Lord Crewe to appoint the Sardar to an office for which he has not established his fitness in any conceivable sense. So far as the action of the Secretary of State

indicates a desire to appoint some one from the Punjab, we are grateful for it; but it is scarcely a compliment to the Punjab to think that a better selection could not have been made without much difficulty. We are bound to say the announcement will be received with a sense of surprise and disappointment.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 27th February 1915.* Vol. XXVIII, No. 9, p. 111).

***Khalsa Akhbar, 26 February 1915***

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 26th February 1915, remarks that the Hon'ble Sardar Daljit Singh's succession to the office held by Sir Krishan Gupta is an honour first to the Sikhs and the Punjabis and then to all Indians. He is the first Sikh and the first Punjabi to be made a member of the Secretary of State's Council. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 6th March 1915.* Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, p. 126).

***Dipak, 26 February 1915***

The *Dipak* (Lahore), of the 26th February 1915, hopes that the people of the Punjab will hear the glad tidings with satisfaction. The Hon'ble Sardar is, in every respect, capable of successfully discharging the duties of the exalted office and we confidently hope that, like his predecessor, he will advocate the cause of India in a suitable manner. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 6th March 1915.* Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, p. 126).

***Jhang Sial, 26 February 1915***

The *Jhang Sial* (Lahore), of the 26th February 1915, confidently hopes that the Hon'ble Sardar Daljit Singh will properly safeguard the rights of Indians in the Secretary of State's Council. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 6th March 1915.* Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, p. 126).

***Observer, 27 February 1915***

In its leader “A great blunder,” the *Observer* (Lahore), of the 27th February 1915, has the following:—

“The announcement that Sardar Daljit Singh, C.S.I., Member of the Imperial Legislative Council, India, has been chosen to succeed Sir K.G. Gupta on the Secretary of State's Council, will, beyond doubt, cause the deepest disappointment and heart-burning in the minds of all those interested in the political welfare of this country. \* \* \* The appointment of Sardar Daljit Singh to the vacancy caused by the expiration of Sir K.G. Gupta's term of office is the best proof and justification of the fears, with which the panel provision in Lord



Crewe's still-born Council of India Bill was regarded by far-sighted politicians in this country." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 27th February 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 9, p. 111).

### ***Khalsa Advocate*, 27 February 1915**

In its notes and comments, the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 27th February 1915, has the following: –

"We are very glad to hear that he has been appointed a member of the Council of the Secretary of State at London. \* \* \* He is a good statesman and liked by the Chiefs throughout the Punjab. \* \* \* We hope this appointment as a member for the India Council will gratify not only the Chiefs but also the people of the Punjab." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 27th February 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 9, p. 111).

### ***Vakil*, 27 February 1915**

The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 27th February 1915, says that just as joy and gratitude were expressed at the appointment of Sir K.G. Gupta to the India Council, so surprise is being expressed at the nomination of the Hon'ble Sardar Daljit Singh as his successor. The surprise is justifiable, for the public is unacquainted with any special qualification of the Hon'ble Sardar which might entitle to the post. We are delighted that a Punjab has been selected and it is extremely gratifying for the Sikhs that the new member is a co-religionists of theirs; but the selection of Sardar Daljit Singh, in preference to many more capable and learned persons, is a matter the real motive of which is beyond the comprehension of the generality of the people. This nomination can only strengthen the demand for the reform of the India Council. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 6th March 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, p. 126).

### ***Panjabee*, 19 July 1916**

In a leading article noticing the interview recently given by Sardar Daljit Singh to the London correspondent of the *New York Sun*, the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 19th July 1916, says: –

"Unfortunately in endeavouring to remove one misconception, the Sardar seems to have used language which was calculated to give rise to another. He seems to have imagined that in order to prove that India was loyal to England it was necessary to give the impression that everything in this country was exactly as it should be. 'India,' he said, was never as prosperous as she is to-day. She is daily becoming richer and richer, particularly her agrarian classes who constitute the bulk of the population ... Our province, the Punjab, and the

whole of India, is quite satisfied with the present English rule.' In India these propositions would be quite harmless, because everybody would interpret them properly, and would take them to mean what no responsible Indians has ever denied, namely, that British rule has been to India a priceless blessing, and that she would not for any consideration whatever seek to subvert that rule or substitute the rule of any other power for it. They would do the greatest harm in England, because the impression they would create is that the agitation in which the educated community have been engaged for over thirty years, and of which the object is gradually but steadily to improve the existing order of things so that the people may have fuller opportunities of self-development, moral as well as material, than they can possibly have under the present circumstances, is more or less fictitious. The position was not improved when the speaker added: – 'Naturally the most advanced Indians desire a fuller share in the government of their own country, but we realise that the time for complete self-government has not yet arrived; in a word that the general conditions of India are not ripe for it.' If this means anything, it means that although we have not got complete self-government, we have got or are gradually getting all that we are entitled to. Sardar Daljit Singh cannot be unaware that complete self-government and the present state of things in India are divided by a whole heaven's breadth, and that as yet we have not even the rudiments of real and effective self-government in a single department of the administration. ... Nobody in India has, indeed, ever proposed that India should have complete self-government *per saltum*. What the people have been demanding is that the leading-strings should be removed, and that a firm beginning in self-government should be made. And even this very modest demand is stoutly resisted by the Anglo-Indian press and by reactionary officials." (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 22nd July 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 30, p. 604).

### ***Desh*, 21 July 1916**

The *Desh* (Lahore), of the 21st July, says that when Sardar Daljit Singh was appointed to the Council of the Secretary of State for India, Indian newspapers thought that it was futile to expect him to represent Indians in the true sense of the term. Their surmise appears from the opinions which the Sardar has expressed regarding India to have proved to be true. The paper then proceeds to controvert the Sardar's view that India was never so prosperous as it is now and that its wealth, especially the prosperity of its village people and the agriculturalists who constitute the bulk of the population, is daily growing. It is unquestioned that India has gained a great deal from British rule and that the prosperity of the country has increased, but it does not enjoy as much

prosperity as it should enjoy and it cannot attain to a satisfactory level of prosperity so long as Indians are not granted their proper share in the administration of the country. Moreover, his remark that the time has not come for the grant of self-government to India will encourage those who do not wish that the blessing of self-government should be conferred on India. There is a vast difference between complete self-government and the existing system of administration in India. Indians already possess the necessary qualifications for securing self-government, though they do not ask for it all at once. They merely desire that after the war steps should be taken in this direction. Sardar Daljit Singh says that sensible Indians know that they should learn to walk before making an attempt to run. This is a strange assertion. The Sardar should bear in mind that sensible Indians do not wish to run; nor are they hasty. They only wish that increased rights should be conferred on them and we are hopeful that when the British Government is assured that it is not advisable to withhold self-government from India, it will not hesitate to afford to this country an opportunity to enjoy the blessings of autonomy. (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 29th July 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 31, pp. 628–629).

***Paisa Akhbar, 22 July 1916***

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 22nd July 1916, hopes that Sardar Dalit Singh's view will not be received with appreciation by educated Indians generally. It is true that India is not yet ready for self-government. But the National Congress and the Muslim League are both agreed that we should obtain self-government, especially such government as is suited to the conditions of India. (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 29th July 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 31, p. 629).

***Prakash, 23 July 1916***

The *Prakash* (Lahore), of the 23rd July 1916, thinks that the sole qualification which led to Sardar Daljit Singh's nomination to the Council of the Secretary of State for India was his religion. Otherwise there was not chance of his appointment. (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 29th July 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 31, p. 629).

***Kashatri, 1 June 1917***

The *Kashatri* (Gujranwala, Hindu), of the 1st June 1917, observes that a Gurmukhi paper attributes the separation of Sikhs from Hindus to the failure of the *Tribune* and other Hindu papers to support the cause of Sardar Daljit Singh when he was selected a member of the India Council and again now when he

has been proposed for the Chief Ministership of the Kashmir State. This reason is not only strange but ridiculous. Hindus do not object to the appointment because Sardar Daljit Singh is a Sikh, but on certain other grounds. As a matter of fact, Sikhs and Hindus are brethren. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 14th June 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 24, p. 464*).

***Rajput Gazette, 9 June 1917***

The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore, Hindu), of the 9th June 1917, states that the people of Kashmir were anxious to see Raja Hari Singh, heir-apparent, installed as Chief Minister. The editor, however, bows to the present decision and expects that Raja Daljit Singh will spare no pains to make the people and his subordinates happy and contented and the period of his administration brilliant and blessed. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 28th June 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 26, p. 510*).

***Loyal Gazette, 10 June 1917***

The writer of a communicated article in the *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 10th June 1917, approves of the appointment of the Hon'ble Raja Daljit Singh, one result of which will be that backward communities, especially Muhammadans and Sikhs, will be able to make progress in education and other matters. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 28th June 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 26, p. 510*).

***Brahman Samachar, 10 June 1917***

The *Brahman Samachar* (Lahore, Hindu), of the 10th June 1917, cannot see how the reins of administration of a great country like Jammu and Kashmir have been entrusted to Raja Daljit Singh. The present condition of the State and its future well-being demanded that some capable soldier or leader or a first-class administrator should have been appointed to the post. Unfortunately, the Raja is devoid of these attributes. The capable and statesmanlike Kashmiri Pandit, Raja Narinder Nath, would have proved a fitter person. But now when Raja Daljit Singh has been appointed, we hope he will perform his duties with honesty and ability and not bring only Ahluwalias or Sikhs for employment in the State in imitation of the custom of other States. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 28th June 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 26, p. 510*).

***Virat, 11 June 1917***

The *Virat* (Lahore, Hindu), of the 11th June 1917, notes that notwithstanding the opposition of Punjabis, who are well acquainted with his abilities, Raja

Daljit Singh has been appointed Prime Minister of the Kashmir State. Now that he has been appointed to the highest post in the biggest Hindu State in the Province, it is to be hoped that he will try to enhance the prestige of his high office, so that people of the State may bless his appointment. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 28th June 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 26, p. 510*).

## 11 Sardar Gajjan Singh

### *Observer*, 1 April 1916

The *Observer* (Lahore), of the 1st April 1916, strenuously opposes the bill to prevent juveniles from tobacco smoking. It thinks that the Hon'ble Sardar Gajjan Singh's motive in formulating the Bill towards the end of the Council session is his anxiety to secure his own retention in the Punjab Legislative Council for the next term. The paper speaks of the measure as impracticable, unnecessary and mischievous; and in a detailed analysis of the provisions of the Bill takes exception to many of them on the score of their ineffectiveness in checking the evil with which they are designed to cope. (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 8th April 1916. Vol. xxix, No. 15, p. 299*).

### *Desh*, 17 May 1916

The *Desh* (Lahore), of the 17th May 1916, publishes a communicated article denouncing the Juvenile Smoking Bill. The Bill is open to objection on the ground that it admits Government interference through the operation of its legislative machinery for the suppression of a social evil. The admission of this principle will have far-reaching effects, and there is no knowing the extent to which such powers when once conceded may be used by Government. It should be remembered that no society is free from evils; but any society which seeks to remove its social evils with the help of legislation will be forfeiting its freedom. A detailed consideration of the provisions of the Bill will disclose its defects. Sardar Gajjan Singh wants Government to rein in suppressing the evil of smoking. But why should the help of Government be called in to suppress this evil and not for the suppression of evils arising out from the use of *bhang* and liquor intoxicants which are more injurious to physical and mental health than tobacco?

Why should not the use of *bhang* and liquor be made an offence in the case of young men? We confidently hope that Government will not commit the mistake of accepting the Bill and thereby interfering in a purely social question.

*(Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 20th May 1916. Vol. XXIX, No. 21, pp. 429–430).*

***Arya Gazette, 8 June 1916***

The *Arya Gazette* (Lahore), of the 8th June 1916, writing in a sarcastic vein says: – A law should be passed enjoining Indians to keep their houses clean and their articles in order and directing police officers to visit the houses of Indians daily and impeach those men whose houses are found to be unclean. Another law should be framed, laying down that Indian sons should remain obedient to their parents at least till their marriage. It is not known why a movement has not been already set on foot by certain Members of Council for the better control of quarrelsome wives. Every thing should be dealt with according to law. It is for this reason that the Hon'ble Sardar Gujjan Singh has introduced the Juvenile Smoking Bill. Unfortunate are the people who oppose the Bill! Why can they not let this law be passed? The poor police is idle and it is necessary to find new work for it. Of course, a law should be laying down that if dinner is not ready in time either the servant or the wife should be handed over to the police. If any one goes to sleep before ten o'clock at night the police should be sent for at once. If a wife disobeys her husband, she should be charged under some section. If the necessities of life do not reach the house in time, the husband should be impeached. Some law should be also passed for those boys who keep drinking water the whole day long in summer and avoid its use in winter. In co-operation with Sardar Gajjan Singh, who has introduced the Juvenile Smoking Bill, all men should loudly cry out: "Laws! Laws! Laws!!!". *(Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 17th June 1916. Vol. XXIX, No. 25, p. 507).*

***Desh, 9 June 1916***

The *Desh* (Lahore), of the 9th June 1916, has a leader entitled *The Nominated Members of the Punjab Council*. It is believed, it affirms, that Sardar Gujjan Singh has been nominated as a representative of the Sikh community; but the selection of Government is most unsuitable and based on a misunderstanding, for so far as we are aware of the views of Sardar Gajjan Singh and the sentiments of the Sikh community we can say that he is not a true representative of the Sikhs. His attitude towards the Alienation of Land Act is that of a zamindar and not of a Sikh; and he has permanently lost the confidence of the Sikhs on this account. His nomination as a representative of the Sikh community is extremely objectionable. Nor is it easy to comprehend the reason for the nomination of Sardar Sundar Singh of Majithia. We have not been able to discern what services he has rendered which entitle him to nomination

every time. If silence on the part of a member constitutes a special qualification for a seat in the Council then the Sardar is undoubtedly deserving of the honour. Nawab Behram Khan, according to the newspapers, is quite ignorant of English. There is no paucity of qualified Muhammadans. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal is a keen-sighted man of independent views. He is more popular than any other Muhammadan and Government would have earned the gratitude not only of the Muhammadans but also of the Hindus if it had nominated Dr. Iqbal to the Punjab Council. It is to be hoped that Government will make reparation for this mistake in future. (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 17th June 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 25, pp. 506–507).

#### ***Khalsa Akhbar, 16 June 1916***

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 16th June 1916, replies to the criticism of the *Desh* against the Juvenile Smoking Bill. It says that the writer of a series of articles in the *Desh* has told a white lie in remarking that the editor of the *Desh* is opposed to the Bill, as the comments of the *Desh* of the 18th and 23rd March 1916 clearly prove that the editor is in favour of the measure. The Bill has been introduced by a Sikh; and the followers of Dayanand therefore deem it their duty to oppose it, though they believe it to be useful. Their opposition is based not on common sense, decency and reasoning, but on folly and indecency, specimens of which can be seen in the note that the senseless editor of the *Arya Gazette* has published. (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 24th June 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 26, pp. 523–524).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am, 24 June 1916***

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 24th June 1916, is unable to understand why some newspapers are strenuously opposing the Juvenile Smoking Bill. It is true that Sardar Gajjan Singh is a Sikh and that tobacco smoking is prohibited by his religion, but it is not right to accuse him of having introduced the Bill out of selfish motives. It is well known that ever since India has been visited by the pest of cheap cigarettes, children of tender age have contracted the evil and injurious habit of smoking. It should be the duty of every well-wisher of the country to check the evil. In many countries in Europe and America legislation has been undertaken to suppress the evil and children and their accomplices are punished if they violate the law. If similar action is taken in the Punjab also, the precedent set by it is likely to be followed by other provinces. The *Akhbar-i-Am* gladly supports the Bill and thinks that it will improve the health of children and prevent them from contracting the objectionable habit of smoking. (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 1st July 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 27, pp. 543–544).

***Tribune*, 26 July 1916**

The following is taken from a leader in the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 26th July 1916: –

“The issue has been clouded in certain quarters by the suggestion that the mover, the Hon’ble Sardar Bahadur Gajjan Singh, himself belongs to a community which is bound by its sacred injunctions to abstain from all kinds of smoking and is, therefore, interested in the prohibition of tobacco smoking. This matter has only to be looked at from a slightly different angle of vision to realise the hollowness of the position. The Sardar Bahadur’s own immediate circle and class are sufficiently protected by their most cherished associations and traditions. They are immune from the ravages of the epidemic. Why then should he take all the trouble incident of the preparation and introduction of the Bill and its piloting through subsequent stages in the Council? Surely he has nothing to gain thereby for himself and his community? In their case they have already got what is asked for in the Bill and much more. It is because his belief in the evils of smoking has led him to observe much more carefully and minutely the harm that is being wrought in the other classes of the community, as contrasted with his own. Should he then continue to keep a seal of silence on his lips and see that harm done from day to day, conscious in the knowledge that he knows what is working that harm? Such an attitude would neither be just to himself, nor fair to the community as a whole. On the contrary, it is because he and his class of the community are not immediately concerned that his action stands on a purely altruistic plane, and those in whose interests he has worked should feel under an obligation to him for his disinterested zeal.” (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 29th July 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 31, pp. 632–633).

***Desh*, 22 February 1917**

The *Desh* (Lahore, Hindu), of the 22nd February 1917, remarks that far-sighted educated men are strongly opposed to the Juvenile Smoking Bill of Sardar Gajjan Singh, seeing that no law is required to suppress a social evil. To ask Government to enact such a law is to permit it to interfere with our other social matters and to deprive us of social freedom. A considerable number of educated men are opposed to the Bill and Government should drop it. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 15th March 1917*. Vol. XXX, No. 11, p. 206).

***Punjab*, 24 February 1917**

The *Punjab* (Lahore, Muhammadan), of the 24th February 1917, remarks that the Hon’ble Sardar Gajjan Singh, finding no other way of displaying his activity



in the local Legislative Council, has introduced the Juvenile Smoking Bill. A public meeting under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mian Muhammad Shafi was held on the 20th instant in Lahore to consider the Bill. This meeting passed two resolutions. In the first resolution, the meeting dwelt on the injurious character of smoking and it was passed by a majority of votes. In the second, Government was asked to pass the Bill, and it was adopted unanimously. The paper does not deny the injurious character of smoking and the advantages that will be gained by suppressing it, but it is not prepared to admit the need of the Bill. The proposal of having a law on the subject will grossly insult Indian society and the paper, therefore, emphatically protests against it. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 15th March 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 11, p. 206*).

***Punjab Darpan, 28 February 1917***

Noticing the proceedings of the meeting recently held in Lahore to support the most useful and much needed Bill, introduced by the Hon'ble Sardar Gajjan Singh in the local Legislative Council, the *Punjab Darpan* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 28th February 1917, trusts that similar meetings will be held all over the Punjab with a view to secure the suppression of the evil of smoking in the country. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 15th March 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 11, p. 207*).

***Liberal, 17 January 1921***

The *Liberal* of the 17th January also refers to the nomination of Nawab Sir Behram Khan and Sardar Bahadur Gajjan Singh to the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly, respectively, and writes: –

“He who runs can see that the nominations are based on personal and not on public grounds, and cannot therefore command popular support.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts. Vol. xxxiv, Lahore: The 22nd January 1921, No. 4, p. 43*).

## Organisations and Movements

### 1 Kuka Movement

#### *Ushruf-ool Ukhbar*, 20 December 1866

“In the district of Loohana [Ludhiana] in the Punjab, one Ram Singh [Singh], a Sikh, has it is said taken upon himself the honour of being a prophet, and has converter sixty thousand persons to his creed. Those are with him go from place to place, or make converts. The police are wandering about in great thought of them, &c., &c.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjaub, North-Western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces, from the 8th to the 16th January, 1867*, p. 20).

#### *Nujm-ool Ukhbar*, 2 January 1867

A story is repeated of some carpenter of Loodiana who has got up a sect of his own, to which he has about thirty thousand converts. It is added, the Seikh Sepoys in the fort, too, have gone over to him, and Government has thought it necessary to send Goorkhas into the fort. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjaub, North-Western Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces, from the 24th to the 31st January, 1867*, p. 47).

#### *Koh-i-Noor*, 28 September 1867

The *Koh-i-Noor* of the 28th of September opens with the rules of Freemasonry, after which there is much old news, chiefly extracts from other papers. Then appears the following: – “Kokapunnee is silent (or quiet) now-a-days, and in the house of Ram Sing [Singh], *Gooroo*, charity is largely distributed; the brother eats his bread after sounding the kettledrum; from morning till noon he sits in a well and prays to God. After noon he comes into his *dewan khana* and holds *iftas* (sessions), and cases of Kokons are brought, and the cases of these people are never taken into Court; but if ever a case should go into the *Sirkaree Adawlut* [governmental court of justice], the brother is much displeased.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjaub, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 24th to the 31st October, 1867*, p. 461).

***Punjabee Ukhbar*, 29 January 1869**

The *Punjabee Ukhbar*, of the 29th of January, offers some remarks upon the report of the Superintendent of Police, Goojranwalla, to Government. The writer says, that "all the other District Superintendents of Police have mentioned in their reports that the new caste, '*Koka Punth*' (a religious order), has met with no encouragement. These people destroy all tombs that they come across. In 1867 they were punished for doing so, and this seems to have had a wholesome effect on them; and they have also discovered that the religion they are supposed to follow is not worth acknowledging. To believe in it is hurtful, both in this world and hereafter, as they are looked upon also by Government as criminals. The disciples of Ram Singh, too, are shaken much in faith. Up to 1866, Ram Singh could not change his place of residence without first obtaining the consent of Government to do so; but when the Government set him free, and evinced no desire to interfere with his affairs, this very carelessness caused the people to change their ideas of him and his creed, and all reasoned that he could be nothing very great when Government ceased to care anything about his movements. Ram Singh, Naib, who they call Subah, they look upon as equal to Gooroo Gobind Singh and Gooroo Nanak, and they say that the Almighty has come "into the world in the form of Ram Singh. The District Superintendent of Ferozepore says that a person who has become a new *Koka* for the purpose of testing him, hid Ram Singh's dress, in order that he might see whether the act was known; so that for three or four days the clothes were duly searched for, but not found. At last his faith was proved to be false, and he soon found out that his *gooroo* knew nothing at all. When this news spread, people began to wonder, and gave him up. We also learn, from a trustworthy source, that when these people chant, both men and women are quite naked; so that it may be easily imagined what the result of such scenes may be. The sensible and respectable people leave them, and run away some distance from such places. We are certain, however, that this *gooroo* will try his powers again over the people." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, Received from the 3rd to the 5th of February, 1869*, pp. 59–60).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 19 August 1871**

The *Koh-i-Nur* of the same date, in noticing the discovery and capture of the persons concerned in the murder of the butchers at Umritsar and Raikote, hopes that Government will inflict due punishment on the falser informers, who, through impious and dishonest motives, were led to put the lives of a large number of innocent men in jeopardy, in order to give warning to others, and believes that steps will also be taken to keep people of the Koka tribe, whose wicked acts have now been brought to light, under proper restraint. (*Selections*

*from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 26th August, 1871, p. 493).*

***Koh-i-Nur, 2 September 1871***

In noticing the sad incident of the Moonshee's death, and the circumstances attending it, the *Koh-i-Nur* and the *Punjabi Akhbar* set prominently forward the fact of the murderer being a Kuka, and take this occasion again to remind Government that it is high time for it to adopt vigorous measures for keeping the Kuka tribe (Ram Sing) to strict account. "There no longer remains a doubt," says the *Koh-i-Nur*, "that the pride and haughtiness of the Kukas have now reached their Zenith. They neither fear God nor the Government. Formerly they were only in the habit of stirring up strifes and contentions in different shapes, but now they have gone so far as to aspire at oppression and bloodshed, nay more, the murder of public officers. An insignificant man of the tribe has been led from a petty cause of offence (the passing of a decree for a small amount of twenty or twenty-five rupees against him) to murder of high and respectable Native officer; who knows if similar foul murders or schemes of carnage may be attempted in future. We have often warned the authorities against this tribe, and now again do our duty in this respect." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 9th September June, 1871, p. 524).*

***Koh-i-Nur, 9 September 1871***

The *Koh-i-Nur* of the same date refers to the notice said to have been found fixed at the gate of the Durbar Sahib in Umritsar [Amritsar], on the morning of the 2nd instant, and forwarded by Sardar Mangal Singh, high priest of the place, to the Deputy Commissioner with his own letter. The notice is in the Goormukhee character, and its purport is that, unless the slaughter of kine is effectively put a stop to by the authorities, peace is about to bid farewell to the land, and times of trouble are approaching for all. The editor quotes this as a fresh proof of the audacity of the Kukas, and warns them to refrain from their wicked career, and, repenting of their past misdoings, to beg pardon from the authorities, and act in future as meek and submissive subjects. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 16th September, 1871, p. 542).*

***Karnamah, 27 November 1871***

Under the heading "Punjab," the same paper [the *Karnamah*] warns the authorities against giving a credulous ear to the statements of informers. It is remarked that since suspicions have arisen against the Kuka tribe, informers have found opportunities to impose upon the authorities by communicating false and

fabricated reports in order to win their favour. Among others, Mussumat Ram Kunwur particularly deserves mention; she has been led from motives of hostility to procure the conviction of several men of the tribe. This state of things has struck alarm into the minds of rich and influential persons, to who the very name of informer has become a bugbear, and certainly not without a reason, it being a fact that in an age in which informers find a hearing, the rich and the virtuous are unjustly involved in difficulties. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 2nd December, 1871*, pp. 703–704).

#### ***Oudh Akhbar*, 9 February 1872**

The same paper [the *Oudh Akhbar*] strongly condemns the high-handed policy adopted by Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of Loodhiana, in causing a large number of the Kukas concerned in the late disturbances at Malair Kotla [Maler Kotla] to be blown away from guns. “Undoubtedly,” says the editor, “it was highly improper and unjustifiable in Mr. Cowan to have caused so many men to be blown away from guns all of a sudden, and without making full inquiries, and this for the following reasons: – Firstly, – the number of persons killed by all the Kukas was less than the number of the latter blown away; secondly, if as is alleged, it was in order to give warning and excite awe that such a course was adopted, surely there were various kinds of punishments, more painful, and at the same time ignominious and disgraceful, which could have been inflicted with advantage without subjecting the offenders to a death of the kind. For instance, their ears and noses might have been cut off, and they should then have been doomed for fourteen years’ rigorous imprisonment, attended with some special corporal punishment, such as that of perpetual flogging, a chastisement which would have been long remembered by the Kukas and proved to be a decisive warning to others.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Province, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 29th February 1872*, p. 107).

#### ***Jalwa-i-Tur*, 16 February 1872**

A correspondent of the *Jalwa-i-Tur* of the same date, in giving particulars of the late Kuka outbreak at Mulier Kotla [Maler Kotla], censures the officers of that State for having failed to take any steps for its suppression. Though warned of the threatened danger by the Deputy Commissioner three days before, and possessing an army of two hundred men, together with six guns, the Nazim of the State could not keep the rebels, who were only seventy or eighty in number, at bay. Both on account of the unfitness thus shown by him for the control of the State, and his tyranny and oppression, which have reduced the people to straits, as well as his uncourteous and harsh manners, which are highly

disagreeable to the nobles and the relatives of the late Nawab, the correspondent strongly recommends that the Nazim should be superseded in the office by Sirdar Narayan Singh, Extra Assistant Commissioner, who has recently been placed by the Deputy Commissioner in charge of the military administration of the State, which he has conducted in an efficient manner. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Province, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 29th February 1872*, pp. 111–112).

***Dabdaba-i-Sikandari*, 18 March 1872**

The *Dabdaba-i-Sikandari*, of the same date, considers the punishment inflicted on the Kukas to be extremely severe and unjustifiable, as compared with the offence of which they were guilty. When full inquiries have been made, and a trial has been held in the cases of grave offenders like the murderers of Lord Mayo and Chief Justice Norman, who were seized in the very act of perpetrating the deed, the sudden blowing away from guns of so many Kukas cannot be accounted for. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Province, Oudh, and Central Provinces. Received up to 23rd March, 1872*, p. 164).

***Marwar Gazette*, 25 March 1872**

The same paper [the *Marwar Gazette*] censures the policy of Government in dealing with unnecessary and uncalled for severity with the Kukas, and having sent away their leader, Ram Singh, as a prisoner to Rangoon. The writer believes that there is nothing noxious in the tenets inculcated by the Kuka sect which could make them an object of fear, and that Ram Singh has not been guilty of any grave offence which could justify so severe a punishment. Government ought to be very careful and considerate in dealing punishment on the Kukas. Sikhs of their fraternity are the deadliest foes of the Musalmans and their religion, and it was they who proved themselves to be the staunch friends of the British Government during the mutiny of 1857. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 3rd April 1872*, pp. 176–177).

***Panjabi Akhbar*, 25 May 1872**

The *Panjabi Akhbar*, of the 25th May, finds fault with the judgement passed by the Government of India in the Kooka case, in so far as it related to the punishment inflicted on Mr. Forsyth. The writer expatiates on the virtues of the officer, his public career in the Panjab, the brilliant services rendered by him to Government – especially in the furtherance and development of trade in Central Asia and his mission to Yarkund, which was attended with complete success; his good and friendly feelings towards the natives of India,

and the zealous interest taken by him in them, which were fully evinced in the speech lately delivered by him in England and published in the newspapers. All these circumstances plead strongly in favour of Mr. Forsyth, and go to prove that the sentence passed on him by Government for his conduct in the summary execution of the Kukas is unjustly severe. The writer concludes by calling on the chiefs and nobles of the Punjab to uphold Mr. Forsyth's cause by representing their real views to Government on the subject of the injustice done to him. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 1st June, 1872*, pp. 274–275).

***Akhbar-i-Alam*, 6 June 1872**

Referring to the intention of Mr. Cowan, late Deputy Commissioner of Loodhiana, to prepare a book containing full details of the Kuka outbreak, and to go to England in order to appeal to Parliament against the decision passed by the Government of India in his case, the same paper [the *Akhbar-i-Alam*] expresses itself strongly against the propriety of entertaining the appeal, and remarks that, judging from the serious nature of the offence of which Mr. Cowan has been guilty, the punishment inflicted on him would seem to be too light. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 10th June, 1872*, p. 295).

***Hindu Prakash*, 15 May 1874**

The *Hindu Prakash* of the same date, noticing the transfer of Ram Singh, the Kooka [Kuka] leader, from the Rangoon to the Delhi jail, remarks that Government has certainly acted very unjustly in having imprisoned such an innocent and pious man; and hopes that Lord Northbrook will design to take the poor man's case into his favourable consideration and order his release, and permit him to pass the remainder of his life in some sacred city of the Hindoos, such as Benares, Muttra, or Bindrabun. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 15th June, 1874*, p. 201).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 16 January 1875**

From Ludhiana news has been received by this paper [the *Koh-i-Nur*] that the Kukas have again raised their head. "A person calling himself Darbara Singh is going about saying all sorts of things: among others, that he has come from his brother Ram Singh with certain commands." The editor thinks this person an impostor, "who has good reason for imposing on the public." It is further mentioned that at the village of Lohgarh a grand meeting of the Kukas took

place, the news of which took Mr. Warburton, superintendent of police, at once to the spot, where he captured some seventeen Kukas, of whom five were Patiala men and one from Jhind; the latter was sent back, but those belonging to British territory were kept in custody. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 21st January, 1875*, p. 38).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Chunar*, 1 March 1887**

The *Akhbar-i-Chunar*, of the 1st March, says that three Panjabi Kukas were sent to the fort at Chunar as State prisoners fifteen years ago. Two of them, who were about fifty years of age, were released on the 16th February. When they were suddenly told to go, they could not at first realize what their release meant. They repeatedly blessed Her Majesty at the time of their departure, which, however, occasioned much grief to the third man, who actually burst into tears. He is past seventy years, walks about with difficulty, and suffers from night-blindness. If he is not released, he will die ere long. The *Akhbar* thinks that he deserves mercy and should be let off in honour of such a happy occasion. (The *Aftab-i-Panjab*, Lahore, of the 7th March, concurs with the *Akhbar-i-Chunar* in recommending his release under the circumstances.) (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 15th March, 1887*, p. 169).

#### ***Delhi Punch*, 25 May 1887**

A correspondent of the *Delhi Punch* (Lahore), of the 25th May, adverting to the rumour about Maharaja Dalip Singh's going over to Russia, says that as soon as the Maharaja enters Central Asia and creates difficulties on the frontier, the Kuka Sikhs are sure to rebel and declare themselves for him. They are disaffected towards the British Government and have already begun to hold secret meetings. In a future issue the writer will give a fuller account of their sentiments and feelings towards the British Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 30th May, 1887*, p. 325).

## **2 Singh Sabhas**

#### ***Anjuman-i-Panjab*, 1 August 1885**

The *Anjuman-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 1st August, publishes a communication from the Secretary to the Simla Singh Sabha, who observes that the Sabha does



not see why only those boys who have passed the Entrance Examination of the Punjab University should be allowed to compete for the Vidwan, Gyani, and Budhiman Examinations in Gurmukhi. This restriction greatly interferes with the popularity of the examinations in questions. Evidently a boy who has passed the Entrance Examination has no temptation to compete for any of those examinations. Hence the Sabha is of opinion that the restriction should be done away with, and that the examinations should be also places under the management of the Panjab University in order that the candidates may be saved the trouble and expense of going large distances from their homes to attend the examinations. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 10th August, 1885*, p. 547).

***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 7 and 14 May 1887**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), in its issues of the 7th and 14th May, comments on the replies of the new Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab to the addresses of welcome presented by the Indian Association, the Guru Singh Subba [Sabha], the Khalsa Diwan, and the Anjuman-i-Islamia, and approves of the sentiments expressed by His Honor. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 16th May, 1887*, p. 302).

***Aftab-i-Panjab*, 21 November 1887**

The *Aftab-i-Panjab* (Lahore), of the 21st November, publishes a long article in answer to the attack made by the *Civil and Military Gazette* upon the Raja of Faridkot and the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha of Lahore. The *Aftab* first refers to the division of the Sikh community into two opposite parties, which took place some months ago on account of a religious pamphlet published by Bhai Gurmukh Singh, the late Secretary to the Amritsar Khalsa Diwan. In the pamphlet the author stated that the Sikhs were bound to make obeisance to their sacred book, called the Guru Granth, when it was being read out by any person: but that it was not necessary to do so when the book was closed. His co-religionists were highly annoyed at his remark, and called upon Baba Khaim Singh, President of the Khalsa Diwan, to inflict adequate punishment on him. The Diwan referred the matter to the other principal Sikh religious associations throughout India, which unanimously recommended the dismissal of Bhai Gurmukh Singh from the Amritsar Diwan's Secretaryship, and his excommunication from the Sikh community. Accordingly Gurmukh Singh was dismissed and turned out of society at a general meeting of the Khalsa Diwan some seven months ago. Since then he and his friends, such as Dat Singh, Jawahir Singh,

and Partab Singh, have become inveterate enemies of the Raja of Faridkot, Baba Khaim Singh, Baba Sumer Singh, and Baba Udaya Singh. They have got an association of their own called the Singh Sabha, and two newspapers, viz., the *Khalsa Gazette* and the *Gurmukhi Akhbar* are in their hands. Lately the *Khalsa Gazette* abused the Raja, Baba Khaim Singh, and others, and consequently a criminal prosecution for libel was instituted by Baba Udaya Singh against the editor of that newspaper. The prosecution is still pending. The *Aftab* will not be surprised if the *Civil and Military Gazette* has attacked the Raja of Faridkot and the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha at the instance of Bhai Partab Singh, who belongs to the opposite party, and is employed in the office of that journal. The *Aftab* then argues that the interests of the Faridkot State are entirely bound up with those of the British Government, and refers to the services which the Raja Pahar Singh rendered to the paramount power. He was in a way the founder of British rule in the Panjab. When after a very severe fight at Mudki both the British and Sikh troops had left the field, each party thinking itself worsted, Raja Pahar Singh appealed to the Commander of the British Army, and induced him to re-advance and gain the victory. It is simply impossible that such a loyal State should entertain thoughts of disloyalty towards the British Government. Raja Bikram Singh, the present Chief, is, it is alleged, dissatisfied on account of an unfavourable decision given by Sir Charles Aitchison's Government in some case. The statement appears to be a preposterous one, particularly when it is remembered that His Highness received many favours from the late Lieutenant-Governor. As regards the display of the photographs of Maharaja Dalip Singh at the anniversary of the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha; the *Aftab* states that the members of the Singh Sabha also took part in the meeting, and that it is an open question whether the members of the former association or of the latter brought the photograph to the temple. The photograph was at first taken to the inner room, but as soon as Baba Udaya Singh, the President of the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha, saw it, he at once ordered it to be removed, saying that only the pictures of the ten Gurus could be allowed a place inside the room. The photograph was then suspended, together with a number of other pictures, on the exterior wall of the temple. Hence it will be perceived that Dalip Singh's photograph was really subjected to great indignity at the meeting. Bhai Narain Singh, a member of the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha, in his speech at the meeting, made some unfavourable remarks against Bhai Jawahir Singh and Dat Singh, who belong to the opposite party. They were highly annoyed at the strictures, and recorded a report at the police station against the Sabha in connection with the display of the photograph of Dalip Singh. They were not content with this: they got the editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette* to make a most violent attack on the Raja of Faridkot and the Sabha. The *Aftab* then

refers to the speech of Baba Udaya Singh, who bestowed high praises on the British Government, and censures the members of the Singh Sabha for bringing such a false charge against their co-religionists through malice. The *Aftab*, in its issue of the 25th November, says that the photograph of Dalip Singh, together with other pictures, was placed on the exterior wall of the temple only to adorn the place. Had the object of the members of the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha been to excite sympathy in favour of the Maharaja, they would have placed his photograph before them, and made strong appeals to the Sikhs on his behalf. But even the members of the Singh Sabha are not prepared to say that a single word was uttered in his favour at the meeting. The story regarding the attendance of the vakil of the Raja of Faridkot is a pure fiction invented by the writer in the Lahore English newspaper to suit his purposes. The Raja's Vakil is a Musalman, whose attendance at a Sikh religious meeting is simply out of the question. The man, who has been referred to by the *Civil and Military Gazette* as the Raja's representative at the meeting, is one Jhanda Singh. He is not the Raja's Vakil, but has been engaged by His Highness on Rs. 30 a month for one year for preparing a Commentary on the Guru Granth: he holds a permanent post of Rs. 20 under the Panjab University. He attended the meeting as a private individual: the best proof of this is to be found in the circumstance that he contributed only Rs. 2 towards the expenses of the celebration of the anniversary of the Sabha. The *Aftab* then takes the *Civil and Military Gazette* to task for falsely impugning the loyalty of a Native Prince, who is loyal to the core, and publishes a plan of the temple, where the anniversary of the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha was celebrated, with a view to showing that the photograph of Dalip Singh was placed at the distance of 78 feet from the shrine. (The *Koh-i-Nur*, Lahore, of the 24th November, answers at some length the article of the *Civil and Military Gazette* against the Raja of Faridkot and the Nanak Panth Prakash Sabha, and condemns the attack as one unjust and impolitic one). (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 29th November, 1887*, pp. 745–748).

### ***Singh Sahai*, 25 June 1890**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 25th June 1890, says that Sardar Man Singh, late guardian of the Golden Temple, once stated at a meeting of the *Singh Sabha* that it was rumoured that some officials (the Deputy Commissioner and the Secretary of Government, Punjab) had a conversation about that Society, in the course of which it was alleged that the object of the Sikhs in starting new associations was to intrigue against Government. The writer of the article on hearing this at once went to the Deputy Commissioner and the Secretary

and asked him whether the rumour was well founded, and after assuring him of his loyalty offered to the close *Sabha* if he looked upon it with disfavour. He assured the Deputy Commissioner and Secretary that the object of the Sabha was to ascertain the true feelings of the Sikhs, to inform Government of the same and to enable the authorities to arrest the more turbulent members of that community. The Secretary expressed himself well pleased with the writer and assured the latter that the *Singh Sabha* was only incidentally mentioned in the conversation which took place between the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar and himself. The above facts are sufficient to give an idea of the loyalty of the Sikhs, and it is therefore a pity that Government instead of rewarding them showers its favours on people of other nationalities. There are thousands of educated Sikhs without any employment whatever. If Government cannot employ them in the public service it should at least grant them small *jagirs* for maintaining themselves and their families. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 5th July 1890*. Vol. III, No. 27, p. 242).

***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 3 October 1892**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 3rd October 1892, publishes a communication in which the writer says that a book called "Kabir Mansur" was published by Parma Nand Sahd of the Kabir Panth. This book contained reflections on Guru Nanak, but through the exertions of the Ferozepore Singh Sabha the author was compelled to publicly admit his mistake. It is, however, a matter for regret that Parsutam Das, a disciple of the author, has brought out a new edition of the book, in which it is stated at pages 548 and 592 that Guru Nanak was a disciple of Kabir. The writer calls upon the Singh Sabhas of the country to take measures for the suppression of the publication of this objectionable work. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 15th October 1892*. Vol. v, No. 41, p. 380).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 22 June 1899**

A correspondent writing to the *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 22nd June (received on the 5th July) 1899, complains that the split in the local Singh Sabha has proved disastrous to the interests of the Khalsa Panth. Almost all influential Sikh gentlemen have severed their connection with the Sabha, while very few of its present members care to pay their monthly subscriptions. It is to be regretted that those responsible for the split did not pause to enquire as to how their action would affect the local Gobind Singh Boarding House and Khalsa Girls School, which, they must have been aware, could not be worked without funds. The writer concludes by calling upon the Sikh residents of Lahore to

make up their differences and work in union for the good of their community. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th July 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 28, pp. 377–378).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 1 November 1899**

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore) of the 1st (received on the 9th) November 1899, remarks that Bhagat Lachhman [Lakshman] Singh has at length thrown off his mask. It is reported that at the last anniversary of the Patiala Singh Sabha he took the public into his confidence and gave out that he was the Editor of the *Khalsa*, the organ of Bhai Jowahir Singh's party. Will the Bhagat, remarks the Editor, go a step further and say since when has he been in editorial charge of that paper? (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 18th November 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 46, p. 671).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 25 January 1900**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), dated the 25th January 1900, publishes a communication in which the writer after giving an account of the celebration by the Amritsar Singh Sabha of the last anniversary of Guru Gobind Singh's birth, remarks that several irregularities were committed by the Sabha on the occasion. One of these was that the procession, which paraded through the town in connection with the event, was accompanied by a regiment of Mazhabi Sikhs who the townsmen took for Hindu Sikhs and treated as such. That this was a grave mistake on the part of that body is evident from the fact that on their caste becoming known the Mazhabis in question were not allowed to enter the precincts of the Darbar Sahib or to sit among other Sikhs. Another objectionable feature of the event was that to the great indignation of the Hindu audience, Sardar Thakar Singh and the other lecturers of the Sabha made uncalled-for attacks on the Hindus and their religious books. They called the Hindus ungrateful, and used other opprobrious epithets for them, while misrepresentations were made regarding the Hindu scriptures. It is scarcely necessary to add that the lecturers in question belonged to a new class of Sikhs who regard themselves as non-Hindus and have sent their agents in the mofussil to preach this doctrine of discord and disunion. It is, however, gratifying to learn that their preachings have not only not been accepted by any of the five Gurdwaras of the Sikhs, but have also been disapproved and discouraged by Sir Baba Khem Singh, Bedi, and several Sikh Rajas of the Punjab, who openly declare that Sikhs are Hindus. The writer adds that a number of tracts have recently been published in the Province by both Sikh and Hindu writers to prove that Sikhs are Hindus and that Guru Gobind Singh himself was a worshipper of the Goddess Durga. He then goes on to say that the following

incident which took place during last Christmas proves above everything else the futility of the position taken up by the Sikhs under reference. Some members of the Amritsar Singh Sabha asked the Maharaja of Patiala to pay a visit to the Sikh temples at Amritsar. The Maharaja agreed to this on the condition, however, that no penalty would be imposed on him by any of the priests for his non-observance of any of the tenets of Sikhism. When the Akal Bunga priests heard of this they wired His Highness not to come, remarking that they had nothing to do with the Singh Sabha but followed rules of their own to which the Maharaja would have to conform if he wished to visit the Bunga. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd February 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 5, pp. 53–54).

