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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS

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LALA LAJPAT RAI IN 1908

LAJPAT RAI  
AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS

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EDITED BY

VIJAYA CHANDRA JOSHI

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS

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## P R E F A C E

THIS is the first of the three volumes of selected writings and speeches of Lala Lajpat Rai to be published on the occasion of his birth centenary. The object of the publication is to present the life and ideas of one of the greatest nationalist leaders of modern India in his own words. Lalaji combined in his person a selfless and devoted patriot, an indefatigable campaigner for independence, an outstanding social reformer, an eminent educationist and a keen promoter of industrial development of India. There was hardly any facet of national life in which he did not play a dominant role. The life of such a man forms in itself an important chapter in the history of modern India. Lajpat Rai's writings are marked by rare qualities of frankness and freedom from reserve and, therefore, furnish a trustworthy account of the development of his personality and his ideas on various problems in which he was interested. The publication of a selection from his writings and speeches, it is hoped, will fill a gap in the literature about Indian nationalist leaders and provide useful source material in compact form to serious students of modern Indian history. These writings will also be of interest to the general readers who want to study the emergence of Indian nationalism and lives and ideas of the country's national leaders.

The autobiographical writings incorporated in this volume are not complete, as it has not been possible to find a copy of the autobiographical fragment Lajpat Rai wrote shortly before his death. If it is traced at a later stage it will be incorporated in a revised edition of the present work.

In this publication a short introduction has been provided explaining briefly the nature of the writings included in it and an attempt has been made to fill in the gap which is left in the narrative as presented in the three parts. No evaluation of the works of Lalaji has been attempted ; this has been left to the readers. The notes amplify obscure points in the writings and provide additional information about some of the events. The number of notes, however, has been kept to the minimum.

I am grateful to the LAJPAT RAI CENTENARY COMMITTEE for the assistance in the collection of the writings and speeches of Lajpat Rai which are to be found in numerous old newspapers,

periodicals and pamphlets. It may, however, be stated that the Centenary Committee and its officials are in no way responsible for the views expressed in this volume.

It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge the valuable help I have received from Sewak Raj Mahajan in editing this volume. He has also read the proofs, by no means a negligible contribution in itself, and prepared the biographical notes and the index.

The publication of this volume owes much to the initiative and resourcefulness of Om Parkash Ghai of the University Publishers. The book has been produced in a remarkably short time and but for his cooperation it would have been difficult to do it.

VIJAYA CHANDRA JOSHI

New Delhi,  
January 28, 1965

## C O N T E N T S

PREFACE	v
INTRODUCTION	ix
THE STORY OF MY LIFE	
Introduction	3
1 Earliest Recollections	11
2 Mother's Miracle	14
3 The Sickly School Boy	17
4 Days of Struggle at College	21
5 In Brahmo Samaj	23
6 Urdu Hindi Controversy	25
7 Conversion to Arya Samaj	28
8 A Vakil at Last	33
9 Some Hissar Portraits	35
10 More about my Hissar Days	42
11 The Split in Arya Samaj	46
12 The Split in Arya Samaj	52
13 Some Leaders in Arya Samaj Factions	57
14 Founding of the Anarkali Samaj	62
15 Clash of two Sections	69
16 The Martyr Lekh Ram	73
17 A Mild Conversion	76
18 Hindi and Hinduism	79
19 Preparation for Political Work	81
20 First contacts with the Congress	84
21 Indifference towards the Congress	87
22 Years of Political Inactivity	91
23 Harkishen Lal and the Arya Samajists	95
24 Birth of the Panjabee	99
25 Shyamji Krishna Verma	103
26 Clash With Moderatism	108
27 The Calcutta Congress	112
28 Gokhale's Visit to Lahore	115
29 Ajit Singh and the Zamindar Agitation	118
30 Lyallpur Meeting	120
31 Pindi Disturbances	123

32 The Panjabee Appeal	127
THE STORY OF MY DEPORTATION	
Introduction	131
1 Before the Arrest	140
2 The Arrest and the Deportation	154
3 Under Restraint in Mandalay Fort	163
4 How I occupied Myself	168
5 State of Mind During Confinement	174
6 The Memorials	180
7 Release and Return Home	192
INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN	197
APPENDICES	
Appendix I. The Political Situation in the Punjab	223
Appendix II. Minute by Sir Denzil Ibbetson	228
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES	241
INDEX	250