***Panjabee*, 23 June 1910**

The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 23rd June 1910: –

“The leaders that are gone have left behind none to carry on their work! This is the burden of the universal lament in every part of India among people of all classes and creeds. And it is, alas, too true. The places of the giants that have fallen in the fray are lying vacant, there are none worthy to succeed them. And at this moment the want is being felt by no other section of the population so sorrowfully and keenly as the Sikhs. The late Bhai Jowahar Singh (whose untimely death the other day flung a gloom over cultured Lahore) was literally the last of the devoted band of preachers and workers to whom the Khalsa renaissance during the last 20 or 30 years is mainly due. As one mentally glances back over the two or three short decades, figure after figure of the fellow-labourers of the Bhai pass before the mind’s eye. And they all preceded him to their reward. Taken altogether, they formed a small but brilliant body of missionaries of which any community or organization may be proud. Bhai Gurmukh Singh – a combination of the poet, ascetic and Vedantist – was equally good as a preacher of the ‘panth,’ expounder of texts in the Granth, organizer of movements in aid of the cause, and manager of various business undertakings connected with the mission. Bhai Dit Singh was a zeal and ardour, displaying the dash and go in the field of religious controversy which distinguish the Sikh on the battle-field. Bhai Basant Singh was a born orator, master of a dulcet and flexible style of speaking which now moved the hearers to tears and now to laughter. He spoke always in Punjab – pure and undefiled. He was the first to demonstrate the power and capacity of the Punjabi language ‘to express the inmost feelings and touch the deepest emotions.’ And for this service to the mother tongue he has a claim on the loving and grateful remembrance of every Punjabi, Sikh or non-Sikh. Dr. Jai Singh was neither a preacher nor a controversialist, but his character was one endless elevating

sermon. Plain, simple-hearted, straightforward, brave – absorbed with all his soul in the department of reform work, that of reclamation, he had made his own – who can recall him without feeling deep reverence for his memory?

“They all had one and the same object in view – that of preserving intact the distinctive features of the Khalsa and keeping it apart as a community by itself. But in this unanimity of purpose there was a diversity of standpoint. Roughly speaking, these missionaries, as we have called them, belonged to two schools: – (1) those who held that the Sikh fold was *within* Hindudom, and (2) those who held that it lay *outside* the domain of Hindu society. Bhai Jowahir Singh and Dr. Jai Singh belonged to the first and the others to the second division. Apart from this question – which has little more than an academic value so far as the mutual, social and religious relations of the Hindus and Sikhs are concerned – there cannot be two opinions as to the boundless importance of keeping at their highest vigour the vital and vitalizing elements of the Khalsa Church. The Tenth Guru, in one of his inspired ‘words’ promised to make Eagles of the Sparrows (*i.e.*, the submerged Hindu population). Remember the state of the Hindus in the times when this gospel of hope was proclaimed to them. And the history of the rise of the Khalsa – its struggles and martyrdoms till it developed its irresistible martial-spiritual power – bears trumpet-tongued testimony to the fulfilment to the letter of the promise. That ‘vital and vitalising’ principle, we repeat, that brought about this miracle, ought to be preserved in its full strength. The seeds of decay which everything of life carries – as is perhaps nowhere so dolefully evident as in the this country – had begun to be manifest in Sikh society when the workers aforesaid rushed to its rescue. It is too early yet to gauge the extent of their success, but the very attempt, the very example of sustained and courageous endeavour, set by them entitles them to all honour. May their work be carried on by worthy hands!” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 2nd July 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 26, p. 590).

### 3 Shuddhi Sabha

#### *Akhbar-i-Am*, 6 March 1895

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 6th March 1895, states that two members of the Shudhi Sabha, which consist of those Sikhs who convert Muhammadans, sweepers and chamars to the Sikh religion and eat in their company, have published two books called “Tipat Pawan” [*Patat Pawan*] and “Darpok Singh,” in which it is stated that the Sikh Gurus were in the habit of eating in company with sweepers and chamars. These books have caused great excitement

among the Sikhs, who consider the assertions contained in them as reflections on their Gurus. A meeting of the Sikhs was held on 1st March 1895 at the Dharmshala of the Ramgarhias, where the publication of these books was condemned, and it was resolved that copy of the resolution passed should be forwarded to the Rajas of Nabha and Faridkot, Baba Khem Singh, Bedi, C.S.I., Sardar Sujjan Singh, &c. The Editor regrets that the seed of discord should be down among the Sikhs by means of such books. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 9th March 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 10, pp. 138–139).

### ***Singh Sahai*, 12 March 1895**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), dated 12th March 1895, reproduces from the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore) an article condemning the proceeding of the Shudi Sabha (*vide* Selections No. 10, para. 24) and remarks that the Sikhs of Lahore have practically decided that the time has not yet come to admitting Mazhabis, Chamars and Muhammadans who have embraced Sikhism as members of the Khalsa nation. The public is thankful to Bhais Nand Gopal and Mihan Singh for taking an active part in condemning the action of the Shudhi Sabha. The Editor takes the Khalsa Diwan and the Singh Sabha of Amritsar to task for the indifference they have shown in matter; and calls upon them to pass a resolution excommunicating the members of the Shudhi Sabha which authorises eating and drinking with Muhammadans, Chamars, &c. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 23rd March 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 12, p. 162).

### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 1 April 1895**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 1st April 1895, publishes as a hoax a statement to the effect that the Shudi Sabha of Lahore offered the Amrat [*amrit*] to five sweepers and made them Sikhs under the names of Gandasa Singh, Phaura Singh, Banduk Singh, Kirch Singh and Kartus Singh. While these men were taking the Amrat, some sweepers with baskets on their heads and brooms in their hands arrived on the scene and claimed the new converts on the ground of their being the disciples of Lal Beg. A disturbance took place between the sweepers and the members of the Shudi Sabha, in which the former came off victorious and carried away the new converts. Cross complaints have been filed by both parties in the Court of Lieutenant Crosthwaite. The conduct of the Shudi Sabha is regrettable. The Sabha is now of opinion that the Amrit should not be administered so freely, as sweeper converts will defile them by eating with them. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 6th April 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 14, pp. 179–180).



***Akhbar-i-Am*, 12 April 1895**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 12th April 1895, publishes a communication in which the writer takes the Shudi Sabha of Lahore to task for partaking of food with Muhammadans, sweepers and chamars after their conversion to the Sikh religion, and expresses his indignation at the publication of two books which misrepresent the Sikh religion by the members of the Sabha. The writer approves of the proceedings taken by the orthodox Sikhs at a meeting held at the Dharamsala of the Ramgharyas. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 20th April 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 16, pp. 213–214).

***Singh Sahai*, 28 July 1895**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 28th July 1895, calls upon the Sikhs to be up and doing and to take measures to check the evil which is being spread by the members of the Shudhi Sabha, who are trying to alienate the Hindus from the Sikhs and thereby cause a great loss in the income of the Gurdwaras. The books published by the members of the Sabha are calculated to cause a breach of the public peace, and the Native Chiefs who have purchased such books have been deceived into doing so by certain *Ahlkars*. The Sabha has sown a poisonous seed among the Sikhs, and their publications which contain abuse of the Gurus should be destroyed. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 17th August 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 33, p. 466).

***Sat Dharam Parcharak*, 8 January 1897**

The *Sat Dharam Parcharak* (Jullundur), dates 8th January states that the success achieved by the Arya Samajists in effecting a change in the life of the Puranic Hindus led some of the superficial observers among the Sikhs to devise novel penance and to establish a society called the Shudhi Sabha. If these people had followed the precepts of Guru Nanak and other Mahatmas regarding the Shudhi, they would have supported the Arya Samaj instead of starting a rival society. The founders of the Shudhi Sabha, however, took a different view of the matter, and in considering the question of the readmission of renegades, they arrived at the following conclusions: – (1) That the Muhammadan religion enters into the body of a Hindu when he takes beef; and (2) that the Muhammadan religion cannot be expelled from a man by making him eat pork. Accordingly, as soon as the Sikhs were convinced of the soundness of these principles they began to carry them into effect. The result was that the Shudhi Sabha not only received back renegades from the Sikh religion, but converted several Muhammadans, born as such, to Sikhism. Nor was this all. They admitted within the pale of Sikhism persons who had

been leading an adulterous life for as long as 20 years, without considering the consequences of this evil practice. The Editor then goes on to state that the Shudhi Sabha first admitted a Muhammadan convert, and a woman who was a Muhammadan by birth, into Sikhism by making them eat pork. This man has embraced the Muhammadan religion for the sake of a the woman, and not for the sake of religion. The woman, however, ran away after two or three days, and embraced Islam in the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore. Her paramour also went to the Mosque and expressed a desire to be reconverted to Islam. The Maulvi this time made him eat beef, and thus gave the Shudhi Sabha a lesson. The Editor remarks that it is due to the proceedings of the Sabha that the Muhammadan Maulvis have commenced to display such bigotry when making new converts to Islam. A zealous member of the Shudhi Sabha recently met the Editor who complained to him that the zeal displayed by the Sabha has created much ill-felling between the Hindus and Muhammadans; he replied that the Muhammadans were responsible for this state of things. On being asked by the Editor to give reasons in support of his assertion, the Sikh said that the servant of a Government official sometime ago purchased meat at a butcher's shop, and on seeing some dirty meat the man suspected the butcher, who afterwards admitted that all butchers had been made to swear that they would not sell mutton without first mixing pieces of beef with it. Under such circumstances, the Sikh member said it was necessary that the Hindus should open Jhatka shops. The Editor replied that if the Hindus gave up the sinful practice of eating meat, all these difficulties would disappear. The Editor then remarks that if the matter be carefully looked in to, it will be seen that the Shudhi Sabha alone is responsible for the evil complained of. If it is true, as the Sikhs assert, that Guru Nanak was a believer in the Vedas, no true Sikhs can have any sympathy with the Shudhi Sabha. The Aryans believe that a society, which seeks to purify renegades by making them eat pork, &c., scarcely deserves to be called the Shudhi Sabha. The Editor then goes on to remark that the Hindus attach no importance to the conversions made by the Sabha, and in support of this adds that some time ago the Niare Sikhs of Madhopur were admitted into the pale of Sikhism, but one of them, Sochet Singh, Havildar, complained in a letter to the Editor that, although the Singh Sabhas of Amritsar, Lahore, &c., mixed with the Niare Sikhs, the ignorant Hindus refused to do so. It is to be regretted that the Pandits of the Hissar Dharam Sabha should have permitted the eating of pork instead of prohibiting the eating of all kinds of meat, as required by their religion. There can be no more convincing proof of the degeneration of the Vedic religion than the fact that persons claiming to be Brahmans should permit the eating of meat. The Editor concludes by suggesting that the question of Shudhi should be referred to four able Pandits who should be asked to

prepare a code regulating the readmission of renegades to the Hindu religion according to the Shastras by performing penance. On the preparation of an authoritative code the question of Shudhi would become clear. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th January 1897*, Vol. x, No. 3, pp. 40–41).

#### ***Aftab-i-Hind*, 15 March 1897**

The *Aftab-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 15th March 1897, states that great uneasiness prevails among the Hindus of Lahore as secret meetings (Committees) are being held for doing away (*dafiya*) with those members of the Arya Samaj and Shudhi Sabha who have commenced to reconvert Hindu renegades. Suspicious looking Muhammadans are prowling about and making secret enquiries regarding the whereabouts of the leading Aryas. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 20th March 1897*, Vol. x, No. 12, p. 191).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 22 March 1897**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 22nd March 1897, advises the Shudhi Sabha, Lahore, to take warning from the case of Abdullah Quilliam, President of Liverpool Muhammadan Institute, and advises the Sabha to desist from converting the follower of other religions to Hinduism. These converts are, in the opinion of the Editor, so many wolves in sheep's clothing who join the Sabha with a view to finding out its secrets. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th April 1897*, Vol. x, No. 15, pp. 251–252).

### **4 Committee for the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria**

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 17 January 1897**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 17th January 1897, remarks that Sardar Muhammad Hyat Khan is apparently unpopular among the Sikhs; otherwise they would not have expressed so much indignation at the publication of a statement in the *Civil and Military Gazette* to the effect that he had been elected as Vice President of the meeting held at Amritsar. The members also contradicted the statement that the Sikhs had taken steps to celebrate Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee at the instance of the Sardar and declared that the Khalsa leaders were already devising measures for celebrating the event, and had given out that a deputation of Sikh Sardars would visit London on the occasion. Whatever may be the opinion of the Khalsa Dewan, it is apparent that the Sardar was led away by his own eagerness into meddling with every

loyal meeting. When the Editor recalls to his mind the events of the last Afghan War when the Sardar was nearly sent to jail and remembers that he now fills a high position under the Government he considers that it is only natural that the Sardar should be anxious to make a show of his loyalty. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 27th February 1897*, Vol. x, No. 9, p. 132).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 15 February 1897***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 15th February 1897, publishes a letter from Sardar Muhammad Hyat Khan, in which the latter states that he only took part in the meeting held by the Sikhs of Amritsar on the 30th January last to arrange for the celebration of Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee because he regards every countryman of his – of whatever race or creed – as a brother. The Sardar considers that India can never become really great unless her children shake themselves free from their prejudices and become united. The Sardar, who still remembers the days when Hindus and Muhammadans used to participate in each other's joys and sorrows, is much concerned at the disunion which at present prevails between the two sections of his countrymen; and assures the Editor that he has always regarded the Sikhs as his brothers, and that these brotherly feelings are reciprocated by the Sikhs. The writer then goes on to say that his election by the meeting as Honorary President was only an act of courtesy, and that his declining this honor would have been taken in the light of an insult. Otherwise, as is well known, the Sardar had written to many of his friends to say that the Hindus should appoint their Central Committee at Benares and request the Maharaja of Benares to accept the Presidentship. The Sikhs were advised to select Amritsar as the head-quarters of their General Committee and elect Colonel Jowala Singh and Baba Khem Singh, C.I.S., and other leading Sikh gentlemen as President and Vice-Presidents, respectively. As regards the Editor's question whether any Sikh had ever been elected President of the Anjuman-i-Himait-i-Islam or of the Muhammadan Educational Conference, the Sardar assures the Editor that he has no doubt leading Hindu and Sikh gentlemen will be invited at the meeting of the Muhammadan Provincial Committee to be held at Lahore after the Id-ul-fitar. Commenting on this letter the Editor remarks that the true facts of the case are given in the letters recently written to different newspapers by Sardar Sundar Singh, Majithia, President, Guru Govind Singh Sabha, Amritsar; and asks Sardar Muhammad Hyat Khan how it is that, while professing to be anxious to unite his countrymen, he countenanced the movement for separate action on the part of the Muhammadans in the matter of the celebration of Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee. Was this done to secure greater favors for his already favoured co-religionists? The

Editor observes that whilst he has not much to say against the Sardar writing to the different sections of Her Majesty's subjects in the Punjab about the celebration of her Jubilee, his conduct in addressing a letter to the Maharaja of Benares appears somewhat strange. Could not Sir Sayad Ahmad, who resides in the same Province as the Maharaja, undertake this work? The Editor goes on to say that it is clear from the conduct of Sardar Muhammad Hyat Khan that he meant to impress upon the minds of the higher officials that the existence of loyalty in the country was owing to him alone. Indeed, his letter shows that he wishes to take to himself the credit of having originated the idea of the celebration of the Jubilee among the Muhammadans as well. The Sardar also wishes it to be understood that it is he who has directed the attention of other communities in different parts of India to this subject. The Editor remarks that the idea of celebrating Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee first originated with a Hindu prince; but as he never thought of making a name or gaining a title by it, he refrained from giving publicity to his action. As regards the election of the Sardar as Honorary President of the Sikh Committee, the Editor observes that he was neither formally invited to attend the meeting held at Amritsar on the 30th January last nor elected Honorary President, as Babu Attar Singh's motion to that effect was not seconded by anybody. In conclusion the Editor asks where the necessity was for electing two Presidents at Jullundur if Sardar Hyat Khan makes no distinction between the different sections of his countrymen. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 27th February 1897*, Vol. x, No. 9, pp. 132–133).

## 5 Chief Khalsa Diwan

### *Ahluwalia Gazette*, 24 July 1908

The *Ahluwalia Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 24th July 1908, remarks that the Chief Khalsa Diwan was established with the object of putting an end to the religious malpractices among the Sikhs. All its members have to sign a declaration to the effect that they will perform all ceremonies according to the teaching of the Gurus. Sardar Dharam Singh, however, who is the Vice-President of the Diwan, has recently married his son in utter disregard of Sikh rites merely in order to secure a property worth thirty-six thousand rupees. Again, dancing girls accompanied the marriage procession, and the Sardar must also have provided intoxicants for his guests. The Editor next enquires why Sardar Dharam Singh should not be expelled from the membership of the Chief Khalsa Diwan as to deter others from following his example. If this is not done he will be driven to the conclusion that the Diwan is only a clique formed to loot the followers

of the Gurus. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th August 1908*, Vol. XXI. No. 32, pp. 482–483).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 17 January 1914**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar) dated the 17th January 1914: –

“This tremendous amount of silent and unostentatious work of a single day is enough to assure even the most sceptic minds of the earnestness displayed by the Chief Khalsa Diwan and the substantial service it is rendering to the Panth. From what I have generally seen of it I am convinced that the Diwan is a healthy and living organization strong enough to keep the movement in progress. If the Diwan were neglecting its onerous duties the work of the annual session of the Educational Conference, the numerous Parcharak Diwans held in the Province, the various representations submitted to the authorities, the reform of the Sikh rituals, etc., and the growth of moral culture among the Sikhs which is going at an astonishing speed would be simply impossible to achieve. Even granting that there was (*sic*) other forces too which co-operate with the Diwan in bringing about the above result, it cannot be denied that the Diwan, consisting, as it does, of the cream of the society and a majority of intelligent and selfless workers, is the main spring which moves and regulates the whole machinery. I admit that at times there are members who for one reason or another cannot pull on with the majority and leave the main body. Their object in that course is either to work individually or to organize an opposition, but the work of the main body cannot suffer by such dissociation so long as the departing members and the adherents to the main body are morally bound to each other. In the case of the Chief Khalsa Diwan the members who have fallen out from the main body but are still working for local institutions cannot be considered as in any way detrimental to the mission of the Diwan. Hence I believe that the Diwan is strong enough and is not neglecting its mission.

“One thing is certain that unlike other non-Sikh Committees the Diwan does not want to parade its humble service before admiring eyes and it would not be to the interest of the Sikh community that the Diwan also should give itself up to show and ostentation.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 24th January 1914*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4, p. 108).

***Khalsa Akhbar*, 13 May 1914**

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lyallpur) of the 13th May 1914, says that correspondent writing from Kohat says that, instead of breaking up the Chief Khalsa Diwan, it is desirable to constitute a new Diwan, so as to make it impossible for it to

act in the way in which it is working at present. The new Diwan should consist of those members who are true Sikhs and who feel for the community and are ready to save it. After suggesting that this Diwan should be so constituted as to make it the true representative of the community, the writer says that the members of the said body should be elected annually during the time when the Sikh Educational Congress holds its sitting. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 23rd May 1914*, Vol. XXVII, No. 21, p. 549).

#### ***Khalsa Advocate*, 6 June 1914**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Lahore), of the 6th June 1914: –

“The Chief Khalsa Diwan is not an empty name. It has done solid work for the *Panth*. The great modern Sikh saint Bhai Attar Singh helps the meetings of the Educational Conference organised by this Diwan by his illustrious presence. He is with the Diwan. He knows its members. He has a deep regard for them. Besides there are other Sikh saints with the Diwan. Is not this proof of the fact that the labours of the Chief Khalsa Diwan are acceptable to the *Guru* being acceptable to his Sikhs who live every moment of their lives in His Sacred Name? As a matter of fact, by the moral of its labour of love done according to its own light and inspiration, this Diwan and only this Diwan has the right to voice forth the opinion of the *Panth* on this and other questions in ways it may consider best. The real ‘majority’ lies in right and faithful interpretation of the deeper feelings of the dumb masses by those actually engaged in an uphill constructive task feeling the full weight and responsibility of their labours and not in dead votes. If once you disallow the Diwan the right of representing the *Panth* then you disallow all public and rightful representative opinions. The Government may then as well disbelieve all organised representative societies for the mere reason that a few malcontents can get up another view of certain questions now and then, and try to discredit the representative character of such societies because these latter do not take on each occasion a regular census of opinion of each individual going. This is absurd. It is therefore under our present state of education and advancement morally right that the elder should silence the youngsters by a mere command, however unbearable it may be to the stony nature of the modern educated Sikh. Those who dare disobey authority should be morally boycotted by the *Panth* who cannot afford to ignore the real majority of its selfless and devoted workers unless it may be the decided tendency of the people of these days to make a *fire-work* show of everything and to end in smoke. Such has been the stern commonsense and practical method of doing things in the Khalsa traditions and history. Hence, no votes, no majorities as they are now misunderstood and

wrongly explained. Wisdom alone shall give the spasmodic passion. Thus, the Chief Khalsa Diwan is the only society which can give a truly representative opinion to the Government about the natural Sikh feelings, and one need not have felt astonished if the Chief Khalsa Diwan were inspired enough to ignore all reference to the dear majorities at large, although such a procedure was bound to result, as it did, in the complete vindication of the Diwan's interpretation of the popular Sikh feelings. The silent work done by the Diwan for the *Panth* gives it the invincible position of representing the *Panth* which cannot be called into question." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 13th June 1914*, Vol. XXVII, No. 24, pp. 617–618).

#### ***Khalsa Advocate*, 4 July 1914**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar) of the 4th July 1914: –

"There are certain points in connection with the Chief Khalsa Diwan which some of the people do not understand. They consider that the Diwan is constructed on the Mahanti system where the Head of the organization is all in all and can do whatever he is pleased to do. But this is not the case with the Chief Khalsa Diwan which is a constitutional body. The President and other office bearers of the Diwan are to do their work according to constitutional rules. The members of the Diwan are mostly elected by the various Singh Sabhas which are the units of its composition. These elected members have then to elect certain number of graduates Gurdwaras, men of note, &c. &c. In short by one way or the other the whole organization is not the creation of any single individual. Again there are rules concerning the qualifications of the members who are expected to be elected and again there are rules concerning the period for which the members are elected. The meetings are held under certain rules, and the proceedings are carried on under a set of rules. In short in every little thing there are rules to be observed. In such a machinery can there be any independent individual who can do the work according to his sweet will? The Diwan is divided into two main sections, i.e., the General Committee and the Executive Committee. The former has to elect the members and the office bearers of the latter. This shows that every one in the Executive Committee is an elected member. The Executive Committee has to meet almost every month while the General Committee is expected to meet six times a year if possible, in different localities. Every member in the General Committee has a right of interpellation; hence every Singh Sabha or any other unit which is represented in the Chief Khalsa Diwan has a right to enquire what it feels necessary to find out. This shows that nothing is withheld from the *Panth* except for a short time, some confidential information, the disclosure of which is considered injurious for the success of any pending case. When such a case occurs, which



is very rare, the Secretary has the power to refuse to give information for the time being. This is done in every organization of the world. We have explained all the above in reply to the absurd theorists who give birth to ugly rumours over and over that the work of the Diwan is done by a Trio or Charyari. The opponent of the Diwan however never point out any particular case in which the rules of the organization are not observed." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 11th July 1914*. Vol. XXVII, No. 28, p. 704).

#### ***Khalsa Akhbar*, 31 July 1914**

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lyallpur), of the 31st July 1914, has a note entitled "Why is opposition offered to the existing Chief Khalsa Diwan"? The present members of the Diwan, if allowed to hold their posts, will adversely affect the education of Sikhs. They refuse to participate in politics and advocate education which meets with the approval of Deputy Commissioner and Commissioners; which is calculated to produce not educated but loyal Sikhs; which countenances the demolition of *Gurdwaras* and which stigmatizes religious discussion as participation in politics. In short, the Chief Khalsa Diwan's policy consists in avoiding all questions wherein there is a possibility of even the slightest opposition to the authorities. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 8th August 1914*. Vol. XXVII, No. 33, pp. 782–783).

#### ***Khalsa Advocate*, 1 August 1914**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 1st August 1914: –

"Every Sikh has now realized that the chief object of the *Khalsa Akhbar* is to denounce by every means the Chief Khalsa Dewan. We have pointed out at various times that if the present members or office-bearers of the Dewan do not enjoy the confidence of the Panth let S. Harchand Singh and his companions replace them constitutionally, but the conductors of the *Khalsa Akhbar* do not care to hear our reasonable voice. When there is a difference of opinion every one has to side one side or the other, but the opposite side cannot be said to entertain evil motives. The *Khalsa Akhbar* feels very happy to publish that such and such an obscure assemblage in a distant corner of a Native State has declared that such and such gentlemen of rank and position are Tankhais or perverted Sikhs. Can the *Khalsa Akhbar* show that the men who thus disgraced their position possess any legal authority to say so? The Panth does not attach any importance to such utterances. The denounced gentlemen do not feel that they are in any way affected by such rash resolutions. Supposing some people among the Sikhs, whether in India or abroad, agree with the up-starts, this does not mean that Sirdar Harchand Singh and his followers enjoy the full

confidence of the Panth. The *Khalsa Akhbar* seems deliberately trying to create disunion among the Sikhs and we do not know what good will come of such attempts."

"If we support the Chief Khalsa Dewan it is because we know that the workers in that body are disinterested. As to the idea why we are in favour of promoting loyal feelings in the community for British Government our chief reason is that the community demands it. Just refer to the address submitted to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab, read out by our representative the Honourable Sardar Gajan Singh of Ludhiana. He agrees in the sentiment that 'one who is a traitor to British Government is a traitor to his country.' In the face of such facts should we advise our brothers and co-religionists in Canada to make a common cause with those people who say that the British Government has given back to India in return for the large sum of money which England gets from India every year, cholera, plague and famine. Does the *Khalsa Akhbar* believe that this sentiment concerning the British Government is correct? The Government does not require any support from this paper. It is sufficiently strong, but as Sikhs we should admit no untruth simply because we should keep the *Khalsa Akhbar khush*. Has not the Government given us education, freedom of speech, roads, canals, post offices, railway systems, forest preservation, settlement, &c., &c., too numerous gifts to count. If the Government is so bad, as it is said to be so by some mischief-mongers, they why do they cry to obtain help from it? We admit that the British Government should be more liberal than it has been, but instead of pointing this out we should not mix with people who wish to promote discontentment." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 8th August 1914*. Vol. XXVII, No. 32, p. 780).

#### ***Khalsa Akhbar*, 14 August 1914**

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lyallpur), of the 14th August 1914, publishes a paragraph headed "Reasonable criticism is neither tantamount to opposition nor sowing disunion." We are accused of opposing, without any definite reasons, the Khalsa Diwan. This is incorrect. In our opinion the conduct of the Dewan is objectionable in the extreme. It should have published a record of its proceedings in order to satisfy the Sikh public. Moreover, it should move with the times and not be ultra-conservative. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 22nd August 1914*. Vol. XXVII, No. 34, p. 812).

#### ***Khalsa Akhbar*, 27 November 1914**

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore) of the 27th November, 1914, publishes from Sardar Har Chand, Rais, Lyallpur, a communication dwelling on the attitude

of the Chief Khalsa Diwan towards the Delhi Rikabganj Gurdwara question. No-where perhaps is the utter hypocrisy and deceit of the Chief Khalsa Diwan more clearly seen than on the present occasion. While the Sikh community in general has desisted from any discussion of the Gurdwara question since the outbreak of war, we now see the Chief Khalsa Diwan hindering Government by proposing to form a committee to consider the question of the demolition of the Gurdwara wall. Government can now see who are its true friends and well-wishers, whether it is the Sikh community, which puts aside all controversial matter at this most critical juncture, or whether it is the Chief Khalsa Diwan who, regardless of the present troubles and anxieties of Government, are proposing to raise the bitterly controversial question of the Rikabganj Gurdwara. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 5th December 1914.* Vol. XXVII, No. 49, p. 1062).

***Panth Sewak*, 27 November 1914**

The *Panth Sewak* (Lahore) of the 27th November, 1914, publishes from Dr. Fateh Singh a communication on the Chief Khalsa Diwan and its attitude towards the Budge Budge episode. Let us assume for a moment that the Sikh passengers were responsible for the riot at Budge Budge. Is there any conceivable reason why the Chief Khalsa Diwan should not have opened a subscription on behalf of the sufferers and survivors of those who were killed? We even see Englishmen contributing pecuniary aid to the survivors of a driver, who was killed by dacoits at Khairabad. The truth of the matter is that the Chief Khalsa Diwan must be reformed. Minor Diwans should be established in the various districts, representatives for which should be selected from the local Singh Sabhas. These Diwans, in their turn, should each send a specified number of members to the Chief Khalsa Diwan. In this way the latter body, which is now purely oligarchical, will be representative of the Sikh community in general. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 5th December 1914.* Vol. XXVII, No. 49, p. 1062).

***Khalsa Akhbar*, 8 January 1915**

A correspondent, writing to the *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 8th January 1915, suggests the abolition of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, which is no longer a representative association of the Sikhs, and the holding of a public meeting in Lahore to lay the foundation of the Punjab Khalsa League with the object of safeguarding Sikh interests. If this is not feasible, the Diwan should be remodelled on a representative bases and its head-quarters shifted from Amritsar to Lahore. This will enable the Diwan to extend the sphere of its usefulness and receive sane counsel from the educated Sikhs residing in Lahore. Elsewhere,

the paper remarks that the Chief Khalsa Diwan should consent to the establishment of another representative Diwan, which will prove useful in the interests of the entire Sikh community. The paper will await the decision of the Diwan for a period of two weeks; and if the Diwan fails to give a satisfactory reply by that time, it will be responsible for the change in the Sikh attitude which is likely to take place on this account. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 16th January 1915. Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, p. 39*).

***Khalsa Akhbar, 9 February 1917***

A correspondent writes to the *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 9th February 1917, declaring that many persons appear to be under the impression that as the so-called leaders hold charge of national banks, schools, orphanages and other institutions, it is impossible to put an end to their ruinous tactics. But it should not be impossible for the Sikhs to set right a handful of their leaders. Those acquainted with facts know that the Chief Khalsa Diwan has done little good to the Sikhs. It has failed to safeguard their political rights and has even trampled upon their national feelings. Acting simply on personal grounds, the Diwan has forcibly prohibited many a noble Sikh from serving his community. Our simple-minded leaders tremble at the mention of politics and consider it an act of sedition to demand rights from Government. They do not bring the troubles of the Sikhs to the notice of the authorities for fear of incurring the latter's displeasure. The non-official members of the Viceregal Council, who are admittedly loyal and command the full confidence of the Government, submitted a reform petition to the Viceroy. But the leaders of our community smell sedition even in that petition and openly refused to append their signatures to it. In view of all this, it is necessary for the Sikhs to re-organise the Chief Khalsa Diwan. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 22nd February 1917. Vol. XXX, No. 8, pp. 141–142*).

***Khalsa Akhbar, 23 February 1917***

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 23rd February 1917, condemns the Chief Khalsa Diwan for its connivance of the faults of its henchmen in appropriating religious property and openly criticising the sacred Sikh principle of equality. The Diwan has, from the religious and political points of view, accomplished nothing deserving of mention. It has never exerted itself when the Sikhs have been disgraced in Government offices and been deprived of their legitimate share in Councils and when other communities have endeavoured to appropriate the rights of the Sikhs. It is a pity that while loyal and brave Sikhs are sacrificing their lives for the British Government in distant lands, their

true sentiments should not be represented to Government, simply because they have no living organization to press their views. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 8th March 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 10, p. 190*).

***Panth Sewak, 4 March 1917***

The *Panth Sewak* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 4th March 1917, remarks that in fairness to the whole Sikh community, it is to be hoped that Government will not accept any address from the Chief Khalsa Diwan, especially as the intrigues of a few members of the Diwan are likely to besmear the honour of the Sikh community. We trust responsible Sikhs will show their sincerity by selecting men from all sections of the community for organizing a committee to present an address to His Excellency the Viceroy. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 29th March 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 13, p. 249*).

***Panth Sewak, 14 March 1917***

The *Panth Sewak* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 14th March 1917, questions whether the Chief Khalsa Diwan is a representative body of Sikhs. If so, why is not the whole Sikh community permitted to elect its members? If it is not a representative body, it should declare that it represents only a special class. If this is done, there will be nothing to object to. But it appears from the rules of the Diwan Committee that members are taken from its sub-committee and not from the Sikh public. This brings out the unrepresentative character of the institution. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 29th March 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 13, p. 249*).

***Khalsa Akhbar, 16 March 1917***

A Ferozepore correspondent writes to the *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 16th March 1917, urging the extreme necessity of Sikhs laying the foundation of a new, constitutional and living organization, composed of the representatives of every Sikh society and capable of safe guarding their political rights and communal feelings. As the Chief Khalsa Diwan does not command the confidence of the Sikh public, its doors should be shut and the following words inscribed upon them: – “Here is the inauspicious place where resolutions, calculated to dishonour the *Gurdwara Rikab Ganj* of Delhi, built in honour of Sir Guru Tegh Bahadur, were passed forcibly and deceitfully and the seed of dissension was sown in the *Panth*. This is the place where our political rights were slaughtered with the sharp sword of personal benefit. This is the house which had for long been the den of traitors to the community and was once known as

the 'Chief Khalsa Diwan.'" (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 29th March 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 13, pp. 249–250*).

***Khalsa Akhbar, 23 March 1917***

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 23rd March 1917, says that His Excellency the Viceroy will visit Lahore after the Easter holidays. The Islamic leaders have decided to present an address to him on behalf of the entire Muhammadan community. Probably similar steps will be taken by the Hindu leaders and it remains to be seen what arrangements will be made by the Sikh brethren. There should be one address and its subject matter should be such that the address may be considered to be presented on behalf of the entire Sikh community. It should not be suffered that a few ambitious individuals should in consultation with one another prepare an address according to their own sweet will and devote it to the praise of the Chief Khalsa Diwan. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 5th April 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 14, p. 270*).

***Khalsa Akhbar, 23 March 1917***

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 23rd March 1917, dwells upon the unrepresentative character of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, criticise the policy of its members, which is based on flattery and selfishness, pleads for its affairs being conducted in accordance with public opinion and asks the Sikh public to attend the forthcoming Sikh educational conference to be held at Lahore in large numbers to ensure that the injurious elements are weeded out of the Diwan and the conference does not fall a prey to the former's dangerous influence. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 5th April 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 14, p. 270*).

***Panth Sewak, 28 March 1917***

The *Panth Sewak* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 28th March 1917, publishes from Deva Singh of Amritsar a communication in which the writer emphatically urges the Sikh community to shake off the torpor in which it is sunk and see what deceptions the selfish and deceptive party of the Chief Khalsa Diwan is practising on it. Next, the writer quotes instances to show that the Sikh Orphan House is almost full of boys who have been taken on mere recommendations, and contains very few real orphans. He also describes how the donations given by the Sikh community for national works are being misappropriated and what services the party of Amritsar is rendering to the community. The writer says that he had been asking Sardar Sundar Singh, Secretary of the Chief Khalsa

Diwan, for about a year, to show him the papers related to the expenditure and income of the Sikh Orphan House, Amritsar, but these papers have not so far been shown to him and adds that this state of affairs has now compelled him to publish in the *Panth Sewak* the accounts of the Orphan House in order to make his co-religionists fully aware of what is going on there. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 12th April 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 15, p. 290*).

***Khalsa Akhbar, 11 May 1917***

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 11th May 1917, has heard with great pleasure and satisfaction that the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh Majithia, Honorary Secretary of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, is about to resign his office and the names of Sardar Jogindar Singh and Sardar Harbans Singh are being suggested as likely successors. It is to be hoped that, on the retirement of the Sardar Bahadur, the Chief Khalsa Diwan will, like the Khalsa College, make satisfactory progress by becoming popular with the Sikh public. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 24th May 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 21, p. 399*).

***Desh, 16 May 1917***

The *Desh* (Lahore, Hindu), of the 16th May 1917, draws attention to the report in the *Arorbans Gazette* that in his speech at the Sanatan Dharam Sammelan, Lahore, Sardar Sadhu Singh, Joint Secretary of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, affirmed that Sikhs were not distinct from Hindus. Truly patriotic Sikhs are now all agreed that Sikhs are Hindus. Every effort to bring Sikhs nearer to the fountain-head, the Hindu community, is welcomed. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 31st May 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 22, p. 419*).

***Khalsa Akbar, 18 May 1917***

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 18th May 1917, learns that the Hon'ble Sardar Sunder Singh wishes to sever his connection with the Chief Khalsa Diwan, but he is being urged by a few members not to do so. The paper, however, hopes that the Hon'ble gentleman will pay due regard to the susceptibilities of the community and withdraw from the Chief Khalsa Diwan, so that, like the Khalsa College, the Diwan may be also saved from an untimely death. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 31st May 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 22, p. 419*).

***Punjab Chronicle*, 19 May 1917**

The *Punjab Chronicle* (Gujranwala, Hindu), of the 19th May 1917, has the following:

“Rai Bahadur Sadhu Singh, Joint Secretary, Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar, is reported to have acknowledge the Sikhs to be Hindus in the following words in the course of a speech which he delivered as the leader of the Sikh deputation at the All-India Sanatan Dharam Sammellan, Lahore, that met at Lahore in the last Easter: – We are not separate from the Hindus. We respect Sri Ram Chandra and Sri Krishna as our *buzurg* (we deliberately refrain from translating this word) just as the Hindus do. That Sardar Sadhu Singh did this in his official capacity, who can deny? The remark, therefore, is not personal or individual.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 31st May 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 22, p. 419*).

***Khalsa Akhbar*, 8 June 1917**

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 8th June 1917, says that a truthful man can never help noticing that the Chief Khalsa Diwan has done nothing, except dishonouring the servants of the Sikh community and creating in the minds of hundreds of pious Sikhs a tendency for human worship. The Diwan has not only failed to realise its duty, but has gone the length of proudly rejecting the proposals of the Sikh public regarding its improvement, with the result that Sikhs have been divided among themselves. When Sikh agriculturists saw that their rights were being ignored they established an association of their own. Similarly, when Sikh artisans found that they were daily sinking, they laid the foundation of the Ramgarhia Sabha. The press plays a great part in removing the weaknesses of a nation. But as most Sikh newspapers are under the influence of the members of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, they never protest against its doings. Even if a Sikh protests, the members of the Diwan gag his mouth by doing him the honour of allowing him to deliver an address from the pulpit at the Conference. How can the Sikh community be convinced that the members of the Chief Khalsa Diwan have made useful suggestions in the post-war reforms memorandum, which has been kept concealed in an iron safe? If the Sikh community wishes to pass its days honourably it should not repose confidence in the Diwan and promptly organize a new society, so that their communal, religious, and social rights may be safeguarded. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 28th June 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 26, pp. 510–511*).



*Panjabee*, 20 October 1917

The *Panjabee* (Lahore, Hindu), of the 20th October 1917, writes: –

“The memorandum is not as advanced a document as one would have expected from the valiant Khalsa. It is certainly far less advanced than any of the other schemes of reforms that the country has before it. This disappointing feature, undoubtedly, detracts considerably from its value as a memorandum on constitutional reforms. It is also undeniable that even where the memorandum does urge reforms which are demanded by the rest of the country it does not urge them either in their full measure or with the force and emphasis which the circumstances demand. But in all this the community only pays the penalty of its practical aloofness from other progressive communities in the country. There was a time when the Congress, too, used to speak in faltering accents and in a weak and hesitating tone. Those were the days when national self-consciousness had yet to be evolved. The Sikh community must go through the same process and, God willing, it will go through it within a much shorter time than other communities have taken. It is worthy of note that the Khalsa Diwan expresses views which have at one time or another been expressed by the Congress itself, as well as other bodies. These last have now outgrown that stage completely. Who can doubt that the Diwan, once it has begun to take an active interest in these matters, will outgrow it, too, and that in a very short time? The most disappointing feature of the memorandum is its constant reiteration of communal claims. The movement is thoroughly mischievous. It can do no good. It only represents the *reductio ad absurdum* of the original step. We do hope that step will be retracted before long but, in the meantime, all patriotic Indians will see that the first thing needed to secure this end is a resolute refusal to take any further step in the same direction. As a matter of fact, the Diwan not only insists on communal representation, but asks that the community it represents should be granted a share in the representation, far in excess of its numerical proportion. We are told that nothing less than a third of the seats in the Legislative Council and the appointment in the administration can satisfy that community. This extraordinary demand is made on the grounds of the community's status before the annexation of the Punjab, their present stake in the country, and their past and present services to the Empire. We have always regarded the Sikh community as part and parcel of the great Hindu community, and we need scarcely say that no one could be more proud than ourselves of the magnificent achievements of the Sikhs, both in the past and at the present time. But we are constrained to say that, in basing the demand for the separate and excessive representation of the Sikhs on the ground of their historical importance and their present services, the Diwan is betraying a strange ignorance of the essentials of representative government under modern democratic conditions.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 25th October 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 43, pp. 805–806*).

# Education and Language

## 1 Khalsa College and Its Management

### *Gurmukhi Akhbar*, 17 February 1883

The *Gurmukhi Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 17th February, calls upon the Sikh sardars to adopt measures for the improvement of the moral and mental condition of the Sikh community. A meeting was held about three years ago at Amritsar to consider the subject, but it is to be regretted that no practical results followed. A college should be established for the education of the Sikhs. About five lakhs of rupees are required for the purpose. It would not be difficult for the leaders of the Sikh community to raise this sum. Even if half the sum were collected by public subscriptions, it would be possible to establish the proposed college, because in that case the Government is sure to give a grant-in-aid. Moreover, arrangements should be made to translate good books of other languages into Gurmukhi. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 22nd February, 1883*, p. 161).

### *Ghamkhar-i-Hind*, 17 May 1890

The *Ghamkhar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 17th May 1890, approves of the proposal of the Sikhs to start a Khalsa college, and hopes that their appeal for support will be cheerfully responded to by all classes of the community. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 24th May 1890*. Vol. III, No. 21, p. 187).

### *Khalsa College Gazette*, 1 September 1890

The *Khalsa College Gazette* (Lahore), of the 1st September 1890, states that it (the *Khalsa College Gazette*) will appear regularly on the 1st and 15th day of every month in Urdu and Gurmukhi respectively. The objects of the journal are: –

- (1) To publish the proceedings of the Khalsa College Establishment Committee and its Sub-Committees
- (2) To explain to the people the aims and objects of the College and to impress on the Sikhs the advantages which will accrue to them from the establishment of the College.