## INTRODUCTION

LALA LAJPAT RAI was the most prolific writer among his contemporary nationalist leaders of India. His literary activity started when he was still in his teens and he continued to write almost to the last day of his life. He was the author of a score of books in English and Urdu, besides numerous articles contributed to newspapers and periodicals published in India as well as abroad. He had a strong desire to write a complete autobiography, but this task could not be accomplished because of his sudden death in 1928. Lajpat Rai had, however, written his autobiography in fragments which mostly remained unpublished during his life-time. In this volume have been brought together three of his autobiographical writings—*The Story of My Life*, *The Story of My Deportation* and the *Indian Revolutionaries in the United States and Japan*. The three fragments put together provide an authentic and trustworthy account of a fairly large part of his active public life which was devoted to the political, social, religious and economic development of the country.

The first of these three works was written in Urdu in November 1914 soon after Lajpat Rai's arrival in New York. *The Story of My Life*, written closely on about one hundred sheets, was obviously not intended for publication at that time and the manuscript was sent in April 1915 for safe custody to his friend Mr. F. W. Westbrook in London. It was brought to India by Lalaji during one of his visits to Europe after the non-cooperation movement. This work was posthumously published in the *Bandematram*, the Urdu daily of Lahore founded by Lajpat Rai, and its English translation appeared in *The People* during 1929. Since the original manuscript is not available the English version, as published in *The People*, is being reprinted in this volume. I have, however, taken the liberty of making some changes in language to eliminate the ambiguities of expression in the translation which was too literal.

In the *The Story of My Life* Lajpat Rai has left a vivid account of his life and activities until the early days of 1907, a period during which the Punjab was in great ferment. Apart from furnishing a true account of his early life the *Story* forms an invaluable source for the study of religio-social movements in the Punjab, particularly the Arya Samaj, and the growth of political consciousness in the country. The



closing chapters of this work contain an account of the conflict between the old leadership of the Indian National Congress and the new group of Nationalists of advanced political views, led by Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bepin Chandra Pal, Arabinda Ghosh and Lajpat Rai himself. His account is of added significance as written by one who played an important role in shaping the events.

The *Story of My Deportation* has been reprinted in an abridged form. The original work, written in great haste, appears to be a piece of amateurish writing and is full of trivialities. The abridged version is entirely in Lajpat Rai's own words; but it has been shorn of certain trivial and irrelevant details in the original text. It has been my endeavour to retain all that can be considered of historical significance.

Lajpat Rai had a strong case in regard to the unjust action of the Government in deporting him to Burma and in the *Story of My Deportation* he gives his version of the episode. The facts related by him are substantially supported by the official records and the private correspondence of Minto and Morley.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson, who had succeeded Sir Charles Rivaz in the Office of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab early in 1907, was able to convince Lord Minto of the 'exceedingly serious' and 'exceedingly dangerous' aspect of the situation in the Province with his 'weighty' Minute of April 30.<sup>1</sup> The Governor-General agreed to the local government's proposal for deportation without judicial proceedings, in spite of the opposition of two members of his Council. When Lajpat Rai was suddenly arrested and deported to Burma, he as well as his countrymen were kept in the dark as to the reasons which had prompted the Government to resort to such a grave action. In view of the tense situation in the beginning of May Lajpat Rai was apparently expecting to be arrested, but even he did not believe that the authorities would suspect him of "threatening the security of the British dominions" and creating "internal commotion" and resort to the special powers under Regulation III of 1818. A few hours before his arrest, amid the heat and passion of a popular agitation,

1. The minute as representing the views of the Punjab Government in regard to the situation in the Province on the eve of Lajpat Rai's deportation is given in full in Appendix II. See below pp. 228-40.

Lajpat Rai summed up in a brief statement<sup>2</sup> with his characteristic calmness in difficult situations, his views on the situation in the Punjab. He stated his case with frankness and showed how the discontent in the Punjab was not due to any political agitation, but was caused by certain unjust legislative measures of the Government, in particular the Colonization Bill.

To most of his countrymen—Moderates as well as Extremists—Lajpat Rai was innocent and the wild charges made in the Anglo-Indian Press against him were unfounded. The grave action of the local government was born out of panic in the ranks of the bureaucracy, caused by widespread discontent among the people. The Government wanted to make an impressive show of force and as Gopal Krishna Gokhale put it "they struck at Lala Lajpat Rai simply because he was the most prominent political worker in the Province."<sup>3</sup> Lajpat Rai's high reputation in public life and his popularity appear to have been chiefly responsible for his choice for the Government's attack.

Though Minto had agreed to the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, he recognized the reasonableness of the discontent and vetoed the Punjab Colonization Bill, in spite of the strong views to the contrary of Ibbetson's Government. It was soon realized that the trouble in the Punjab was essentially agrarian in character and the removal of the main grievance of the agriculturists was responsible for restoration of peaceful conditions in the Province. The Viceroy was also convinced that the action in deporting Lajpat Rai was hasty and unjust. He wrote to Morley on November 5, 1907, "Lajpat Rai is undoubtedly a man of high character and very much respected by his fellow-countrymen, and if when I was asked to arrest him, I had known what I do now, I would have required much more evidence before agreeing."

The autobiographical fragments in this volume leave a gap of seven years in the life story of Lajpat Rai. It is unfortunate that he has not left an account of the fateful Surat Congress held in December 1907 in which he was a key figure. He was perhaps so much

2. See Appendix I, pp. 223-27.

3. Gokhale's letter dated May 22, 1907, published in the *Tribune* of May 25, 1907.

distressed and disheartened by the unseemly developments there that he did not feel inclined to write the story of the schism in the national organization. Although he was virtually aligned with the Nationalists in regard to his political beliefs, he exerted moderating influence both at the Banaras Congress (1905) and the Calcutta Congress (1906). He held in high esteem both Gokhale and Tilak, who between them symbolized the conflicting ideologies of the Moderates and the Extremists; he could perhaps reconcile the irreconcilable. In return Lajpat Rai had the unique distinction of winning the respect and affection of both the Moderates and the Nationalists. When he was deported the two opposing factions were equally shocked at the unjust action of the Government against a man of Lajpat Rai's standing and high character. Gokhale, who was to lead the agitation for the release of his Punjabi friend, significantly exclaimed, "We certainly do not want any disorders in the land, but the reforms which the Viceroy and the Secretary of State are contemplating will lose their meaning for us, if they cannot be had without the deportation out of India of such earnest and high minded workers in the country's cause as Lala Lajpat Rai."<sup>4</sup> Gokhale's advocacy of Lalaji's case was in a large measure responsible for the latter's release.

Lajpat Rai was restored to freedom only a few weeks before the ill-fated Surat Congress. The deportation had given him the halo of martyrdom and when he returned from Mandalay he was at the height of his popularity. The Nationalists, led by Tilak, put forward his name for the Presidentship of the forthcoming Congress in place of Rash Behari Ghosh, but Lajpat Rai strongly disapproved the idea. He was unwilling to take sides in the conflict, and asserted that he would be "the last person to allow himself to be made the reason or the occasion of any split in the National Camp."<sup>5</sup>

At Surat Lalaji fearlessly played the role of a peace-maker between the two camps. He tried hard to bring them together for a conference, but his efforts were not rewarded with success. When the split came, he, unmindful of popularity, decided to remain with the Moderates and to continue to strive for his country's cause under the

4. *The Tribune*, May 25, 1907.

5. *The Tribune*, December 17, 1907, Lajpat Rai's letter to the Editor.

flag of the Congress. At the same time he appealed to the Moderates not to give the Extremists over to the enemy and expose them to persecution by the Government. To his Extremist friends he appealed, "not to be impatient on the slowness of age and the voice of practical wisdom." His advice, however, was not heeded. The Extremists were completely isolated and fell a victim to the repressive policy of the Government. The Moderates became more 'moderate' without the Nationalists in the Congress camp and virtually turned to be the allies of the Government. The Congress unreservedly accepted the Minto-Morely Reforms Scheme along with the provision for communal electorates for the Mohammadens.

Lajpat Rai soon found that the Congress after the Surat split was a different organization from what it used to be during 1905-7. His sense of loyalty to the national organization and deep faith in the leadership of genuine patriots like Gokhale had swayed his decision to stay with the Moderates. But his interest in it began to wane because of the basic contradiction between his political ideology and the creed of the Congress. He drifted away from it, and voluntarily chose the path of political oblivion.