- (3) To write articles with a view to enlisting the sympathies of the Sikhs in behalf of the Khalsa College movement.
  - (4) To acknowledge contributions in aid of the College Fund.
- (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th October 1890*. Vol. III, No. 40, pp. 365–366).

### ***Singh Sahai, 17 September 1890***

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), dated 17th September 1890, eulogises His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala for sanctioning the munificent donation of one *lakh* and sixty thousand rupees towards the Khalsa College, and condemns the action of Sardar Bahadur Man Singh, C.I.E., Ruriala, in allowing Bhai Gurmukh Singh, who had been excommunicated from the *Panth*, to join the deputation that waited on the Maharaja for the purpose. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th September 1890*. Vol. III, No. 39, p. 354).

### ***Singh Sahaj, 28 January 1891***

The *Singh Sahaj* (Amritsar), dated 28th January 1891, observes that Amritsar being the seat of the Sikh religion, the Khalsa College should be established at that place. It has always been the practice of all true and religious Sikhs to erect Gurdwaras and other large buildings at Amritsar simply with a view to adding to the importance of that holy city, and those who urge the establishment of the College at Lahore in preference to Amritsar are blameworthy. There are already several Colleges at Lahore and it would be of little use to establish another one at that place. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 7th February 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 6, p. 54).

### ***Akhbar-i-Am, 2 February 1891***

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), dated 2nd February 1891, publishes a communication in which the writer observes that the Khalsa College should be established neither at Amritsar nor at Lahore, but in some remote part of the country. This, the writer thinks, is indispensable for the College of a Military nation, which should impart military instruction to its children in order to keep alive their national spirit. The institution in question should therefore be built in the midst of some extensive jungle where the Sikhs could learn drill &c. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 7th February 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 6, p. 54).

### ***Bemisal Punch, 20 February 1891***

The *Bemisal Punch* (Delhi), dated 20th February 1891, says that it has been proposed to impose a tax of one rupee per plough on the agriculturalists of the

Patiala State in aid of the Khalsa College Fund. This, it is feared, will cause great dissatisfaction among the cultivators. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th February 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 9, p. 84).

***Taj-ul-Akhbar*, 21 February 1891**

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), dated 21st February 1891, attacks Colonel Holroyd for interfering with the affairs of the Khalsa College, and accuses him of being the first to raise the controversy in regard to its location. The writer strongly recommends that the College should be located at Amritsar and not at Lahore as desired by the partisans of the Colonel, who is trying to secure for himself the post of Governor or Principal. The writer suggests that a purely Native staff would work much more satisfactorily than a mixed one, as already proved in the case of the Arya College. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 27th February 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 9, p. 84).

***Singh Sahai*, 25 February 1891**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), dated 25th February 1891, opposes the proposal to establish the Khalsa College at Damdama on the ground that that place is situated at a great distance from the centres of the Sikh population and that it does not supply a sufficient number of students even for the Mahinder College at Patiala which is close by. The new college if located at Damdama will therefore prove a useless institution. Moreover, the Damdama is not according to the tenth *Guru* a place of greater sanctity than Amritsar. The writer after quoting a few verses to show that Amritsar is the sacred city of the Sikhs, remarks that the Khalsa College should be located at that place, a school being also started at Damdama if possible. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 7th March 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 10, p. 94).

***Singh Sahai*, 25 February 1891**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), dated 25th February 1891, gives an account of the proceedings of the Khalsa College Committee which was held on the 24th idem at the Government College Hall, Lahore, and remarks that Sardar Partab Singh, Chanda Singh the blind pleader, and Gurmukh Singh insulted the Sikh religion by speaking disparagingly of the *Takht Sahiban* and *Gurdwaras* at the meeting. The members from Amritsar were ready to leave the Hall when Colonel Holroyd very politely asked them not to leave the meeting. Bhai Sant Singh, however, remarked that Colonel Holroyd and Mr. Bell were both responsible for the insult offered in their presence to the *Takht Sahiban*. It is a matter for regret that Colonel Holroyd, President of the meeting, should have kept

silent when such insulting remarks were being made. The writer, however, praises Mr. Nicholl, and remarks that he was not imposed upon Gurmukh Singh and his party because he contended throughout that the *Takht Sahiban* must be asked to express their opinion as to the location of the Khalsa College. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 7th March 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 10, p. 94).

#### ***Singh Sahai, 4 March 1891***

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 4th March 1891, says that at a meeting of the Hindu Sabha of Amritsar, held on the 1st March 1891, the subject of the location of the Khalsa College was fully discussed. Babu Shib Dat opposed the location of the College at Amritsar on trivial grounds. Babu Kanhiya Lal, Pleader of the Chief Court, took the Sikhs of Lahore to task for not following the tenets of Sikhism. Referring to the Chief's College at Lahore, he said that the Sikh students studying at that institution did not trouble themselves in the least about their religion, inasmuch as some of them had gone the length of shaving their heads which is so strictly prohibited. Had that College been established at Amritsar they would not have dared to show so much disregard for their religion. The Babu concluded by urging the location of the College at Amritsar. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 14th March 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 11, p. 105).

#### ***Singh Sahai, 4 March 1891***

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), dated 4th March 1891, takes Gurmukh Singh and his party to task for the abusive language used by them regarding the *Takht Sahiban* and *Gurdwaras*, and suggests that they should be expelled from the Khalsa College Committee. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 14th March 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 11, p. 105).

#### ***Rahbar-i-Hind, 5 March 1891***

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 5th March 1891, condemns the location of the Khalsa College at Amritsar on the ground that Amritsar is not a healthy place. Lahore is much more suitable place for the establishment of such an institution, but if it is not desirable to locate the College in the capital of the Punjab, it should be established in the vicinity of some village situation on the Railway line. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 14th March 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 11, p. 105).

***Ghamkhwar-i-Hind*, 7 March 1891**

The *Ghamkhwar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 7th March 1891, also thinks that Lahore is a more suitable place for the location of the Khalsa College, but suggests that the decision of this question should be left to the leaders of the Sikh community who understand the requirements of their co-religionists better than others. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 14th March 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 11, p. 105).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 7 March 1891**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), dated 7th March 1891, publishes a communication in which the writer observes that the *Singh Sahai* of Amritsar is in the habit of giving publicity to all sorts of news without taking the least trouble to ascertain its authenticity. In support of this assertion the writer refers to the case of Attar Singh, Constable of Umballa, who was erroneously stated by the *Singh Sahai* to have been hanged before the order of acquittal reached the Jail authorities. Moreover, this paper has published a garbled account of the proceedings of the Khalsa College Committee recently held at the Government College Hall, Lahore. It has insulted the respectable members of the Committee by making stupid and libellous statements about them. The allegation of the *Singh Sahai* that the *Gurdwaras* and the *Pujaris* as also the Sikhs belonging to the army were disrespectfully spoken of in the meeting is utterly false. The writer takes the Amritsar paper to task for abusing Sardar Partab Singh, Additional Finance Minister of Patiala, in indecent and defamatory language and for libelling His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, his Prime Minister and the *Mir Munshi* probably because no reward or *khillat* was given to its proprietor by the Patiala State. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 14th March 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 11, pp. 105–106).

***Singh Sahai*, 11 March 1891**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 11th March 1891, says that some of the Sikhs living at Lahore have of late been doing all in their power to injure their co-religionists. For instance, they took the lead in opposing the National Congress movement and dissuaded the Sikhs from joining it. Moreover, they supported the Age of Consent Bill in opposition to the wishes of the entire Sikh nation, and are now doing all in their power to secure the location of the Khalsa College at Lahore. Every Sikh, the writer goes on to say, who takes up his residence at Lahore becomes somehow or other an enemy of his nation,

and in support of this assertion states that the Lahori Sikhs were the ones who brought about the downfall of the Sikh rule in the Punjab. In conclusion, the *Singh Sahai* says that Gurmukh Singh and others are selfish people and have only their own interests at heart. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 21st March 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 12, p. 116).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 12 March 1891**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 12th March 1891, publishes a communication in which the writer strongly urges the location of the Khalsa College at Amritsar on the ground that the latter place is the sacred city of the Sikhs and the centre of the Sikh population. The writer takes the Khalsa College Establishment Committee to task for allowing Sardars Partab Singh, Gurmukh Singh, and Chanda Singh, the blind Pleader, to speak disparagingly of the Sikh *Gurdwaras*, and tries to show that the arguments adduced in favour of the location of the College at Lahore are futile and absurd in the extreme. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 21st March 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 12, pp. 115–116).

***Koh-i-Nur*, 17 March 1891**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), dated 17th March 1891, publishes a communication in which the writer states that the Khalsa College should be located within convenient reach of all the Sikhs of the Punjab; and as this institution is intended to provide intellectual, moral and physical education for the Sikhs it is necessary that it should not be established in any city or town. The writer, therefore, trusts that the Rajas and Maharajas of the Punjab after carefully considering the question will not allow the College to be located in or near any one of the more populous cities of the Punjab. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 21st March 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 12, p. 116).

***Singh Sahai*, 25 March 1891**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 25th March 1891, publishes a communication from Camp Paniala urging the location of the Khalsa College at Amritsar on account of that place being a sacred city of the Sikhs and the chief centre of Sikh population. The communication is signed by the following Sikhs, most of whom belong to number 7 Battery, Royal Artillery: –

Subedar Kesar Singh; Kot Havaladar Nihal Singh; Radha Kishen, Head Clerk; Dewa Singh, Havaladar; Sardar Singh, Naik Havaladar and Dr. Gurdit Singh, all of number 7 Battery, Royal Artillery; Ishwar Singh, Compounder; Dewa Singh, 2nd Havaladar and Dr. Basant Singh of 2nd Sikh Infantry; Hari Singh, Naik

Havaladar No. 22; Sundar Singh, Naik Havaladar; Sant Singh, Naik Havaladar; Gurmukh Singh, Lance-Naik and Bhai Sher Singh, Granthi, &c., &c.

The same paper publishes the text of the resolutions passed at a meeting held on 15th March 1891 at the Baoli Sahib, Lahore, in favour of the location of the College at Amritsar, &c. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th April 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 14, p. 135).

#### ***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 1 April 1891**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), dated 1st April 1891, publishes the translation of Sardar Sujan Singh's letter to Colonel Holroyd, President of the Khalsa College Establishment Committee, without comment. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th April 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 14, p. 135).

#### ***Koh-i-Nur*, 4 April 1891**

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 4th April 1891, publishes a communication, the writer of which endeavours to show that Lahore is a more suitable place for the location of the Khalsa College than either Damdama or Amritsar. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th April 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 15, p. 143).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 4 April 1891**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), dated 4th April 1891, says that it has received a communication bearing the signatures of 70 Sikhs employed in the Patiala Army in which they urge that the Khalsa College should be located at Amritsar where they would be able to see their children when visiting the Golden Temple of their Guru. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th April 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 15, p. 143).

#### ***Singh Sahai*, 8 April 1891**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 8th April 1891, says that a rumour is afloat that Sardar Arjan Singh, guardian of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, intends to re-admit Gurmukh Singh to the Sikh *Panth* on condition of his privately apologizing to the *Darbar Sahib*. The writer is unable to vouch for the correctness of the rumour, but thinks that if there is any foundation for it the action of Sardar Arjan Singh in re-admitting Gurmukh Singh in such a manner is opposed to the tenets of Sikh religion. The Sardar is no doubt guardian of the Golden Temple, but he has no control over all the Takht Sahibs, and if he acts against the wishes of the Sikhs in a matter like this the result will be that the *Pujaris* at



the Temple will be split into two parties. The best plan, in the opinion of the writer, would be to call upon Gurmukh Singh to tender an apology and then to hold a public meeting and re-admit him with the permission of the Takht Sahibs. The matter should also be brought to the notice of the Hon'ble Khem Singh Bedi, C.I.E., the Raja of Faridkot, and other Sikh Sardars and Mahants. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 18th April 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 16, p. 152).

***Singh Sahai, 6 May 1891***

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), dated 6th May 1891, in remarking, that the various Khalsa committees view the proposal of locating the Khalsa College at a distance from Amritsar with disfavour, urges that this College should be established near the sacred city of the Sikhs. The article further observes that, while the Sikh nation desires that Europeans should become patrons of the College, they are averse to their being appointed to the staff of the establishment. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 16th May 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 20. 186).

***Sirmur Gazette, 18 April 1892***

The *Sirmur Gazette* (Nahan), of the 18th April 1892, referring to Sir James Lyall's speech on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Khalsa College, writes as follows: –

Sir James Lyall spoke in praise of the Sikh religion, which was perhaps unnecessary. A portion of His Honour's speech may have annoyed the Muhammadans. It is –

“Then and since I have always sympathised with the pride of the Sikhs in their old traditions, first the tradition of a long struggle for freedom against an oppressive and intolerant Government.” By the “oppressive and intolerant Government” Sir James means the Muhammadan rulers. But the Muhammadans need not be annoyed at this, as Sir James' opinion cannot be considered as conclusive in regard to such a matter. However, we would have been satisfied had Sir James used the words “The tradition of a long struggle for freedom against an oppressive and intolerant Government and the subsequent introduction and spread of justice and mercy under the Sikh Government.” In His Honor's phraseology tyranny with regard to the Sikhs is synonymous with bravery. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 23rd April 1892*. Vol. V, No. 16, p. 101).

***Paisha Akhbar, 23 May 1892***

The *Paisha Akhbar* (Lahore), dated 23rd May 1892, publishes a communication in which the writer says that Sir James Lyall, in his speech on the occasion of

the laying of the foundation stone of the Khalsa College at Amritsar, stated that Baba Khem Singh would contribute Rs. 50,000 towards the Khalsa College Fund. It has now transpired that the Hon'ble Gentleman will make the contribution on the condition that the religious education is placed under the control of the Pujaris of four Gurdwaras, and that the management of the College is entrusted to the Bedis and the Sodhis. In other words, the Baba wishes to become the proprietor of the College, and to have the entire control of the institution. It was also stated that the Baba wishes to give Rs. 50,000 on behalf of several persons, probably meaning thereby to secure a number of places on the Committee of Management so that he might always secure a majority. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th June 1892*. Vol. v, No. 22, p. 154).

***Gurmukhi Akhbar*, 3 January 1894**

The *Gurmukhi Akhbar* (Amritsar), of the 3rd January 1894, publishes the text of a letter address by the Editor to Bhai Gurmukh Singh, Secretary, Khalsa College Committee, and remarks that great dissatisfaction prevails among the Sikhs at the appointment of a European overhaul the accounts of the Khalsa College fund. They consider this a mere waste of their national funds, as there are many natives who would be glad to take up the work without remuneration. The Editor also condemns such extravagance and hopes that the matter will receive due consideration, and that there will no longer be any necessity for writing again on the subject. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 13th January 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 19).

***Gurmukhi Akhbar*, 22 January 1894**

The *Gurmukhi Akhbar* (Amritsar), of the 22nd January 1894, republishes the text of a letter which the Editor has addressed to Bhai Jawahir Singh of the Khalsa College Committee, with reference to the alleged embezzlement of Rs. 2,000 from the College funds. The letter is as follows: – “We have repeatedly asked you to enlighten us regarding the accounts of Bhai Bhagat Singh, but you have not favoured us with any reply. If there is nothing wrong in these accounts, please inform us, so that we may reassure the Sikh community in our next issue. If this matter of the accounts is not cleared up within a week, it will be inferred that there is something wrong.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 10th February 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 6, p. 60).

***Rahbar-i-Hind*, 20 June 1895**

The *Rahbar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 20th June 1895, publishes a communication in which the writer complains that the students of the Khalsa College

Boarding House make a great deal of noise and use abusive language while the Muhammadans are offering up prayers in a neighbouring mosque. The owner of the house, who is a Muhammadan, has been asked to represent the matter to the Superintendent of the Boarding House, but he refuses to move in the matter. The Editor commenting on the above advise the Muhammadans of Amritsar to call the attention of the Raies to the matter instead of writing to the newspapers. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 6th July 1895*. Vol. VIII, No. 27, p. 366).

***Singh Sahai, 28 December 1896***

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 28th December 1896, remarks that the expectations that were formed of the Khalsa College are scarcely likely to be realised. Indeed if there is any truth in the reports that have reached the Editor regarding the institution in question, it is idle to hope that the College will prosper. In the first place, disunion prevails among the members of the Committee and in the second, the school has been removed from the city. The Teachers and the Managers (of the school) are not on good terms and the rules of the Khalsa (religion?) are not being followed. Moreover, the accounts of the College buildings, which have already cost Rs. 1,20,000, have not been duly published. This undesirable state of affairs is giving rise to all manner of doubts which will prove injurious to the College and will be referred to in a future issue. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 9th January 1897*, Vol. x, No. 2, p. 23).

***Khalsa Gazette, 22 July 1898***

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 22nd July 1898, remarks that it has on several occasions invited the attention of the Sikh public to the unsatisfactory condition of the Khalsa College, and urged the members of the College Committee to take steps to remedy the present state of affairs. It is a matter for congratulation that these gentlemen are beginning to realize the gravity of the situation, as is evident from a letter recently addressed to the Secretary of the Committee by Bhai Gurmukh Singh, Professor, Oriental College, who says that the College has not shown good results, &c., and makes certain suggestions for improving its condition. The Editor then publishes a translation of the Bhai's letter. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 6th August 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 32, pp. 489).

***Akhbar-i-Am, 27 July 1898***

A correspondent writing to the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 27th July 1898, says that at a recent meeting of the Khalsa College Committee it was proposed

that in future none but Sikhs should be admitted into the College, and that the Hindu students now reading in it should be turned out forthwith. Numerically, the Sikhs are the weakest community in India, and should try to win over to their side members of other communities, instead of alienating their sympathies. Besides, do not the Gurus inculcate toleration and union? Under these circumstances it behoves the originators of the proposal in question to withdraw the same, and try to extend the sphere of usefulness of the College. The Sikhs ought to strengthen themselves by promoting friendly relations with the Hindus, who are their neighbours as well as relations. It should, moreover, be remembered that the Hindus revere the same objects of worship as the Sikhs. The members of the Khalsa College Committee should therefore do nothing to create feelings of ill-will between the two communities. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 6th August 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 32, pp. 489–490).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 1 August 1898**

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 1st August 1898, says that Professor Gurmukh Singh's letter referred to in its last issue (*vide* paragraph 17 of Selections for the week ending 6th August) has not been laid before the Khalsa College Committee, and that this conduct on the part of the Secretary has compelled the Professor to address another letter to the members of the Committee. In this letter Bhai Gurmukh Singh reiterates his accusation that the College has not shown good results during the past eight years, and that the expectations of the Sikh community, that the institution would afford facilities for training young men for agricultural and military professions, have not been realized. The letter also takes the Committee to task for devoting the funds of the College to the erection of a Boarding House while the College building is still in embryo. The Professor concludes by remarking that if the present members of the College Committee refuse to bestir themselves, the Sikhs should get them replaced by new ones. The Editor expresses his full concurrence with the contents of the letters under reference. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 20th August 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 34, p. 526).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 19 May 1899**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 19th May 1899, remarks that the present unsatisfactory condition of the Khalsa College is due to certain members of its Managing Committee raising an outcry that the Sikhs are not Hindus. This has alienated from the College the sympathies of 7/8ths of the Sikh population, and argues a want of forethought and wisdom on the part of the said members. So far from endeavouring to separate themselves from their own flesh and

blood (Hindus) they ought to have induced every section of the Native Society to help them in forwarding their movement. It is, however, to be regretted that they are calling upon the Khalsa Panth to have nothing to do with the Hindus before they have been able to raise a building for the College. Self-interest, if nothing else, ought to have shown them the error of their ways. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 3rd June 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 22, p. 295).

***Khalsa Gazette, 22 May 1899***

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 22nd May (received on the 12th June) 1899, remarks that the dissensions prevailing among the members of the Khalsa College Council threaten to put an end to the very existence of the College. It is an open secret that Bhai Jawahar Singh and his friends have always endeavoured to get only such persons elected to the Council as are of their own way of thinking, and strenuously opposed the appointment of independent members. The frantic efforts they made to prevent the late Dr. Jai Singh becoming a member of the Council are still fresh in the public mind. The Editor has more than once exposed the misdeeds of this clique, but to no purpose. He is, therefore, glad to learn that Dr. Oman's resignation has opened the eyes, not only of the Council but also of the Khalsa Panth, to the gravity of the situation. The *Gazette* then endeavours to prove that Bhai Jawahar Singh has always set at naught both the orders of the Council and the wishes of its individual members, and observes that it is high time that the Bhai was sent about his business, and some other person appointed Secretary to the Council in his place. Nay, it is better to entertain a paid Secretary than to be inflicted with an honorary servant like Jawahar Singh. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th June 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 24, p. 323).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 5 June 1899***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 5th June 1899, remarks that Dr. Oman's resignation leaves no room for doubt that Bhai Jawahar Singh alone is to blame for the dissension prevailing in the Council of the Khalsa College. It is, therefore, gratifying to learn that Sardar Sundar Singh, Majithia, has been elected Secretary to the Council in place of the Bhai, and that the election has met with the approval of the entire Sikh community. The Sardar is an able and well-behaved young man, and may be trusted to set right the affairs of the College. In conclusion, the Editor suggests that the College being located in Amritsar, the Secretary's office should also be removed to that city. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 24th June 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 25, p. 334).

***Khalsa Gazette, 1 July 1899***

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 1st (received on the 13th) July 1899, remarks that Bhai Jawahar Singh's supporters are making desperate and disgraceful attempts to get the Bhai re-appointed as Secretary to the Khalsa College Council. In order to gain this end, they have not hesitate to humble themselves even before those persons whom they used to abuse only a short time back. Nay, they have descended lower and sought the protection of a Muhammadan newspaper, *The Punjab Observer*, in which they have sung the praises of their protégé and spoken ill of Sardar Sundar Singh, Majithia, who was recently proposed to succeed Bhai Jawahar Singh in the post of Secretary to the Council. It is, however, an open secret that there can no comparison between the Sardar and the Bhai, and that the former is in every respect better fitted for the Secretary's post than the latter. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd July 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 29, p. 397).

***Khalsa Gazette, 22 July 1899***

*Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 22nd July (received on the 9th August) 1899, remarks that the entire management of the Khalsa College being virtually in the hands of Bhai Jowahar Singh's party, his friends, almost all of whom reside in Lahore, are endeavouring to get the College removed to that city. This, the Editor is afraid, will put an end to the College, and calls upon the Sikhs to frustrate the schemes of Jowahar Singh's supporters. He then regrets that a shrewd and intelligent man like Sardar Bhagat Singh, C.I.E. of Kapurthala, should have been taken in by the oily words of these gentlemen, and requests the Sardar to have nothing to do with the enemies of the College. The same paper publishes a communication in which the writer quotes instances to show that it has become almost impossible for any one but a friend of Bhai Jowahar Singh to obtain a seat on the Council of the Khalsa College. This, the writer says, has enabled the Bhai to acquire a dominating influence in the Council, and have everything his own way, which is highly injurious to the best interests of the College. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 12th August 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 32, pp. 444–445).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 31 July 1899***

A correspondent writing to the *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 31st July 1899, regrets that the present condition of the Khalsa College is unsatisfactory in the extreme, and that students are leaving that institution in large numbers. The writer adds that the quarrels existing between certain Sikh residents of Lahore and Amritsar are at the bottom of the evil, and that unless the leading Sikh gentlemen make up their differences and work in union for the good

of the College, the institution is certain to come to grief. He then calls upon the well-wishers of the College to request the rulers of Patiala and Nabha to appoint a Committee to look after its welfare. The correspondent also suggests the opening of a branch of the College in Lahore. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 12th August 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 32, p. 444).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 8 August 1899**

A correspondent writing to the *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 8th (received on the 29th) August 1899, regrets that the leaders of the Sikh community take no interest in the affairs of the Khalsa College. When Dr. Oman was appointed Principal of the College, hopes were entertained that it would become a model institution in the Punjab. That gentleman, however, received such treatment at the hands of the Secretary to the College Council that he threw up his appointment in disgust. After remarking that Bhai Jawahar Singh and his friends are the greatest enemies of the Sikhs, the writer remarks that it is high time that the Bhai was sent about his business and some other person appointed in his stead. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 2nd September 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 35, pp. 489–490).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 15 August 1899**

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 15th (received on the 30th) August 1899, writing about the affairs of the Khalsa College, remarks that Bhai Jawahar Singh and his friends are having everything their own way, and have contrived to get the services of Dr. Oman dispensed with. It is surprising that the Executive Committee of the College Council should have accepted the Doctor's resignation, when a general meeting of the Council had decided to request him to withdraw the same. This is undoubtedly an unheard of proceeding; but it should not be forgotten that the Executive Committee consists almost exclusively of Bhai Jawahar Singh's friends. The Editor adds that these gentlemen are endeavouring to get the College removed to Lahore, and calls upon the Sikh community to prevent them from doing so. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 9th September 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 36, pp. 504–505).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 1 September 1899**

A correspondent writing to the *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 1st (received on the 21st) September 1899, enquires if Bhai Jawahar Singh is to continue as Secretary to the Khalsa College Council for life, and if the Sikh public is to be excluded from any voice in the management of the College. The writers

adds that the *Khalsa*, the organ of the Bhai's party, has announced that Bhagat Lachhman [Lakshman] Singh, a partisan of Jawahar Singh, has been appointed Secretary to the College Sub-Committee, and authorized to collect subscriptions in aid of the College. The *Khalsa* has also published a note calling upon the Hon'ble Baba Sir Khem Singh, Bedi, and Rai Bahadur Sujjan Singh to help the institution with money. But why should the Sikhs, enquires the correspondent, give pecuniary help to the College, when the leading Sikhs are all but excluded from the College Council, and Jawahar Singh & Co. are having everything their own way? He then exhorts the Sikh community to interest itself in the welfare of the College, and place the management of the institution into better and abler hands. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 30th September 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 39, p. 553).

#### ***Hamdard-i-Khalsa*, November 1899**

The *Hamdard-i-Khalsa* (Amritsar), for November 1899, states that it is rumoured that even the Maharaja of Patiala has expressed displeasure at Bhai Jawahar Singh's attitude towards the Khalsa College, and that His Highness has told the Bhai to his face that his connection with the College has proved harmful to its best interests. This being so, observes the Editor, the College Council ought to shake off its lethargy, and prevent Jawahar Singh from having everything his own way. It should specially endeavour to checkmate his designs to get the institution removed to Lahore. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 25th November 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 47, p. 684).

#### ***Ahluwalia Gazette*, 8 November 1899**

The *Ahluwalia Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 8th November 1899, complains that ever since Mr. Oman resigned the number of students at the Khalsa College has dwindled down from 500 to 200. The Amritsar members seem to take no interest in the welfare of the College, and this is evidently the result of the disunion prevailing between the Lahore and Amritsar members. The *Gazette* calls upon the members to be up and doing in order to save the College from ruin. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 18th November 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 46, p. 669).

#### ***Khalsa Gazette*, 22 November 1899**

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 22nd November (received on the 7th December) 1899, is grieved to learn that the Khalsa College has been in a bad way since Dr. Oman's retirement, and that the number of students on its rolls is daily on the decrease. The Editor is afraid that Bhai Jawahar Singh and Company will take advantage of this state of things to put their scheme



regarding the removal of the institution to Lahore into execution. He therefore calls upon the Sikh Princes, to whom the College owes its existence, to take greater interest in its affairs and checkmate the moves of the aforesaid Company. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 16th December 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 50, p. 727).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 8 December 1899**

A correspondent of the *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), dated the 8th (received on the 20th) December 1899, after praising the Editor for taking an interest in the affairs of the Khalsa College, remarks that the connection of Bhai Jawahar Singh and his supporters with the institution, being harmful to its best interests, these worthies should be sent about their business as soon as practicable. The writer is grieved to learn that the Amritsar members of the College Council are so disgusted with the Bhai's doings that they intend resigning their seats on the Council. This step on their part, he adds, is calculated to affect the College still more injuriously, and means should be adopted to induce them not to sever their connection with the Council.

Commenting on the above the Editor states that at the last meeting of that body the members in question exposed the wrong doings of Bhai Jawahar Singh and asked permission to resign their seats in case the Council was unable to remedy the present state of affairs. Thereupon the President expressed regret at the Bhai's conduct, and proposed a resolution to the effect that in future no representation signed by ten or more members should be withheld from the Council. The Editor is glad that the eyes of the Council have at last been opened to the true state of affairs. He is, however, at a loss to understand why that body did not interfere with its Secretary when the latter was unmasked by Doctor Own [Dr. Oman?] in a thoroughly public manner. The *Gazette* concludes by remarking that the College is certain to go from bad to worse so long as Jawahar Singh's company has any hand in its management. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 30th December 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 52, p. 754).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 15 February 1900**

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 15th February 1900 (received on the 3rd March), says that, as was to be expected, the Khalsa College has been in a very bad way since the severance of Dr. Oman's connection with it. The Editor is convinced that the indifference of the College Council to the mal-practices of Bhai Jawahar Singh and his supporters is at the root of the evil. The appointment of Mr. Justice Walter to the Presidentship of that body was expected to improve matters, but his departure on furlough has again delayed the era of

reform. After remarking that no meeting of the Council has been held since the illness of Bhai Jawahar Singh, the *Gazette* suggests the replacement of the Bhai by a paid Secretary, and calls upon the Sikh Princes to interest themselves in the welfare of the College. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 10th March 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 10, p. 125).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 15 April 1900**

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 15th April (received on the 5th May) 1900, writing about the appointment of Mr. H.A.B. Rattigan as President of the Khalsa College Council, remarks that that gentleman is too young and inexperienced to give satisfaction in this capacity. Besides, the presidency of the Council is not a hereditary post that Mr. Rattigan should be made to step into his father's shoes regardless of his own qualifications. The Editor then goes on to say that the malpractices of Bhai Jowahar Singh and Co. have also compelled Sardar Sujan Singh, B.A., to resign the Principalship of the Khalsa College; and remarks that it is high time that the Sikhs of the Punjab realized their duty towards the institution and did their utmost to safeguard its interests. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 12th May 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 19, p. 235).

***Watan*, 21 February 1902**

The *Watan* (Lahore), of the 21st February 1902, writing about the Khalsa College, alleges that every thing connected with that institution seems to be mismanaged. As an instance in point, the Editor understands that the students living in the boarding house attached to the College are dissatisfied with the existing kitchen arrangements, and suggests that the most effectual way to remedy the evil is to place the arrangement in the hands of the boarders themselves, as is the practice in every other boarding house. He also alleges that he has received a complaint regarding the commission of a certain irregularity in connection with the recitation of the Raheras (? in the boarding house) and invites the attention of the Managers of the College to the matter. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 1st March 1902*, Vol. xv. No. 9, p. 132).

***Akhbar-i-Am*, 26 February 1902**

A correspondent writing to the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 26th February 1902, says that the Sikh community is not to blame for the Khalsa College having proved a failure. He adds that at first the Sikhs were quite willing to raise large funds for the College, but that the doings of its managers soon alienated the community's sympathy from it. It is, therefore, wrong to regard the

institution as a National College, nay, so far, no effort has been made to raise it to that position. After remarking that at present it is a plaything in the hands of certain persons, the correspondent observes that Sir Mackworth Young's recent speech at the College contains some very valuable advice, which, however, cannot be acted upon until the institution regains the confidence and love of the Gurus' followers. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th March 1902*, Vol. xv. No. 10, p. 146).

***Ahluwalia Gazette*, 1 March 1902**

The *Ahluwalia Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 1st March 1902, writing about the Khalsa College, says that the post of Secretary to the College Council should be held by an educated, well-connected, experienced and honest person, who should, besides, be a resident of Amritsar or Lahore. After suggesting the name of Baba Attar Singh (a Pleader at Amritsar) and Sardar Sundar Singh of Majitha for the post, the Editor remarks that the Council should be reconstituted on the lines recently suggested by Sir Mackworth Young. Efforts should also be made to collect subscriptions promised towards the College Fund. Again, if possible, the institution should be presided over by a Native Principal, as is the case with the Dayanand and Islamia Colleges at Lahore. The Editor concludes by exhorting the Sikhs to do their duty by the Khalsa College and make it a flourishing concern. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th March 1902*, Vol. xv. No. 11, p. 163).

***Public Gazette*, 16 March 1902**

The *Public Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 16th March 1902, says that the meeting of the Khalsa College Council which was held in the Lahore Government College on the 8th idem has been productive of no good results. The first item of business before the Council was the disposal of the resignation rendered by the Secretary, Bhai Jowahar Singh. The Committee proceeded to elect a new Secretary without first accepting the resignation of the Bhai, with the result that in the midst of the ensuing confusion the latter withdrew his resignation. The Editor adds that the only change made in the *personnel* of the Council was to reduce the number of its members to 13, 3 of whom are English gentlemen, who, by the way, are likely to lead the rest by the nose. He then regrets that the Council should not have availed itself of the services of Sardar Sundar Singh of Majitha, or of Sardar Tarlochan Singh, M.A., both of whom enjoy the confidence of the Sikh public and would have facilitated the collection of funds for the College. He also expresses a hope that in future Bhai Jawahar Singh will publish periodical statements of the College accounts and thereby place himself above suspicion. The Editor does not wish to dilate on the diverse charges

preferred against the Bhai, but would merely ask the latter to reflect on, and repent of, his past conduct. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 29th March 1902*, Vol. xv. No. 13, pp. 197–198).

***Ahluwalia Gazette*, 24 March 1903**

The *Ahluwalia Gazette* (Amritsar), of the 24th March 1903, publishes a communication in which the writer, after reporting that the Principal of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, has tendered his resignation, remarks that the Sikh nation seem to have fallen on evil days. It is sad to think that while Sikhs, the most devoted and loyal subjects of His Majesty, are suffering through the intriguing and selfish spirit of certain of their co-religionists at Amritsar and Lahore, the authorities look on unconcerned. The correspondent would request Government to extend a helping hand to the Sikhs and take upon itself the management of the Khalsa College. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 28th March 1903*, Vol. xvi. No. 12, p. 72).

***Hindustan*, 24 April 1908**

*Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 24th April 1908, publishes a communication from one Hakam Singh, of Sangoi, who says that the rumour is persistent, that the Khalsa College is to be removed from under the management of the Sikhs and placed entirely in the hands of Europeans, on the sole ground that the money given in aid of the institution by (Sikh) Ruling Chiefs was contributed at the instance of Government. The writer would like to know whether Sikh Chiefs cannot give away any money even for religious purposes except with the permission of Government. He adds that the rumour has caused excitement even in places where the Khalsa College had never been heard of before and that the public are anxiously waiting to see what sense of self-respect the Sikhs possess and how their loyalty is to be rewarded by the powers that be. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 2nd May 1908*, Vol. xxi. No. 18, pp. 255–256).

***Panjabee*, 6 June 1908**

The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 6th June 1908: –

“The *Khalsa Advocate*, while discussing the new Constitution of the Khalsa College, has been indulging in a good deal of outspokenness. In its leader on the subject published in its issue of the 30th May it observes rather significantly that “*Loyalty cannot be manufactured by coercion on force. It is the spontaneous outcome of sympathy. Let this be understood clearly once for all.*” The italics are in the original. The pronouncement is sufficiently candid and deserves the careful consideration of the authorities. It is idle to brush it aside as the vapourings

of a few misguided English-educated youths, having no influence in the community, as the feeling which it voices is deep-rooted and genuine. The Khalsa plays an important part in the Empire. Well may his English-educated son enquire what is the Empire doing for him in India or outside it? As we have already remarked, the action of the Government in the matter of the Khalsa College is most unfortunate, but it rests with the Khalsa young men to change it into a blessing. Considered from a national point of view, an opportunity like this ought to be accepted as God-sent. It puts the workers on their mettle and ought to bring out the best in them. The education of the Khalsa is a question of the greatest importance to the *panth* as well as to the nation at large. Now that the educated Khalsa have been thrown on their resources, we will beg of them to throw off their tutelage and take the work of educating their people in their own hands. Let them not look to the Sikh Chiefs as they are hardly masters of themselves. The Sikh religion is nothing if not democratic in its spirit. Let the leaders of the young party in the Khalsa place their hopes in the people. It is only then that their labours will fructify and bring out the desired result. Among the Khalsas, the most important community is that of the Jats, and we wish a number of Khalsa young men were to consecrate their lives for the education of their Jat brethren. In their anxiety to keep the military classes of the Punjab in their blessed state of ignorance, the Government is not favourably inclined to extend primary education and to make it free. The other day Lord Morley gave expression to this view in almost so many words in his conversation with an Indian which the latter has since published in the Press. We have otherwise also good reason to believe that the scheme for free Primary education is not likely to be adopted because of the fear of education making the military classes discontented. It comes to this: Education is a necessity for every son of man, because it enables him to fight out the battle of life successfully, but as it is likely to create in military classes of India a desire for bettering their condition, it is pernicious for them. The only fitting reply to this would be to concentrate all our energies on the education of the Punjab peasantry, but we know that this cannot be done as our divisions and dissensions stand in the way. Here, however, is a chance for patriotic Khalsas to put their shoulder to the wheel in right earnest, give up the Khalsa College as lost and devote their energies and talents to the spread of education amongst the Khalsas throughout the Province." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 6th June 1908*, Vol. XXI. No. 23, pp. 332–333).

*Hindustan*, 12 June 1908

*Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 12th June 1908, publishes a communication from Ajit Singh, who says that although the Secretary of the Khalsa College

Committee will continue to be appointed from among the Sikhs, the election will invariably be made by Government. Again, a highly-placed English officer will henceforth be the President of the Committee. The College can therefore prove of no use to the Sikh community. The writer cannot say what truth there is in the assertion that Government considers it to its interest to keep the Sikhs in a state of ignorance. He is, however, of opinion that his co-religionists should cease to lean on others and should learn to stand on their own legs. It should be no difficult task for them to establish Colleges of their own which should impart instruction in consonance with the teachings of Sikhism and should be wholly free from interference by Government. There are lakhs of Sikhs in the Punjab, and if each one of them were to contribute one rupee they could establish a University, let alone a College. Fifty or sixty years ago the Guru's followers were able to administer a kingdom. Have they come to fall so low that they cannot manage a College now? Ajit Singh next suggests that some educated young Sikhs should beg for funds in every village, town and city and that they should establish a College at a very early date. They should not feel discouraged at the thought that the *aluminae* of the institution will not be given employment under Government. Service is worse than slavery. There is, besides, much work in the country for them to do, and more is being provided daily. In conclusion, the writer offers to go about begging for funds for the suggested College. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 4th July 1908*, Vol. XXI. No. 27, pp. 392–393).

### ***Hindustan*, 12 June 1908**

*Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 12th June 1908, accuses the authorities of having followed a policy of "Divide and rule" in order to separate the Sikhs from Hindus and of having encouraged the Neo-Sikhs to remove idols from the precincts of the Golden Temple in spite of protests and threats from the Raja of Nabha. It adds that the Neo-Sikhs went even the length of declaring that they had more in common with Mohammadans than with the followers of Hinduism. They took their cue from the late Sir Syed Ahmad and tried to curry favour with the authorities by separating themselves from Hindus. There is, however, one great difference between the deceased Knight of Aligarh and these Sikhs, and this is that while the former advocated the necessity of self-help in the matter of national progress, the latter are wholly incapable of acting up to that principle. They cannot manage even their own religious affairs, which is evident from the fact that even the management of their Golden Temple is in the hands of the Deputy Commissioner. The paper then goes on to say that Government has come to realise that the prevailing agitation and unrest is due entirely to education. It is therefore anxious to protect the Sikhs from the evil efforts of

education. And now that the Khalsa College has come entirely under its control only such books will be taught at the institution as are calculated to keep the Sikhs loyal to the throne. All this will, however, be of no avail. It is impossible for Government to go against the will of God, for the loyalty of the people cannot be retained by such tactics. Indians can remain loyal only if they are treated with kindness and justice. After remarking that so far they merely feel exasperated and have not turned disloyal, the Editor says that there is yet time for Government to conciliate them. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 4th July 1908*, Vol. XXI. No. 27, p. 393).

***Hindustan*, 12 June 1908**

*Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 12th June 1908, contends that the new constitution of the Khalsa College Committee clashes with the “fundamental rules” of the institution. The provision that the Secretary will be appointed and removed by Government has been received with downright disapproval by the Sikhs. Again, the changes have been adopted without the Sikh community having been given an opportunity of expressing their opinion on the same. The paper adds that Government should leave the management of the Khalsa College in the hands of the Sikhs, just as it allows the Muhammadans to manage the Aligarh College. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 4th July 1908*, Vol. XXI. No. 27, p. 393).

***Jhang Sial*, 20 June 1908**

The *Jhang Sial* (Jhang), of the 20th June 1908, deplors that the management of the Khalsa College should have passed into the hands of Government officials, and regrets that the parents of young students should feel no scruple in allowing their boys to take the wrong path in the hope that they would secure comfortable berths. The Khalsa College was a Khalsa institution so long as it was in the hand of the Khalsa Bahadurs, but is no longer entitled to be called a national institution of the Sikhs, inasmuch as the authorities have taken by various tactics the management of the College into their own hands. Can such a College impart education likely to benefit the Khalsa community? The Government has by its act shown that it is not a supporter of education and that it is strongly opposed to any education calculated to develop a sense of self-respect in the minds of natives. There are undoubtedly a few Khalsas on the Managing Committee, but they will never have the courage to say anything in opposition to the English President. If the Khalsas desire to live they should prevent the Government from interfering with the affairs of the College and allow it to be disaffiliated from the Government University. If they cannot do so they should raise subscriptions among themselves and start another.

College where education could be imparted on national lines. It is easy to raise a large fund from the purpose if even one or two rupees be paid by each Sikh towards the fund. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 11th July 1908*, Vol. XXI. No. 28 p. 420).

***Sher-i-Babar*, 20 June 1908**

The *Sher-i-Babar* (Lahore), of the 20th June 1908, says that the new constitution of the Executive Committee of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, was adopted on the 10th idem. The Commissioner of Lahore, who presided at the meeting, laid great stress on the advisability of loyal students being produced by the College. Is Government still doubtful of the loyalty of the Sikhs that Mr. Younghusband should have made these remarks. If, however, the Commissioner wished them to be loyal to their own national his advise was highly welcome. The policy of silence which they have so far pursued has proved highly detrimental to their interests, e.g., their national College has been taken out of their hands. The Editor then complains that some of the Sikh gentlemen present at this meeting raised objections to the proposed changes, but that they were silenced by the Commissioner, who threatened that if any obstacles were placed in the way of passing the new rules the College would be disaffiliated and Government would withdraw its patronage from the institution. He concludes by remarking that so long as a highly-placed Executive officer presides over their College Council the Sikhs should not expect better things. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 18th July 1908*, Vol. XXI. No. 29 p. 435).

***Sher-i-Babar*, 4 December 1908**

The *Sher-i-Babar* (Lahore), of the 4th (received on the 21st) December 1908 publishes a paragraph entitled "The Khalsa College in Parliament," in which it says that only six months ago several irregularities were committed in order to effect a dangerous change in the constitution of (the Council of) the above College. The object in view was to prevent the institution from fulfilling its real objects and to make it a Sikh College in name alone. The Editor does not think it necessary to refer in detail to the heartless manner in which opposition from the Sikh Press and public was disregarded. Some Sikhs, he adds, are undoubtedly among the supporters of the change and resort to specious arguments to conceal its antagonism to the interests of their community with the object of securing seats in *Darbar*. No amount of special pleading, however, can throw a veil over the truth, and agitation in the matter has begun even in Parliament. After publishing a translation of the question asked by Dr. Rutherford in the Commons recently on the subject, as also of Mr. Buchanan's reply to the same,



the Editor asks whether it is now too late to make the constitution of the College further the interests of the Sikh community. He does not think so, provided advantage is taken of the present opportunity to strongly protest against the change in question and to lay before the Parliament the independent opinion of the Sikhs in the matter. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 2nd January 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, p. 29).