A leader of Lajpat Rai's political stature, however, could not remain silent for a long time and he had to take the public into confidence in regard to his non-participation in the Congress activities. In 1909 the Congress was to meet in Lahore, his own home town, and he had to make public his attitude in regard to this session. In a letter to *The Panjabee*<sup>6</sup> he recounted the circumstances in which he had attended the Moderates Convention and explained that his object in remaining with the Congress organization after the Surat split was to bring about a reconciliation between the two groups. But he soon found that his efforts were thwarted by both sides and there was little chance of achieving unity. He particularly disapproved the tactics of the Moderates in keeping the Extremists out of the Congress and making the split a 'settled fact'. In Lajpat Rai's opinion the persistent refusal of the Moderate leaders to agree to reconciliation materially contributed to the extinction of the Extremists and he considered "the extinction of the extreme left wing of the Indian National party a grave menace to the Congress itself". He also questioned the

6. *The Panjabee*, July 5, 1909.

right and the title of the Moderates "to sail under the name of the Indian National Congress" and the right of the Convention to make a constitution for the Congress. The Congress, according to Lajpat Rai, had lost its representative character as a national organization under the exclusive control and management of the Moderates.

Lajpat Rai had another grievance against the Congress leadership who had given unqualified support to the principle of separate denominational electorates and excessive representation to the minority community as embodied in the Reforms Scheme. He was opposed to separate electorates and also felt, along with many other Hindu leaders of the Punjab, that the Congress had let down the Hindu community, particularly in his own Province where the Hindus were in a minority.

For these reasons Lajpat Rai kept aloof from the Congress in 1909. In fact he remained away from Lahore during those days.

During the months following the split at Surat he devoted himself whole-heartedly to famine relief work in the United Provinces. In the famines of 1897-98 and 1899-1900, the activities of the Arya Samaj, under his leadership, had been limited to orphan relief work. In 1908, the scope of these activities was expanded to include general relief. The campaign was well organized and met with remarkable success. The depressed classes among the Hindus also received special attention from Lajpat Rai during this period. In the field of education too he made a notable contribution. In addition to his work for the Dayanand College, of which he was a distinguished founding father, he set up the Hindu Elementary Education League for the promotion of education amongst Hindus.

In 1911, Lajpat Rai made his second venture into the field of municipal administration; he was elected to the Lahore Municipal Committee with an overwhelming majority. The authorities were still suspicious of his motives; but he proved to be an asset in conducting with extraordinary zeal and honesty the civic affairs of the metropolis of the Province.

Lajpat Rai's interest in the Congress gradually revived. He attended the annual session at Bankipur (Patna) in 1912 and once again occupied a prominent place among its leaders. His most remarkable performance at Bankipur was the vigorous advocacy, in

a speech delivered in Hindustani, of the cause of Indians in South Africa. At the 28th Congress held in Karachi in December 1913, he again had the distinction of speaking on the same subject.

In one of the resolutions (Resolution XVIII) the Karachi Congress decided to send a delegation to England to represent Indian views on the disabilities of Indians in South Africa and other Colonies, the Press Act, the reform of the Indian Council, separation of Judicial and Executive functions, and other important questions on which the Congress had expressed opinion. Lajpat Rai joined the delegation as a representative from the Punjab and reached England in May 1914. During his absence in England five out of nine Provincial Congress Committees voted him for the Presidentship of the Madras Congress. Though the final choice lay with the Reception Committee there was every chance of his election. When informed of this significant development by a friend in India he decided without hesitation to decline the high office, if offered to him. He felt that he would not be very happy among the Madras politicians and other Moderate Congress leaders with whom he had fundamental differences on principles as well as the manner in which the Congress organization was being run by them. Lalaji emphatically pointed out that his opinions had remained unchanged and were substantially the same as before his deportation in 1907. By accepting the Presidentship he felt that he would put himself in a "wrong hole".<sup>7</sup>

Before Lajpat Rai's wishes were known in India some of the prominent leaders of the Congress set on foot a move to make a second reference to the Committees, with the object of reversing the decision. They feared that his election would not be expedient in view of Lajpat Rai being *persona non grata* with the Government and the Mohammadens. Two of the Committees reversed their decision under pressure and the Reception Committee declared Bhupendra Nath Basu as duly elected President of the Madras Congress. Lajpat Rai must have heaved a sigh of relief at this decision.

When Lajpat Rai left in April 1914 he did not expect to be away from India for more than six months. On the completion of his mission in England he intended to visit some of the European countries on his return journey. The outbreak of hostilities, just on

7. *The People*, November 14, 1929.

the eve of his departure from London for Switzerland, brought about a change in his programme. He gave up the idea of travelling to Europe and settled down to writing his book on the Arya Samaj. In London he also engaged himself in writing for the Press on Indian matters and a number of his articles and letters were published in the Liberal and Labour Press.

In November 1914, after he had completed the writing of the "Arya Samaj" he suddenly decided to leave for the United States in the company of his friend Shiv Prasad Gupta of Banaras. Lajpat Rai's first visit to the United States in 1905 had been for a brief period of only three weeks; during the second he did not expect to stay there for more than a few months. But circumstances forced him to extend his sojourn in the United States for more than five years, except for a visit of five months to Japan in 1915.

The third part of the "Autobiographical Writings" under the title of "Indian Revolutionaries in the United States and Japan", relates to this period of his exile. This short, but frank, narrative was written by Lajpat Rai in June 1919 as a memorandum, presumably for his future use. Since it was not intended for publication in that form, the manuscript was left by him in a sealed cover with his friend and publisher, B. W. Huebsch of New York.<sup>8</sup> In this memorandum, Lajpat Rai recounts mainly the activities of the Indian revolutionaries who were aiming to liberate India with the support of German arms and money and his relations with them. This account becomes very meaningful in the context of the Indian revolutionary activity abroad during the First World War and German attempts to exploit the situation to bolster their designs against the British. The movement in the United States had two groups of workers—one on the Atlantic seaboard who were totally dependent on German money, and the other on the Pacific coast, self supporting but also accepting German help. It is interesting to note that the agents of the Berlin Revolutionary Committee in the United States were practically all from Bengal. Lajpat Rai came into contact with both the groups and they made attempts to enlist his support in their

8. In 1943 Mr. Huebsch deposited the manuscript in the New York Public Library, where the Editor of this volume first noticed it in 1958. It has since been transferred to the National Archives of India.

cause. His reactions to these proposals and the German offers made to him are narrated candidly in Lajpat Rai's account.

The memorandum provides only one-sided picture of Lajpat Rai's life in the United States. The object of the visit, in his own words, was "to know more of that fascinating land and to study the social and political conditions that prevail there, to cultivate acquaintance with a few at least of its intellectual leaders, to get first hand knowledge of its system of education and to find out what opportunities we had of training young men there." With this purpose in view he travelled through the length and breadth of the country, visiting New York, Princeton, Boston, Washington, Atlanta, New Orleans, Chicago, Urbana, Los Angeles and San Francisco. His observations on various facets of American life are to be found in his fascinating and illuminating work, *The United States of America—A Hindu's Impressions and a Study*.<sup>9</sup> Lajpat Rai also carried on vigorous, but enlightened, propaganda for Indian independence throughout his stay in the United States and it met with considerable success, particularly among liberal circles. He made full use of the opportunities available to him to address American audiences, to remove their ignorance about his country. His vigorous pen was also called into service in India's cause and during this period Lalaji wrote several books and pamphlets of abiding interest, including *Young India*, *England's Debt to India* and the *Political Future of India*.

Lajpat Rai also founded, in October 1917, in New York the Indian Home Rule League of America with the object of supporting the Home Rule Movement in India and promoting intercourse between India and America. In January 1918 came out the first issue of the 'Young India', the monthly organ of the League. A year later he set up, with himself as Director, the Indian Information Bureau of New York, to serve as a publicity organization for India.

All these efforts were directed towards the sole object of creating a favourable opinion abroad towards India's aspirations. In spite of the success he achieved in this effort he, however, did not believe that the salvation of his country would come from outside. He was opposed to reliance being placed on foreign assistance—political or military.

9. Published by R. Chatterjee, Calcutta, 1916.



At the end of the War, Lajpat Rai wanted to come back home, but the British authorities did not allow him to return throughout 1919. Finally he was given a passport and he was back in India in February 1920. The year proved to be a momentous one in his life and so also in the history of India's struggle for independence.