#### ***Akhbar-i-Am*, 19 April 1909**

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 19th April 1909, publishes a communication in which the writer says that a leaflet written by one Sunder Singh was distributed on the occasion of the recent Educational Conference. The document contained some complaints against Government *anent* its re-modelling the constitution of the Khalsa College. So far, however, from adversely criticizing Government in the matter, the Sikhs should feel grateful to it for the changes introduced. After remarking that the Khalsa College owes its existence to Government alone, but for the support of which it would never have received such munificent donations from Sikh Chiefs, the correspondent says that originally the Managing Committee of the institution consisted (1) of representatives of Government, (2) of Native Chiefs who had contributed liberally towards the College fund, and (3) of the spokesmen of the Sikh public. In 1907, when the third party was in power, the students of the College insulted some European officers over the "labour of love" incident in connection with the erection of the College building. The party named was morally bound to admonish the culprits and make amends by expressing regret at the latter's impertinent behaviour. They, however, did nothing and kept wholly silent. This had the effect of alienating from the College the sympathies of Government, while it also led to the European members of the Managing Committee tendering their resignations. This, in turn, resulted in Sikh Chiefs refusing to give money in aid of the institution. Moreover, when the University authorities saw that the College had become destitute of funds and that there was no likelihood of the completion of the building scheme, they served a notice on it to remove these defects on pain of disaffiliation. The very existence of the College was thus jeopardized, which compelled Government again to extend its patronage to the institution, and to make new rules for its management. The result is that money is flowing in again, the building work is progressing, and everything is being done in a satisfactory manner. Thus it was in the interests of the College and the Sikhs that Government had to remodel the constitution of the Managing Committee. Besides, the only changes introduced were that, instead of Mr. Rattigan, the Commissioner of the Lahore division was made President of the Committee, and the powers of the Principal were increased in order to

enable him to keep the students in hand. The Sikhs have, therefore, no cause of complaint against Government for its having acted as it did. If the Khalsa College had been an unaided institution like the D.A.V. College, there would have been some justification in the Sikhs complaining against Government interference in its management. As, however, Government had found funds for the College by patronizing it, it was necessary that it should have some hand in its management. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 1st May 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 18, pp. 396–397).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 15 May 1909**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 15th May 1909: –

“The speech of His Honour Sir Louis Dane at the prize distribution ceremony of the Khalsa College on the 29th ultimo, which we published in full in our last, was very happily worded and would go far to reassure the Sikhs that the leading educational Institution associated with their name is not after all intended to be entirely officialised. The words of His Honour ‘There was not, and is not, the least desire (on the part of the Government) to officialise the College’ must have been ready by the whole Panth with satisfaction and relief. They will tend to remove a lot of misunderstanding and wipe off many an unpleasant recollection. The Sikhs are not loth to, nor do they consider themselves in any way above the desirability of, official co-operation; but the passing of the reins of the government of the Institution from the hands of the old constitution into those of the new had come upon them with such force and surprise that they had taken it as a great slur on their intelligence and patriotism. The Sikhs are greatly indebted to the Government for the warm interest and active sympathy which it has manifested in the start, development and betterment of this Institution, from its very inception, and it would be no exaggeration to say that but for the whole-hearted co-operation of the Government the Institution might have been something wholly different from what we find it at the present day. The Government of Sir Alfred Lyall and Sir Mackworth Young did all they could to water and nurture the papling until it grew up into a full-sized tree under the wise and sympathetic patronage of Sir Charles Rivaz. Its rapid growth excited jealousy within the cam and outside, and according to an Oriental idea it caught the evil eye of the busy-bodies who began to malign it and imagined seeds of sedition sprouting on the sacred grounds of the Institution saturated with the proven loyalty of the sons of the Guru. This dodge was successful, and for a time it created an episode which threatened to wipe the College clean out of existence. But the Guru wished it otherwise, and so the danger was averted; and we are glad to see that the College has again won back the regard it once enjoyed in the eyes of the Government. It is now for the

Panth to take up the assurance so kindly given by His honour and once more come up to the help of their premier Institution and make it a meeting ground of mutual good-will, trust and co-operation between the Government, the Sikh States and the Panth. As for the Government, we would advise it to see that efficiency is not the only criterion of the successful running of an institution, but that sympathy is a necessary element in it. This being assured, the Sikhs will hail with delight the words of His Honour that 'it was absolutely imperative to regain the confidence of the Sikh States, and of the Sikh panth generally, by ensuring that the College remained a Sikh College, teaching the pure principles of the Khalsa, purity, charity, freedom from sectarian prejudice, honesty and loyalty.' We are confident that the whole Panth must have been filled with hope to learn that His Honour will not be satisfied with remaining merely an honorary Patron of the Institution. To us these words, so opportunely uttered, are of great promise and hope, especially when the Main Building Fund is so inadequate and the teaching of Science and Engineering in the College has to be placed on a sounder footing. As His Honour so aptly remarked, the Sikhs have a special aptitude for the study of Science and Engineering, and the College would not be worth the trouble and sacrifice that are being spent on it if it did not fulfil the expectations of the Sikhs in this respect." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd May 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 21, pp. 479–480).

#### ***Sachcha Dhandora*, 8 October 1909**

The *Sachcha Dhandora* (Lyallpur), of the 8th October 1909, publishes a communication headed "The Khalsa College," in which the writer remarks that the *Hindustan* recently asked the Sikh States and Sardars to make further contributions towards the funds of the College, saying that if this is not done the building work will have to be stopped. Why, however, should the Sikhs give more money in aid of the College now when they have come to realise that the institution no longer belongs to them? They have no control over the expenditure, and it is unjust to ask for contributions from them while the College is completely in the hands of Government. Cannot Government defray the building expenses from its own pocket after having made itself proprietor of the institution? It should not now expect Sikhs to contribute towards the College funds. (*Selections from the native newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 23rd October 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 43, p. 1046).

#### ***Khalsa Advocate*, 2 February 1912**

Under the heading "The Khalsa College, Amritsar," the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 2nd February 1912, observes as follows: –

“Our first movement for the uplift of the Panth is the Khalsa College, Amritsar. Horny-handed sons of the land of the five rivers contributed with open hearts and hands towards the funds of the institution. The Government of the Punjab patronized it very kindly, and Sir Charles Rivas [Rivaz] in one meeting, got us lacs of Rupees for its upkeep.

“Very high hopes were entertained of the future of the college, which rose under such auspices. Not only did it auger the prospects of a first rate College, but the people began to dream of a net-work of its feeder-schools sprinkled all over the province.

“So far, however, supremely unfortunate as it is, our hopes have been justified only in brick and mortar. The building beats the erections of all other colleges in the province. But silent walls of themselves cannot make a college. There should be inmates of whom it cannot boast any respectable number. It does not seem to be justified in these days much of its *raison d'être*. It was meant for the education of the Sikh youths, with the object of bringing them up as men of high education together with a sincere love of their own religion. But the facts are that the majority of the rising hopes of the Panth are knocking the gates of non-Sikh colleges, like the Dayal Singh and D.A.V. Compared with the number of the Sikh students, who are studying in other colleges, the Khalsa College cannot put up a comely appearance.

“The Managing Committee should wake up and look into the state of affairs. They should brood over the conditions making for success and try to bring them about.

“The low scale of fees exacted from Sikh students, which was in force, has also been done away with. The students have always complained, and they are loud in their cries about the grievances even now, that the qualifications of the professor are very common place. This is the main reason why the Sikh student prefer non-Sectarian Colleges to their own.

“The deplorable want of a religious ballast among such youths may be more easily imagined than described.

“It will therefore be necessary to over-haul the whole staff. A capable and experienced European should be appointed to take over the arduous duties of the post of Principal who should throw himself whole-heartedly into work of the institution. All other professors should be recruited from among the best candidates. The scale of salaries should be high enough to attract really capable men. There should be special facilities in the Boarding House, and the session should in every way be those of the Lahore College.

“The Managing Committee should attend to the following questions: –

“1. Why has the number of boarders gone down?

“2. Why have only four students of the Khalsa Collegiate School joined the College in the First Year?

“3. Who is working in place of the Science Professor for a year?

“This will emphasise the necessity there is of looking out the whole machinery and hammering down any loose screws that might be detected.

“Riff-raff arrangements, like the appointment of clerks as superintendents on a small pittance, won't do. It is hard for one man to discharge more than one duty satisfactorily.

“Unless the Committee turns its attention to the points, raised in the above lines, we would feel it our painful duty to place more details about the tottering state of the College before the public.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 10th February 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 6, pp. 94–95).

### ***Loyal Gazette*, 6 October 1912**

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore), of the 6th October 1912, publishes an article headed “Great changes in the management of the Khalsa College. The Hon'ble Sardar Sundar Singh has resigned. The beginning of a new era.” The Editor complains that, under the new order of things, there will be only three Sikh representatives (worth the name) on the said body, and their presence on the board will prove of no use as the Government (members) will be in the majority. Government is, therefore, now solely responsible for the welfare of the Khalsa College; but let it bear in mind that, if the College is not worked according to the wishes of the Sikhs, or if Government appoints to the College council men who are either looked down upon by educated Sikhs or who are Hindus at heart and pose as Sikhs only to gain honours and to prejudice the authorities against educated Sikhs – whom they designate “Tat Khalsas” – the the result will be that Sikhs will no longer send their boys to the College. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 12th October 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 41, p. 858).

### ***Tribune*, 17 October 1912**

One ‘Lakshman Singh, Honorary Member of the Khalsa College Council,’ contributes from Rawalpindi the following letter to the *Tribune* (Lahore), of 17th October 1912: –

“We have been requested to publish the following letter: –

“To – The President, Khalsa College Managing Committee, Amritsar.

“Sir, – I crave leave to submit the following lines for favour of your consideration and that of the Members of the Managing Committee of the Khalsa College.

"I am a member of the now defunct Khalsa Diwan, Lahore, which inaugurated the Khalsa College movement and subsequently handed it over to a registered body called the Khalsa College Council. I was elected a member of the College Council in 1897 and continued as such until 1908 when changes were made in the constitution of the College and I and other active members of what was called the Lahore party were replaced by men who had the confidence of the Amritsar party. As an active member of the Managing Committee, when the Lahore party was in power, I contracted a passion for the institute and worked for it with great zeal and earnestness. This passion for the institution has prompted me to approach you with this petition.

"In the memorable meeting of the spring of 1908, I protested against the undue haste with which radical changes in the constitution were being rushed through; but it was all crying in the wilderness. Men had come prepared to say ditto to a pre-arranged programme. The only person who heard me with consideration was Colonel Younghusband, Commissioner of Lahore, who had been elected president of the Managing Committee at the previous meeting. The Sikhs mostly looked at me with stupefaction, and those who understood me seemed to be greatly elated at their success in having been able to oust those who had been their critics erstwhile. I urged for five things particularly: –

"(a) Abolition of the rule by which members once appointed were appointed for all life time.

"(b) Appointment of electoral colleges in all Sikh centres to enable the return of representative Sikhs to the Managing Committee.

"(c) Effective Government control to guard against the possibility of the Khalsa College ceasing to exist, as a result of the rivalries and jealousies of the various factions in the Council.

"(d) Provision for the exclusion from the Council of men who, though Sikhs by appearance, may not be so at all.

"(e) Increased representation on the Council of men of light and lead from the British districts.

"I rejoice to note from a close perusal, which when writing the leading article in the *Khalsa Advocate* of the next issue I could not afford, of a printed copy of the proposed changes in the constitution, that the Managing Committee of the College have come to regard the reforms, suggested in points (a) and (c) as called for. Dual control has proved a curse everywhere. Now that the Government shall have a comparatively free hand in the management of the College, I trust that the staff will be considerably strengthened by the appointment of men of high intellectual and moral calibre whose chief aim will be to honestly endeavour to take the Sikh youths by the hand, and attend to their harmonious development. But I beg deferentially to submit that the newly

proposed constitution does not go far enough. The note to Article (4) has not prevented the election to the Council of men, Sikhs in appearance, but in league with the most inveterate foes of Sikhs and Sikhism. If the note is amended as follows the defect pointed out will be remedied: –

“Members of the Council other than European members nominated by Government, shall be professed Sikhs, *i.e.*, Sikhs who are ready to declare that they adhere to the tenets of the ten Gurus and that they do not belong to any other religious sects. They shall be required to sign this declaration and confirm it by an oath before the Council.

“The matter referred to in point (b) is of paramount importance. If the suggestion is approved it will be possible for the public spirited men of light and lead to come in the Council and add to its power of doing good.

“The point (e) has not only been lost sight of, but a very retrograde step is contemplated when it is proposed to reduce the number of members from British districts from 26 to 13. I have discussed this point at length in the leading article in the *Khalsa Advocate* of the issue above referred to, to which I respectfully invite your attention. Here I would only submit with deference that this proposed reduction in the number of members from the British districts is sure to result in the deterioration of the Council. The members from the Native States, brought up under peculiar circumstances, will never bring that among of independent judgement to bear upon the deliberations of the Council which the elected members from the British districts will be able to do, on account of their training and culture, under the liberal and enlightening influence of the British Rule, than whom none else can be more interested in its stability, for much of what importance they possess they owe to the good-will of the British Administration.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 19th October 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 42, pp. 878–879).

### ***Loyal Gazette*, 20 October 1912**

Writing under the heading “Future of the Khalsa College,” the *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore), of the 20th October 1912, deprecates the noise made by certain young Sikhs in 1908 over the interference by Government in the affairs of the College. Next it says that, if Sikhs had, at the instance of certain short-sighted and loquacious persons, raised an outcry against the changes that were recently proposed in the constitution of the College Council, most disastrous consequences would have been certain to ensue. The new changes are then enumerated, and the editor says that he does not disapprove of the same and prays that the College may regain its lost greatness. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 26th October 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 43, p. 904).

*Tribune*, 2 November 1912

One Bhagat Lakshman Singh, Honorary Member of the Council, contributed the following to the *Tribune* (Lahore), of 2nd November 1912: –

“I was about 25 years old when the Khalsa College movement was launched by a small batch of noble-handed (sic.) Sikhs under the leadership of the late Sir Sirdar Attar Singh of Bhadaur. The Sirdar was the most public spiritual Sikh chief of his time. His influence with the British rulers was very great. His chief follower was the devoted, selfless and level-headed worker, the late Bhai Gurmukh Singh, father of the Singh Sabha movement and sponsor of the Sikh renaissance. He lived for the Guru and the Panth alone. If his heart beat, it was for the Sikhs. If he talked, it was for the Sikhs. If he felt, it was for the Sikhs. Born of humble parents and stationed low in life he possessed a marvelous influence over his co-religionists of all classes. British officials of all departments treated him with such a great consideration, that envy and jealousy won him the application of a Government spy. Such as the man whose activities resulted in the formation of the Khalsa Diwan, Lahore, the pioneer of the present Sikh revival, and in the conception and inauguration of the Khalsa College movement. The Sikhs were very backward then. To launch a scheme for the education of the Sikhs on the lines of the D.A.V. College, the only sound manner that can catch popular fancy, was next to impossible. The Government of the day, moreover, was a pro-Sikh Government. Sir James Broadwood Lyall, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, felt for the Sikhs, as no other British rulers, with the exception of course of Sir Charles Rivaz, has to my mind, done before or after him. Lord Roberts, the prince of British chivalry, who had personally witnessed the bravery of the Sikhs in his war on the frontier, felt an admiration for the them and wished to do them a good turn. The Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, was known to be not unwilling to listen to a proposal calculated to advance the Sikhs. All these circumstances combined to encourage the Sikh workers in starting a collegiate institution for their community at Lahore under Government patronage. No sooner the desire was expressed, influential support was promised. The Sikh States advanced a donation of about five or six lacs of rupees and the establishment of a first class college for the Sikhs was assured. But a powerful and hostile agitation was set on foot in Rawalpindi. Men like the venerable Baba Khem Singh Bedi, and Rai Bahadur Sirdar Surjan Singh were made the leaders of conservative Sikhs. The cry of the orthodox Sikhism in danger was raised. A faction was formed in Amritsar and on its behalf the claim was raised that the College should be located in it, for its being the chief seat of Sikh pilgrimage. The promoters of the movement wanted its location in Lahore, the centre of national activity. The Government also thought so; but the hostile attitude of Baba Khem Singh Bedi, afterwards Hon'ble Sir Baba Khem Singh



Bedi, compelled Sir James Lyall, much against his wishes, to decide in favour of Amritsar. The Sikh patriots felt sorely disappointed. England friends like the late Sir William Rattigan, and Colonel Halroyd, and Mr. William Bell, the first energetic and enthusiastic Secretary of the movement, were disheartened and though, for years afterwards, they continued to work for the College with a zeal and earnestness that wrested admiration from me and many others of my colleagues in the College Council, it is too much to suppose they could take as much interest in the institution at Amritsar as they could have done had it been located in Lahore. A great blow was thus unwittingly struck by our own kith and kin. The institution then became a prey of the rival Lahore and Amritsar factions. The constitution was so ill-conceived and badly worked out, that in the course of time it contained among its members mostly men who had no right to be there. They were mostly uneducated. No member was required to contribute anything towards the expenses of the College monthly or annually. The State, which found funds for running the College, and the Government, under whose auspices the project was started, were poorly represented on the Council. And, what was still worse, on the Council were men who were not only not Sikhs, they were actually believers of antagonistic creeds, actively engaged in perverting Sikhs and Sikhism whom we found very difficult to wean off. This is what made me write the following note in the *Khalsa* of May 16, 1900, which I then edited: – ‘So the Khalsa College is a State College, with this difference that a regularly constituted State College is well organized and well managed, while the Khalsa College is hardly organized and badly managed. In a State College the governing body consists of men of sound learning and mature experience, while in the Khalsa college the governing body consists of gentlemen who though otherwise estimable, are with a few honourable exceptions, not competent to grapple with the educational problem, and this is the reason why the expectations that were formed at the time of its foundation was laid have not been realized. We do not know who it was that framed the Articles of Association of the College and who were the members who allowed these Articles to be made into law; but this much we can say that the rule conferring the right of membership for life-time or whomsoever it may please the Council is greatly responsible for making the institution a hindrance rather than a help to our educational advancement. We consider the College to be a hindrance in our way; because the unthinking mob, that has from the nature of things come to have a voice in the conduct of public affairs, is mentally so constituted that it rests contented with the name of a thing and never cares to find out and profit by the reality. When this time last year we called upon Doctor Oman to persuade him to withdraw his resignation of the Principalship of the College he complained that he was hampered in every little thing that he did and that

he looked for help in vain from the Council ...' Thirteen years have elapsed since when I made these observations. The state of things complained of can no longer exist. The revised constitutions that comes up before the meeting of the College to be held on the 15th instant is a great step in advance. Persistent rumours of a conflicting nature were being circulated. Thanks to the courtesy of some friends, I have just been furnished with a copy of the proposed revisions in the constitution.

"A hasty perusal has convinced me that there be a cause for rejoicing if the changes now proposed became law. The most important change is the addition of the following new rule (Rule 32) to the constitution: – 'The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab shall have power, after fully and carefully considering any representation made by the Council of the Committee, to suspend the rules and to direct the Committee to take such action as the special circumstances may appear to demand, and it shall thereupon be binding upon the Committee to take such action.' This rule may appear to some as inaugurating a very reactionary policy on the part of the Government with reference to the Sikhs; I do not take this view. Bravery alone feels any deference for bravery. Buy instinct and tradition the British officials and non-officials will feel for the Sikhs as no other community in the Punjab has done. If disputes arise, as they must sometimes, an arbiter is needed. And which arbiter can be more safely relied upon than the head of the Province who, having the greatest stake in the country, will calmly deliberate on the matters under dispute before pronouncing his judgement. If, perchance, he errs, his successor will conscientiously endeavor to rectify the mistake made if he cares to earn a name for himself as a sound administrator. There is no 'settled fact' in British polity. The Britishers believe in development. Their direct association with the only collegiate institution we possess ought to be Godsend to us. It is absurd to suppose that a nation that has produced large-hearted statesmen of the type of Lord Macaulay, Lord William Bentinck, Lord Canning, Lord Ripon, our present Viceroy Lord Hardinge, Mr. Montague and our beloved King Emperor, George V, the most exalted of them all, will, in our case, thwart our efforts to avail ourselves of the blessings vouchsafed to us under Pax Britannica [sic]. Why not speak of our present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Louis Dane? How can we sufficiently repay our debt of gratitude to him for his influential support in the passing of the Anand Marriage Act? He may not have satisfied our expectations in other respects. But he has pressed for anything with requisite persistency. I believe in 'knock and you will find.' If our people show that they are in earnest and deserve what they ask for, there is no reason why they should fail where others succeed.

"We may have on rare occasions unsympathetic and short-sighted men at the helm of affairs in this country; but has not Great Britain had King John as her ruler? No people have always received unmixed blessings. It is too much for us to expect a different treatment.

"Another change of vital importance is the addition of the following clauses to rule 25: –

"(iv) The Principal shall be ex-officio President of all associations and committees within the institution, except the religious Committee.

"(v) No scholarship shall be given except with the approval of the Principal.'

"These rules will considerably strengthen the hands of the Principal in securing unflinching loyalty to himself and the institution under his charge of his students and his staff. An educational institution the Principal of which has not a freehand in dealing with matters of internal economy fails in its purpose. If a Principal makes himself unpopular, the Government with the authority which it is now proposed to vest in it will not find it difficult to turn him out. My idea is that a Principal who cares for his pay and prospects will not knowingly court unpopularity.

"The abolition of the office of Honorary Secretary appears to me to be a very salutary rule. Honorary Secretaries, generally, come to have lofty airs. As a reward for their honorary services they lord over the committees of which they are Secretaries. They resent free criticism of their work. The committees out of deference to them connive at many things of which they would have otherwise taken a serious notice.

"In the proposed constitution I do not read anywhere, as has been stated in the columns of the *Tribune*, that the paid Secretary shall work as Secretary of the Principal. A serious change is, however contemplated inasmuch as after the expiration of 3 years from now the number of the representatives from the British districts shall be reduced from twenty-six to thirteen. This, I deferentially submit, appears a retrograde move. It is true Sikhs of the British districts have hitherto contributed very little for the up-keep of the College, but the serious reduction of their strength on the Council is hardly the proper remedy. The levying of admission fees and monthly fees would have very well served the purpose.

"There is another serious mission in the proposed rules. There is no provision in them for the adequate representation of the educated Sikhs of British districts who are engaged in the furtherance of the educational status of the community. I humbly think nobody will be more loyal than they to the Khalsa College and to the Government. They have all a stake in the country. They receive considerable aid from Government to which their interests are indissolubly bound. Uneducated men on the managing committees of educational

institutions are mere figureheads. They strengthen nobody's hands. They only succeed in making themselves a laughing stock of their people. illiteracy does not necessarily connote loyalty and godliness. Fawning and cringing for selfish ends ought not to be mistaken for love and fidelity. In our matter-of-fact world those men count in the end who have the courage to say "no" when need be, and who care more for general than for their own personal advancement at the sacrifice of their convictions.

"Provisions for life membership has proved a curse for the College. From the proposed constitution it is not clear whether this extremely objectionable feature will be retained or abolished.

"I have no time to examine the constitution more closely. On the whole I think both the Government and the community deserve to be congratulated on the inauguration of the new era." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab, Examined up to 9th November, 1912*, Vol. XXV, No. 45, pp. 948–950).

### ***Tribune*, 11 November 1913**

In a leader the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 11th November, gives the following: –

"\* \* \* His Honour has paid a graceful compliment to the Sikhs for what they have been doing in this respect (the Sikh Educational Conference movement) for on the success of this movement depends the general awakening of the community. At the back of all this lies a sound collegiate education, but what militates against it at present is the disunion to which His Honour has made a pointed reference. 'Every great community,' said His Honour, 'must have some differences in views and aspirations. There are those who want to advance quickly and those who desire to stand fast on the old ideals. But surely the banner of the Khalsa is wide enough to shelter both. The lofty ideals of your religion – the Fatherhood of one God and the brotherhood of man – are broad enough to include both.' It is just the steady light of this teaching which the great Sikh community has allowed to be partially obscured by the blazing fire of factiousness.

"We trust that His Honour's advice will be taken to heart and that the Khalsa Dewan and the Khalsa College will be made the rallying grounds for the not well organized units of the Khalsa force.

"In order to assist the Sikhs to do this the Government should make the Sikh control over the Khalsa College real and effective. The college is at present practically a Government institution in so far as control is concerned. But it does not enjoy the benefits of a Government College in so far as it is less efficient than one maintained wholly from public funds. If the Government is anxious, as we believe it is, that the Sikhs should not be torn by party dissensions,

it must, by transferring real control to the Sikhs, assist the community to bring to the management the patriotic fervour which money cannot buy. At present it is the Principal and the Deputy Commissioner who rule the College rather than the community, and during the continuance of the policy underlying the present constitution there is not much hope of the College becoming more popular than it is. His Honour says that Government is now arranging to strengthen the staff and hopes to provide the services of two members of the educational department. If the Government brings in two members of the educational department and if, as announced by His Honour, it is also going to meet most of the pay of the Principal, it will doubtless say, as it has done on other occasions, that he who pays the piper has the right to call for the tune. We should be certainly glad if the improvement lay that way. But it seems to us that it is at best another experiment of the kind we have already had. Of course, the financial relief afforded to the college may set free some funds, and the present management may be enabled to offer better wages to the remaining staff. But the rigidity of official control brings the enthusiasm of the community to freezing point and the success of the college comes to be judged by the length of the purse and standard of payment in salaries. No National College is conducted on these lines and the management which agrees to work on these lines to some extent alienates the sympathies of the community. It must be possible for the Government to so remodel the constitution of the College as to combine in it the requisite standard of efficiency and a liberal measure of popular enthusiasm by a careful grouping of the several interests concerned. We believe the Sikhs themselves recognise that the Government which assists them with funds directly and indirectly should have a reasonable share in the management. But we venture to ask that in the main the popular control should be less shadowy than it is. That, in our opinion, is one way of making the institution more popular and the community more contented." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 15th November 1913*, Vol. XXVI, No. 45, p. 1021).

***Punjab Darpan*, 7 November 1914**

The *Punjab Darpan* (Amritsar) of the 7th November, 1914, writes as follows: –

"His Honour is well aware of the way in which Military officers try to keep discipline. We generally see that even those Sikhs, who get their hair cut in the villages and are quite ignorant about the Sikh religion, by going into the Military Department they become staunch Sikhs under the leadership of the English officers. Never for once even has any of their complaints reached our ears. But we see that the Civil officers haven't expressed so great a zeal in

preserving the Sikh spirit. To exemplify that, first of all when we cast a glance towards our sacred Golden Temple, we find that for the past 12 years, the work of the Temple has been in the hands of a man who has tried his level best to weaken the Sikh spirit. There the Sikh spirit is always crushed, so far so that Sikhs are even Hinduised. The Khalsa College is a National College, but the Sikhs are allowed very little to take part in it. For ourselves, we feel highly grateful to the Government for its having supplied two European Professors at its own expense. We are sure that so far as education is concerned, there will be a great deal of progress, and we are always ready to work under the leadership of the English people provided that they only perform their primary duty of teaching the students, and the religious work be left entirely under Sikh control." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 14th November 1914*. Vol. XXVII, No. 46, p. 1023).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 2 October 1915**

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar) of the 2nd October 1915, writes enthusiastically about the appointment of Mr. Wathen as principal of the Khalsa College, Amritsar. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 9th October 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 41, p. 595).

***Parkash*, 10 October 1915**

Commenting on the approval, expressed by the *Loyal Gazette* at Mr. Wathen's appointment as principal of the Khalsa College, the *Parkash* (Lahore), of the 10th October 1915, fails to understand how the anticipation of its contemporary that the Khalsa College will not really become a Sikh institution is to be fulfilled by the appointment of an Englishman as principal. The Government has already so much in its management that the Sikhs themselves do not consider it to be a national institution of their own. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 16th October 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 42, p. 614).

***Punjab Darpan*, 19 September 1917**

The *Punjab Darpan* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 19th (received on the 26th) September 1917, regrets that Sikhs have never yet appointed a Sikh Principal to the Khalsa College, Amritsar, nor even for their new college in Gujranwala. This must be due either to the absence of competent Sikhs or their inherent inability to manage their own concerns. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 11th October 1917*. Vol. XXX, No. 41, p. 783).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 8 December 1917**

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 8th December 1917, writes: –

“We regret to announce that Sardar Sher Singh, M. Sc., Professor, Khalsa College, Amritsar, has resigned his professorship for higher studies in England. The College Council will now have to fill up the gap. In doing so, it should be kept in mind that, the sooner it is done, the better, otherwise we fear a prolonged vacancy might tell unfavourable on the students. But in choosing the new professor, it should be kept in mind that a Sikh candidate is selected. Sardar Naranjan Singh, M. Sc., in chemistry, we think is the best available man and efforts should be made to secure his services. The appointment of a non-Sikh will surely be disgusting and a severe shock to the popularity in people’s mind that the College has begun to secure. We hope the authorities will soon do the needful.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 13th December 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 50, p. 908*).

***Punjab Darpan*, 12 December 1917**

The *Punjab Darpan* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 12th December 1917, hopes that a Sikh Professor will be appointed in the vacancy in the Khalsa College because, if available, all the Professors of the Khalsa College should be Sikhs. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 20th December 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 51, p. 921*).

***Sikhs and Sikhism*, 1 May 1918**

The *Sikhs and Sikhism* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 1st May 1918, pleads for the extension of Mr. Wathen’s term of office as Principal of the Khalsa College by three years. This will earn the everlasting gratitude not only of the staff and students of the Khalsa College but of the whole Sikh community. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 2nd May 1918. Vol. xxxi, No. 18, p. 257*).

***Panjab Darpan*, 16 June 1918**

The *Punjab Darpan* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 16th June 1918, says that it is desirable that the Sikhs should be allowed, for the present at least, to manage their national College (the Khalsa College) and their sacred Golden Temple. Should it be difficult for Government to effect this change the community may at any rate, be permitted to select the Principal and the Secretary of the College. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 27th June 1918. Vol. xxxi, No. 26, p. 347*).

***Panth Sewak*, 30 July 1919**

The *Panth Sewak*, of the 30th July 1919, refers to the establishment of an Arya college at Cawnpur, and complains that the only Sikh college has been removed from the control of the community. The reason for this must be that the Sikhs are a disunited community or are incapable of producing loyal boys. Or the phenomenon is ascribable to some other cause, secret or open. If there had been no disunion among the Sikhs and they had demanded the restoration of their institutions, Government would have acceded to their demand and never retained forcible possession of property held by it in trust for others. It is a pity that Sikh leaders, who talk glibly of unity and mutual love, are jealous of one another and cannot unite in demanding the restoration of Sikh institutions. The result is that their two chief institutions, namely, the Golden Temple and the Khalsa College, which lie in the very centre of Sikhism, are not under the control of the Sikh community. Both are in the hands of outsiders, who are wholly ignorant of our traditions, customs and laws. If the Sikhs realise their responsibilities and regard Sikh institutions as their own, there is no reason why they should not carry on a constitutional struggle to get them back. Where is the law which regards such agitation as reprehensible? The example of others should infuse enthusiasm into them and they should remember that the door is opened only to him who knocks. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXII, Lahore: The 9th August 1919, No. 32, pp. 252–253).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 3 February 1920**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 3rd February writes: –

“The changes which the great world war has brought about in the thought-current of the people and the hope and promise which has been held out by the promulgation of the Government of India Act and the royal proclamation, have served to give an additional stimulus to the awakening sense of responsibility among the Sikhs as well. ... Their immediate attention should be direct to bringing their various secular and denominational as also their religious institutions in line with the spirit of responsibility. ... A clear desire of the Sikhs to this effect found expression in the last session of the Sikh League, when it passed a resolution demanding that the control and management of the Golden Temple be entrusted to a body of the elected representatives of the whole Panth. But along with the management of the Golden Temple, we think, the management of our premier educational institution, the Khalsa College, is equally important. The present constitution of the Khalsa College council and its managing committee is, to use mild language, absolutely retrogressive



and out of date ... The new constitution of the college should be recast on an elective bases and the present defective system of nomination should be absolutely done away with. The Khalsa College council should be fully representative of the Panth. This representation should be secured by election and not by nomination as heretofore. The constitution of the council should be clearly purged of provisions for an official element. ... The Sikhs should begin to move in the matter; we are sure the Government cannot, under the new conditions and consistently with the spirit of reform, then continue the iron grip which it now has on the college." (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 14th February 1920, No. 7, p. 75).

### ***Sikh*, 12 December 1920**

The *Sikh* of the 12th December writes: –

"The Government has completely withdrawn its control from the Khalsa College, leaving it entirely in the hands of the community. It has, therefore, faithfully fulfilled its promise, for which the Sikhs must feel ever grateful to Sir Edward MacLagan. There is not doubt the institution was ours, and what special kindness there is in returning to us a thing of our own? But still the magnanimous way in which all this returning of the college has been effected speaks volumes for His Honour the present Lieutenant-Governor. ... Under the Government control the College has been maintaining its efficiency in every way – a feature which the Khalsa will do well to imitate, so that the world, particularly the people replaced, may not find opportunities to remark that the gallant Khalsa has failed to manage his own institution in the way it was managed by others." (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 18th December 1920, No. 51, p. 516).

### ***Khalsa Akhbar*, 17 December 1920**

The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 17th December says that so long as the members of the Council of the Khalsa College are not appointed by election and the European Principal is not replaced by a Sikh, the Sikhs will neither keep quiet nor feel satisfied. If a European Principal had been useful for the College where was the necessity for "Master" Chatar Singh undergoing sufferings in a dark cell in the Andamans. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 25th December 1920, No. 52, p. 530).

### ***Panch*, 2 February 1921**

The *Panch* of the 2nd February urges the Sikh students of the Khalsa Colleges at Amritsar and Gujranwala to come forward and not to lag behind the students of other colleges in relinquishing their studies. They should throw off the yoke

of slavery in order to maintain the honour of their country. They should know no rest until their colleges sever all connection with the University and are converted into purely Sikh educational institutions. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 12th February 1921, No. 7, p. 73).

#### **Sansar, 29 October 1921**

The *Sansar* of the 29th October publishes a letter from Avtar Singh Vidyarthi, who makes a strong appeal to the Sikh students over 16 years of age to boycott schools. The question of the Khalsa College has become still more intricate and every effort should be made to get rid of Wathenism from the college. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 12th November 1921, No. 45, p. 478).

#### **Pardesi Khalsa, 15 March 1922**

The *Pardesi Khalsa* of the 15th March says that for some time past the managers of the Khalsa College have been endeavouring to take such men on the professorial staff as would strengthen Government control over the College. Thus the new professors of agriculture will be an Englishmen, while the Government will be asked to supply professors for the new S.A.-V. Class, which is proposed to be opened in the College. If Government aid is to be taken it should be taken in money rather than in men. We warn the Panth to see that Government control, which has been relaxed a little, is not strengthened more than ever. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXV. Lahore: The 25th March 1922. No. 12, p. 149).

#### **Akali, 19 May 1924**

Writing on the situation at the Khalsa College, the *Akali* asks the Sikhs to be on their guard against the wily tactics of the Chief Khalsa Diwan and raise a cry from every quarter for the liberation of the College from the hands of the present high-headed Managing Committee. The rules of the College should be democratic in spirit and a fresh election held for the Council and Executive Committee. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 24th May 1924*, No. 21, p. 192).

#### **Babar Sher, 4 June 1924**

The *Babar Sher* sees the hand of the bureaucracy in the foolish action of the Managing Committee of the Khalsa College in turning out old professors. The bureaucrats want to divert the attention of the Sikhs from the Gurdwara question and crush the Akali movement by fomenting dissensions in the community. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 7th June 1924*, No. 23, p. 205).

## 2 Muslim Students in the Khalsa College

### *As-Sabah*, 10 May 1917

*As-Sabah* (Lahore, Muhammadan), of the 10th May 1917, learns from the guardian of a Muhammadan boy that it is a rule with the managers of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, that in admitting students to the College, preference is given to Sikh students and after that to Hindu students and, last of all, if there are vacancies, Muhammadan students are admitted to the College. When Sikhs consider themselves separate from both Hindus and Muhammadans, why is any distinction made between Hindu and Muhammadan students? They should give equal opportunities to Hindu and Muhammadan students to join the Khalsa College. *As-Sabah* does not raise this question owing to preferential treatment of Hindu students, but urges the College authorities to suppress such a distinction in conformity with the rules of the University. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 24th May 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 21, p. 401*).

### *Vakil*, 26 May 1917

The *Vakil* (Amritsar, Muhammadan), of the 26th May 1917, alleges that the Muhammadan students of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, are not accorded proper treatment and it asks Sikh leaders to say what purpose their offers of friendship to Muhammadans at their annual meetings will serve if Muhammadan students continue to be badly treated in their college. The paper further asks the Muhammadans of Amritsar to reflect how long they will tolerate this disgrace. Does their sense of shame permit them to send their future hopes to receive education in a non-Muhammadan College and come home after suffering their national personal honour humbled? Is it difficult for them to establish a college of their own? (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 14th June 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 24, p. 471*).

### *Punjab Darpan*, 30 May 1917

The *Punjab Darpan* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 30th May 1917, states that the *Vakil* accuses the Khalsa College of according unfavourable treatment to Muhammadan students. The paper quotes a passage from *As-Sabah*, dated the 24th May, to the effect that Muhammadans have now nothing to complain of against the Khalsa College. It then adds that it is the prime duty of Mr. Wathen to give greater consideration to the claims of Sikh students and Hindus and Muhammadans should not make a grievance of this. If there is room, the doors of the Khalsa College are open to both Hindus and Muhammadans. (*Selections*

*from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 14th June 1917. Vol. XXX, No. 24, p. 471).*

***As-Sabah*, 30 May 1917**

*As-Sabah* (Lahore, Muhammadan), of the 30th May 1917, refers to the complain of the *Vakil* (Amritsar) and is very sorry to know that Muhammadan students are still accorded unfavourable treatment in the Khalsa College. The paper requests Sikh leaders to say whether their shaking of hands with Muhammadans at public meetings was absolutely meaningless. It also asks the Muhammadans of Amritsar to answer how long they will tolerate such humiliation for their sons by sending them to the Khalsa College to lose their national pride and self-respect. Can they no manage to start a college of their own? (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 14th June 1917. Vol. XXX, No. 24, p. 471).*

### 3 Performance of the Drama *Khwab-i-Hasti*

***Punjab Darpan*, 19 December 1917**

Th *Punjab Darpan* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 19th December 1917, says: –

“It has pained as to us to notice the enactment by the staff and students of the Khalsa College in Babu Ghanaya Lal’s Theatre Hall of a drama which is open to objection from more than one point of view. Some of the poems were very indecent and had initiated their innocent reciters into the love-intrigue perhaps for the first time. Dressing the (Keshas) of Sikh boys into a variety of forms worn by Indian women does not reflect well on the College authorities either. Granted that the proceeds of the performance, admission to which was by tickets, were to be devoted to the very laudable ‘Our Day’ movement we refuse to believe that the Khalsa College students would have experienced any difficulty in raising a couple of hundred rupees for the purpose without resorting to a means calculated to undermine their morals which ought to be most jealously guarded. We must say that for the performance under notice Mr. Watson is not so much to be blamed as the Sikh staff of the College, especially those entrusted with the inculcation of Sikh theology. It incidentally furnishes an index of the piteously low ebb reached by the religious and national consciousness and pride of the whole Sikh staff, to say nothing of their pupils. “By the bye, what does the Religious Sub-Committee of the College exist for? We should feel obliged if they be pleased to let us know what are the various steps taken by them periodically to make sure that the College is serving the

purposes for which it was founded." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 5th January 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 1, p. 19*).

***Akhbar-i-Am, 12 January 1918***

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore, Hindu), of the 12th January 1918, says that certain Sikh newspapers recently complained that the students of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, had staged the drama of *Khwab-i-Hasti*, which contained several love songs. The local correspondent of the *Akhbar-i-Am* also deplores the incident and says that it was highly objectionable not simply because the drama contained love-songs but also because the hair of the Sikh boys was dressed after the fashion of Indian women. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 19th January 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 3, p. 50*).

***Punjab Darpan, 20 February 1918***

The *Punjab Darpan* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 20th February 1918, says that in presenting an address to the Maharaja of Faridkot the Khalsa College Council said that one of the special objects in opening the College had been to keep Sikh students to their religion. The condition of religious education there is, however, not praiseworthy. The students stage obscene dramas, and play football matches on the holy day of Gursaptami instead of attending the Nagar Kirtan. Moreover, only 1 hour and 20 minutes are devoted to religious education per week. How then is it to be expected that they will be orthodox in their religion. Cubicles are being constructed. But apathy is being shown in building the Gurdwara. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 2nd March 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 9, p. 128*).

#### 4 Kanya Maha Vidyalaya in Ferozepur

***Koh-i-Nur, 22 February 1887***

*Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 22nd February, is glad to say that Sikh ladies at Gujranwala, which is one of the principal centres of Sikh population in the Panjab, have resolved to establish a female school there in commemoration of the Jubilee by public subscription, and were able to raise a sum of Rs. 900 at their first meeting. A more suitable memorial could hardly be imagined, and the movement is one of which they province may be justly proud. This is a very hopeful sign and shows that the day is not distant when native women in the Panjab will be able to claim equality with the women in other provinces in education. The inhabitants of the Panjab, particularly those of Gujranwala, should help the ladies and enable them to make their project an accomplished

fact. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 1st March, 1887*, pp. 135–136).

***Loyal Gazette*, 15 October 1911**

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore), of the 15th (received on the 30th) October 1911, has a note entitled "The Coronation Darbar, Delhi, and our own duty." While, it says, lakhs of persons will come from distant countries to witness the Darbar, there is no hope of the return of Bhai Takht Singh\* to India on the occasion. The paper, therefore, suggests that a deputation consisting of leading Sikhs should wait on the Sikh chiefs and raises to collect Rs. 25,000 (for the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Ferozepore). In the meanwhile, it adds, a cable should be sent to the Bhai, who is a living martyr, telling him to return to his native land, his presence in the midst of the Sikhs on the above occasion being of outmost importance (? To his community).

\* This man is connected with the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Ferozepur, and went abroad some time ago under a vow not to return to India unless he had collected Rs. 25,000 for the educational institution named. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 4th November 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 44, p. 1125).

***Khalsa Akhbar*, 26 May 1916**

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 26th May 1916, publishes a letter from Ishar Singh, of Ferozepore, expressing dissatisfaction with the work of the Sikh Kanya Maha Vidyala. Since its establishment only two Sikh girls have passed the entrance examination. The manager of the Vidyala often proudly remarks that every student of the Vidyala is as virtuous as Mary and their sons will serve their community like Jesus Christ. Facts, however, show that instead of giving birth to a prophet like Jesus Christ the students of the institution cannot follow the plain and easy life of the Sikhs. (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 3rd June 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 23, p. 492).

***Loyal Gazette*, 4 June 1916**

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore), of the 4th June 1916, characterizes the above letter as constituting an improper attack on the personality of the Manager, Bhai Takht Singh, and showering filthy abuse on the girls of the Vidyala. The attack is improperly provocative and will not be tolerated even by the most degraded of men. The letter not only abuses Sikh teachers but has also delivered an attack on the mother of Jesus Christ, who is the spiritual father of millions of Christians, the offensive words being mischievously put in the mouth of Bhai

Takht Singh to offend the followers of Jesus Christ. Ishar Singh or whoever has assumed this name has jeered at his sisters residing in the institution by insinuating that like Mary they will give birth to children in a state of virginhood. Is there any Sikh who will not be exasperated at reading these words? Have the Sikhs lost all sense of shame that they read such obscene and mischievous writings regarding their sisters and daughters without cursing the writer? Is the Sikh community dead that Sikh girls are abused through Sikh papers with impunity? (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 3rd June 1916. Vol. XXIX, No. 23, p. 492*).

### ***Khalsa Advocate, 16 September 1916***

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 16th September 1916, has the following:—

“Those who read the *Khalsa Akhbar* must have seen a note which apparently means, *A hundred girls missing from the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyala, Ferozepore*. Now this heading is as startling as it is mischievous, and the very glance at it leads the reader to think that there must have taken place such a most serious event as the running away of as many as one hundred girls from the sacred Ashram of Ferozepore. Naturally one feels inclined to read the article. But lo and behold, it means some thing else, *viz.*, that while it is stated somewhere that the number of boarders there is 300, in reality it is 200! Thus it is that while the reader has been made a fool of, on the one hand, a most savage insult is done to a sacred Ashram of our female folk, for which we are in every way bound to observe every respect. We belong to the chivalrous Khalsa nation, who are known to have respected even the daughters of their enemies. But now we have degenerated so much as to mind insulting our own daughters. ... But how shameful, from the Sikh standpoint of morality, it is to insult the girls of the Panth, is for the Panth to consider and properly deal with. For our part we content ourselves with simply regretting the present situation.” (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 23rd September 1916. Vol. XXIX, No. 39, p. 780*).

### ***Khalsa Akhbar, 15 June 1917***

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 15th June 1917, expresses surprise at Bhai Takht Singh having so far failed to place the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyala under the Chief Khalsa Diwan and the Educational Committee. This shows that either the Bhai has no confidence in the Khalsa Diwan and the Educational Committee, or he is so moved by personal interest that he cannot tolerate the existence of any committee. Will the *Loyal Gazette* give some satisfactory explanation of this matter? (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 5th July 1917. Vol. XXX, No. 27, p. 540*).

***Panth Sewak*, 23 January 1918**

The *Panth Sewak* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 23rd (received on the 31st) January 1918, says that its readers will be sorry to learn that a lady teacher of the Sikh Kaniya Maha Vidyalā, Ferozepore, sheared off (*lit.* massacred) the heir of her daughter three or four months' old. Has Bhai Takht Singh taken any notice of the matter? It is not proper that he should decline to act, merely out of regard to the lady. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 9th February 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 6, p. 88*).

## 5 Educational Reforms in the Sikh States

***Panjabee*, 1 October 1910**

The following is from the *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 1st October 1910: –

“The further extension of, and provision of facilities for, free Primary Education in Patiala State has already been announced in the *Panjabee* of September 22nd. The Maharaja has called on all his officials and his influential subjects to help forward the cause of Primary Education by all means in their power. The encouragement held forth to the agriculturists to send their boys to school, by promising preference to the shown to literate candidates for village appointments and by exempting literates from Begar, will, we doubt not, have the desired effect. We have every hope that the Maharaja's efforts will be loyally seconded by all his officials and subjects who are in a position to promote the good work. The agriculturists in the State are mostly Sikhs, and, as we have often said before, many of the Sikh peasantry know how to read Gur-mukhi all over the Province. Therefore the pushing on of Primary education has every prospect of success in Patiala. We are, indeed, proud that the Premier Sikh State has taken the lead in this direction – a befitting step on the eve of the Maharaja's installation to the *gaddi* which is to come off on the 3rd November. We offer our hearty congratulations to His Highness on this auspicious act on an auspicious occasion.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 8th October 1910, Vol. XXIII, No. 40, p. 890*).

***Tribune*, 23 February 1911**

In a communication published in the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 23rd February 1911, the following comments are made regarding a suggestion from another correspondent to the effect that the free Primary education recently sanctioned in the above State, should also be made compulsory: –

“But when he says that Primary education should have been made compulsory, I make bold to differ from him. Primary education even made free and



compulsory would not have appealed to the people of the State, as they are not yet sufficiently advanced to fully realise the benefits and advantages accruing from the acquisition of knowledge and this is due more to the poverty and penury which confront us than the ignorance we are steeped in. Lots of our countrymen cannot afford to send their children to school not because they are too poor to afford school fees but because they want their children even at the age of ten and twelve to do some work and thus lighten their burden of maintenance and enable them to live from hand to mouth. This being the case, if Primary education were made compulsory, the State shall have to look to the maintenance of the parents who depend upon their children for their daily bread. I doubt very much if the State would even think of maintaining the parents by fixing some nominal allowances for them, nor it is the duty of the State to do so. Mr. D.A.G. might say that Primary education is free and compulsory in many civilized countries. But he must not overlook the stern fact that the economic condition of those countries differs from that of his State, and hence what is true of them many not be true of the Kapurthala State." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 25th February 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 8, p. 181).

#### ***Panjabee*, 10 March 1914**

The *Panjabee* (Lahore), of the 10th March 1914, has the following: –

"Sir Michael O'Dwyer made a very interesting speech at Kapurthala in laying the foundation stone of the new High School at Kapurthala. 'Progress in education during His Highness's rule,' said His Honour 'has been very remarkable; and it had made even greater strides within the few years, a result which was equally creditable to the Durbar and to the Director of Public Instructions in the State. It could stand comparison with that of any part of British India; and in some respect Kapurthala State had even made greater advance than they.' While it is a matter for sincere congratulation that the State should have made the progress in education that it has made, to the people of British India the feeling of gratification can scarcely be unalloyed. Time was when British India prided itself upon setting the standard which Native States deemed it a privilege to follow – sometimes from a distance. With the lapse of time and the growth of the normal forces at work the people of British India would be very glad, indeed, to welcome the States as comrades and equals, but it does offend their pride and their sense of the fitness of things that they should be left behind by any of the States. Here we have the head of the Local Government making what to us is a painful admission that Kapurthala has in some respects made greater advance than we have made. His Honour specified one of the things in respect of which Kapurthala is in advance of us. The State has remitted all fees in

primary schools since 1911, an aim, we are told, which the Punjab Government have long had in view, but which as yet they have not been able to carry out. It is perhaps in the relative complexity of the administrative machinery and multiplicity of demands upon the purse of the Government that the explanation of the difference will be sought. But can it be said that we are doing even as much as we could have done? Why was Mr. Gokhale's Bill opposed with a singular unanimity by all the Local Governments and Administrations except one. The Bill was admittedly a cautious one. Mr. Gokhale did not want primary education to be made universal at once. He wanted to proceed step by step, as conditions in each part of the country became ripe. Yet the Bill was thrown out, and on grounds which, as we have so often pointed out, did not bear a moment's scrutiny. And the worst of it is that the Government in throwing out the Bill did not produce an alternative scheme of their own." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 21st March 1914*, Vol. XXVII, No. 12, pp. 295–296).

## 6 Other Schools and Colleges

### *Khalsa Gazette*, 1 November 1899

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 1st (received on the 9th) November 1899, says that the opening of a Khalsa School at Lahore has caused quite a flutter among Bhai Jawahir Singh's friends, and that they are denouncing the founders of the School with all the power of invective they can command. The Editor considers it beneath his dignity to indulge in abusive language, but he cannot refrain from saying that the statement of these worthies that the School has been started in opposition to the one which they themselves intend opening in the city is wholly without foundation and meant to deceive the Sikhs living outside Lahore. He adds that every Sikh, worthy the name, is determined to unmask Jawahir Singh and Co. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 18th November 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 46, p. 669).

### *Hindustan*, 28 February 1908

The *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 28th February 1908, reports that a deputation of Sikh colonists, the majority of whom were retired soldiers, recently waited upon the Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur, to pray for the grant of a piece of land, either free or on payment, on which to build a school for their boys. This officer refused to give a pot of land, but offered to sell them land at Rs. 3,000 per acre, which means that he is unwilling to accede to the request of the deputation. This conduct on his part is, perhaps, due to his dislike of the intention

of the zamindars to employ Sikh teachers only at their school. It was hoped that the prayer of the deputation would be granted, because most of the Sikhs who waited on the Deputy Commissioner were retired soldiers, who have rendered very valuable services to Government and who were treated with great respect by the authorities during the recent unrest. After remarking that the treatment accorded them by the Deputy Commissioner must have given them offence, the paper regrets that the authorities should continue to behave in a way which is calculated to spread discontent in the country. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 7th March 1908*, Vol. XXI. No. 10, p. 126).

#### ***Hitkari*, 2 March 1908**

The *Hitkari* (Lahore), of the 2nd (received on the 10th) March 1908, deprecates the treatment accorded by the Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur, to the Sikh deputation, which recently waited on him to ask for a grant of land for a building site for a Sikh school (*vide* para 24 of Selections No. 10). The news, it adds, is calculated to cool the enthusiasm of the Sikh soldiers in China and elsewhere in the cause of Government and make them think that the authorities treat them in a considerate manner only in the hour of need [of] Government and its officers should prove by their conduct that they govern India for the benefit of the country and not with the object of taking the bread out of the mouths of the people and filling the pockets of the merchants of Manchester. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 14th March 1908*, Vol. XXI. No. 11, pp. 140–141).

#### ***Khalsa Advocate*, 15 September 1911**

Discussing Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of 15th September 1911, makes the following remarks: –

“As regard the principle of the Bill, on behalf of ourselves and the community we have the privilege to represent, we have no hesitation in saying that we accord it our unstinted support. The principle of compulsion in matters of education will no doubt be an innovation so to day, but it must not be forgotten that the gift of Vidya (imparting education) has been always regarded as the most precious of boon in this country.

“No community can be more deeply grateful for providing education and opening schools and colleges in our midst than the Sikhs. No community has watched with greater interest or deeper satisfaction the Government's noble endeavours to spread education on to more extensive and widespread bases, and we shall follow with no less interest and no less gratification the endeavours to extend the scope of elementary education. We shall at present

confine ourselves to one or two suggestions. The acceptance of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Bill by Government will entail a corresponding responsibility on the leaders of public opinion in general and the educated people in particular. The conferring of the privilege of being able to read and write on the multitudes will mean giving them excess to current literature good, bad, and indifferent, and the education of the masses may, in certain cases, result in opening up avenues of harm to the people themselves. It behoves the leaders of public opinion, therefore, to take steps to ensure as far as possible that unhealthy and obnoxious literature shall be weeded out by the time the masses are enabled to read and write. The men of position, bearing and influence will have to exercise their influence to set up healthy forces to counteract and check those that are likely to prove harmful and injurious. Such a movement should come from the inside and will be necessary to prevent or avert possible damages or catastrophes. But of this there can be no question that compulsory elementary education for the masses is a stern and sheer necessity, and if the Government accede to the popular wish and sanction the requisite funds they will not only place the whole country under a deep and eternal debt of gratitude but are also entitled to the willing and loyal co-operation of the people themselves so that the boon granted by the benign Government may prove an unmingled and unalloyed blessing. We extend our hearty support to the principle of Mr. Gokhale's Bill subject to such suggestions as to details as we shall make from time to time." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 23rd September 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 38, p. 981).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 6 September 1912**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 6th September 1912: —

"For the sake of the general Sikh public and for the consideration of the members of the Educational Committee we offer some suggestions for working out a scheme of uniting the Dharamsala schools into a *system* to carry on the early education of our people.

"(1) First thing to be done is to compile a complete list of Dharamsalas, etc., where Gurmukhi (Punjabi) is taught for each tahsil giving the name of place, the name of the *Bhai*, the number of scholars, the ownership of the Dharamsala, some brief remarks about the capability of the *Bhai*.

"Also a list of Dharamsalas and places where schools of the above type can be opened or should be opened with information about income and local influential persons willing to co-operate.

"(2) Training of the *Bhais* for teaching work of infants and little children is the next important matter to be looked into. We are glad to note that already a

class has been opened at Tarn Taran at the cost of the Educational Committee. There the *Bhais* should be trained for about two years at the cost of their respective Dharamsalas or of the people who usually support them; and in special cases at those of the Committee. There should be a primary model school in connection with the Training class at Tarn Taran under the supervision of some trained men where these pupil-teachers can practice.

“(3) Small allowances of Rs. 3 and Rs. 5 may be given to the *Bhais* who are willing to bring their Dharamsalas under the system and ready to undergo a training, according to the number of scholars and attendance, in addition to what they can earn otherwise.

“(4) To create a supervising *staff* is the next item. All this should as far as possible be honorary, and we think any Matric, student or a man with ordinary acquirements will do. A Book should be brought out for the guidance of *Bhais* and the tahsil supervisors regarding the art of teaching, etc., and the subject and extent of teaching in each standard. A few paid servants to supervise the whole scheme may be engaged as the system expands.

“(5) The curriculum and School Books require mature wisdom and expert opinion. General outlines of the whole curriculum for about four or five years for children of both sexes beginning with the age of 5 years and ending about 9 or 10 years is to be decided upon by the Committee. The details of the curriculum, that is the extent and scope of each subject of instruction in each year and their method of teaching, should be left to the experienced teachers and specialists in the science of Education. Books to be written on this accepted outline – by Sikh trained teachers and Professors. Religious education to be all verbal. The Japji and Rahiras to be taught to elder children by word of mouth only, also a little arithmetic, mental as well as written, as be useful for bazar and agricultural purposes.

“(6) For carrying out of the scheme some zealous men in each district to be selected and entrusted with the work of bringing these Dharamsalas into the system. Of course general instructions for the guidance of all such men may be published. These selected men will form important factors in arousing the local interest in the *project* and also give material help in the supervision of these schools to the officers of the Committee.

“We, in conclusion, hope that work begun now on some such lines as suggested above will enable the Committee to lay a definite scheme of Elementary Education complete in all details before the Panth for its approval at the next Conference at Ambala. Then next year they can very well make a start with the funds at their disposal.”

(*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 14th September 1912* Vol. XXV, No. 37, p. 771).

***Khalsa Sewak*, 11 June 1913**

The *Khalsa Sewak* (Amritsar), of the 11th June 1913, publishes a leader entitled "What kind of education should be imparted to us?" It is useless on the part of the Sikh Educational Conference, says the paper, to waste lakhs of rupees in establishing educational institutions organized on the model of Government Schools or Colleges, where students are only taught to become efficient Government servants. Stories about cats and dogs do not help to develop the intellects of Indian students at the public schools, nor can mathematics be of any practical benefit to them in their after-life. Moreover, they are required to learn English, Persian, Urdu and Sanskrit, with the result that their minds are weakened and rendered useless by learning so many languages. Altogether the paper disapproves of the present system of education, and says that the knowledge of agricultural science is what is needed by the Sikhs. Government should spend money in establishing institutions capable of imparting an education to Sikhs which is calculated to remove their poverty and to improve their condition. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 21st June 1913*, Vol. XXVI, No. 25, pp. 549–550).

***Zamindar*, 20 December 1915**

The *Zamindar* (Lahore), of the 20th December 1915, publishes a communication by Sardar Ajit Singh, B.A., Pleader, Punjab Chief Court, Lahore. The writer regrets that the bulk of the Sikhs residing outside the large towns, who constitute the real Sikh community, are illiterate, simple-minded and poor. They are unacquainted with the Sikh scriptures and are falling victims to internal and external influences. The money that is recalled from these people for so-called Sikh movements is spent for the benefit of the Sikhs residing in cities, and these in return do nothing for their brothers in the villages. No sooner do the rural Sikhs set on foot any movement with a view to improving their condition than the city Sikhs raise an outcry that the Sikh community will be ruined by any such movement. The fact is that these gentlemen realise that if the Sikhs residing in the villages advance they themselves will not be able to enjoy that superiority and distinction which they enjoy at the present. The writer therefore suggests that a Jat association should be constituted. There is a large section in the community who are very anxious to hold a preliminary meeting in connection with the association during the Christmas holidays. The time is getting very short; but the writer is prepared to abide by any decision that may be arrived at. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 1st January 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 1, p. 20).

***Sikhs and Sikhism*, 6 March 1918**

The *Sikhs and Sikhism* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 6th March 1918, writes: –

“We ought to appreciate what is appreciable even in a foe; so the dogged pertinacity with which the *Khalsa Advocate*, Amritsar – now by the grace of God the official organ of the Chief Khalsa Diwan whose views it now represents – and a Panjabi weekly of that place, are now opposing the interests of our second National College, the G.N. Khalsa College, Gujranwala, certainly deserves a tribute of praise. They would care neither for principle, nor for the words of honour given in support of it, if a movement beyond Amritsar bids fair to benefit by them.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 16th March 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 11, p. 158*).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 24 August 1920**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 24th August writes: –

“Forgetting the backwardness of the Sikh community and the admirable courage with which its members are trying to remove the bondage of ignorance, with not much help from the Government, but opening up indigenous institutions, and ignoring the past glory of the community and its present political importance and the countless loyal services of its members, the authorities, mainly local, impede or strike at the very root of their development and progress. We could cite half-a-dozen instances in which the short-sightedness of jealous communal bias has removed at all or at least stunted the growth of Sikh secondary schools. Recognition is denied on very meagre data; aid is not granted on inconsiderable technical grounds; rival and unhealthy competition is allowed to grow. ... We cite the cases of Chakwal, Kahuta, Sahiwal, Muktsar and Kallar out of many others, just to shew that the suggested clash has actually taken place and a regrettable state of affairs exists or is ripening into active existence. ... We hope our popular Director of Public Instruction will come to the rescue of these struggling indigenous efforts, will consider their cases individually on their own merits and will take decisive steps to ensure the wide protection that their legitimate interests fully deserve at his hands. We are informed that to some of these schools, recognition and grants-in-aid are more than overdue, and to others the unedifying spectacle of the installation of unnecessary rival competitors backed up by local educational or executive authorities faces frighteningly.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts. Vol. XXXI, Lahore: The 4th September 1920, No. 36, p. 363*).

***Khalsa Samachar*, 4 January 1923**

The *Khalsa Samachar* of the 4th January states that through the efforts of the Chief Khalsa Diwan and after continuous sacrifices and the expenditure

of lakhs of rupees, we have established 28 High, 29 Middle and 153 Primary schools. Most of these institutions have so far been receiving sufficient grants-in-aid from Government in accordance with the rules in force. But now their management has passed into the hands of men who consider it their right to receive a grant from the Government. It will be impolitic for the latter to disappoint these men. Will the Government of for the matter of that Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Minister of Education, who is dividing the Hindus, Sikhs and Muhammadans from the standpoint of population, take into consideration the amount of land revenue paid by the Sikhs? Will he also pay any thought to their services and sacrifices on the battlefield? Does any significance attach to the fact that although they form even less than one per cent of the population, they contribute more than one-sixth of the military force? Should the Sikhs be placed in the forefront when blood has to shed, but their educational institutions should be looked at askance at the time of distribution of grants-in-aid (*lit.* revenue)? It is time that the Khalsa saved these institutions from impending ruin. If a blow is dealt wot the education of the Sikhs the result will be that when Swaraj comes the brethren of Mian Fazl-i-Husain will, owing to their education and numerical strength, become Ministers and fill offices of authority, while the Sikhs will only wait at their doors in red liveries. You may work the plough and pay the land revenue, but as you are uneducated the Patwari of your village, the Sub-Inspector of your Police Station, the Tahsildar of your Tahsil and the Deputy Commissioner of your District will be Muhammadans, because the latter are educated and form the bulk of the population of the Punjab. You will be made constables and given watch work. You will, as foot and mountain soldiers, fight and die on the battlefield, but the Muhammadans will get the posts of Colonel, Major and Captain, because they are educated and numerous. It is very necessary therefore that the Sikhs should save their educational institutions from being ruined. We also request His Excellency the Governor to act with prudence and not allow the rights of the Sikhs to be disregarded in the Education Department. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 13th January 1923. No. 2, pp. 32–33).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 5 January 1923**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 5th January writes: –

“With the advent of reforms and the diarchy under them, Sikh schools in particular have come under an evil eye and grants-in-aid and some time even recognition have been denied to them on one frivolous ground or another. ... This partisan game ahs played for some time past with impunity. In a recent issue we reproduced specific instances of the overdoings of the Ministry of Education in this direction. No community which has any stake in the country



and which claims any semblance of life can afford to look listlessly on the inroads which are every now and then being made with impunity on its benevolent and charitable endeavours to supplement Government's own efforts. The Sikh Educational Committee has, therefore, decided to collect facts and figures about cases in which and the circumstances under which the claims of Sikh school have been brushed aside since the inauguration of the new regime with a view to expose the vagaries of the officials concerned and the anomalies of the present educational policy." (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 13th January 1923. No. 2, p. 33).

***Loyal Gazette, 21 January 1923***

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 21st January remarks that Mian Fazl-i-Husain will never give up his portfolio unless he secures a higher office. But even if he is not reappointed next year his great popularity among the Muhammadans will make his successor follow in his footsteps. The following three questions will, therefore, never be considered from the standpoint of non-Muslim unless the latter force the Government to do so: –

1. Appointments in the Transferred Departments on a numerical basis.
2. The assigning to the Muhammadans or a larger number of seats on local bodies in places where they are in a minority, as also where they form the majority of population.
3. The present want of sympathy in the matter of grants (in-aid) to Hindu and Sikh schools.

The existing policy in regard to grants-in-aid is most dangerous for people like Sikhs, who are both poor and in a minority. Never before Mian Fazl-i-Husain's time was the grant to a Khalsa school stopped and a proposal put forward to start a Government school instead at an increased cost. If he continues to follow the policy adopted by him in regard to the Khalsa school at Sangla, either all the Sikh schools started by the community at an expense of lakhs during the last 20 or 25 years will have to be closed or the Sikhs will be obliged to sever all connection with official Universities and nationalize their schools in conformity with the non-cooperation programme. Again, the fact of the Muhammadans being in a majority on them will cause in the local bodies also dissensions similar to those prevailing in the Council. In order to combat the evils which confront us now or may befall us in the future the Hindus, Sikhs and Christians should unite and try to defeat all the proposals of the Minister for Education. They can easily force the Mian Sahib to vacate his post. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd February 1923. No. 5, pp. 71–72).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 26 January 1923**

The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 26th January writes: –

“We have several times complained against the harsh treatment that is being meted out to the Khalsa schools generally in this province on behalf of the Education Department. Of course the officials in the Rawalpindi Division are the worst sinners in this respect. ... We could never think of an unexpected addition to the ranks of those who wished ill to the Khalsa schools, in the person of the Deputy Commissioner of the Rawalpindi District. Least of all we expected that he would turn against the very school whose foundation stone he himself laid about a year back, and would try to harm it even by transgressing departmental rules. ... The only cause of mischief that we can think of must be the private diaries of some interested petty officials whose business is to paint everything black to enhance their own importance and prestige. We still hope that the Deputy Commissioner will not raise a quarrel with the Sikhs by unreasonably standing in the way of an educational institution which has got the approval of the Department and whose usefulness and importance can be judged from the number of students receiving instructions therein. ... Before withholding or stopping any grant, which we are given to understand that the Deputy Commissioner is doing in the case of District Board for the primary department of this school, it is incumbent on the body or official doing so to warn the management and point out the serious defects necessitating such action. Without such warning and pointing out of defects and before receiving an answer from the management the action of withholding any grant is purely arbitrary.” (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd February 1923. No. 5, p. 74).

***Arorbans Sudharak*, 27 January 1923**

The *Arorbans Sudharak* of the 27th January remarks that the Punjab Government has made up its mind to humiliate other communities by making friends with the Muhammadans. It is most preposterous that some members of Government should stand in the way of the educational advancement of the Sikhs. What Mian Fazl-i-Husain is doing in these days is not being done by him on his own initiative. He is made to do all this to prevent the Hindus and Muhammadans being united and to enable (the authorities) to rule in peace. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxvi. Lahore: The 3rd February 1923. No. 5, p. 72).

## 7 Western Education for Women

### *Hindustan*, 26 April 1912

The *Hindustan* (Lahore), of the 26th April 1912, publishes a communication headed "Daughters of the Hindu and Sikhs of Amritsar under the influence of Christianity." The writer alleges that the Alexandra Girls' School, Amritsar, is proving a source of serious injury to Hindus and Sikhs. Respectable Hindu and Sikh girls, he adds, reading in the school, live in the attached boarding house and do not visit their homes for months together. They have also to attend Church twice a week, wearing "Christian clothes," carrying copies of the Bible in their hands, and singing hymns in praise of Christ and His faith. After stating that every male European is also free to attend the Church, the writer remarks that, to have Hindu and Sikh girls educated in this school is tantamount to placing them in the Christian fold with one's own hands. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to nth May 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 19, p. 366).

### *Khalsa Akhbar*, 16 February 1917

A correspondent, writing to the *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 16th February 1917, complains that Western education has not only made Sikh boys irreligious and unpatriotic, but also spoiled Sikh girls. It is hard to realise the feelings of the unfortunate Sikh who finds his educated daughter refusing to do household work. Similarly, the poor husband cannot tolerate his wife giving up the *pardah* and mixing freely with other men. The paper hints at the immorality of the modern "good lady" being about to overpower the virtue and devotion of the girl of the old type. If the present state of affairs continues the day will shortly come when the Sikhs will lose their national chastity. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 1st March 1917*. Vol. xxx, No. 9, pp. 162–163).

### *Parkash*, 25 February 1917

The *Prakash* (Lahore, Arya), of the 25th February 1917, remarks that, like the Aryas, the Sikhs also are protesting against the dissemination of female education on Western lines. This is borne out by a reference to the *Khalsa Akhbar* article, from which the paper quotes an extract. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 15th March 1917*. Vol. xxx, No. 11, p. 210).

### *Panth Sewak*, 25 June 1919

The *Panth Sewak*, of the 25th June 1919, publishes a communicated article written by Sardar Balwant Singh, B.A., who says that the blind imitation of English

methods in imparting education to our females will never improve matters. Such education will cause more injury than good. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXII, Lahore: The 5th July 1919, No. 27, p. 218).

## 8 Sikh Graduates' League

### *Khalsa Advocate*, 7 July 1911

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 7th July 1911, publishes the following under the heading "The awakening:" –

"It has come. The day has dawned and the sun has risen above the horizon. The warmth and the light have infused life into the benumbed limbs. We have after deep slumbers shaken off the lethargy, realized that in the race of life we have been left far behind by our sister nationalities. With the realization has come the desire to educate ourselves, to throw off the ignorance of ages and sharpen the rusted intellect, to prepare us the better to fight the battles of life and attain success. With the knowledge acquired has come the consciousness of our past glory, of the beauty and sublimity of our religion; with the consciousness has come the desire to place the pearls of wisdom of our Gurus before humanity for its uplifting. A laudable desire and a hopeful sign! Look where we will we find this consciousness, this desire to elevate humanity growing in volume and gathering in strength, and we believe that, what with the purity of our religious tenets, with its soul-elevating, inspiring devotion to one Omnipotent Sat Guru, what with its universal love and brotherhood, what with its simple social organization Sikhism has a noble future before it; and the time is not far distant when it will occupy its rightful place in India and abroad.

"The consciousness has reflected itself in our Diwans, Tract Societies, schools and several other ways. And now comes the proposal to start a Sikh Graduates' League. We welcome the proposal. It is most opportune. We like its aims and objects. It is really they, the young educated men, with fresh vigour and youthful energy who will help the cause of Sikhism. On them rests the future of our religion, our own elevation and material prosperity of our community. It is a welcome news to us. It is a step in the right direction, and we believe it shall receive all the help it deserves at the hands of Sikhs and their well-wishers. We fully realize the difficulties in the path of the League, but that should not discourage them from undertaking the task. Great objects are achieved by great efforts. The organisers must bear in mind that it is the spirit of workers that leads to success. It matters little that they be few to start. They must ever remember the noble cause they have in view; they must make the success of the League their personal concern. Every one must feel that he is responsible for its success; that the League is his and he is the League. Every

one must be imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice and self-effacement. They have before them the admirable example of our Gurus Angad and Ramdas, how under trying circumstances they carried out their Guru's orders. They must fortify themselves with their patience, humanity and love of service. The *mudhar bani* [melodic words/teaching] of our Gurus is a balm to a sore-heart. In difficulties and trials it is an adamant pillar of support to a dejected and disappointed soul. Let them make it their staff and feel their way amidst the shoals and pits on the path they have to tread. To spread law, to sow knowledge was the mission of our Gurus, let that be their mission. Wherever they go let them carry love and peace. Let them be the torchbearers of true knowledge in advance of ignorant fellow creatures. Good beginning is half the battle won, let them fearlessly put their hand to the plough. It is for them to sow, the harvest is in the hand of God, and abide in trust in Akal Purakh." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 15th July 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 28, pp. 717–718).

## 9 Sikh Students

### *Koh-i-Nur*, 27 November 1900

The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), of the 27th November 1900, learns from a correspondent that the Sikh students of the Doaba School,\* Jullundur, are having a very bad time of it. "Get your long hair cut; why should you carry an unnecessary burden on your head?" are among the usual remarks addressed to these students. The writer further alleges that some time back a certain Sikh pupil of the said school felt compelled to shave his head in order to ensure his being allowed to prosecute his studies in peace. He cannot afford to pay a higher tuition fee than that charged in the Doaba School, and is consequently unable to join the local Municipal Board School. He shed tears at his fall, but said he could not help it. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 8th December 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 49, p. 659).

\*An educational institution started by the local "Mahatma" Argas.

### *Khalsa Advocate*, 24 February 1917

The following is extracted from a leader from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 24th February 1916 [1917]: –

"What a pity that the very College run by the benign Government should have become the great centre of the anti-Sikh activities among the Lahore students. Our sorrow increases further as soon as we hear that the victim this time is a diplomat of the Aitchison Chiefs' College, where there is a special

arrangement for imparting religious instruction to students. But as the rules of Government or non-sectarian educational institutions do not interfere with the religious liberty of the students, we have nothing to complain of against the administration of the Lahore Government College. Our present article is based direct on the report that we have received from the Secretary, Sikh Association, Government-College, and the perusal of which will, we are sure, make the blood of every true Khalsa boil in his veins: "I do not know in what words I should explain the profound grief that I felt this morning to hear that another Sikh student of this College has done away with his hair. Though I am not quite certain as to what influence has worked upon him yet it is rumoured (this is why we suggest an enquiry. – Ed.) that an anti-Sikh Professor of this College has had much influence upon him. The youth came from the Chiefs' college only last year to join the 1 Year Class in the Government College. *He belongs to a very high family, that of Sardar Hari Singh of Wahali in Jhelum District*". We hope the present head of the family, Sardar Hari Singh, has been informed of the event. There are as many as eighty Sikh students in the Government College, all exposed to the danger to which a few of them have already succumbed. The graveness of the situation is, therefore, clear enough." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 8th March 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 10, pp. 190–191*).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 10 March 1917**

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 10th March 1917, writes: –

"The apostacy of another Government College Sikh student has come like a bolt from the blue to the Sikh public. Every Sikh must have felt a twang of pain or wiped off a tear or two at this sad incident. The apostacy of the Government College Sikh students is, undoubtedly, a result of anti-Sikh influences. It is true that the Government institutions do not meddle in religious affairs. Indeed, they do not do so directly. But the indirect influence must not be ignored. It is the environment which exercise an overwhelming influence. The students of Darwin know the importance of environment in determining variations. It is this environment which is against the Sikhs in the Government College. The Professors of the College are anything but Sikhs and it is just possible that some of them many not hesitate to exercise their anti-Sikh influence. In fact, we cannot guarantee the religious health of our youths so long as there is not Sikh Professor at the spot to safeguard their interests, help them, offer them a suitable advice and counteract the malicious influence of the anti-Khalsas. *Our difficulties are inextricably associated with the anomalous constitution of the Government College Staff*. It is there where our rub lies. That is the root of the malady. It is there where we ought to strike. Let it be our fervent prayer to

the Director of Public Instruction to put an end to this Sikh grievance as soon as possible. Our readers will be pleased to hear that the boy Kisandev Singh is being reclaimed and will soon be restored to Sikhism." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 22nd March 1917. Vol. XXX, No. 12, pp. 231–232*).

### **Khalsa, 8 April 1923**

The *Khalsa* of the 8th April expresses satisfaction at the appointment of Bawa Harkishan Singh, M.A., as a Fellow of the Punjab University, but cannot at the same time help pointing out to the Chancellor that the number of Sikh Fellows is very small. It is really surprising that the Sikhs, who have so many institutions affiliated to the University, should have a very little hand in its management. (*Punjab Press Abstract. Vol. XXXVI. Lahore: The 14th April 1923. No. 15, p. 200*).

## **10 Sikh Educational Conferences**

### **Tribune, 13 April 1909**

Discussing the Sikh Educational Conference recently held at Lahore, the *Tribune* (Lahore), of the 13th April 1909, writes as follows: –

"The proceeding were diversified and interpreted with shabads from the ladies' gallery while the stentorian shouts of Sat Sri Akal in support of the resolutions for the cultivation of the Punjabi language and the introduction of the mother-tongue of the people into the curriculum of the schools in place of the stilted and artificial Urdu language lent an indescribably dignity and fervour to the proceedings, of which the ready and splendid response given by cash donations was a characteristic feature. The speeches made by the several speakers on both days and the papers read on the preceding day and the Punjabee rendering of the speeches of the President and the Chairman, Reception Committee, were an index to the richness, comprehensiveness and the capabilities of the Punjabee language while its musical diction, its harmonious flexibility and above all its capacity to reach the soul of the people were abundantly and strikingly evidenced in the unparalleled enthusiasm displayed in the proceedings. In course of several recitations, the names of some of the principal benefactors of the community happened to be mentioned and a call was made on each occasion on behalf of the audience to have a sight of them. Thereupon the Tikka Sahib of Nabha and Sir P.C. Chatterji on respective occasions were made to ascend the table and were greeted with resounding cheers of *Sat Sri Akal*. The whole proceedings bore unmistakable evidence as to the signal success of the Conference and the organisers of the Conference have

well deserved congratulations on account of the high educative and practical value of the gathering and the remarkable marshalling and array of reason and facts with which they vindicated the position of Punjab as the mother-tongue of the people and exploded the foolish as well as interested aspersions cast on this language as to its being an unsuitable vehicle of literary expression. The second sitting of the Conference may indeed be taken, by general acceptance a red letter day in the history of education in the province." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 17th April 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 16, pp. 341–342).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 17 April 1909**

Writing under the heading "Sardar Jogindar Singh's arguments," the *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 17th April 1909, says that in his inaugural address the President of the recent Sikh Educational Conference did not confine himself to purely educational matters, for the discussion of which, in all probability, the local University Hall was lent to the Sikhs, but went out of his way to dabble in politics. Adverting to the reform scheme, he dwelt on the advisability for Government's being strictly impartial to all communities, and conferring no special favours on any one of them. The Sikhs, Hindus, Gurkhas, Parsis, Christians and Musalmans, he said, should be looked on by the authorities with an equal eye. He hastened to add, however, that if any sect deserved preferential treatment it was the followers of the Gurus. After pointing out the contradictory nature of the two statements, the Editor enquires whether Government can attend to the words of those who can shift their ground in the space of one minute. Again, Sardar Jogindar Singh asks Government to treat no particular community with partiality, but what has he got to say in the matter of the different Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab making special concessions to facilitate the collection of funds for the Khalsa College, Amritsar? Continuing, the paper contends that the Sikhs form part and parcel of the Hindu community, and endeavours to justify the conduct of Government in lending a helping hand to Musalmans, who are less educated than Hindus, to prevent their being left behind in the race of progress. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 24th April 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 17, p. 351).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 5 April 1910**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 5th April 1910, publishes a paragraph headed "Panjabi and *Jhatka*." The paper says that at a recent meeting of the Khalsa Conference the president devoted the greater part of his inaugural address to advocating the cause of the Panjabi language and the desirability of its introduction in schools in place of Urdu. After remarking that the question will be



discussed hereafter, the paper says that the Conference has not only passed a resolution in support of Panjabi, but has passed another resolution in which it is held that the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, should be requested to permit the use of *Jhatka* meat in the Boarding-houses of the Punjab schools. It is difficult to say how far Sikh gentlemen will succeed in gaining the object by the agitation which they have set up, but nobody knows better than the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, that the introduction of *Jhatka* meat in Boarding-houses in the Punjab, is calculated to lead to serious trouble and inconvenience. Besides, where is the necessity for introducing a new order of things in Boarding-houses when Sikh students have been passing their days in them so far without difficulty or trouble? (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 9th April 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 14, p. 328).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 10 March 1911**

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 10th March 1911, publishes the following communication from "A Sikh": –

"The Sikh community is now confronted by a great crisis. It is educationally backward as compared with its sister communities even in the Land of Five Rivers where it took its birth. It is consequently at a loss to explain its position and lay bare the high ideals of its constitution. This is one of the main reasons which is thwarting its cause and checking its progress. Be it said to the everlasting credit of the Sikh Educational Conference that it has awakened among the Sikhs an interest in secular education, but it must be clearly recognized that it has not as yet been able to initiate an organized plan to start educational institutions according to a definite and uniform system. The inevitable result is that every *jatha* of the Sikhs is trying to start such institution, in many cases without even a rudimentary knowledge and material requisite to start and maintain such institutions.

"Yet another drawback in the Sikh community which is helping its disintegration is the want of accurate knowledge of Sikh religion itself. The old Sikh religious men, with some noble exceptions, have been spoiled in the first instance by the *jagirs* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and secondly by the indiscriminate charity of the community. Such have in numerous cases turned or are turning our religious institutions into so many personal ships where they are practically selling the *Gurbani* and using their high positions to their own financial advantage. These acts jar on the sentiments of educated Sikhs who naturally do not respect them. The consequence is that the old religious leaders, whose duty and privilege it would have been to cement the community into one great and strong unit, are dividing it into petty clans of their personal followers.

"There is a regular mania abroad to have Conferences. The non-Sikhs or the short-sighted Sikhs who wish to recruit their followers from among the Sikh community are setting up caste Conferences. There is a Brahman Conference which is taking back into the fold of case the Sikhs who joined the Panth from among the Mohyals and other castes of the Brahmans. There is a Khatri Conference which is carrying back into the Khatri fold the Sikhs who came from the Khatri castes. The same can be said of the Viskarma sabha, the Lubana Sabha, the Ahluwalia Sabha, the Kayseth Conference, the Arorbans Conference and a hundred other similar Conferences, or Sabhas.

"Happily an institution named the Khalsa Vidiyala has come into existence at Tarn Taran. This school of divinity has been working silently and unostentatiously. It has already sent out 14 young Parcharaks, after taking them through a course of two years. The number of boarders who are now receiving religious instructions is only 50.

"Gratifying indeed as is all this we should not ignore the fact that the number of Updeshaks likely to be turned out is still far too inadequate for the work of reviving and resuscitating religious zeal in about two crores of Sikhs. If the hercular task is to be accomplished this number will have to be multiplied several times. In this respect, it must be regretfully admitted, we have hardly stepped out of the infancy stage.

"While so many forces are at work and so much remains to be done, it needs no proof that if gigantic measures are not taken at once to save the Sikh community from impending disruption, the Panth will be divided and subdivided into small sections, religious, social, and communal, until it is eventually absorbed once more into the caste system which has proved itself the ruin and the bane of India." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 18th March 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 11, p. 279).

#### ***Khalsa Advocate*, 17 March 1911**

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 17th March 1911, publishes the following: –

"The first and foremost question that deservedly occupied prominent attention at the previous sessions of the Conference and ought to do so again is the question of our mother-tongue, the Panjabi language. The question deals with several departments, schools, public service and the University. As regards schools the 3rd session of the Conference reiterated the prayer that Primary Education at least may be imparted through the medium of the Panjabi language, the mother-tongue of the Panjabis. This is a question which is essentially sound and educationally correct. The question of script or characters which form merely the vehicle of expression is but a secondary matter as compared

with the question of language which is vitally important. And yet strange as it is, the voice of controversy has ranged itself around the question of alternative script. We attach the highest importance to the necessity and desirability of choosing an easy, intelligible and systematized script. When it comes to that, Gurmukhi will be prepared to make good its claims.

“But the first question is that of language. Whatever the script adopted by individual communities or societies, the necessity of imparting instruction in the primary standard at least in the language of the child’s mother can hardly be questioned or denied by any rational being. Highest educational authorities in this province and elsewhere agree that the mother-tongue of the child cannot be dispensed with in imparting the earliest education.

“The whole educational world is agreed that the best medium of instruction in the earliest stages at all events is the child’s mother-tongue. That is, we believe, the opinion of eminent educational authorities in this province. Still the child, when he enters the school, is put to learn a language which is clearly not his mother-tongue. Any one who has read through our schools knows what a hard nut the child of five finds in an arrangement which condemns him not only to pick up his alphabet but also words and phrases entirely foreign to his home.