# **THE STORY OF MY LIFE**



## INTRODUCTION

New York, November 28, 1914

THE idea of writing the story of my life came to my mind for the first time in 1907 when I was a prisoner in British custody in the Mandalay Fort. But I abstained from acting up to my idea ; for one thing I was afraid my manuscript may fall into the hands of Britishers and acquaintance with its contents may urge them more than ever before to determine upon my utter ruin. But what weighed with me even more than this was concern for the interests of other people whom I may have to mention in this story. Still the idea had taken such a hold on my mind that I started an autobiographical novel. This work was yet unfinished when I was released, and after that I never had the leisure to sit down to complete it. And at last in 1910,<sup>1</sup> when in connexion with Bhai Parmanand's case there was fear of my house being searched, all my papers and correspondence, etc., were consigned to fire with the consent of my father and my clerk, but against my own wishes. At least I was assured that the papers had been burnt, and I see no reason to disbelieve that statement.

Between 1910 and 1914 I resolved several times to commit the story of my life to writing, but always I was deterred by the thought that my manuscript might fall into the hands of the enemies of my nation. When I started on my present trip I made a firm resolve that before returning home I would write the story of my life and deposit the manuscript in some safe place. To fulfil that resolve I am commencing the present work today. But before starting my narrative I would like to say in a few words why I am undertaking this work at all. Whatever my countrymen may think of me, whether they look upon me as a hero or whether they regard me as a contemptible, egotistic notoriety hunter, they cannot disregard the fact that the country gave me the opportunity to come into contact with a considerable section of our intelligentsia. There was hardly any department of Indian public life during the last thirty two years which did not come under my observation, and

1. This happened in 1909. Among the papers found in Bhai Parmanand's possession were two letters addressed to him by Lajpat Rai when the former was in England in 1907.

in which I played no part, major or minor. My enemies have averred against me that the threads of the different movements have passed through my hands.

I can thus claim personal knowledge of events during the last thirty-two years. I had my share in shaping them and I was watching others while they were busy in shaping them. I have first-hand knowledge as to what factors influenced the national movement in different stages, through what hands it passed and how its course changed continually.

If today I had with me my papers, my journals, the original documents that I had preserved, I would have based my narrative principally on documents. But these having been destroyed I have to depend upon my memory and there is no other evidence to vouch for the accuracy of my narrative.

My purpose in recording these events is that the succeeding generations of my countrymen may know through what stages the national movement passed, what mistakes the originators, leaders and workers in this movement committed, in what measure and how they met with success and failure. What I aim at is that those who read this story may get some guidance from it. I believe that our misfortunes are not going to end soon. Some friends think we shall achieve success and win India's freedom very soon. I regret I cannot share that optimism. In my opinion the struggle will be a protracted one. We have but few friends and those are not powerful; our foe on the other hand is mighty. We are yet without the resources that bestow success on national movements. Our internal enemies are so numerous, and cleavages so fundamental that it appears very unlikely that these cleavages would vanish speedily or that the internal enemies would be vanquished very soon.

What I have heard and seen and felt for the last seven years has engendered both hope and fear in my mind. There can be no doubt that certain aspects of the awakening seen during the last ten years are extremely encouraging; but at the same time certain other facts make one despondent. When I published the life of Mazzini in 1895<sup>2</sup> I certainly did not expect that the awakening

2. Lajpat Rai's Life of Mazzini was published in Urdu in 1896 in the Series "Great Men of the World". It was based on standard English writings on the subject. He had earlier translated into Urdu Mazzini's *Duties of Man* and a little later wrote a biography of Garibaldi.

would spread so speedily as it did during 1907-10, or rather is spreading to this day. My feeling was that the day was yet distant when my young compatriots, realizing the supreme importance of political freedom, would lay down their lives for it, and when the movement for liberty would become strong enough to create a stupendous stir. I never imagined that my writings would create within the brief period of ten years a class of people, who would in their lives express the truth of what I said when I wrote that political freedom was among the most precious blessings in the world, and no amount of sacrifice at its altar would be too great. The happenings of 1907 and also certain events of the subsequent period, more particularly in Bengal and certain other parts, have established beyond doubt that a genuine passion for national liberty has been engendered. Certain nationalists, inspired whether by political sagacity and prudence or by expediency, may not look with approval upon the assaults made by young men with patriotic motives upon Englishmen or upon Indian traitors. They may disapprove the political conspiracies entered into by them and secret societies organised by them. But in his heart of hearts none can refuse to give them credit for their patriotism, their valour, their sacrifice and their high character. For fear of Englishmen or even of certain Indians, or for other like considerations people may conceal their feelings, but it is impossible to deny that the young Bengalis who conspired to murder Gosain<sup>3</sup> and successfully carried out their resolve have earned immortality. A day will come when people will take wreaths of homage to their statues. The man who threw a bomb on Lord Hardinge on the occasion of the Delhi Durbar in 1910,<sup>4</sup> did a memorable deed unique for its valour. What is even more remarkable is the fact that all the resources of such a great empire proved of no avail in finding out the courageous culprit.