“No simplification of Urdu words and phrases can appreciably mitigate the hardship or remove the causes of the difficulty. Even if the words could be the same, which in most they are not, it does not make the language the mother-tongue. If the two were identical, why adopt the unnatural arrangement at all, why not have Panjabi primers and readers rather than Urdu? Were it a question of mere name, the champions of Urdu would readily give away. It is because it is not so that so much dust is kicked by many of them to cloud the real issue. The consequence is that the province must remain considerably handicapped, until and unless the root cause is removed. Once that is done, primary education, both for boys and girls, will take a big leap forward and assume a normal position. Sir Louis Dane has on several occasions expressed himself in favour of the claims of Panjabi. The Conference at Rawalpindi will, we trust, once more appeal to His Honour to place the mother-tongue of the province on its true footing of predominance, and see that the unnatural handicap from which it at present suffers is removed once for all.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 25th March 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 12, p. 305).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 8 March 1912**

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of 8th March 1912, has the following under the heading “An excellent example”: –

"In a recent issue we made an urgent appeal to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Sikh soldiers of His Imperial Majesty's Indian forces to throw in their weight and influence on the side of strengthening the Sikh Educational Conference. We urged that as a lever of uplift for the Sikh community the Conference has done good work in the past, but that in the future with the august personality of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief interested in the cause of Sikh welfare and progress and with the loyal and devoted Sikh soldiers of all ranks taking their proper share in the cause of the educational and social progress of the community, the Conference is bound to take a bit leap forward. The cause of the Conference is so noble and beneficial and withal so unexceptionable in every way that we can look the sympathy and support of all well-wishers of the Sikhs community. Sir O'Moore Creagh has earned the reputation of being a true and generous friend of all who have the privilege to serve under him. And we respectfully trust that the cause of the Sikh Educational Conference will not fail to commend itself to His Excellency's sympathetic and generous consideration. As it is we feel that a beginning has already been made in the direction suggested. We have learnt with the greatest pleasure that two troops of Sikh cavalry stationed at Sialkot have set the ball rolling. All officers and men have contributed on day's pay and Rs. 100 in each case from the Regimental funds. This is an excellent beginning. The officers and men at Sialkot have set an example that deserves to be richly followed by all Sikh ranks in the Indian Army. The officers in particular deserve to be heartily congratulated on their ready and willing cooperation and support and have not only earned the thanks of the men under command but of the whole Sikh community. Our grateful thanks are due in a special manner to His Excellency Sir O'Moore Creagh under whose sympathetic regime the Sikh officers and men are permitted to take interest in and join the Conference. To His Excellency in the name of the community we beg to offer our heartfelt gratitude and trust His Excellency will be able to see his way to permit all Sikh officers and men as may desire to attend the Conference sessions to do so. We deeply appreciate the action of the Sikh cavalry troops at Sialkot, and trust their example will be followed and without loss of time by all Sikh units in the army." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 16th March 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 11, p. 189).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 8 March 1912**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of 8th March 1912: – "The news will be hailed with unstinted delight and heartfelt gratification by the whole Panth that His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur of Patiala has been offered and has kindly accepted the Presidentship of the Fifth Sikh

Educational Conference to be held at Sialkot. There is ample reason for rejoicing in this announcement. Many and varied are the reasons which doubtlessly suggested and which go to make His Highness' selection as eminently in the fitness of things. "My House is thy House" was said by the 7th Guru Sahib, Sri Guru Har Rai Sahib ji, of the house of which His Highness is the honoured and august representative. The oneness of which the Guru Sahib spoke makes the Patiala house dear to every Sikh heart and the Guru Sahib's blessing rests on the House and its representative. During the short time which has elapsed since the Maharaja Sahib was installed on the guddee [gaddi] of his forefathers, His Highness has shown by abundant acts that he has the best interests of the Panth at heart. He introduced Gurmukhi as the language our courts and offices in his State and thus showed not only his love for the mother-tongue of the Province but also his appreciation of the fact that the education of the masses can only and best be undertaken in their own tongue. Such is the verdict of educational authorities all over the world and His Highness deserves to be congratulate on his realization in practice of that great educational truth. By his handsome and princely donation of one lakh and twenty thousand rupees for the erection of the London Gurdwara the Maharaja Sahib has stamped his name in modern Sikh annals as one who feels for the Sikh religion and is anxious to provide the required facilities to those who, living in a distant land, are still anxious to conform to the traditions of their community and to learn and teach the truths that are to be found in their sacred scriptures. The Gurdwara at London will stand out in the European world as the centre and fountain spring of Sikh teaching and to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Patiala will belong the undying credit of having provided it. It is hardly necessary for us to mention other acts of His Highness' sympathy with and solicitude for the welfare and progress of the community which is proud to count as its own. As an administrator the Maharaja Sahib has already won golden opinions from all classes of his subjects and we have no doubt but that with increasing opportunities His Highness will continue to win their affections in an ever-increasing degree. It is sufficient to say that the Panth has come to know His Highness well and to highly respect him for his many qualities of the head and the heart. The opinion is universal from one end of the Province to the other, that no better choice could have been made, nor could any other selection have given the Panth such deep and heartfelt gratification as in the present case. The Conference is proud to possess the genuine and abiding sympathy of able and high-minded administrators like His Honour Sir Louis Dane to whom the Sikh community can never be too grateful for their kind interest. And the personal co-operation and guidance of thoughtful and enlightened rulers like His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Patiala will be a further guarantee on the one hand of the success of the Conference will steer its way clear of

all shoals and quicksands." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 16th March 1912*, Vol. XXV, No. 11, p. 190).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 12 April 1912**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar) of 12th April 1912: –

"Easter like Christmas has become a season of conferences. The now life pulsating in the nerve cells of the twentieth century India finds its articulate expression in these assemblies. For the Sikhs the Educational Conference has come to take the place of the old Diwans.

"The Sialkot brothers, conscious of the paucity of workers in their midst, set early to work with laudable zeal and singleness of purpose. It is too late now to re-call the spade work done during the twelve months of watching and waiting. March went and the month of conference came. Sialkot became alive with bustle, until the 4th day of April saw crowds of eager, practical horny handed sons of the lands of the five rivers with here and there a necktie or a pair of spectacles as indicative of the fact that the Romantic Past is in serious struggle with the victorious present and that the latter is daily encroaching upon the domains of the former.

"To a Sikh familiar with the accounts of the old Sikh gatherings when love was the sole God on the throne of our democracy, the chorus of numerous persons and groups chanting divine hymns as the trains whistled away through the smiling plains or rattled over the mighty rivers recalled the happy old days: –

"When every morning brought a noble chance,

"And every chance brought out a noble knight.

"The 5th of April dawned and the clear blue sky unveiled itself over the pretty canvas town that had sprung up on the sacred spot hallowed by the reminiscences of the beloved Guru Nanak. All hearts were agog for the hour when the special train of the Premier Prince of the Punjab – the hope and head of the Phulkians – was to steam up in their midst. The buntings and festoons were but a poor reflex of the leaping hearts. About mid-day it was bruited forth though without authority that the 'observed of all observers was expected at about 3 PM' Long before that hour the crowds began to pour into the station with their eager, intent eyes. Hour after hour struck away but no certain news. Delayed hopes began to ebb down into suspense and at last the heartless wire cast down the words that His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Patiala had to be unavoidably absent. Who would judge of the gloom, despondency and even despair of ten thousand hearts.

"But the wistful crowds were not left long in this dejection, for a short hour and a half fleeted away the clock struck half past four and lo! and behold! Sardar Jogindra Singh and the Hon'ble Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia alighted from the train and received an ovation which in spite of the reaction which the

Maharaja's telegram had caused in the spirits of the expectant multitude was very enthusiastic. A procession was then formed which extended over more than a mile and comprised more than fifteen thousand souls.

"We can barely tough the camp arrangements. Long rows of tents had been pitched with separate blocks for the several towns and 'ilaqas' with lamps and with carpets of nature. The Reception Committee had spared no pains to afford all possible comfort to the guests and they fully earned the admiration of the visitors. The Pandal arrangements were elaborate and praiseworthy.

"On the 6th, the doors were opened about an hour and a half before the proceedings commenced. It was bare in time that some 8,000 people including over 2,000 ladies could find their seats. So great was the concourse!

"Sardar Jogindra Singh Sahib was, on entry, received with loud and sky-lifting shouts of 'Sat Sri Akal.'

"After Bhai Takht Singh had offered a fervent prayer, S. Kharak Singh, B.A., the President of the Reception Committee, welcomed the guest in a striking speech. Next the President Sardar Jogindra Singh delivered his address which, considering the short spelling of time at his disposal, was indeed a creditable performance with illuminating, bold and straightforward expressions on a few of the momentous problems. Dr. Harnam Singh, S. Sadhu Singh, Bhai Bishan Singh Das, Puri, M.A., and others addressed the audience. The students of the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyala, Ferozepore, Kairon, Lahore and Sialkot enlivened and relieved as well as edified those present with their divine hymns. The excellent poem of Bhai Santokh Singh was as usual much appreciated.

"There was much stuff as well as beauty in most of the speeches but sooth to say, we rose from the proceeding with a sense of cloud on our brows probably caused to a certain extent by an undertone of thought created by the unfortunate absence of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib.

"The next was the day of real and unqualified success. The tone of the papers read as well as speeches delivered was indeed very high. Papers of Bhai Jodh Singh, M.A., Sardar Dyal Singh, Man, Sardar Ladha Singh, B.A., LL.B, were delivered. It was, besides, on that day the stirring speech of Mr. Puran, extolling the Sikh creed as the 'summum bonum' of the world's faith was heard with rapturous attention and vociferous repeated shouts of Sat Sri Akal. Kaka Samund Singh, who though of seven or eight years, is gifted with a masterly skill in music, held the audience spell bound with his sweet hymns.

"On an appeal being made for the National Fund more than Rs. 40,000 in hard cash, was subscribed. Rupees twenty one-thousand being donated by His Highness alone.

"Sardar Shivdev Singh announced the inauguration of the High Department in the Khalsa High School, Sialkot. About Rs. Twenty thousand were subscribed on the spot and Sirdar Jogindra Singh held out hopes, that His Highness too,

would donate a handsome amount. It was estimated that about 1½ lakhs were promised or given for different institutions.

"Bibi Agya Kaur, the wife of our worthy labourer Bhai Takht Singh, delivered an eloquent address of female education.

"A number of Resolutions were adopted which we will give in our next issue.

"The President then thanked the Reception Committee for their labours. Sardar Shivdev Singh asked forgiveness for any shortcoming that might have been detected in the arrangements for the comfort of the visitors.

"The 'punctual servant of the world' had retired for rest before the Khalsa rose for the closing prayer. So great was the interest that though all had sat for about ten hours at a stretch yet they were loth to disperse. Amid the deafening shout of 'Sat Sri Akal' and after the chorus of the divine song 'My hopes and desires have been fulfilled, O Lord' thousands lined back to their quarters or to the Railway Station longing to see such an assembly once more in Ambala which had invited the Conference for the next year. It is interesting to note here that some 32 delegates handed over their fees and 275 maunds of grain were promised for Langar on the spot for the next year." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 20th April 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 16, pp. 294–295).

#### ***Khalsa Advocate*, 14 June 1913**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 14th June 1913: –

"Brother Gulab Singh, Secretary, sends us a copy of the following resolutions passed at a meeting of the Sikh Sangat of Campbellopur: –

"(1) The Sangat records their deep sense of regret at the indifferent conduct of the *Tribune* and other journals in the province, which all themselves undenominational and impartial, in their not promptly inserting or avoiding to insert in full the proceedings of that greatest assemblage of the Sikhs, the Sikh Educational Conference, and resolved that the Chief Khalsa Diwan be requested to remove this dependence of the Panthic movements on others, by bringing the *Khalsa Advocate* on a permanent footing and make it a daily paper, for which purpose giving a pecuniary aid from the Educational Committee of that body will be a step in the right direction.

"(2) The Sangat record their deepfelt grief at the sad demise of Mr. Arthur Macauliffe, the renowned author of 'Sikh Religion' and commentator in English of the holy Sikh scriptures, who accomplished this noble task at a great personal sacrifice; and request the Chief Khalsa Diwan to concert means to memorise his services to the Panth by means of a suitable memorial.

"(3) At the Rawalpindi Sessions of the Sikh Educational Conference, an appeal being made by Sardar Jagendra Singh, Home Minister, Patiala, for a national fund to meet the educational demands of the Panth, subscriptions



had commenced, but the amount collected up till now is too inadequate for the object. The Sangat therefore proposes that suitable arrangements should be made to collect Rs. 1 from each Sikh house in the Province. To being with, the Sangat have formed a committee which has started its work of collecting Rs. 1 per house at Campbellpur.

“These resolutions are too plain and explicit to call for detailed comments by us. The prejudice with which the proceedings of the Sikh meetings are received by the non-Sikh papers, and the difficulty and trouble that the various Sikh bodes meet with in making their work known to the country through their medium, are clearly known to every Sikh who has his heart feeling for the Panth. That the Sikh cause is very often misrepresented by such organs is daily regretted. But no remedial means are adopted to remove this evil or at least counteract it. The object with which the *Khalsa Advocate* was started is not unknown to the Panth, but its past career of over a decade proves how far the Khalsa nation realizes the necessity of an English organ of its own in these days of publication and controversy. The service which with all its financial difficulties the *Khalsa Advocate* has done and is doing can be fairly judged by all impartial minds. The loss that its extinction may cause the community can then better be imagined than described. It can only be estimated by an imagination of the advantage that the communities who have each a larger number of strong organs to defend it over those who have each a smaller number of organs or no organ to espouse its cause. Does it stand in need of a proof that in the English Raj a community cannot adequately make its presence felt in the world if it has not an English organ of its own. But there is a community in the Punjab which, notwithstanding its unquestionable prominence and respectability as a resourceful and prosperous nation, cannot managed to maintain a permanent English organ of its own. It is not a pity that our neighbour's examples of success do not move us to rise equal to the occasion? Among the Hindus and the Moslems a paper is started to-day, and in spite of there being already a large number of papers prosperously existing, its circulation increases by leaps and bounds, swelling from hundreds into thousand and from a thousand into many thousands till with a single leap it appears as a ‘Daily.’ *But it is the Khalsa Panth, conspicuous in the Province for having never seen a daily of its own – what though, it is well and widely known that there is no lack of money or resources in it – alas!* We are proud of being 30 lakhs in number, but how many organs in Gurmukhi, Urdu and English, and how many of them are on permanent footings? Would that the indifference and apathy of the non-Sikh journals like the *Tribune* moved us to look to our own house. For our part we will thankfully receive any suggestion that is sent us on the subject of bettering the condition

of the *Khalsa Advocate* and will commend the same to the prompt attention of its Managing Committee.

"We have more than once referred to the invaluable service that the late Mr. Macauliffe rendered to the Panth. His immortal work will ever remind us of our duty to memorise his services in some suitable shape. It is gratifying that a proposal has been made at Rawalpindi and Delhi to accomplish this object, and we are confident that as our brothers at other *places*, following suit, there will be a unanimity of opinion on the subject, necessitating the establishment of a Central Library in memory of Mr. Macauliffe. We hope to revert to this subject in a separate article in some future issue."

(*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 21st June 1913*, Vol. XXVI, No. 25, pp. 551–552).

### ***Khalsa Advocate*, 28 June 1913**

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 28th June 1913, publishes the following:—

"To introduce and encourage means of education is the supreme aim and object of the Sikh Educational Conference, and so it has shown to be wherever it has assembled. This year it falls to the lot of Jullundur city to benefit from its blessings. No doubt, it is a matter of standing slur that a tract with its teeming Sikh population should have, altogether, been destitute of an institution capable of imparting education to so many hundreds of Sikh youths coming out every year. It was a question no doubt that had been for long confronting the whole Sikh community. Several times did they attempt to make up the gap and several times did they fail, but all this acted to spur their efforts on in the cause. It was reserved for our American brethren to take the lead. With a steady and resolute mind accompanied by an equal amount of zeal and enthusiasm did they come forward to solve once for all the long-pending question. Their assurance to raise for the purpose as large a sum as rupees one lac only opened the way for fresh and more vigorous efforts on the part of their stay-at-home brethren in the Doaba. These efforts, we are glad to notice, have now taken their start in the shape of holding the 7th Sikh Educational Conference in the old and historic town of Jullundur.

"Now the Reception Committee of the Conference, organized as it is under the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble Sardar Daljit Singh, the Premier Rais of the Ilqa and the worthy President of the 3rd Sikh Educational Conference held at Amritsar, contemplates the establishment of a first class ideal Khalsa High School in the town as the final fruit of the Conference, and so has issued a stirring appeal for a couple of lucas [lakhs] of rupees, half of which is, as aforesaid, to be subscribed by the American Khalsa alone and the other half to be realised

from the local Sikhs in the shape of individual subscription of membership of the said Reception Committee. The progress so far achieved may be counted as hopeful record for the future. About 252 members with a substantial amount of money have been registered, and the work of securing fresh aid is vigorously proceeding all over the Doaba. But while keenly watching the progress of the work, it would not be out of place to urge upon the sympathetic mind of all the Doaba Sikhs residing far and distant the urgency of their throwing themselves heart and soul into co-operation with their fellow-workers, whose number is very much limited. Let those upon whom this exceptionally small band has not as yet been able to make a call realise of themselves the necessity of contributing and securing from others also, whatever quota of aid they can best afford, whether in the shape of money, grain, or time, thus all uniting their efforts towards making this grand undertaking easy of success. There lies the duty of each and every educated Sikh of Doaba, whether at home or abroad, the performance of which is early expected by the entire Panth." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 5th July 1913*, Vol. XXVI, No. 27, pp. 600–601).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 24 January 1914**

In a leader the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 24th January 1914, publishes the following: –

"Let us remind each individual among the Sikhs that he is morally bound to do some work, however humble it may be, towards the promotion of the Sikh Conference, towards its success. It is a national movement affecting the whole Panth. Without any regard to the various factions which unfortunately have sprung up among us, our chief goal towards which we have to move is to educate ourselves for our spiritual as well as material advancement. The root of such advancement lies in the general education of the community. We have not got as yet even one successful Khalsa High School at the district head-quarters of such localities where Sikh population is very great. Until this is done we cannot think of other districts where the Sikhs are not numerous. We cannot ignore the requirements of such localities. Under the circumstances our full attention has not been devoted towards establishing middle schools at the head-quarters of each tahsil in the Sikh population and sufficient number of primary and village schools in the mufassil. We are similarly wanting in our organization of starting female schools. In short the work done up to the present though it is creditable to our great community shows most clearly that it is an insignificant one. We should therefore lose no time to do our duty. Let every educated Sikh realize his duty and try his best to popularize the movement and turn the tide of our national charity towards the funds

of their sacred work. Other Indian communities are fortunately this time to found their universities but the great philosophy of our Saviour Guru Gobind Singh Ji that the Sikhs will have their Kanshi, *i.e.*, a place of great learning or university at Damdama Sahib in the Ferozepore District, is awaiting fulfilment. We have been neglecting this subject so much so that we have not as yet established even a Khalsa High School in the Ferozepore District." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 31st January 1914*, Vol. XXVII, No. 5, p. 131).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 31 January 1914**

Writing under the heading 'Subjects for discussion in the next Conference,' the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 31st January 1914, publishes the following: –

"To be a Munshi or a Babu on small salaries is not the object for which we meet every year and we do not also wish to bring in European fashion alone by means of foreign education. We should be better Sikhs and better bread earners than we are at present. If the son of carpenter or that of a mason can easily earn forty rupees a month he should try at least to earn rupees hundred a month and at the same time should be found better in faith, behaviour and character than his forefathers. In the similar manner sons of traders should earn more and turn out better Sikhs than their forefathers. If this is not the case we are not moving in the right direction. To disorganize the present Sikh society is not the aim which we are to seek by our Conferences. We do not say that we should not care to seek after Government service. Let us have it by all means as we have every right to take a prominent share in the Government of our country, but the chief means of our maintenance lies outside of such occupation. We should try to be better class of agriculturists, carpenters, blacksmiths, traders, religious preachers, &c., &c., and should also improve the method of land-holding. We should not waste our energy, time and wealth in domestic quarrels, litigation and misbehaviour. It is easy to earn money but difficult to use the earned money in a proper way. Under the name of education several Sikh students are lavishly wasting their parent's hard-earned money. They consider that change of dress, *i.e.*, suited booted appearance, is enough to earn their livelihood. They further consider that by change of appearance they can command better respect from their countrymen and esteem from their rulers than they would do otherwise. Nothing is more absurd than this understanding. Young Bengal has found out its mistake. The young generation in that country is now reverting to their old social method of living. The thoughtful Sindhis are taking seriously feeling that their young generation is mistaken in aping the costly European fashion. The time is not far off when we Indians will learn that our expenditure in aping European fashion is wasteful. Let us,

the Sikhs, therefore see this and save ourselves from the mistake which young Bengal has found out after the loss of enormous money. We do not say that we should learn nothing from Europe. On the other hand we say that we should learn everything from the West which is good and useful. Let us learn the broad feeling for humanity. This noble lesson is the backbone of Sikhism. We should also learn the great lesson of organization which is the life of Khalsaism. We should further learn the upright and high character, the method of promptly applying ourselves to our various duties, the duties which have made the West a country of great nations in the world. All such qualities are Sikhlike, and they never detract us from our faith, which on the other hand is greatly strengthened. Another important class of subjects would be those which are connected to our duty of uplifting our females through education, secular, physical, moral and spiritual. Though we have a number of schools both Primary and Middle as well as high school (Kanya Maha Vidyalā) but we have not got a sufficient number of female teachers. We have, therefore, to depend upon the supply of non-Sikh mistresses. The object of the kind of education which we wish to impart to our females is not therefore being fully obtained. The chief object of female education among our schools is to impart religious and moral education along with the material education which the present-day system of general education in the country is intended to afford. Our mothers are better conversant with Gurbani than our daughters. In the same way our mothers possess better physical strength than our daughters do at present." (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 7th February 1914*, Vol. XXVII, No. 6, pp. 154–155).

#### ***Khalsa Akhbar*, 24 April 1914**

Writing under the heading "The Sikh Educational Conference, Jullundur," the *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lyallpur), of the 24th (received on the 29th) April 1914, says that during the said Conference Sardar Harchand Singh tried to invite the attention of the Secretary of the Chief Khalsa Diwan to the Rikabganj Gurdwara affair, but that he was hooted, insulted and was subsequently compelled to leave the Conference Hall. Although, says the paper, Sardar Harchand Singh was treated with contumely, yet the humiliation to which he was subjected is very small as compared with that he is prepared to suffer in connection with the *Gurdwara* affair. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 2nd May 1914*, Vol. XXVII, No. 18, p. 453).

#### ***Khalsa Akhbar*, 2 April 1915**

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 2nd April 1915, reproduces from the *Khalsa Samachar* and the *Sher-i-Punjab* a report of the proceedings of a meeting of

the Sikh Educational Committee held at Amritsar on the 28th March to consider the question of postponing the Sikh Conference. The paper writes: –

“The *Khalsa Samachar* gives the following reasons for the postponement of the Conference: –

- (1) Exhibition of the Granth Sahib (at the meeting),
- (2) Present critical times,
- (3) The dreadful European war, and
- (4) The new law in connection with the war.

We want to ask whether the question of the exhibition of the Granth Sahib was a new one, which turned the head of the Committee. The question has been before the Panth since the third session of the Conference. It is strange that for nearly three or four months the Committee did not realise the dreadful effects of the movement, but expressed its brave spirit in the nick of time. But why should it not do so when there is none to question it? Natural leaders! It does not matter, you may go on doing whatever you like and find means to make fools of the community after your liking. But bear in mind that this ‘natural leadership’, ‘under-hand dealings’ and ‘Chief Diwanship’ will not prove useful to you for any length of time.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 10th April 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 15, p. 194).

#### ***Panth Sewak*, 2 April 1915**

The *Panth Sewak* (Lahore), of the 2nd April 1915, says it is not the war, but some other reason, which has led the authorities of the Conference to postpone its session. Taking all facts into consideration, it must be admitted that the conduct of the Chief Khalsa Diwan is postponing the Conference is highly objectionable and disgraceful. The *Khalsa Samachar* holds that the question of paying special regard to the *Granth Sahib* is mainly responsible for the decision. Will not the community express displeasure over the conduct of these self-willed leaders in postponing the Conference, and will it not call upon the latter to explain their conduct? The postponement may create a misunderstanding in the minds of the Sikhs regarding the attitude of the Government towards the Conference, but the Sikh community should rest assured that our benign Government has no hand in postponing the meeting. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 17th April 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 16, p. 206).

#### ***Loyal Gazette*, 4 April 1915**

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore), of the 4th April 1915, says that the situation is such that it would have proved very dangerous and extremely injurious for the community to have held the Sikh Educational Conference in these days. A few

months hence the Conference will be held in Ferozepore itself with increased success and splendour. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 17th April 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 16, p. 206).

### ***Desh*, 6 April 1915**

Writing about the postponement of this year's Sikh Conference, which was to be held during the Easter Holiday, the *Desh* (Lahore), of the 6th April 1915, remarks that there are some people who attribute the postponement to Government. But the fact is quite different. The Conference in question was postponed simply because party feeling was at work among the Sikhs. There is a party among the Sikhs, which asserts that the present system on which the affairs of the Conference are managed is worthless and objectionable, inasmuch as the Conference is managed by despotic principles and is merely a puppet in the hands of a few persons who are the undisputed masters of the Khalsa Diwan. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 10th April 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 15, p. 194).

### ***Sher-i-Punjab*, 7 April 1915**

The *Sher-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 7th April 1915, writes: –

“The *Desh* remarks that there are people who attribute the postponement of the Conference to the Government and say that this was done on account of the pressure of the Government. We can, however, confidently affirm that none made this remark and that no Sikh entertains these views. Such ideas have been spread by bigoted Arya Samajists, and the *Desh* is now responsible for them.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 17th April 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 16, p. 207).

### ***Desh*, 22 October 1915**

In the course of an article reviewing the proceedings of the Sikh Educational Conference at Ferozepore, the *Desh* (Lahore), of the 22nd October 1915, takes exception to a remark made by the president in the course of his speech that “those who claim equality with their masters cannot but be subjected to trouble in the end and deserve to be degraded.” Such a remark betrays gross inexperience and ignorance. A century ago the East India Company announced that there was no governing caste in India. This announcement was supported by Queen Victoria twenty-five years later. Her Majesty's proclamation is the most sacred heritage of the Indian people, and it seeks to place Indians on a footing of equality. This equality was also acknowledged by King Edward VII. During the present war references has on several occasions been made to the national greatness of Indians and their equality within the British Empire; and

whatever misunderstanding remained about the question has been removed by a resolution recently passed in the Viceregal Council, by which India will be duly represented on the Imperial Conference in the same way as the Colonies will be. In face of all this it betrays inexperience on the part of the president of the Sikh Educational Conference to declare that we should not claim equality, and it shows that he desires that Indians should decline. His speech is an indelible blot on the success of the Sikh Educational Conference at Ferozepore, a stain which the Sikh press should endeavour to remove by an outspoken protest against the remark. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 30th October 1915.* Vol. XXVIII, No. 44, p. 643).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 23 December 1916**

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 23rd December 1916, says: –

“Elsewhere is given the full account of the special conference held in the Town Hall, Lahore, on the 17th instant under the presidentship of the Hon’ble Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia. As the names of those present show, the gathering was a most representative possible one, being attended by brothers from Peshawar and Hoti on the one hand and Delhi on the other, and the conveners are to be much congratulated on their invitations being so heartily responded to by the *panth*, though the time was alarmingly very short. The speeches were one and all to the one and the same point, *viz.*, that as there was at Lahore, the very capital of the province, no suitable place or means for the Sikh students and young men to meet together and exchange their views and the recent sad events testified to there being a crying want of such an arrangement, there should be a suitable movement (call it association, hostel, club, Gurdwara or by whatever name you like) to fulfil the want.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 17th January 1917.* Vol. XXX, No 2, p. 30).

***Panth Sewak*, 21 March 1917**

The *Panth Sewak* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 21st March 1917, remarks that the last Sikh educational conference discontinued the practice of opening Khalsa schools by the aid of the national fund and the forthcoming conference is trying to lay the axe at the root of Guru Nanak’s College. When such is the case, it is as useless to contribute to their funds as to select Sardar Sundar Singh of Majithia as a member of the Imperial Council. Has the Sikh community so far gained anything from the conference? How can it gain anything when the managers of the conference are merely selfish and self-centred toadies. If the latter give up their narrow-mindedness the members of the staff of all the Khalsa schools would be Sikhs and nothing but Sikhs. (*Selections from the*



*Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 5th April 1917. Vol. XXX, No. 14, p. 270).*

***Khalsa Akhbar*, 30 March 1917**

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 30th March 1917, remarks that in the course of his presidential address the President of the 1st Sikh Educational Conference stated that the greatest obstacle in the way of the educational progress of the Sikhs was the absence of religious instruction in the schools. But when we see what the Educational Conference did during the past ten years to meet this pressing need of the community we regret to say that it could not be called satisfactory. Only those persons can be held to be responsible for this state of affairs who have endeavoured to keep under their control the management of the Educational Conference which was considered by them to be a 'golden sparrow.' When the sincere servants of the community loudly complained against the destruction of the religious lives of the Sikh students owing to their being under the influence of non-Sikh teachers the Managers of the Conference did not even care to open their eyes and see for themselves the deplorable state of affairs. May shamelessness and want of self-respect be ruined and destroyed. In a Khalsa School which is more closely connected with the Educational Conference than other Sikh schools religious instruction is imparted in Urdu instead of Gurmukhi. But this maltreatment of Gurmukhi is surprising for the President of the Managing Committee of the said school is given to mean profession of selling liquor. It is extremely unjust that the hard-earned money of the Sikh community should be kept deposited in the bags of the Amritsar Bank alone and that the Sikhs living in villages should not be able to derive any benefit from the Conference in spite of the fact that its coffers are filled mostly by their money. As the Sikh community has sustained a heavy loss by relying on the clever doings of these selfish persons it is extremely necessary that it should endeavour to save itself from falling down. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 12th April 1917. Vol. XXX, No. 15, p. 292).*

***Khalsa Advocate*, 31 March 1917**

The following extract is taken from a leader in the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 31st March 1917: –

“The election of a personage of Sardar Harbans Singh of Ataris’ family renown, education and practical life, consecutively after that of Sardar Kharak Singh, B.A., at Tarn Taran and of Rev. Sant Attar Singhji at Ferozepore shows how our workers are now alive to their duty and how absolutely impartial feelings mark their deliberations. That Sardar Harbans Singh is a scholar and a

saint combined must evoke universal approval of his election as the President for the tenth sitting of our Educational Conference – even from the deadliest foes of the movement. And those who know how the ‘Giant of Lahore’, who had no equal in the Province as a half-back player at football and whose single kick from the centre was too irresistible for the other party to escape a goal, turned into a most peaceable and pious Sikh no sooner he left the College and took to serving the Guru Panth, need nothing from us to explain how he suits best the high position now entrusted to him by the nation. We are sure the choice must have been unanimous and the delight of the committee must have known no bounds when they received his consent, which was not so easily obtainable from such an unostentatious and unresuming mind as Sardar Harbans Singh’s.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 12th April 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 15, p. 292*).

#### ***Desh, 13 April 1917***

The *Desh* (Lahore, Hindu), of the 13th April 1917, alludes with great satisfaction to the success of the Sikh Educational Conference. An Indian journalist connected with an English paper who sat next to the Editor of the *Desh* at the reporters’ table remarked in all sincerity that he wanted to become a Sikh. The Manager of a Muhammadan newspaper also told the Editor that it would have been a great misfortune of his life if he had not seen the proceedings of the Conference and those who could not attend the Conference were very unfortunate. On hearing this, the Editor of the *Desh* congratulated the promoters of the Conference in his mind for the striking success which their Conference had achieved and the hold it had acquired over the minds of people. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 26th April 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 17, p. 326*).

#### ***Nau Ratan, 15 April 1917***

The *Nau Ratan* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 15th April 1917, commends the action of Sardars Harbans Singh and Joginder Singh on the occasion of the last Sikh Educational Conference in organizing a committee to remove Sikh differences. If their efforts prove successful, many good results will follow. Union is equally beneficial for all Sikhs. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 26th April 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 17, p. 327*).

#### ***Panth Sewak, 18 April 1917***

The *Panth Sewak* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 18th April 1917, in commenting upon the proceedings of the Sikh Educational Conference, says that from the Sikh point of view the procession that paraded through the Bazars of Lahore was

nothing better than a marriage procession. The President should have, on this occasion, proved himself the servant of the Guru and recited *shabds*, which he did not. When His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor left the *pandal*, proceedings became insipid and more than half the audience left the meeting. Professor Sher Singh delivered his speech in English and the public wondered why he did so when the audience and the lecturer both were Punjabis. Sardar Harbans Singh, President, put the garland, which was presented to him by the Muhammadan leaders, round the neck of Maharaja of Darbhanga and the public did not like this. On the 5th April the members of the Khalsa Diwan held a secret meeting at the Town Hall when the Diwan was praised and the reformers were abused. The public, however, knows that such opinions carry no weight, and it is significant that outside the *pandal* a notice was distributed criticizing the members of the Diwan. On the member of the Diwan drawing the attention of the police to this, one of the distributors was arrested. Though he was released after a day's detention still many people reproached the members of the Diwan for this cruelty. In one of his speeches, Sardar Harbans Singh gave very dangerous advice to the Sikhs in advising them not to give donations to any institution other than the Chief Khalsa Diwan, which would distribute funds to various institutions. The President also declared that if any man came to the *pandal* as an Arora or a Khatri, he should be turned out. After describing that Sundar Singh, a notorious and proclaimed dacoit of Amritsar, who committed several offences, was finally arrested by the police, the paper asserts that the end of the Chief Khalsa Diwan which is now making merry is approaching. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 26th April 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 17, pp. 326–327*).

#### ***Panth Sewak*, 25 April 1917**

The *Panth Sewak* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 25th April 1917, infers from a perusal of the President's speech that 'money' has been condemned. But admission tickets were charged for and strenuous efforts made and artifices devised to collect money. Again, Sardar Umrao Singh Majithia was praised in the speech as "a great virtuous man", though he has clipped his long hair in old age for the sake of a woman. Have not these words been uttered simply out of personal regard for Sardar Sunder Singh, as Sardar Umrao Singh is his brother? Did not the Educational Committee read these words? They must have read them; but they care little, if they themselves get their long hair clipped, smoke cigarettes and disregard all principles of Sikhism. Otherwise, the President has not right to praise a degraded person in a Conference. Again much stress was laid by the President on spirituality, neither the *Granth Sahib* was exhibited on the occasion nor did the promoters of the Conference care to pay a visit even to

Dera Guru Arjan Sahib. Sardar Rup Singh is now issuing a pamphlet, in which he charges the President and some other Sikh leaders with neither adhering to, nor believing in, the principles of Sikhism. It would have been much better if the author had taken the trouble of preparing and circulating the pamphlet before the Conference was held.

Commenting on the speech delivered by Agya Kaur at the Sikh Educational Conference, the *Panth Sewak* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 25th April 1917, quotes extracts from the Granth Sahib to show that the position of the husband is higher than that of the wife and asks the speaker to say whether, admitting for the sake of argument that the positions of the husband and the wife are equal in the Sikh religion, Sikh ladies can have four husbands when their husbands can marry four wives. How shameful it is, says the paper, that a lady should be allowed to deliver an absurd speech calculated to mislead all other women present on the occasion! What right has she to wear fancy clothes when her husband, Bhai Takht Singh, wears ordinary clothes? While Aryas, Sanatanists and Muhammadans are protecting against these dangerous fashions, Agya Kaur induces women from the platform of the Sikh Conference to adopt them freely. If such education is imparted to girls in the Kanya Maha Vidyalā, as must be the case, the barge of the Sikh community is sure to sink. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 10th May 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 19, pp. 363–364*).

#### ***Khalsa Samachar, 26 April 1917***

The *Khalsa Samachar* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 26th April 1917, reproduces the criticism of the *Panth Sewak* against the Sikh Educational Conference and endeavours to demolish its arguments. It contends that the Conference was a brilliant success. It also finds fault with Chanda Singh, who says that the teachings of the Gurus are devoid of learning and lofty thoughts and that they do not point out the right path. It is quite clear that he is insulting and dishonouring the teachings of the Guru. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 10th May 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 19, p. 364*).

#### ***Rajput Gazette, 28 April 1917***

The *Rajput Gazette* (Lahore, Hindu), of the 28th April 1917, states that the question has been settled at the last Sikh Educational Conference and the Sanatan Dharm Maha Sammelan that Sikhs are not separate from Hindus and they as much honour Sri Ram Chander and Bhagwan Krishan Chander as the latter do. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 10th May 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 19, p. 364*).

***Panth Sewak*, 9 May 1917**

A correspondent of the *Panth Sewak* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 9th May 1917, writes that this year some Hindu Rajas, Muhammadan leaders, and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor attended the Sikh Educational Conference, which for this reason attracted the special notice of the Lahore press. Our friends of the Khalsa Diwan are loudly proclaiming that the Conference was a great success and even the *Khalsa Samachar* is endorsing the optimistic view of non-Sikh papers. But the latter are unaware of the real rotten condition of the Conference and judge of it by its imposing exterior only. How can we, however, rejoice over the attendance of non-Sikh Rajas when we see that our Conference has not the power to attract our own Rajas? The *Khalsa Samachar* should be ashamed of its differential treatment of a *chaprasi* and a respectable Sikh preachers – of the respect it pays to the former for his association with the Khalsa Diwan and the contemptuous mention it makes of the latter because he is opposed to that body. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 24th May 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 21, p. 399.*)

***Khalsa Akbhar*, 11 May 1917**

From a perusal of the *Aror Bans Gazette*, the *Khalsa Akbhar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 11th May 1917, discovers that in his speech as a representative of the Sikh Educational Conference at the Sanatan Dharm Sammelan, Rai Bahadur Sadhu Singh, Joint Secretary of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, declared that Sikhs were Hindus. May God settle with such men who violate their principles in disregard of their responsibilities and the voice of their community simply to hear the resounding sound of cheers for a few seconds. If the Sikh community were alone, he would have been brought to his senses. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 24th May 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 21, p. 400.*)

***Sikhs and Sikhism*, 13 February 1918**

The *Sikhs and Sikhism* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 13th February 1918, writes: –

“It is an open secret that there is a difference between the Gujranwala Brothers and the Sikh Educational Committee about the utilization of the amount expected to be subscribed at the coming Conference. The Educational Committee still insists upon depriving the infant College of Gujranwala of any share whatsoever, in spite of the clear promises held out in the past.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 23rd February 1918. Vol. xxxi, No. 8, p. 113.*)

***Khalsa Advocate*, 10 March 1918**

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 10th March 1918, writes: –

“The march of the Conference has been forward, onward, and in the right direction, and the only question that should engage the attention of all its well-wishers is how the steady and systematic progress that it has been making can be accelerated in future. We must think out measures and we must devise out means by which the progress in the future may be greater than in the past, and the advance still more marked. Let the Panth rise to the full sense of the duty. Let the Gujranwala session show that we have awakened to the fullest sense in the matter. Let us also make it a point to exercise all the influence we possess over friends and relatives to induce each one of them to attend the ensuing year’s Conference. If we, one and all, are prepared to do that, does it require an oracle to foretell that the cause will make a magnificent progress, sudden and mighty of course, and our social and educational status will receive a healthy impetus?” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 23th March 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 12, p. 171*).

**11 Caste Based Conferences*****Khalsa Advocate*, 16 June 1917**

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 16th June 1917, says: –

“We fear that misguided and selfish people are trying to take us back to the depths of party spirit and distinctions. It is a pity that some of the Sikhs are trying to hold themselves aloof from others because some are Jats and others are Khattris. It would be tragical if the Sikhs ever succumbed to such temptations. A Jat Sikh Conference or Khatri Sikh Conference or an Arora Sikh Conference are humbug terms. A Sikh is a Sikhs – he is no Khatri, Jat, or Arora. Those mischievous people who persuade us to think like that or talk like that are like the wolf in the sheep’s clothing – they are Hindus under the garb of Sikhs sent in to sow dissension and split. They are the ‘spies’ of non-Sikhs, ever ready to throttle us and blow up our superstructure which took us centuries to build. We must treat these mean as ‘cheats’, ‘mischief-mongers’, or ‘point-faced spies’ and every drastic form of treatment should be accorded to them. We do not find much fault with non-Sikhs if they try to undermine our organization because mutual rivalries and jealousies are signs of life and growth. We, therefore, do not much object to the Hon’ble Lal Chand’s advocacy of the cause of Jats because it pays him to wean away Sikh and other sympathies under the semblance of a Jat. But we have got no toleration for that ‘Sikh’ who strikes at the root of our existence

by sowing the seed of caste and split. Such a one is a treacherous man – a traitor to the cause of our community. He should be an eyesore to us. His existence should be desecrated.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 5th July 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 27, p. 540*).

#### ***Ahluwalia Rajput, December 1917***

The *Ahluwalia Rajput* (Lahore, Organ of the Ahluwalia Rajput community), of the December 1917, says that when last year the Ahluwalia conference was held at Jullundur the *Loyal Gazette*, which appears to exist merely to create mischief, tried to cause a split in the Ahluwalia community by appealing to Ahluwalia Sikhs to stay away from the conference. It is pleasant, therefore, to find that the leaders of the Ahluwalia Sikhs are determined to abide by their community. The *Loyal Gazette* objects to the recent separate deputation of the Jat community. But why should not Jat community make separate demands when their rights are not safeguarded by the Sikhs? When the question of national progress and right comes to be debated nationality must precede religion. The Ahluwalia community should express its disapproval at the attempts of the *Loyal Gazette* to prevent the community's advance. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 19th January 1918. Vol. xxxi, No. 3, p. 46*).

#### ***Ahluwalia Rajput, February 1918***

The *Ahluwalia Rajput* (Lahore, Organ of Ahluwalia Community), of the February 1918, says that Ahluwalia Sikhs have realised that the Chief Khalsa Diwan is wholly in the hands of agricultural tribes and therefore they can expect no justice from it. This is why they declined to join the Sikh deputation and now they have decided to hold a conference of their own at Ambala during the Easter Holidays. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 2nd March 1918. Vol. xxxi, No. 9, p. 128*).

#### ***Loyal Gazette, 24 February 1918***

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 24th February 1918, condemns the proposed Bedi Conference and asks how the mansion of union can be erected over the foundation of caste distinction which themselves constitute a source of disunion. A Sikh who believes in caste distinctions cannot be a true follower of the Guru. All those new Conferences, therefore, which are being organized on the basis of caste distinctions should pass resolutions indicating their separation from Sikhism. If the proposed Bedi Conference adopts a resolution as suggested above, Sikhism will be purged of Gurudom and many reforms will at once become possible. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 2nd March 1918. Vol. xxxi, No. 9, p. 128*).

## 12 Sikh Zenana Conference

### *Khalsa Akhbar*, 15 June 1917

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 15th June 1917, remarks that the news will be heard with the greatest pleasure that great preparations are being made to hold the second session of the Sikh Zenana Conference at Amritsar. The session will be held on the 26th, 27th and 28th October 1917. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 5th July 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 27, p. 540*).

## 13 Punjabi and the Gurmukhi Script

### *Gurmukhi Akhbar*, 15 March 1882

The *Gurmukhi Akhbar* (Lahore) of the 15th March, referring to the memorial sent by some inhabitants of Lahore to the Educational Commission, urging the encouragement of Hindi in the Panjab, argues that Panjabi, as written in the Gurmukhi characters, is the language of the people in the province. The Government should encourage the use of the Panjabi language and the Gurmukhi characters. The Gurmukhi characters are more quickly written than the Hindi or Devanagiri characters. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Rajputana. Received up to 22nd March, 1882, p. 185*).

### *Anjuman-i-Panjab*, 12 April 1882

The *Anjuman-i-Panjab* of the 12th April publishes a long article in favor of vernacular instructions being given in the Punjab in Urdu and not in Panjabi. Panjabi cannot pretend to be an independent language. It consists of only about three thousand words. The Panjabi of one place differs from that of another place. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Rajputana. Received up to 19th April, 1882, p. 252*).

### *Panjabi Akhbar*, 29 April 1882

The *Panjabi Akhbar* (Lahore) of the 29th April, in opposition to the memorial forwarded by some natives of Lahore to the Education Commission, urging that elementary education in the Panjab should be given through the medium of Hindi and not Urdu, remarks that the movement has originated with the Bengalis and the educated Hindu youths of Lahore. They have secured signatures to the memorial by telling the people that in the memorial they merely ask



for the encouragement of Panjabi. They have wrongly represented Hindi and Panjabi as the same language in the memorial. The two languages are quite distinct. Supposing that the memorialists mean Panjabi and desire its encouragement, it should be observed that Panjabi cannot claim to be an independent language. It consists of only a few thousands of words. About thirty thousand words will have to be imported into it to raise it to the position of an independent language. If these words are imported from Arabic and Persian, as the Musalmans would propose, the Panjabi, so enriched, would be no other than the Urdu which is already extant. If these words are imported from Sanskrit, as the memorialists would suggest, a new language would be formed which they would call Hindi, but which the people in the province would not understand at all. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Rajputana. Received up to 3rd May, 1882*, pp. 289).

***Khalsa Bahadur, 13 December 1897***

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 13th December 1897, deprecates the Punjab Government's decision to close the Gurmukhi Schools in the Province on the ground that very few boys are willing to study that language. The information supplied to the Government is not quite correct. The fact is that both the teachers and the inspectors of these schools possess a very imperfect knowledge of Gurmukhi, and consequently boys do not come forward to join the Gurmukhi classes. Otherwise it is incredible that the Panjabis should be unwilling to study their mother-tongue. The Punjab Government should make further inquiries into the matter and extend the scheme formulated by Sir Charles Aitchison instead of abandoning it. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 18th December 1897*, Vol. x, No. 51, p. 1053).

***Khalsa Gazette, 15 December 1897***

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 15th December 1897, deprecates the Punjab Government's decision to close the Gurmukhi Schools in the Province on the ground that very few boys are willing to study that language. Has any subject ever been dropped out of the scheme of studies merely because of the aversion of students to learn it? It is a pity that while the study of Bengali, Marhatti, Gujrai, &c., is receiving encouragement from the authorities the Government of the Punjab is thinking of dealing a death blow to the study of Gurmukhi, which is another name for Punjabi. The Editor advises the Government not only to abstain from closing the Gurmukhi Schools, but to make Punjabi the

Court language in this Province. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 25th December 1897*, Vol. x, No. 52, p. 1063).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 1 January 1898**

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of 1st January 1898, remarks that Sir Charles Aitchison ordered the opening of several Gurmukhi Schools in the Punjab after making an exhaustive enquiry into the matter, and that it would be a great injustice if some of these schools were closed on the recommendation of one or two Inspectors or Headmasters. The Editor urges that the Government should publish the arguments brought forward by these Inspects and Headmasters in favour of closing the schools and so afford him a chance of refuting them. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th January 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 37).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 10 January 1898**

The *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 10th January 1898, remarks that the proposal to close the Gurmukhi Schools has caused great anxiety among the Sikh community, and that the Editor has received several letters from private gentlemen and the Singh Sabhas of the Punjab, all of which have passed resolutions urging that the Government instead of closing these schools should devise means for encouraging the study of the Gurmukhi language. The Editor promises to point out the advantages likely to result from the encouragement of Gurmukhi and the disadvantages that would accrue from the closing of such shols [sic]. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th January 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 37).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 31 March 1911**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 31st March 1911: –

“From a general advocacy of the claims of Punjabi and the eminent desirability and urgency of encouraging it in the Punjab, turn we now to the practical suggestions. For one thing we have urged times without number that education in the primary stage at all events should be given through the medium of the Panjabi language, whatever the script that might commend itself to individuals or bodies; in other words no considerations of preference of this or that alphabet should be permitted to stand in the way of the language itself being employed as the medium of instruction. Such a proposal is educationally sound and unchallengeable.

“*Secondly*, – Throughout the school course, adequate and efficient arrangement should be made to teach Punjabi language and literature.

*“Thirdly.* – It follows that the Punjabi language and literature should be made an alternative subject in the Matriculation and the Intermediate in Arts together with Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. Here, too, it must be evident that the Punjabi, as the mother-tongue of the pupil, ought to occupy in Punjab the position of the first language, as English does in England, German in Germany, French in France and Japanese in Japan. As regards a second language, it cannot be denied that in our case it is English with this obvious and remarkable difference that it requires and receives vastly greater time and attention than any second language elsewhere. We recognize, however, that the condition and claims of English as the language of our rulers, and as the language of world’s commerce, are peculiar and it is incumbent on us to devote increasing time and attention to it. We cannot certainly afford to diminish either.

*“Fourthly.* – The Panjabi language ought to continue right up to the M.A., as the vernacular of the boys and the medium into which and from which translation and retranslation from English is to be made.

*“Fifthly.* – As regards the script in which Punjab is to be written and read. We know this question is not easy to solve owing to communal prejudices and sectional preference. The fact remains, however, that Urdu stands self-condemned on account of its unsystematic and difficult alphabet, irregular and defective spelling, non-uniform and arbitrary pronunciation which constitute a real stumbling block in the path of the primary school student at all event. On the other hand the construction spelling and pronunciation, of Gurmukhi are uniform and regular, there being no liability whatsoever to commit errors and mistakes. Gurmukhi is even simpler than Hindi and is far more suited to the needs of this Province. Whether and while we maintain that Gurmukhi script is the one that is bound to be selected sooner or later for the purpose, we are prepared, for the moment, to accept a *modus vivendi* which would place Gurmukhi on the same footing with Hindi and Urdu. This, however, in the matter of the script alone, for whether any or all the scripts be adopted, the language should no longer be left in the lurch.

*“Sixthly.* – There are two very important suggestions that we have to make in this connection, *viz.*, the teaching of Roman Punjabi in place of Roman Urdu in our schools and the substitution of former for the latter in the subjects of examination for all civil officers for who it is now compulsory to pass an examination in the vernacular. It must be obvious that in the former case all the boys will have to read and be conversant with Punjabi, albeit in the Roman characters, thus partially removing the handicap on the mother tongue of the Province, while the different scripts are struggling for supremacy. In the latter case, the *raison d’etre* of an examination in the vernacular for civil officers is that the should be able directly to converse with and understand the common

people placed under their charge. It is obvious that the purpose in view cannot be fully, or even adequately, accomplished under the existing conditions when they have to read and write Roman-Urdu, while if this work is done in Roman-Punjabi, not only will the officers concerned be able to talk direct with people in the villages but also with parties attending in their courts.

*“Seventhly.* – As a corollary from the above, it follows that Panjabi language with alternative scripts be make a subject of teaching in Normal Schools and the Training College, and that Gurmukhi should be given at least an equal position with Hindi and Urdu, and that an efficient test be prescribed for Inspecting officers to enable them to examine pupils receiving education through the medium of Punjabi as also those imparted education in Gurmukhi script.

*“Eighthly.* – It is also necessary that the Senate of the Punjab University should have on its board a sufficient number of Sikh gentlemen of educational qualifications and ability to safeguard the educational interests of the Sikhs.

*“Ninthly.* – The language of Civil, Military and Revenue Courts in the Punjab and the Sikh States should be Punjabi. The examination of parties and witnesses is even now practically conducted in Punjabi for the simple reason that that is the only language understood by those to be examined. The use of any other, Urdu for instance, would necessitate an interpretation to make it intelligible to the person concerned, and involve a waste of time and energy. Certain statements, confessions and the like, are requires to be in the very words of the person making them, and these almost invariably are in Punjabi.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 8th April 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 14, pp. 358–359).

### ***Khalsa Advocate*, 8 September 1911**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of 8th September 1911: –

“Sir, – It is a pity that in religion of all, matters should be carried to extremes and this love of extremes increases exactly in proportion to the increase of ignorance of real truth, which is fundamentally of a universal and cosmopolitan nature. And when the egotistical interests of workers and the sectarian views of missionaries determine the policy, the different classes must constantly be at variance. Now let us see how the admixture of non-religious motives with religious ones has been modifying the reforms of the Arya Samaj especially in the cause of Hindi.

“Countless European Christians have been perfectly religious and have been quite successfully carrying out their missions without learning Hebrew and Greek, the original languages of their scriptures. Indeed Truth is not the exclusive privilege of nay one language, and all the languages can delineate its essential features sufficiently expressively, and, indeed it would be bordering

on want of faith in the justice of God if anybody thought that nay language other than his mother-tongue was a better medium for the exposition of Truth. Had all Arya Samajists such a faith it would save them a lot of time and trouble. But reverence for antiquity being not a solely religious concern with them it has become degenerated and has in its turn propagated many social evils and itself come to partake of a certain amount of foolhardiness which hears not the low voice of virtue nor the convincing appeal of argumentation. Whereas the Samajists should have sought Truth absolute and not cared for the garb of it, such is the irony of fate, that form and shape have come to receive their chief consideration.

“But this form (the Hindi characters) has been proposed to form the universal script in India, and reformers very conscientiously have been furthering its cause out of political motives as well. And the Arya Samaj has been declaring it as the best means of advancing National Unity. Now though every religionist must be a lover of National Unity, for its own sake, yet in its attainment the fundamental principles must not be sacrificed and undue importance must not be attached to secondary objects. Now it must be evident enough to any one that the cause of Hindi is not a solely religious affair with the average Samajists. Their political views have been outweighing the religious interests, and such undue proportions as the former have attained have been modifying the actions of the pseudo-reformers for the worse.

“A time there was in early nineties when the Guru Granth Sahib was preached from the pulpits of the Arya Samajists themselves in the mandir of the Samaj and the Mahashas assembled to hear sermons from it delivered chiefly by the late Bhagat Sukh Ram Das with perfect devotion, and it was believed by them that the Sikh scriptures did ‘contain’ Truth. But when all tactics to assimilate the Sikhs failed, our friends had to rest content with the declaration the grapes were sour. They denounced the Sikhs and along with them their scripture. And now the very script of their scripture is unacceptable to them. *Would any Arya Samajist venture to explain the change in the policy of the Samaj.* Has truth vanished from the Sikh scripture or is it that the Samajists have thought it political to turn their attention elsewhere?

“But now after all why should fidelity to one cause mean hostility to all the others? In other words, why should love of Hindi necessarily mean ill-will to Gurmukhi? There is only one decisive reply, and I say with perfectly honest conviction that it is solely because the Sikhs are in favour of it. If it serve the interests of the Samajists and if they can reach the masses only by the aid of Government, they would not reck to surrender the cause of Hindi by getting possession of the *Punjabi Soorma*. But no time-serving nature can stick to one principle, and with changing purposes the policies are different and

contradictory. Samajists! Do you conceive that such fickleness of purpose would achieve any object whatsoever?

"And, such seems to be the love of extremes with these short-sighted people that having despaired of assimilating the Sikhs, they have come to denounce their very mother-tongue simply because the Sikhs must love it. Ah dear mother-tongue, thou art homely and simple, familiarity alone has begotten this contempt for thee. Thou art loved by the unfortunate Sikhs, and their harmless love has given rise to enmity in others. Had the Sikhs been not advocate of the Punjabee, it may have found favour with the entire Samajic circle. Its usefulness might have asserted itself quite spontaneously.

"But again let it be granted that the Punjabee language is of no value in learning metaphysics and the subtle system of Philosophy who would be audacious enough to deny its usefulness in imparting elementary education? After birth the child sucks from its mother till its is strong enough to assimilate foreign materials. Nature ordains that such foreign assimilation must be but very gradual. Just thrust a piece of bread down the throat of a fresh-born infant and observe the terrible effect if your mind is callous enough to stand the observation. Yet unwittingly and short-sightedly the advocates of Hindi are administering a solid food to the infants. They have lost the first step of the ladder and expect infants to be able to climb without it. One may do without milk when one is sufficiently strong, yet one must depend upon it in infancy entirely. So the greatest usefulness of the Punjabi language in Elementary Education at least must be an incontrovertible subject to every honest Punjabi if a man is defined to be a rational being.

"But woe to the populace who are wont to follow their leaders quite blindly. The leaders are not the tribunes of the people and their aspirations do not drive their enthusiasm from a consciousness of the interests of the people. Indeed where self-glorification appears to reign supreme and sectarian views defy simple truths all must go to wreck and ruin. To what a sad pass things have come! Axioms have been rendered conundrums." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 16th September 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 37, pp. 956–957).

***Khalsa Akhbar*, 10 March 1916**

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 10th March 1916, pleads for the encouragement of Gurmukhi in the Punjab. The reason why Sikh religion and progress are at a standstill is that the obstacles which stood in the way of the literary progress of Sikhs in the past exist even now. England, Japan, Bengal, etc., have made so much national progress because they adhered to their mother-tongue before entering the arena of national progress. Their national and patriotic

songs, speeches and lectures are always couched in their mother-tongue. The proceedings of their national meetings are also always expressed in the mother-tongue of the natives. In the Punjab, the mother-tongue is Punjabi, and the success of Punjabis in general and Sikhs in particular solely depends on the progress and development of Gurmukhi. Yet it is a deplorable and disappointing fact that Punjabis in general and Sikhs in particular are deprived of its blessings, as a large majority of them prefer to express their thoughts through the medium of English, Sanskrit or Urdu. Educated Sikh youths should gird up their loins to disseminate a knowledge of Gurmukhi and Punjabi in the villages. (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 18th March 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 12, p. 238).

***Panth Sewak, 17 March 1916***

The *Panth Sewak* (Lahore), of the 17th March 1916, notes that the heading of each column in service-books is printed in four different characters (*viz.*, English, Urdu, Bengali and Madras). The paper urges that it should be printed in Gurmukhi also, as most Government servants know no characters except Gurmukhi. (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 25th March 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 13, p. 262).

***Punjab Darpan, 20 March 1918***

The *Punjab Darpan* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 20th March 1918, states that when Gurmukhi classes were discontinued in the Lahore Oriental College, Sikh papers protested and the classes were continued for another year. There is reason to fear that the classes may be now discontinued on the expiry of the year, on the plea that very few students joined them. It is necessary for the Punjab University to remove the difficulties which prevent students from joining the classes in large numbers. It should appoint as teachers Punjabi-knowing graduates on substantial salaries and grant scholarships and prizes to the students of the Punjabi classes as generously as it is patronizing the students of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. Till the University does this, the Sikh Education Committee should grant scholarships for encouraging the study of Punjabi. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 27th March 1918*. Vol. XXXI, No. 13, p. 189).

***Punjab Darpan, 20 March 1918***

The *Punjab Darpan* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 20th March 1918, requests Government to show its value on the two-anna coin in Gurmukhi characters also. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 27th March 1918*. Vol. XXXI, No. 13, p. 190).

***Loyal Gazette*, 11 June 1922**

The *Loyal Gazette* of the 11th June regrets that the teaching of Punjab has been stopped in the Aitchison Chiefs College, Lahore. It is strange that the Committee cannot bear the expenses of teaching Punjabi though it can do so for teaching Urdu and Hindi. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 24th June 1922. No. 25, p. 292).

***Khalsa*, 14 June 1922**

The *Khalsa* of the 14th June is highly pained to learn that the study of Punjab has been totally stopped in the Aitchison Chiefs' College with effect from the 1st of May. This has rendered pitiable the condition of those students who will now have to study the alternate subject, Urdu or Hindi. It is strange that while the instruction of Urdu and Hindi is still going on, that of Punjabi has been stopped. (*Punjab Press Abstract*. Vol. xxxv. Lahore: The 24th June 1922. No. 25, p. 292).

**14 Gurmukhi Script in the Sikh States*****Bharat Sudhar*, 30 September 1893**

The *Bharat Sudhar* (Lahore), of the 30th September 1893, praises the action of the Raja of Nabha in introducing Gurmukhi in one of the State offices as an experiment. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 14th October 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 41, p. 528).

***Sher-i-Babar*, 4 December 1908**

Writing under the heading "Gurmukhi in a Sikh State," the *Sher-i-Babar* (Lahore), of the 4th (received on the 21st) December 1908, says that such person have come to wield authority in the Sikh states (in the Punjab) as may rightly be called the mortal enemies of the Guru's followers. The constant effort of these worthies, it adds, is to kill every Sikh movement, and only recently they have succeeded in putting an end to the teaching of Gurmukhi at Mohindra College at Patiala, the premier Sikh State in this province. After remarking that the educational authorities in the State have ordered the removal of all Gurmukhi books from the College library, the paper observes that it is a matter for deep shame that the Sikh officials in Patiala should not have protested against the abolition of the teaching of Gurmukhi at, and the removal of Gurmukhi books from, a college maintained by a Sikh State. It is a heart-rending sight and denotes utter degradation on the part of the Sikhs that even the Granth should not be allowed a place in the building of the Mohindra College. The



Editor calls upon his co-religionists to ponder over the occurrence, at which he expresses deep indignation. He also urges the president and members of the Patiala Council of Regency to rectify the mistake. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 2nd January 1909*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, pp. 20–21).

***Zinda Dil*, 16 May 1910**

Writing under the heading “The Maharaja of Patiala’s fondness for Gurmukhi,” the *Zinda Dil* (Jullundur), of the 16th May 1910, says that, contrary to the old practice, all orders issued by the Maharaja are now couched in Gurmukhi. The same, it adds, is the case with those passed by the Commander-in-Chief, while Sardar Gurdit Singh, Chief Secretary to the Maharaja, has also begun to sign his name in Gurmukhi. After remarking that His Highness has also promised to render permanent pecuniary help to the Sikh Education Conference for the promotion of the Gurmukhi language, it says that this sudden replacement of Urdu and Persian, which have always been used in the State Offices, must have seriously inconvenienced the officials concerned. Did not the Maharaja’s ancestors, who introduced Persian and Urdu into the said offices, love Gurmukhi or had they not the power to patronise the last language? When even the rulers of Native States are influenced by “such a principle” (? racial considerations), why should one complain of the general public (in that respect)? (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 21st May 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 20, pp. 446–447).

***Paisha Akhbar*, 21 May 1910**

Writing under the heading “The introduction of Gurmukhi and Panjabi into the Patiala State (offices),” the *Paisha Akhbar* (Lahore), on the 21st May 1910, says that the *Tribune* reports that the change has afforded great satisfaction to the State subjects. After remarking that this is undoubtedly true of one section of them (the Hindus), it observes that the event must have caused considerable (dis) satisfaction among the other section (the Muhammadans). It pointed out some time back that the Maharaja was too fond of Gurmukhi and Panjabi, and that he was a puppet in the hands of people whose bigotry makes them wholly indifferent to wounding the feelings of the Mussalman subjects and officials of the Patiala State. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 28th May 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 21, p. 463).

***Paisha Akhbar*, 25 May 1910**

The *Paisha Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 25th May 1910, reports that for the last few days strange rumours have been rife at Lahore regarding the Patiala State. As,

however, it is not known what truth there is in them, the paper has not considered it advisable to give them publicity. Continuing, it says that the news from Patiala show that the young Maharaja has thrown himself into pleasure heart and soul, and that his favourite and influential Sikh officers, who surround His Highness at all times, are busily engaged in propagating the Khalsa religion and increasing the Khalsa power in his dominions. Not only, it adds, are frantic efforts being made to promote the cause of Punjab and the Gurmukhi character in the State, but the number of Muhammadan officials is also being cut down in order to make room for Sikhs. After stating that the Muhammadans form a considerable portion of the subjects in Patiala, it says that some loyal and devoted Musalmans who won in the State property worth lakhs, are in great trouble. It therefore asks the Maharaja to see that no one among his subjects, to whatever religion he may belong, is dealt with unjustly, adding that if he does not do so the paramount power will feel compelled to attend to the matter. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 28th May 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 21, pp. 463–464).

#### ***Ahl-i-Hadis*, 27 May 1910**

The *Ahl-i-Hadis* (Amritsar), of the 27th May 1910, publishes a note headed "Urdu will advance now." The Maharaja of Patiala, says the paper, has issued orders requiring all his officials to learn Gurmukhi characters, which will henceforth obtain in all State offices. His Highness will, however, be convinced of the superiority of Urdu over Gurmukhi when he comes to realise the difficulties besetting the reading and writing of Gurmukhi and sees that it requires two hours and two *Muharrirs* to write in the above characters an amount which it takes one man to write in the space of one hour in the Urdu script. The champions of Urdu should, nevertheless, be up and doing. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 4th June 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 22, p. 487).

#### ***Vakil*, 26 August 1911**

The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 26th August 1911, has a note entitled "What is being done in Patiala." After reporting that one Sardar Balwant Singh has been appointed to compile Panjabi text-books for use in Patiala, the paper says that it is alleged that these compilations will meet the wants of State agriculturalists. This, it adds, may be true; but the question is whether the above arrangements will benefit or raise difficulties for a Native States which lies near Delhi and the subjects of which speak, not Punjabi, but a sort of bastard Urdu. Again, the inhabitants of Patiala have so far had no complaint against Urdu, nor has their educational condition been adversely affected by the language named. This

being so, it is advisable to spend public money to corrupt the popular tongue? (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 9th September 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 36, p. 925).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 13 December 1912**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 13th December 1912: –

“It would be a matter of great pleasure to the educational community at large to learn that like Baroda, the State of Patiala too is making educational advancement with leaps and bounds. Its promising and youthful Maharaja Bhupendra Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., is taking keen interest in matters educational. The greater occasion for rejoicing is that His Highness prefers to educate his subjects in their own language. And really to educate and instruct young men in their mother-tongue is the first step to national progress. From the educational report of Patiala for the year 1911–12, it appears that the number of Punjabi-teaching schools in the State is 33, and that the teaching of Punjab is one the same level with Urdu, so that Punjabi may be established as the court language in the State. The number of schools has increased to 35 now, and these schools are primary schools at present. The number of male students in the State is 1,579, and that of females 11,187, in other words, the education of girls is being conducted on a large scale that that of boys. From the above happy circumstance we have every reason to believe that in the succeeding two or three generations not a single boy will remain illiterate in the State. For to educate a boy is to educate a man, but to educate a girl is to educate a family, and surely the truth of the maxim may be realized if efforts in this behalf are continued incessantly as at present. The number of recipients of State Scholarships is 91, and in the State there are 15 boarding-houses in which some 490 students reside. The Maharaja is thinking of opening more schools in the State, and he has ordered that the State should defray all expenses on the building of schools. Moreover, the Medical Department has been strictly ordered that its officers should inspect these schools whenever they happen to be on tour. Students have been strictly forbidden from cigarette-smoking. We have every hope that other Sikh States will also imitate the noble example of Patiala in this behalf, and that by making the study and teaching of Punjabi compulsory and important in their respective States, they will place the whole of the Punjab under deep debt of gratitude and thankfulness.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab, Examined up to 21st December, 1912*, Vol. XXV, No. 51, pp. 1087–1088).

***Khalsa Akhbar*, 8 October 1915**

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 8th October 1915, is pleased with the orders renewed by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala regarding the use of the Punjabi language in the offices and departments of the State in place of Urdu. It was necessary to repeat the orders as the first orders on the subject were not complied with. Punjabi is the mother tongue of the people of the Punjab and it is extremely gratifying that Punjabi has come to its own in at least one of the State of the province. The rulers of other States should follow the present example. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 16th October 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 42, p. 610).

***Kashmiri Magazine*, 28 February 1917**

The *Kashmiri Magazine* (Lahore, Muhammadan), of the 28th February 1917, writes that 20 or 25 years ago Urdu was the official language in nearly all Native States. But since educated gentlemen of the modern type have been entering the States not only has the influence of Urdu declined but unpleasant instances of communal disunion have also happened. The Urdu language is being replaced by Gurmukhi in most States. Like the rulers of other States, the Maharaja of Patiala also had, on assuming the reins of administration, issued an order directing the wholesale massacre of the Urdu language, the orders having been repeated several times. But the Urdu language has, on account of its merits and popularity, survived in the Patiala State. It has now transpired that Rai Bahadur Diwan Daya Kishan Kaul, Prime Minister, has after having experienced considerable inconvenience issued the following instructions to pleaders "As the Urdu language has already been held to be the language of offices and Revenue Courts, pleaders should make speeches in Urdu." Not but Sikh newspapers, which hold views directly in opposition to those of the public, can question the reasonableness and the necessity of the above instruction. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 22nd March 1917*. Vol. XXX, No. 12, pp. 230–231).

***Tribune*, 6 March 1917**

The *Tribune* (Lahore, Hindu), of the 6th March 1917, writes: –

"About a couple of years ago, His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Patiala directed that the language of offices and courts in the Patiala State shall be Panjabi. Some doubt having lately arisen as to the language in which pleaders were expected to address the courts, Diwan Bahadur Daya Kishan Kaul, Financial and Foreign Secretary, has emphasized the previous orders by notifying that the

language shall be Panjabi, the mother-tongue of the people.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 22nd March 1917. Vol. xxx, No. 12, p. 231*).

## 15 Gurmukhi Script in the Indian Army

### *Khalsa Advocate*, 17 August 1920

One B.S. Chatrath writes to the *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 17th August: –

“Your readers will perhaps remember that previously Gurmukhi was recognized along with Urdu as the medium for promotion examinations and tests in the army, and consequently the Sikh officers and other ranks easily kept all the accounts and their records in Gurmukhi. But you will be shocked to hear that the Government of India has disallowed Gurmukhi as the medium, and thus Urdu remains the sole mistress. Will the Chief Khalsa Diwan, the Sikh League or any other representative body of the community take up this matter and approach the Commander-in-Chief. I think the military Khalsa perhaps expected and certainly deserved better reward for their precious sacrifices.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 28th August 1920, No. 35, p. 354*).

### *Akali*, 1 September 1920

The *Akali* of the 1st September says that the Secretary of the Educational Committee of the Chief Khalsa Diwan writes that when under the Army Order No. 65 Urdu was recognized as the common language of all Indian troops, the Commander-in-Chief was requested, in resolution No. 13 of the 12th [Sikh Educational] Conference to have Gurmukhi taught to Sikh soldiers, on the ground that all their scriptures were in Gurmukhi and that the Sikhs generally conducted their correspondence and business in that language. In reply an assurance was given on behalf of His Excellency that all this would be borne in mind. We have, however, received several complaints to the effect that Gurmukhi has ceased to be taught in the army. Villagers could obtain good promotion in the army after studying Gurmukhi, but Urdu has now been inflicted on the Sikhs there. If the matter is not attended to, the Sikhs in the army will be overtaken by a great difficulty. (*Punjab Press Abstracts. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 4th September 1920, No. 36, p. 364*).

### *Khalsa Advocate*, 7 September 1920

B.S. Chatrath, B.A., writes to the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 7th September: –  
“Gurmukhi is not [now] recognized as the medium of promotion examinations

and tests as heretofore. Formerly the Sikh rank and file used to keep all the accounts and official records in Gurmukhi, but they are now obliged to learn Urdu instead and papers in Gurmukhi are not accepted. It is a blowing hot and cold with the same breath to afford opportunity to the Sikh soldiers to become acquainted with the script in which their sacred books are written and to disallow them to use the same script in certificate examination or in their official routine work. ... If what I have learnt is true, and there is absolutely no cause to doubt its veracity, the Educational Conference should ... have ... the wrong righted." (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 18th September 1920, No. 38, p. 386).

## 16 Religious Propaganda

### *Singh Sahai*, 28 January 1891

The same paper [the *Singh Sahai*] complains that those Sikhs who have acquired English education do not show any respect for the descendants of their *Gurus*. The writer strongly condemns such conduct and calls upon the educated Sikhs to pay due homage to such descendants. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 7th February 1891*. Vol. IV, No. 6, p. 54).

### *Khair Khwah-i-Alam*, 24 September 1899

The *Khair Khwah-i-Alam* (Delhi), of the 24th September 1899, states that the four Sikhs, who were arrested by the Delhi Police for asking the Muhammadans of that place to accept the Sikh religion if they wanted to save themselves from damnation, have been fined by Lala Mulraj (Magistrate) Rs. 25 each, and warned not to repeat their offence. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 7th October 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 40, p. 583).

### *Khalsa Akhbar*, 14 July 1916

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 14th July 1916, dilates upon the obstacles with which the work of the religious preaching of Sikhism is generally confronted. The *lambardars* and other residents of the villages where the Sikh element is small and the population of which is under the influence of priests, retard the work in every way, even threats and force being used. It is time action was taken to remove the obstacles and Sikh institutions requested Government to issue a circular letter to *zaildars* and police officers containing instructions to *lambardars* and other leading villages directing them not to interfere in the

religious affairs of the Sikhs. (*Selection from the Indian newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to the 22nd July 1916*. Vol. XXIX, No. 30, p. 609).

***Khalsa Akhbar*, 14 December 1917**

The *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 14th December 1917, remarks that an association entitled 'The Sikh Tract Society' has been established in Tarn Taran with a view to spreading the Sikh religion. The propaganda will be chiefly in English. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 5th January 1918*. Vol. XXXI, No. 1, p. 13).

## Military Service and Campaigns

### 1 Loyalty and Martial Qualities

#### *Lawrence Gazette*, 9 January 1867

The *Lawrence Gazette* of the 9th January, referring to the discussion concerning the propriety, or otherwise, of employing Sikh soldiers on foreign service, and the opinions against the measure expressed by English writers, says that the Sikhs have been often tried and found faithful; that they have followed the profession of arms before the days of *Gooroo* Gobind, and have done so up to the present day with credit to themselves, as has been proved by their bravery in the time of the Moghuls, Rajah Runjeet Sing [Singh], at Lahore, &c., &c. The writer says, – “he looks upon this race as picked for bravery; and that in 1857, when all the Hindosthanee [Hindustani] tribes failed, the Sikhs stood firm. It should moreover be considered that this country is their home and birth-place, and if they did not turn in those difficult times, it is not likely that they would do so in a strange country. It is clear that as the English army remain firm and true on foreign service, the Sikhs would do the same.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjaub, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces, from the 1st to the 8th February, 1867*, p. 52).

#### *Singh Sahai*, 29 November 1893

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 29th November 1893, states on the authority of a Risaldar-Major at Bareilly that prior to the Mutiny of 1857 each regiment was composed exclusively of men of one nationality. The sepoy Mutiny, however, led to the formation of mixed regiments, and this practice is still in force. Experience having shown this system to be also defective, the Native Military Officers were consulted as to whether the present system should be maintained or whether each company of a regiment should in future be composed exclusively of men of one and the same nationality. The Risaldar-Major referred to above described his personal experience of what occurred when his regiment was ordered to Egypt. There were a number of Muhammadans in his regiments, some of whom, when the time came, with a view to avoid fighting against their co-religionists, applied chillies to their eyes and otherwise feigned sickness, others took purgatives and adopted various devices. Some poor fellows had nevertheless to proceed against the enemy, but their



either fired in the air or on the ground, and it was the Sikhs who won the battle (*lit.* conquered Egypt). In short, the Muhammadans proved themselves disloyal. Since then it has been determined not to enlist any more Muhammadans in his regiment. It has now been decided that each company should consist exclusively of men of one nationality, so that should there be any apprehension (of a mutiny?) on the score of nationality, the suspected companies would not be sent to the field.

The Government has been fully convinced of the loyalty and bravery of the Sikhs, but the latter have not been adequately rewarded for their services. What would have been the consequences if other Native soldiers had behaved in the same manner as some of the Muhammadans did in Egypt. There are at this moment many young and promising Sikh Sardars able and ready to serve Government in any Department, but the Sikhs have fallen on evil days since the advent of British rule, and their number in Government service is not even one-tenth of what it was under Rajit [Ranjit] Singh. This is due to the fact that it was considered impolitic to employ a larger number of Sikhs immediately after the annexation of the Punjab. But as they have proved themselves loyal during the last 50 years, Government should now bestow greater honors on them so that they may forget their past greatness. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 16th December 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 50, p. 674).

***Lyall Khalsa Gazette, 24 July 1894***

The *Lyall Khalsa Gazette* (Sialkot), of the 24th July 1894, remarks that the services rendered by the Sikh nation are not such as can be sufficiently rewarded by empty praise or the grant of medals (*lit.* pieces of iron and silver). They should be raised to the position to which they have long shown themselves entitled. The Sikhs who have been, and still are, shedding their blood for the sake of Government were at one time a prosperous people, but they have now sunk to the depths of poverty. The paltry sum of Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 per mensem is not sufficient for the maintenance of a brave man. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th August 1894*. Vol. VII, No. 31, p. 343).

***Chaudwin Sadi, 23 January 1898***

The *Chaudwin Sadi* (Rawalpindi), of the 23rd January 1898, states that two addresses were presented to General Sir W. Lockhart at Rawalpindi one by the representatives of the Hindu, Muhammadan, Sikh and Parsi communities and the other by the Sikhs alone. It is not easy to see why the Sikhs should have presented a separate address. The only defect in the joint address was that it

did not praise the Sikhs in particular, nor did it contain the remark made in the second address, *viz.*, that the Sikhs commenced the work of spreading civilization and enlightenment among these frontier savages during their regime. A historical account of the civilization and enlightenment spread by the Sikhs in Punjab and the frontier is about to be written. It is no doubt true that the Sikhs are a brave people, have fought gallantly on the frontier, and have suffered more heavily than any other section of the Native Army. Moreover, all classes of the people of India are proud of the bravery displayed by them and deplore the losses they have suffered during the recent operations. But this need not cast a slur on the gallantry displayed by Native troops of other communities. The Gurkhas have fought as gallantly as the Sikhs. The greatest credit is, however, due to the Muhammadan soldiers who took part in these operations. The reason why the Sikhs have suffered more heavily than others is that Government out of regard for their religious feelings did not compel the Muhammadan soldiers to fight against their co-religionists without necessity. It must not, however, be inferred from this that they hesitate to fight or displayed less gallantry than the Sikhs, seeing that the lists of casualties published contain the names of Muhammadans also. The Sikhs admit in the address that they regard the tribesmen as their enemies, and their object in fighting against them was the spread of civilization and enlightenment. But the loyalty of the Muhammadan soldiers, who were required to fight against their co-religionists was put to a severe test, and it is highly creditable to them that their religious sympathies have not stood in the way of their doing their duty by their Government. The Editor then quotes a paragraph from the *Civil and Military Gazette* praising the tribesmen in the army for remaining loyal at a time when Government was engaged in a war against their kith and kin, and remarks that there was no necessity for the Sikhs to present a separate address. It is anything but decent for any one to sing his own praises. Moreover, having regard to the necessity of promoting union between the various classes of Her Majesty's subjects, this action of the Sikhs appears to be impolitic. Sir William Lockhart when singling out the Sikhs for praise should not have forgotten the Native soldiers of other communities. The *Chaudhwin Sadi* concludes by remarking that the gallantry displayed and the services rendered by the Sikhs have been acknowledge not only in writing and by word of mouth, but also in a practical and substantial manner. The revenues attached to the Darbar Sahib at Amritsar which had lapsed to Government have been restored. Baba Khem Singh Bedi has been made a K.C.S.I., while other concessions are being or will shortly be made. This is as it should be, but others should not be forgotten. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 5th February 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 6, pp. 73–74).

***Singh Sahai*, 25 February 1898**

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 25th February 1898, remarks that the *Khair Khwah-i-Ryasatha-i-Hind* never loses an opportunity of attacking the Sikh States and the Khalsa nation. Of late that paper has been endeavouring to belittle the gallant deeds performed by the Sikh soldiers on the frontier and to throw doubts on the loyalty of the Khalsa nation. It is, however, an open secret that the followers of Guru Nanak have always been loyal to the British throne and have shed their blood on many a battle field in its defence. On the other hand, the Pathan Muhammadans, who eat the salt of Government, return evil for good, and have more than once murdered British officers. The Editor does not mean to say that all Muhammadans are ill-disposed towards Government. It is, however, generally known that at the time of the Turco-Greek war not a few of them espoused the cause of the Sultan against the wishes of the authorities. In conclusion, the Editor advises the natives to regard the enemies of England as their own enemies, and calls upon Government to reward the bravery displayed by the Sikhs against the tribesmen. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 12th March 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 11, p. 154).

***Aftab-i-Punjab*, 10 October 1898**

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 10th October 1898, remarks that since the annexation of the Punjab, Sikh soldiers have given more than one practical proof of their sincere attachment to the British Government. They stood by it during the troublous period of the Sepoy Mutiny, and have upheld its honor on many a closely-contested battlefield in China, Afghanistan, Africa, &c., as is acknowledged not only by Great Britain, but also by every other civilized country. As for the gallantry and heroism displayed by them during the last frontier campaign, the world is still ringing with their praises. But have their services met with adequate recognition at the hands of Government? It is to be regretted that the authorities have failed to requite the trust reposed in them by Sikh soldiers. Had not this been the case, Government would have thrown open to them higher military appointments than Havildarships and Subedarships, would have sanctioned their attachment to batteries, and exempted them from the operation of the Arms Act. That the Sikhs have deserved all these concessions no one will have the hardihood to deny. The Editor concludes by calling upon the authorities to do justice to the claims of the Khalsa nation. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd October 1898*, Vol. XI, No. 43, p. 672).

***Khalsa Bahadur*, 21 September 1905**

Referring to the Curzon-Kitchener controversy, the *Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), of the 21st September 1905, remarks that the Sikhs, who are mostly employed in the army, are naturally jubilant over Lord Kitchener's triumph, but that viewed in the light of the grave political issues which it involves, the decision of the Secretary of State appears to be fraught with serious consequences to the country and is likely to cause serious differences of opinion between the two most powerful heads of the Indian Empire. The manner in which the Home Government has thrust the new Military Scheme upon the Government is much to be deplored as it bodes ill for the future. The Sikhs are naturally glad over Lord Kitchener's success, but the thinking and the educated portion of them sympathize with Lord Curzon. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers Published in the Punjab, Received up to 7th October 1905*, Vol. XVIII, No. 40, p. 273).

***Sat Dharm Parcharak*, 12 October 1906**

The *Sat Dharm Parcharak* (Jullundur), of the 12th October 1906, remarks that British rule in India rests on the bayonets and devotion of the Sikh and Gurkha members of the Indian Army. Has, however, any regard been so far paid to the claims of the soldiers named? The Editor learned with regret from a Sikh Subadar last year that justice was denied to native soldiers owing to their being disunited. He agrees with a *Pioneer* correspondent that if the English desire the permanence of their rule in this country they should give the Sikh and Gurkha soldiers a substantial increase of pay. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers Published in the Punjab, Received up to 20th October 1906*, Vol. XIX, No. 42, pp. 268–269).

***Khalsa Advocate*, 20 September 1912**

The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 20th September 1912: –

“(A) contemporary (in) controverting the charge laid against the Hindus that they are ‘unwarlike’ says: – ‘There is abundant evidence to show – from Chandragupta's encounter with the Greeks to the *defence* of Saragarhi – that Hindus have never been and are not still ‘unwarlike.’ So it is the Hindu who died at Saragarhi and won immortal fame! How men suppress truth and pervert facts! They cannot help feeling the Sikhs displayed valour at Saragarhi which has been equalled only by Leonidas and his 300 Spartans in the Pass of Thermopylae, but they feel so shy of the Sikh name that they would not mention it, even where it cannot be left unmentioned without perverting or

suppressing truth. We crave leave to point out that the heroes of Saragarhi distinguished themselves, not because they were Hindus, but because they were Sikhs. It was their Sikh faith which led them to sacrifice their lives for the Sovereign to whom they owed allegiance.

“In the same article our contemporary writes further on: – ‘Only twice in modern history attempts at nation-making were made by the Hindu. One by Sevaji. Within a few years almost all India lay at the feet of United Maharashtra. The magician died, and the golden edifice crumbled to pieces. The next attempt was made by Ranjit Singh. Within a single generation the Khalsa became a terror to the Afghans in the north and the British in the east. The Magician died and the Khalsa vanished into thin air.’ All these statements are perversion of historical truth. In the time of Sevaji the Marhattas had only learnt to being their career of conquest. It was long after Sevaji that they reached their zenith of power. Again the Marhattas were a race of free-booters. They plundered all parts of the country that they visited. They never appear to have conceived any idea of forming a Hindu nationality. They fought for their own aggrandizement and outside Maharashtra they showed no deference to the Hindus. Similarly absurd is the claim put forward on behalf of Maharaja Ranjit Singh as a builder of Hindu nationality. All that can be said of Maharaja Ranjit Singh is that he was a brave, generous and sagacious ruler and that by the force of his strong personality he was successful in keeping together the various discordant elements of the Punjab population. The bravery of the Sikhs was due to him as to the man in the Moon. He was a talented commander and organizer. He was able to utilize Sikh bravery. Bravery was and is innate in the Sikhs. It existed in the Maharaja’s time. It exists now. Bravery is the outcome of self-sacrifice. A true Sikh must be sacrificing and [is] consequently brave. So far as we know the ambition of fusing the Hindus and Sikhs into one nationality never swayed Maharaja Ranjit Singh’s mind. He was a popular ruler and all his life his one aim was to maintain his power and keep his subjects of all forms and shades of opinion happy and contented.

“The real fact, we are glad to observe, has irresistibly struck to our contemporary. He is perfectly right when he says at the end of the article aforementioned that ‘Under British rule the Hindus are fast assimilating ideas of nationality as it is understood in the West. Consciously or unconsciously, through good or through evil, the English are helping them into a nation. They cannot do otherwise. It is their God-appointed task.’ This acknowledgment of the beneficent influence of the Western civilization on the course of events in this country from a quarter where a short while ago every thing Western was cried down is extremely gratifying to us. It betokens the growth of healthy

ideas in minds which persisted in looking only to their benighted past and still more benighted literature for inspiration and guidance." (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 28th September 1912*, Vol. xxv, No. 39, p. 805).

***Loyal Gazette*, 20 April 1913**

Writing under the heading "Imaginary fears on the part of Government," the *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore), of the 20th April 1913, says that in the course of the evidence which Sir Louis Dane delivered through his Chief Secretary before the Public Services Commission, His Honour observed that the conduct and the political sentiments of Sikh officers and sepoys were receiving considerable attention from the Government of India in the Military Department. Commenting on this statement, the paper strongly appeals to the Imperial Government not to allow itself to be swayed by such absurd views and assures it that up to the present no dangerous movement has been set on foot amongst the Sikhs, that Sikhs in the army are totally ignorant of politics and Government has received wholly unfounded reports about them. But if, nevertheless, Government deems it proper to regard with suspicion those who in their loyalty have shed streams of blood for England in Burma, Egypt, Kabul, the Soudan and the Frontier, merely on the strength of reports which cannot bear the scrutiny of facts, there is no alternative for them but to lament their misfortune and remain silent. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 26th April 1913*, Vol. xxvi, No. 17, p. 384).

***Khalsa Sewak*, 27 August 1913**

Under the heading "The strength of arms," the *Khalsa Sewak* (Amritsar), of the 27th August 1913, says that there was a time when Sikhs were so brave that the very mention of their names sufficed to bring about miscarriage with Muhammadan (*lit.* Turkish) women, and to cause even great Khans and Sultans involuntarily to make water in their trousers. By the aid of the Sikhs, continues the paper, the English have gained great accessions of territory, and they are aware that in the (Sikh) War they could never have defeated their foes. Many nations have risen and fallen, and therefore it cannot be predicted that the British Government will always remain stable in India. But if the British Government is ever overthrown, how will the Sikhs, who are smaller in number than Muhammadans, protect themselves against Muslim aggression and save their lives, for even now they have to endure excesses and high-handedness at the hands of Muhammadans? In conclusion, the paper dwells on the reasons for the weakness of the Sikhs, and urges them to use hygienic food, and to try

to develop both their mental and physical faculties if they wish to advance and make progress in this world. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 20th September 1913*, Vol. XXVI, No. 38, p. 822).

## 2 Recruitment

### *Panjab-i-Akhbar*, 8 July 1885

The *Panjab-i-Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 8th July, referring to the remarks made by the Panjab Government on the scarcity of Sikh recruits for the army in the Panjab Administration Report for 1883–84, concurs with the *Civil and Military Gazette* in ascribing the scarcity to the low rates of pay allowed to native soldiers. The *Akhbar* says that another cause of complaint with native soldiers is the unjust distinction recognized between them and European soldiers. Natives have to work considerably harder than Europeans, while the pay of the latter is five or six times that of the former. Other indulgences are also shown to European soldiers which are withheld from natives. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 13th July, 1885*, pp. 474–475).