Undoubtedly these facts inspire hope and courage. Yet no man who knows his country can deny that there is a dark side to

3. Narendra Gosain, approver in the famous Alipore Conspiracy Case, was shot dead in Alipore Jail on 1 September 1908 by two revolutionaries who were also confined there.

4. This statement is not correct. A bomb was thrown on Lord Hardinge on 23 December 1912 when he was passing through Chandni Chowk (Delhi) in a ceremonial procession. Rash Behari Bose, believed to be the chief culprit, escaped and later found refuge in Japan.

the picture also. The present condition may be summarized thus :

1. A small class of nationalists organize secret societies and spread the gospel of freedom through these. Wealthy people seldom join this class. For the most part it consists of poor, starving young men. Some amongst them could undoubtedly have amassed wealth, if they chose to. The highest offices under the Britishers would be theirs if they cared to accept them. But for the most part this class consists of people who could not have attained worldly success in life.
2. The masses have no doubt sympathy for the class mentioned above, but they regard their deeds to be sheer madness.
3. The intelligentsia also feel sympathy for the class mentioned in (1). Those who have genuine hatred for that class are but few. But a considerable number do regard their efforts to be inopportune and futile, may be even positively detrimental for the country. But those who would not mind personal risk of life or property, either in giving practical proof of their sympathy or in a genuine effort to wean these people from their ways, are alike rare.
4. The intelligentsia and its leaders are as a rule selfish, petty and cowardly. They do, no doubt, desire liberty, but they are not prepared to make any sacrifices for it. The present system of education and the present day ways of living have incapacitated them for making sacrifices. Seventy-five per cent of these people have no faith in India's ever gaining freedom. Nine tenths of them have no idea how they would fare if India became free. I feel if the British declared today that they would quit the country in a week's time, ninety per cent of this class would send petitions begging of them not to forsake them. But most of their present speechifying for 'loyalty' is sheer hypocrisy. Not one in a hundred among the intelligentsia is a sincere friend of the Englishman—perhaps not one in ten thousand.

Fifty per cent among the intelligentsia would not like the English to quit this country at least in their own life-time. For political unrest and revolutions mean hardship in conditions of life and these people are incapable of facing them. Brought up in conditions of comfort all their life they have never known what turmoil means, never wielded a weapon, never fought an adversary even in sport, the mere idea of bearing hardships has never entered their head. Helped by British education to win an easy living they have lived in ease all their lives. They know that in political vicissitude the entire society is thrown into an upheaval. They have 'liberty' on their lips: they have a place for it in their hearts also. But they shudder when they think of the inevitable turmoil and of the hardships it may mean for them. So they decide at last that it is preferable to continue enjoying the comforts that are now theirs even though that means they must continue to wear the badge of slavery; it is not wise to spurn the comforts for the sake of freedom and to court unrest and turmoil. These people are slaves to lucre, to status, to comfort. They do not value liberty as much as they do a sumptuous meal, or a beautifully furnished drawing-room or a luxurious motor-car. The highest limit of sacrifice for them is to subscribe to a public fund or to deliver on a holiday a speech that would not bring them into the bad books of the powers that be. Their patriotism is subject to the following conditions :—

1. It must not affect their purse.
2. It must not affect their relations with [the official] English. The position they hold in the *darbar* of the Britisher must in no way be allowed to suffer. They must do nothing that may make Englishmen suspect that their country is dearer to them than the British rule.
3. It must not affect their comforts, not merely the comforts essential to health, but all the luxuries that they are used to.
4. It must not affect the prospects and chances in life of their children.

The present stage may be summed up thus :

First of all there is the intelligentsia educated in English. 9999 out of every ten thousand in this class are at heart in sympathy



with the principles of the Extremist party. They have no faith in the British. They are disgusted with their rule. The deeds of the Extremist section please them as long as they do not affect their own fishes and loaves. Fifty per cent of these people have no leisure to attend to the political problems of the country. Another twenty-five per cent who have the leisure lack the inclination to get entangled into these affairs. The politics of another ten per cent are of the type I described above. Yet another ten per cent are active traitors. So there remain only five per cent who are prepared to make sacrifices for putting their principles into practice.