### *Najmu-l-Akhbar*, 12 July 1885

The *Najmu-l-Akhbar* (Etawah), of the 12th July, advertizing to the steady falling off of Sikh recruits, referred to in the Panjab Administration Report for 1883–84, argues that the unpopularity of military service among Sikhs is due to the maintenance of race distinction between European and native soldiers. The latter do not yield the palm to the former in bravery, loyalty, and obedience, but still they do not receive the same indulgence at the hand of Government as the other class. Hence Sikhs prefer to carry on agriculture, even though the income from it is so small that they manage to keep their souls and bodies together with difficulty. But in that case they are their own masters and are saved the hardships and dangers of military service. It is necessary to adopt measures to popularize soldiering among natives, who gladly undergo every kind of labour and bear even thirst and hunger without murmur. Mr. G. Mc'Millan says that at Suakim if European soldiers worked hard one day, they became quite depressed the next day. When they did not receive good beer, they performed their duties in a perfunctory way. Some of them shammed illness and went to the hospital, while others became insubordinate. But native soldiers were very thankful even for receiving food once and water twice during the day, and did their work most steadily. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published*

*in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 20th July, 1885, pp. 489–490).*

***Aftab-i-Panjab, 17 July 1885***

*Aftab-i-Panjab* (Lahore), of the 17th July, adverting to the growing unpopularity of military service with Sikhs, remarks that the scale of pay fixed for native soldiers is too low. A recruit receives only Rs. 7 a month and gets an increase of Rs. 2 after ten years service! With such low rates of pay the disinclination of the Sikhs to enlist is quite comprehensible. If Government requires his services, it should offer him adequate pay. The retirement of such a warlike class of people from the army cannot be too deeply regretted. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 20th July, 1885, p. 490).*

***Lyll Khalsa Gazette, 22 August 1891***

The *Lyll Khalsa Gazette* (Sialkot), dated 22nd August 1891, urges the Military authorities to amend the rule under which only Jat Sikhs are eligible for enlistment in the Native Army, on the ground that the Sikh religion does not recognize any caste distinction. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 5th September 1891. Vol. IV, No. 36, p. 307).*

***Akhbar-i-Am, 9 September 1891***

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 9th September 1891, publishes a communication, in which the writer observes that the Kathri [Khatri] Sikhs are just as brave as the Jat Sikhs, and takes the latter to task for endeavouring to prejudice Commanding Officers against the former. The Editor, commenting on the above, remarks that it is a pity that the Jat and the Kathri Sikhs should be on bad terms with each other, and advises the parties to sink their differences. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 19th September 1891. Vol. IV, No. 38, p. 328).*

***Akhbar-i-Am, 23 October 1891***

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 23rd October 1891, publishes a communication from a Jat Sikh, in which he refers to a letter recently published in the *Akhbar*, and remarks that the Khatri Sikhs, though better educated and more intelligent than the Jat Sikhs, do not make as good soldiers as the latter. They are generally Bunniahs, and Commanding Officers finding that they are not as good fighting material as the Jats do not care to enlist them. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 31st October 1891. Vol. IV, No. 44, p. 364).*



***Singh Sahai, 21 September 1892***

The *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), of the 21st September 1892, suggests that the children of the Sikhs should be allowed by Government to carry arms, in order that they may learn their use and thus fit themselves to join the army in time of need. Government should also pay them a small sum as an inducement. This will save a good deal of money now spent by Government in paying recruits during the time they are under training. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 8th October 1892*. Vol. v, No. 40, p. 373).

***Aftab-i-Panjab, 21 December 1897***

The *Aftab-i-Panjab* (Lahore), of the 21st December 1897, publishes a communication in which the writer remarks that the Sikhs having given inconceivable proof of their sincere attachment to the British Throne, it behoves Government to do its utmost to improve their status. It should also give them military training with a view to inducing them to regard the profession of arms as superior to all others. This will be tantamount to converting the Khalsa nation into a great military reserve, and raising the best possible soldiers for fighting against the enemies of Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 25th December 1897*, Vol. x, No. 52, pp. 1060–1061).

***Loyal Gazette, 6 May 1917***

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 6th May 1917, observes that out of 117 young men who have offered their services for employment in the Punjab Double Company it is a matter of satisfaction that 45 are Sikhs. Though backward in education their contribution to this company of educated youths is proportionately larger. Moreover, though comparatively poor and small in numbers, they have contributed less than half but more than one-third the total amount of the war loan raised in the Punjab. Will even now Government grant them rights proportionate to their numerical strength and not to their importance and services? It is not right to grant them fewer rights than to those who can give much smaller assistance in the work of protecting the Empire. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 17th May 1917*. Vol. xxx, No. 20, p. 381).

***Azad Bhain, December 1923***

Writing to the *Azad Bhain*, Malik Lal Khan, Secretary, Punjab Khilafat Committee, Lahore, says that women in every independent country take part in politics. Is it not the duty of Indian women also to do so? Like their men, they too are the slaves of foreigners. It is necessary for our young women to work with

their leaders in changing the form of the present tyrannical Government. They should tour in villages and tell the inhabitants that they are strengthening the foundations of the bureaucracy by enlisting in the army and paying large sums of money to the present tyrannical Government as land revenue. It is opposed to Sikh religion to help the foreign Government, which caused 150 innocent Akalis to be murdered at Nankana Sahib. It is Sikhs and Muhammadans who chiefly enlist in the army and the British Government has enslaved 32 crore Indians with their help. Nay, Government takes the help of these warriors in enslaving other countries also. They are killed like goats in wars outside India. We should now work with our eyes open. Sikh women should preach to villages not to participate in wars abroad and get their heads cut off for the sake of others. Muhammadans have already declared that service in the police and the army is unlawful and they stick fast to this declaration. The Sikhs should now stop further recruitment and work under the directions of the S.G.P.C. It matters little if this is considered an offence, because even religious diwans are now held to be unlawful. The writer concludes by exhorting Sikh women to stop the enlistment of their men in the army. (*Note on the Punjab Press. For the week ending the 12th January 1924*, No. 2, p. 18).

### 3 Religious Practices and Specialists

#### *Arya Messenger*, 1 August 1905

The following is from the *Arya Messenger* (Lahore), of August 1st, 1905: –

“There are many things to show that our paternal British Government, whose avowed and fundamental policy in respect to matters concerning the rights and privileges of Indians is worth merit and efficiency, is not strictly following the principle of religious neutrality even among the Indians themselves. The help which the Government gave to the Khalsa College, Amritsar, in raising funds for the financial stability of the institution is known to all, and we by no means grudge the step taken in order to encourage a backward section of the Hindus. The present fanatical cry of the Neo-Sikhs that they are not Hindus is, however, to be much regretted. So far so good and well. But we learn that it has been ruled by the Government that no Sikh by birth is to be received in a regiment until he has been formally admitted into the faith which he is supposed to profess. Such a test will, by no means, add to the bravery of the Sikhs. Then why should have the Government thought this step necessary in face of the principle of religious neutrality which it professes to observe, we cannot understand?

“We quote our contemporary of *New India* on the point:

“It is difficult to understand the motive that has led the military authorities to ordain that no Sikh by birth is to be received in a regiment until ‘he has been formally admitted into the faith which he is supposed to profess,’ as we are informed by *The Khalsa Advocate* of Amritsar. It is a good thing that the Government have undertaken to provide religious instruction, at State expense, to Muhammadan, Hindu and Sikh regiments. Any battalion containing more than three companies of any of these denominations is entitled, according to recent Army order, to entertain a Maulvi, a Pandit or a Granthi as the case may be. But why should regular initiation be demanded in the case of the Sikhs, it is difficult to understand. This is not required in the case of Christians. It is not required, we think, even in the case of Hindus. Why should it be required, then, in the case of the Sikhs. Is it because authorities think that orthodoxy and loyalty go together? In any case, the whole policy of the Government in regard to this great fighting community of India seems seriously suspicious.” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers Published in the Punjab, Received up to 5th August 1905*, Vol. XVIII, No. 31, pp. 214–215).

#### ***Civil and Military News*, 28 March 1910**

*Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), dated the 28th March (received on the 9th April) 1910, publishes a communication from Havildar Muhammad Alam, a clerk, headed “Maulvis, *Granthis* and Pandits in the Indian army.” After remarking that partiality shown to any one community, when all other communities are equally loyal to Government, is calculated to wound the latter’s susceptibilities, the writer remarks that it is quite inexplicable why Maulvis attached to the army get only Rs. 8 per mensem while Bhais receive in some cases Rs. 15 and in other cases Rs. 10. He, therefore, urges His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to accord equal treatment to all classes of persons and remarks that the salaries of Maulvis, Pandits and Bhais should be made uniform in all cases. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 16th April 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 15, p. 347).

#### ***Paisa Akhbar*, 23 April 1910**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), of the 23rd April 1910, publishes a note headed “The same salaries should be paid to *Granthis*, Pandits, and Maulvis.” The paper reprints a paragraph from the *Indian Daily Telegraph* (Lucknow) in which the latter journal complains that the Maulvis and Pandits attached to the Army are paid less than the *Granthis* serving in the same capacity. Commenting on the quotation, it expresses a hope that Government and the Commander-in-Chief

will redress the grievances at an early date. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 30th April 1910*, Vol. XXIII, No. 17, p. 391).

#### 4 Service in Europe

##### *Oudh Ukhbar*, 12 October 1869

Concerning the policy of sending Seikh [Sikh] soldiers of the Indian Army on service in Europe, which subject has, the writer says, lately occupied the attention of the English Press, it is urged that as the Seikhs are only armed with smooth bore muskets, and their opponents with rifles, the former would not be able to stand before them, but would soon be surrounded and murdered. "On the other hand," says the writer, "if the Seikhs are armed with breach-loading rifles, they must be taught how to use them, and they will then be on an equality with the European troops. It is not the wish of Government to arm them as the Europeans are armed, and the consequence will be that these people will be killed outright there." The Government is advised to look to this. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received from the 16th to the 23rd of October, 1869*, pp. 487–48.

##### *Panjabi Akhbar*, 18 May 1878

The *Panjabi Akhbar* of the 18th May, adverting to the fact that Mr. Laing, Sir George Campbell, and Mr. Fawcett, have expressed their dislike in the Parliament that Indian troops should be despatched to any place in Europe where there is an apprehension of war, remarks: It is a matter of regret that several good opportunities have been lost owing to the differences of opinion among the members of Parliament. We find Parliament divided even at the eleventh hour. If the present opportunity is also lost, no good opportunity is likely to recur. It is very good policy on the part of the Government of India to utilize the services of native troops on the occasion of war in Europe. For the last twenty years the native troops have not taken part in any great war. The China, Abyssinia, and Bhutan wars were small affairs. The present is a fit opportunity to call upon the Pathans, the Rajputs, and the Sikhs to exhibit their valour and bravery in the field. We hope that in the event of war with Russia the native troops will be allowed to take a part in it. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 23rd May, 1878*, p. 439).

## 5 Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–1880)

### *Nasim Agra*, 30 October 1878

The *Nasim Agra* of the 30th October says: The Kabul war is sure and inevitable. Hostilities have already been commenced. It is a good occasion for Indian subjects to show their loyalty to the British crown. But they are unable to do so unless the Government entrusts them with important duties. The Panjabi Sikhs are especially fitted for this service, as they are still dreaded by the Kabulis, and have ever been faithful and loyal to their Government. They merit the full confidence of the Government. At this time all the native princes are earnestly looking that the Government may be pleased to entrust them with some service in the expedition. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to 2nd November, 1878*, p. 923).

### *Koh-i-Nur*, 10 January 1880

We are glad to be able to state that the Supreme Government has decided to establish a reserve army at Peshawar. Detachments of troops have been sent for from all parts of the country for the purpose. The army will be placed under the command of Major-General Ross. We repeatedly urged establishment of such an army on the frontier. The present war has clearly proved the necessity. Recruits will probably have to be enlisted in the place of the troops sent to Peshawar. The Rajputs and the Sikhs make excellent soldiers, as has been proved by experience in the Kabul war, and therefore the army should be recruited from them. The cost of a European regiment is nearly four times that of a Native regiment. In his Darbar address on the 1st January, His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab remarked that the Panjab could produce brave and efficient soldiers for the British army. This is no new idea of His Honor's, but it appears from the past history of India that the Panjab, which has been repeatedly exposed to foreign invasions from the North-West, has always produced brave soldiers. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces and Berar. Received up to 15th January, 1880*, pp. 39–40).

## 6 The Battle of Saragarhi (1897)

### *Punjab Samachar*, 20 November 1897

*Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 20th November 1897, remarks that Her Majesty the Queen Empress has sent a telegram expressing her deep sorrow at

the disaster that has fallen the Kapurthala picket, and enquires whether this is all that can be done in such a case. The Editor is of opinion that a Court of Inquiry similar to the one appointed to inquire into the losses suffered by the Northamptonshire Regiment should be held to ascertain the cause of the disaster; and that subscriptions should be raised for the families of the Kapurthala soldiers, as has been done in the case of the men of the Gordon Highlanders killed and wounded at Dargai. If this is not done, the public will infer that the higher authorities are in the habit of making distinctions between white and black men and that they are not willing to show as much consideration for the latter as they do in the case of their own countrymen. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 27th November 1897*, Vol. x, No. 48, p. 999).

***Taj-ul-Akhbar*, 20 November 1897**

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), of the 20th November 1897, remarks that the Sikhs have more than once given practical proof of their sincere devotion to the British Government by maintaining the honor of the Union Jack in the field of battle in distance countries. The brave deeds performed by the gallant Sikh soldiers in Africa, Egypt, &c, were beginning to be forgotten; but the heroic defence of Saragheri and the gallantry displayed by the Kapurthala picket have once more brought the Sikh soldier to the front. It is no exaggeration to say that the Sikhs alone can withstand and tame the wild Pathans now in arms against the British Government. The Editor further remarks that now that the bravery and loyalty of these soldiers has been admitted on all hands, it behoves Government to give them preferment and raise their position. Government cannot of course be expected to treat them on a footing of equality with their British confreres, who are men of the same nationality as Government, but it is only just that their devotion and gallantry should be rewarded. In these days a Sikh sepoy gets only Rs. 10 per mensem, out of which sum he can hardly maintain his family and himself. Government should take his claims into consideration and give him an increase of pay. In addition to this, special pensions and allowances should be sanctioned for the survivors of the heroes of Saragheri and those of the Kapurthala picket. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 27th November 1897*, Vol. x, No. 48, p. 1000).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 1 December 1897**

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), of the 1st December 1897, observes that Government has placed the entire Sikh community under a deep debt of gratitude by coming forward to bear the cost of erecting a memorial to the heroes of

Saragheri. It may not be inappropriate to remark in this connection that the relation between a king and his subject is similar to that existing between a tree and its roots. The tree grows and flourishes only so long as its roots are strong and healthy. Similarly, brave and devoted subjects alone are the true support of a king. Happy is the ruler who is always mindful of the interests of his subjects. No enemy dare injure even a hair of his head, as each and every subject of his will consider it an honor to die in his defence. In conclusion, the Editor remarks that it is a matter for congratulation that the bravery and devotion displayed by the Sikh soldiers have been recognised by Government in a public manner. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 11th December 1897*, Vol. X, No. 50, p. 1030).

#### *Aftab-i-Punjab*, 7 December 1897

The *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), of the 7th December 1897, after giving a short account of the rise and fall of the Khalsa nation, remarks that the Sikhs have more than once given practical proof of their devotion and loyalty to the British Government by fighting its battles in distant countries, such as China, Egypt, Afghanistan, &c. But why speak of the past, when the followers of Guru Nanak are displaying unexampelled gallantry on the frontier even the present moment? It is, however, only just to mention that the gallant deeds performed by these brave men are not more praise-worthy than Government's generous recognition of them, and that the Sikhs are sincerely grateful to Government for coming forward to erect a memorial to the heroic defenders of Saragheri at its own expense. They are also thankful to the European gentlemen who have made liberal donations towards the Saragher Memorial Fund. It may be remarked in this connection that such incidents are calculated to bring the rulers and the ruled closer together. The Editor concludes by observing that the Sikh soldiers having given incontrovertible proof of their sincere attachment to the British throne, Government should reward their loyalty by increasing the number of Sikh Officers in the Indian Army and appointing them to the posts of Lieutenant, Captain, Major, &c. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 11th December 1897*, Vol. X, No. 50, p. 1030).

## 7 Settlement on the Frontier

#### *Civil and Military News*, 1 February 1899

The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), dated 1st February 1899, referring to an article recently published in the *United Service Magazine* remarks that the writer's scheme smacks of want of information. The writer of the article

imagines that the present frontier difficulties can be removed by settling the Sikhs on the frontier, like the Roman colonies. The entire population of the Sikhs, including boys and the aged, is 1,070,000, which is not sufficient to supply recruits for the Sikh regiments. From whence, therefore, can the Sikh settlers be taken to colonize the frontier? According to that scheme no less than two lakhs of Sikhs will be required. The writer's opinion that Jalalabad should be forcibly taken possession of, and that after constructing forts, garrisons should be stationed there, betrays sheer want of knowledge and information on this part. Last year the frontier tribes suspected that their independence was in danger, with the result that Government had to send 60,000 troops to suppress the frontier disturbances. But will not the Sikh settlements in that country be enough to assure them that they will be dispossessed of their country; and will not Government require the whole Indian army (to send to the frontier) in order to suppress the Afghan inroads into British territory? In short, says the Editor, the scheme proposed by the writer in the *United Service Magazine* is totally impracticable, and no more importance can be attached to it than to building castles in the air. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 4th February 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 5, pp. 58–59).

***Khalsa Gazette*, 8 February 1899**

The *Khalsa Gazette* (Lahore), dated 8th February 1899, referring to an article recently published in the *United Service Magazine*, remarks that there is not the shadow of a doubt that a Sikh settlement on the frontier is likely to pacify the turbulent Afghan tribes, who are not amenable to mild treatment. If the brave followers of Guru Gobind Singh were permitted to dwell on the frontier, they would undoubtedly make the savage tribes respect law and order. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 18th February 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 7, p. 94).

***Paisa Akhbar*, 1 April 1899**

The *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), dated 1st April 1899, publishes the translation of an article regarding the "Sikh settlement on the frontier" contributed by Selam (*sic.*) to the January number of the *United Service Magazine*. After quoting the remarks made by the *Civil and Military Gazette* on the impracticability of the suggestion made by Mr. Selam, the Editor endeavours to show that the scheme is an utterly foolish one. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 15th April 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 15, p. 218).

***Islam*, 7 July 1911**

The *Islam* (Lahore), of the 7th (received on the 17th) July 1911, publishes a communication from one Muhammad Hussain of Lahore Cantonment. In the



course of his observations the writer says that the *Loyal Gazette* takes exception to the *Islam's* remarks against the suggested settlement of Sikhs on the Frontier. After remarking that the *Islam* made the above observations with the object of preventing the lives and property of Sikhs being lost on the Frontier, he avers that, although the followers of the Gurus are a brave people, they can achieve nothing against Pathans. It was the last named, he adds, who overran the whole of Indai and protected the country against the dreadful oppression of Vedic Rajas. Again, the gross oppression practiced by the Sikhs on Punjab Muhammadans would lead Pathans to attack the former were they settled on the Frontier. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 22nd July 1911*, Vol. XXIV, No. 29, p. 742).

## 8 Connections with Russia

### *Civil and Military News*, 12 September 1900

The *Civil and Military News* (Ludhiana), of the 12th September 1900, remarks that one good result will doubtless accrue from the despatch of the Indian Contingent to China, *i.e.*, it will enable the Sikh soldiers to see European soldiers of all nationalities, including the Russians with whom they will have to measure swords in the event Russia, attempting an invasion of India. The Russian too will have an opportunity of forming an idea of the bravery and prowess of the Sikhs. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 22nd September 1900*, Vol. XIII, No. 38, p. 498).

### *Punjab Samachar*, 20 December 1904

The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 20th December 1904, remarks that the employment of Sikhs by Russia in Manchuria is being viewed with great distrust by many Englishmen. It would, however, appear that the fears of the last-named are utterly unfounded. The simple fact that some Sikhs have been admitted into the Russian Military Service, and from letters they write to their relations in the Punjab it appears that they are very pleased with their lot. Surely there is nothing in this to cause uneasiness in the minds of Englishmen, seeing that a very large number of the natives of India earn their livelihood in foreign countries. If, however, it is feared that on their return home these Sikhs will try to create among their countrymen a feeling of sympathy for Russia, the easiest way for the authorities to provide against this is to secure the attachment of the people by good government and solicitude for their welfare. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 31st December 1904*, Vol. XVII, No. 51, p. 304).

***Punjab Samachar*, 7 January 1905**

*Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 7th January 1905, in continuation of its previous remarks (*vide* paragraph 3 of Selections No. 51 of 1904), says that a certain newspaper is of opinion that the Sikhs employed by Russia in Manchuria being paid Rs. 25 a month it is to be feared that if the Sikh soldiers of the Government of India are not given an increase of pay they will prefer to serve under the Russian Government. At any rate, the matter is serious enough and Government should attend to it at once, so as not to alienate its Sikh soldiers. Indeed, Government should do its utmost to secure the good-will of all classes of the people, for with the latter on its it will be the easiest thing for it to repel a Russian invasion of India. The Editor would, at the same time, strongly advise Sikhs not to accept service under a foreign Government, especially the Russian Government, which is the deadliest enemy of the present just and generous rulers of this country. He then expresses approval of the action taken by the Patiala Singh Sabha in the matter, and suggests the holding of public meetings in all parts of the Punjab to dissuade Sikhs from serving under Russia. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers Published in the Punjab, Received up to 14th January 1905*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, pp. 7–8).

***Vakil*, 11 January 1905**

The *Vakil* (Amritsar), of the 11th January 1905, remarks that it is owing to their being considered unsurpassable as soldiers that the Sikhs in the Indian Army are made much more of by Government than their comrades of other nationalities. It is for this reason that only Sikhs were recently selected to serve as Native Orderlies to His Majesty the King-Emperor. The news will, therefore, be read with extreme regret that a larger number of the Sikhs who some time back went to Manchuria in search of employment have entered the Russian Military Service. They are greatly valued and handsomely paid by Russia, who is endeavouring to bring as many Sikhs under her banner as she can. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers Published in the Punjab, Received up to 21st January 1905*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, p. 13).

***Army News*, 16 January 1905**

Commenting on the above the *Army News* (Ludhiana), of the 16th January 1905, remarks that the paragraph is an attack on the Sikh community. The *Vakil* has tried to insinuate that the Sikhs, to whom the authorities are partial, are not thoroughly loyal to Government. The insinuation is, however, based on wrong information. No Sikh has accepted service in the Russian Army; all that has happened is that a few Punjabis have been employed as chaukidars by some Russian officers and merchants residing in Chinese ports. Equally

objectionable is the *Vakil's* conduct in imparting a racial colour to the recent selection of Sikhs as Native Orderlies to the King-Emperor. That paper should know that it has been decided to make the annual selections from among the Sikhs, Pathans, Rajputs and Gurkhas of the Indian Army by turns, which involves no injustice to any section of the population. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers Published in the Punjab, Received up to 21st January 1905*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, p. 14).

## 9 Suppression of Riots

### *Khalsa Advocate*, 30 August 1913

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Lahore), of the 30th August 1913, publishes the following: –

“So the poor Sikhs have come to be given a share in the gruesome details that have been telegraphed all over the country and the civilized world. Elsewhere we quoted an extract from an account of the riot given by a correspondent of the *Comrade* of Delhi in which it was stated that a Sikh policeman inflicted ghastly wounds with a spear on a body. The *Zamindar* of Lahore, a prototype of the *Comrade*, an exceptionally ‘bold’ journal, greedily reproduced this previous piece of its intelligence with touches of its own, and the result is that the newspapers all over India, suffering badly from a dearth of news, are feeding on the sort of stuff the newspapers of the ilk of the *Hamdard* and the *Comrade* of Delhi, and the *Zamindar* of Lahore, are doling out to them. And it now appears to their purblind vision that it was not one solitary Sikh policeman who is alleged to have done such a diabolic deed, but that a whole regiment of Sikhs was sent for by the District Magistrate to do this dirty business for him. ‘*Marhaba*,’ we would say!” (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Examined up to 6th September 1913*, Vol. XXVI, No. 36, p. 787).

### *Khalsa Advocate*, 20 March 1915

The *Khalsa Advocate* (Amritsar), of the 20th March 1915, has the following: – “We are glad to learn that the riot at Singapore has been suppressed by the efforts of the 36th Sikh Infantry, which we hear is now in search of the missing rioters. It is the same 36th troop of the Sikhs whose 21 brave fighters stood against thousands of the enemies at the battle of Saragarhi and in whose commemoration two memorials, one at Amritsar and the other at Ferozepore, were built.” (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers. Published in the Punjab. Examined up to 27th March 1915*. Vol. XXVIII, No. 13, p. 163).

10      **The Afghan Campaign (1919)*****Panjabi Bhai*, May 1919**

In its May (1919) number the *Panjabi Bhain* remarks that Government is deparatching troops to the frontier to punish the Amir for his mistake. The journal then urges the Sikhs to help Government in the campaign; it is long since that they had an opportunity of measuring swords with the Pathans. Hindus, Muhammadans and others also should render help to Government and preserve peace in the country. Indians should remember Tamerlane and Nadir Shah and help Government by making every sacrifice for the sake of the their wives, children and property. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXII, Lahore: The 24th May 1919, No. 21, p. 182).

***Loyal Gazette*, 18 May 1919**

The *Loyal Gazette*, of the 18th May 1919, says that if there is any foreign nation from which Indians can receive benefits it is the English. The Afghans and other savage tribes of Central Asia are our old enemies and the pages of history are replete with accounts of our oppression by them. The Afghans have prohibited the blowing of conches and ringing of bells in their country, and the non-Muhammadans residing there are not allowed to wear white turbans and *lungis* or to ride a saddled horse. Again, the late Amir took possession of Chashma Guru Nanak Dev, which was a place of pilgrimage for the Hindus and Sikhs of Afghanistan, and had a palace built there. We voice the views of three million Sikhs when we say that in order to protect the Punjab against Afghan freebooters the Sikhs are ready to place their lives and property at the disposal of Government and will not hesitate to make the greatest sacrifices for it at the present juncture also. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXII, Lahore: The 24th May 1919, No. 21, p. 182).

***Khalsa Samachar*, 15 May 1919**

The *Khalsa Samachar*, of the 15th May 1919, says that the Sikhs should display unprecedented bravery in the campaign and add still further to their laurels. They should also help Government with money and such other things as it may need. In short, they should render every help to Government in the defence of the country. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXII, Lahore: The 24th May 1919, No. 21, p. 182).

***Sikh Sepoy*, 30 May 1919**

The *Sikh Sepoy*, of the 30th May 1919, remarks that recently a Sikh Subedar observed in the course of a conversation with the correspondent of an

Anglo-Indian newspaper that, instead of troubling itself in the matter, the Government should entrust the conduct of the Afghan campaign to the Sikhs, who would make their own arrangements for conquering Afghanistan. These words fully reflect the martial ardour which animates the Sikhs at the present juncture. Every Sikh is fired with this ardour and Sikh soldiers are burning with the desire to end the arrogance of the Pathans. It is desirable indeed that the Afghan trouble should be removed for all time to come. These frequent squabbles demand that a crushing blow should be delivered, and the north-west frontier of India should be extended to Russia. Then this is done we shall have an opportunity of taking the measure of the Russians and deciding whether they are indulging only in empty boasts or whether they are really a match for us. The editor thinks that it is the British and Sikh soldiers alone who will be able to bring the Bolsheviks to their senses. The barrier presented by the hypocritical Afghans should be torn down forever in order that the Punjab may live in peace and devote her energies to the promotion of internal progress. The Sikhs can prove themselves successful *zamindars* and traders in the Kabul valley. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXII, Lahore: The 7th June 1919, No. 23, p. 193).

## 11 Commissions and Sandhurst College

### *Punjab Darpan*, 15 May 1918

The *Punjab Darpan* (Amritsar, Sikh) of the 15th May 1918, refers to the Punjab Government press *communiqué* regarding preferential treatment in the matter of employment under Government in consideration of war services, and says that the Sikhs in the Punjab, especially the agriculturists among them, who have made unique sacrifices in connection with the war, were in hopes that they would profit greatly by the decision. None of the newly filled posts of Extra Assistant Commissioners has gone to a Sikh. (*Selections from the Indian Newspapers published in the Punjab*. Dated the 23rd May 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 21, p. 290).

### *Punjab Darpan*, 21 August 1918

The *Punjab Darpan* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 21st August 1918, says that the Sikhs feel deeply grateful to Sir Michael O'Dwyer for the inclusion of eight Sikhs among the fourteen Punjabis recommended by His Honour for the grant of Commissions in the army. It would, however, have been better if, instead of only sons of *raises* having been recommended, encouragement had been afforded to Sikh military officers by including sons of some of them among the

candidates. (*Selections from the Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 29th August 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 35, p. 458*).

***Punjab Darpan, 4 December 1918***

The *Punjab Darpan* (Amritsar, Sikh), of the 4th December 1918, says that the time is not far distant when the profession of arms will not let the Sikhs draw a pay higher than that of a sepoy. None of the Commissions first granted to Indians fell to the lot of the Sikhs, although the paper drew the Lieutenant-Governor's special attention to the matter. It is not known why His Honour and the Government (of India) forget the Sikhs when there is a chance of adding to the latter's *izzat*. No one from among the Sikhs has now been selected for training at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. Is this not a source of disgrace for the Sikh community, which has been shedding streams of blood in defence of the British flag? Is it not deplorable that no heed should have been paid to the services rendered and the sacrifices made by the Sikhs? It is the duty of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and (other) Sikh leaders to bring the insult offered to the Sikhs to the notice of the Viceroy and point out to His Excellency that it will have a very undesirable effect on the Sikhs; that there are many highly educated men in the community; and that it is idle to say that there is no Sikh fit (to receive training at Sandhurst). (*Selections from the Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 12th December 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 50, p. 612*).

***Loyal Gazette, 8 December 1918***

The *Loyal Gazette* (Lahore, Sikh), of the 8th December 1918, writing about the selection of five Indians for training at the Sandhurst College, translates the *Khalsa Advocate's* comments on the subject (*vide* paragraph 21 of Selections No. 49) and goes on to say that the scions of noble families who were the first to receive the Royal Commission included no members of the Sikh community, which contributes one-fifth of the sepoys. After remarking that in the second batch the number of Sikhs was (only) nominal, the paper says that on the present occasion not a single Sikh has been selected as a cadet for the Sandhurst College, although there are two Bengalis among the candidates selected. Are soldierly qualifications, it asks, unnecessary for Royal Commissions? (*Selections from the Newspapers published in the Punjab. Dated the 12th December 1918. Vol. XXXI, No. 50, p. 612*).

***Punjab Darpan, 2 July 1919***

The *Punjab Darpan*, of the 2nd July 1919, says that some time back five Indians were selected for training at the Sandhurst Military College. Two of these were Bengalis, two Muhammadans and one an apostate Sikh from Jullundur. The

Sikhs had hopes that the deficiency would be made up at the next selection, but the recent five nominations include only one Sikh. He is certainly a genuine Sikh, but it will be better if the Sikh selected belongs not to the *rais* class but to the families which have actually been rendering military service. In the other event these families will feel greatly disappointed. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXII, Lahore: The 12th July 1919, No. 28, pp. 225–226).

### ***Punjab Darpan*, 29 October 1919**

The *Punjab Darpan*, of the 29th October 1919, states that five Indians are to be selected in February 1920 for admission to Sandhurst. Next it brings to the notice of Government that the claims of the Sikhs, who have always won praises from it for the sacrifices made by them, have not hitherto been fully regarded by it in filling higher military posts. It is desirable, adds the newspaper, that in selecting the proposed cadets Government should keep in view the military services rendered by the different communities. Very few commissions went to the Sikhs on the last occasion and the deficiency should be made good now. If this is not done, the Sikhs will be led to think that Government wishes to please them only with words, and has no real regard for the sacrifices made by them. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 8th November 1919, No. 45, p. 388).

### ***Akali*, 27 June 1920**

The *Akali* of the 27th June regrets that of the five Indians selected for receiving education at Sandhurst College not a single one is Sikh. When the Sikhs ask for high offices, they are told that capable men are not available among them and that they will be given such offices when they produce capable men. But we are surprised to find that even the offices for which the Sikhs are most fitted, are not conferred on them in the military department where the Sikhs are in a majority. (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIII, Lahore: The 10th July 1920, No. 28, p. 277).

## **12      Misconducts and Dismissals**

### ***Siri Nursingjee Sahoy*, 7 June 1865**

The “*Siri Nursingjee Sahoy*” of the 7th June reports the following: – “About fifteen days ago two Sikh sowars, by permission of the ‘Sirkar,’ went to see the *tamasha* (entertainment or display) in the city of Indore. On the way they felt thirsty, and sat down at a well, where they joined by a ‘*kahar*’ (man of the bearer caste). The sowars called him, and entered into conversation, enquiring

where he was going, &c., They then made him sit down by them and took a good look at some silver ornaments he had about him; upon which one of the sowars stuffed a cloth into the *kahar's* mouth, while the other divested him of his ornaments, and, after wounding him, left for dead. The kotwal (police officer) got news of this, and the next morning a parade was ordered, when the criminals were discovered. This case is under investigation." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers, published in the Punjab and the North Western Provinces, from the 8th to the 15th July, 1865*, pp. 341–342).

***Adieb Hind*, 29 May 1868**

The *Adieb Hind* of the 29th of May, after extracts, mentions that "two young Sikhs, who had enlisted for Abyssinia, deserted, and have been arrested and placed in confinement. When they were asked why they ran away, they replied that they feared for their lives. When asked, 'Why, then, did you enlist?' they replied, 'For bread.' They were then told that they ought to have died rather than desert, and that they would be punished, as they disgraced the name of Sikh." (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. From the 16th to the 24th of June, 1868*, p. 272).

***Nasim-i-Agra*, 15 December 1882**

The editor further complains that the Sikh and Afghan soldiers have also begun to harass and cheat the people, especially shopkeepers. The police lately arrested a Sikh soldier when he, it is said, was breaking into a house with some other soldiers. His companions made their escape, but he was wounded in the fight that ensued and seized. He has died since in the hospital. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 21st December, 1882*, pp. 880–881).

***Rafiq-i-Hind*, 20 February 1886**

The *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 20th February, says that the *Asafi* newspaper of the Deccan, after quoting instances of misconduct on the part of some Sikh soldiers in the service of the Nizam, charges Sikhs as a class with insubordination and bitter enmity to Musalmans, and recommends the dismissal of all the Sikh troops employed under the Nizam's Government. The *Rafiq* condemns the general charge brought against the Sikh community as quite unfounded, and observes that the Sikhs are a very respectable and peaceful people, and that Muhammadans stand under great obligations to them. As regards the individual instances of misbehavior among Sikh soldiers at Hyderabad, bad persons are to be found in every class and community. (*Selections from the*



*Vernacular Newspapers published in the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Central Provinces, Central India, and Rajputana. Received up to 23rd February, 1886, p. 159).*

***Taj-ul-Akhbar, 28 March 1891***

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), dated 28th March 1891, calls upon the Sikh nation to turn their attention to the disgraceful conduct of their co-religionists in the Army, and to endeavour to save their national honour. Soldiers invariably have a bad name, but the Sikh soldiers have surpassed all in immorality. Reports from Jhansi, where the 45th Sikh Infantry has recently been transferred, show that the soldiers of that Regiment are putting native women in the city to great shame by their disgraceful conduct. It is stated, that they grossly insult women passing through the streets. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 4th April 1891. Vol. IV, No. 14, p. 132).*

***Saraj-ul-Akhbar, 16 April 1900***

The *Saraj-ul-Akhbar* (Jhelum), dated the 16th April 1900, says that on the last Baisakhi and 'Id days the Sikh soldiers quartered at Jhelum paraded the laries inhabited the gentle folks of the town (Jhelum) singing obscene songs and otherwise misbehaving themselves. This led to more than one quarrel between the soldiers and the people. It is said that the Police reported the matter to the authorities and that the soldiers have been prohibited from visiting the town for a few days. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 21st April 1900, Vol. XIII, No. 16, p. 204).*

***Punjab Samachar, 12 July 1902***

The *Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), of the 12th July 1902, publishes a communication from one Vir Singh, teacher of the Bhai Phairo School, Lahore District, in which the writer complains that Indar Singh, son of Nihal Singh, Kapur, of Bhai Phairo, Tahsil Chunian, after serving one year three months and thirteen days has been dismissed from the 47th Sikhs (Sialkot), on account of his being a Khatri by caste. He requests the Editor to bring the case to the notice of the Officer Commanding the 47th Sikhs or the Commander-in-Chief with reference to the Government order which removed the disabilities under which Khatri formerly laboured in regard to employment in the Army. (*Selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 19th July 1902, Vol. xv. No. 29, p. 407).*

*Tribune*, 23 January 1921

The Secretary, Panth Sewak Jatha, writes to the *Tribune* of the 23rd January: – “On the 16th of January 1921 (the birthday of Sri Guru Gobind Singh ji) at about 10 PM, we, the members of the Panth Jatha, were going to Dera Sahib Sri Guru Arjan Dev ji near the fort reciting sacred *shabads* (hymns). All of a sudden a volley of bricks and stones fell upon us from the fort. Almost all of us were hurt. On being questioned as to what necessitated them to do us this uncalled-for hospitality, the soldiers simply laughed and abused us. One fails to understand whether these men are here to protect the hearths and homes of His Majesty’s beloved subjects or to do harm to peaceful and law-abiding people. The special attention of the officer in charge of the fort is invited to the event in order that he may strictly instruct his soldiers to be more careful and gentle in future.” (*Punjab Press Abstracts*. Vol. XXXIV, Lahore: The 29th January 1921, No. 5, p. 60).

## Miscellaneous Incidents and Reports

### 1 Individual Resistance

#### *Koh-i-Noor*, 5 December 1868

Under the heading “Carelessness” the following appears: – “A gentleman writes from Peshawar, that on the day of the Durbur a reckless Sikh, at the height of the Durbar, when all, even the Lieutenant-Governor, were present, ran into the Durbur, pushing aside all before him, and rushed to the front, armed to the teeth, calling out, ‘Wah! Gooroojee ki Khalsa! Wah! Gooroojee ki fateh!’ (‘Bravo the Royal office of the Gooroo! Bravo his victory!’) The Nawab Lieutenant-Governor was not at all displeased with the man, but laughed much, and watched him with a kind look for some time.” (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. From the 16th to the 24th of December, 1868*, p. 563).

#### *Ghamkhar-i-Hind*, 16 September 1899

The *Ghamkhar-i-Hind* (Lahore), of the 16th September 1899, says that a few days back a Sikh, who called himself the Shahinshah-i-Satara-i-Hind (Emperor of the State of India), arrived in Delhi from Amritsar. He planted a red flag near the Clock Tower in the Chandani Chauk and began to shout out that the time for the restoration of the Sikh rule had come; that he had been ordered by the Guru Sahib to proclaim this to the Hindus and Muhammadans; that he would ascend the throne in the Delhi Fort and reign for 125 years; and that he had sent an application to the Queen Empress praying Her Majesty to order her Treasury to give him as much money as he wanted. This drew thousands of persons around him, but the matter having reached the ears of the Police, the “Emperor” was arrested and taken to the Kotwali. Inspector Sandhe Khan recognized him as a lunatic, and after a medical examination had him sent back to Amritsar at the expense of Government. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 30th September 1899*, Vol. XII, No. 39, p. 555).

## 2 A Discovery of Relics

### *Koh-i-Noor*, 30 September 1871

A correspondent of the *Koh-i-Nur* of the 30th September reports the discover of two huge guns in Oona Sahib, a famous place of antiquity in the district of Hooshearpore [Hoshiarpur]. The locality where the guns have been discovered is the precipice forming the boundary-line of two well-known shrines build by Guru Govind Singh, the famous Sikh leader. The late heavy rain having washed away the earth of the precipice, exposed to view the head of a gun, which a Hindoo who first saw it took to be a kettle full of money. The news was brought to the tehseeldar of the place, who caused the spot to be dug up, when two guns were discovered one after the other. These are about six and eight maunds in weight, have a figure of the Goddess Kali (the Hecate of the Hindoos) mounted on a lion engraved on each, and seem to be fit for use. As the precipice is the site of the ruins of Guru Govind Singh's fortress, the correspondent believes the guns to have been the Guru's property. They will presently be removed to Hooshearpore, and will probably find place in the Lahore museum, side by side with the gigantic gun which passes by the name of "sweeper's gun." In the correspondent's opinion, the guns had better be presented to the Durbar Sahib in Umritsar, in order that on occasion of fairs and festivals pilgrims may offer presents of money at them, the sum thus collected being utilized for aiding in the maintenance of the Durbar Sahib.

(*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers Published in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Central Provinces. Received up to 7th October, 1871*, p. 588).

## 3 The Evils of Eating Opium

### *Akhbar-i-Am*, 23 December 1893

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), of the 23rd December 1893, says that an Anglo-Indian paper has remarked that the stoppage of poppy cultivation will incite the Sikhs (against Government), as they, the Sikhs, cannot live without opium! The *Akhbar* refuses to believe that the Sikhs will be so foolish as to rebel against the British Government if an attempt is made to wean them from this degrading habit. It is a well-known fact that the Military authorities have for some time past been complaining of the physical deterioration of the Sikhs. Now, these very authorities are urging that the Sikhs are the largest consumers of opium and regard the drug as a necessary of life and should not therefore be deprived of it. Government, however, ignores the fact that the opium habit is

responsible for the physical deterioration of the Sikh nation, which supplies the best soldiers for the Indian Army and has proved a tower of strength to the British Government. The suppression of opium may possibly displease the Sikhs for a time, but it is sure to prove beneficial to them and the Government alike in the end. The Editor then dwells on the evils of opium-eating, and remarks that the Native witnesses dare not point out the evil effects resulting from the consumption of the drug, as they are afraid that a fresh tax will be imposed on the country to meet the loss of revenue which the stoppage of opium cultivation would involve. The Europeans also abstain from telling the truth from selfish motives, as they would be compelled to disgorge the large sums of money which they have drawn on account of the exchange compensation allowance. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab, Received up to 30th December 1893*. Vol. VI, No. 52, p. 700).

#### 4      A Sikh Photographer

##### *Punjab*, 8 December 1896

The *Punjab* (Amritsar), dated 8th December 1896, asks whether Government servants can carry on any business while in the service of Government, and if not, whether Government will take notice of the conduct of a Sikh Sergeant who is employed as Drill Instructor at the Police Training School at Phillour and who earns money by working as a photographer. (*Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab. Received up to 26th December 1896*, Vol. IX, No. 52, p. 740).

After the Indian Rebellion of 1857, the colonial administration in British India introduced stricter control over Indian publishers and the press printed in various indigenous languages. Newspapers in the Punjab were monitored and scrutinized from 1864 to understand “native opinions” and identify seditious tendencies. The surveillance resulted in extensive weekly press reports that were considered politically significant for British governance. This book, divided into four volumes, presents the first English translations of newspaper articles about the Sikhs published in the weekly press reports for Punjab between 1864 and 1924. Covering press material from over 300 newspapers, the book provides insights into the broader landscape of print media in Indian languages and how discussions on the Sikhs in the press evolved in response to changing imperial policies and politics. In a growing field of research on print cultures and publics in colonial India, the book offers unique source material for a nuanced and localized understanding of the history of the Sikhs in Punjab. The book is invaluable to scholars and students of history, Punjabi society, religion, and politics. This is volume 1 of a 4-volume set.

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