Secondly, there are the old-fashioned Pandits and Maulvis. Of these twenty-five per cent are traitors, fifty per cent indifferent, and the remaining twenty-five per cent can be utilized by the nationalists if they handle them properly.

Thirdly, there is the commercial community of the old type. Of these ninety-nine out of one hundred are apathetic, one per cent can be influenced by the nationalist.

Fourthly, there is the agricultural community. They are like the third category above.

Fifthly, there are the reises, zemindars, talukdars, jagirdars—old-fashioned people of whom fifty per cent are traitors, twenty-five per cent apathetic and the remaining twenty-five per cent anti-British.

In short, the number of those prepared to sacrifice their lives or their wealth for the sake of the country is very small. Political awakening is not yet very conspicuous among the masses.

There are those who blame the Extremist party for having injured the cause by making the British rulers alert and by forcing them by their impatience, their extremism, their madness, to adopt a policy of repression. These people forget that under foreign rule peace unalloyed by repression would be fatal. The political consciousness created by the Extremists in a decade could not have been created by the Moderates in half a century. It is very difficult to adjudge the causes that govern the rise and fall of a nation but every man with ordinary intelligence can understand that for a subject nation nothing is more fatal than peace. Extremist tactics lead to an awakening which may be followed by moral

reaction and depression. India is passing through a phase of extreme depression. Every man is concealing his true ideas beneath a cloak of hypocrisy, for in these days it is dangerous to speak out the truth. Under alien rule truth is not permitted if it would affect the security of such rule or the interests of the rulers. It is forbidden even if it is distantly suspected of weakening their grip. Foreign governments let hope alternate with fear in the bosoms of the people. Mildness and repression both have to be used. It is in the interest of the alien ruler that large sections of the populace may come to believe that they benefit by the continuance of the existing order and that they would be the sufferers if it came to an end. They are made to hope that under the present regime they may attain to greater prosperity, and to fear that the least effort on their part to upset it may lead to their being crushed in such a way that they may never again be able to rise. The British Government in India have throughout acted up to these principles. They try to spread this hope and fear not only amongst the populace as a whole, but also amongst each section composing it. In this way one section is played off against another section. The Muslim fears the Hindu, and the Hindu the Muslim. The money lender fears the agriculturist, and the agriculturist is afraid of the money lender. Such being the conditions we have to face, it is incumbent upon every nationalist to keep busy rousing the country from its slumber and to use different methods for creating a passion for liberty. Such efforts do obviously entail sacrifices. But no risk no gains. A boon like liberty cannot be won without risks. Those who occupy themselves with efforts for liberty have to face suffering, but sometimes there are risks for the *cause* also. The present generation of Indian intelligentsia tremble at the idea of suffering, that is why I do not regard the hopes of speedy emancipation as of greater value than proverbial castles in the air. To me it appears that the struggle will be a protracted one and several generations of Indians will have to carry it on. Indian nationalists may well take a lesson out of the history of the Irish struggle. In this protracted struggle thousands will be exiled, hundreds of thousands will have to lay down their lives leaving behind widows and orphans. None can foresee what other price may have to be paid. But we must keep in mind that the struggle is long and weary. That is why it is necessary for nationalists to carry on the struggle in such a way that the troubles it brings will not be needlessly multiplied. The leaders

ought to be far-sighted people who make arrangements for the struggle for at least a hundred years. Futile and reckless efforts should be avoided for they beget mistrust. Deep faith coupled with sagacity and far-sightedness is essential for the movement for freedom.

This is all by the way. What I want to make clear is why I thought the story of my life may benefit my countrymen. Put in brief, I believe that our struggle will be a long one, and therefore each generation engaged in it ought to know where those who went before it erred. The fight against an alien rule is like a game of chess; each party at which tries to checkmate the other. Move effects counter-move, new situations have to be faced and pre-meditated plans have often to be abandoned. The adversary can not be defeated by one pre-conceived plan. On the international chess board one generation has to succeed another before the final results can be known, but it will be good for it always to know what tactics were used by its predecessors and with what results.

## CHAPTER ONE

### EARLIEST RECOLLECTIONS

I WILL be very brief about my early life. My father was an Aggarwal (Banya) by caste. Several generations of my ancestors lived in Jagraon, a small town lying between Ferozepur and Ludhiana, at a distance of 24 miles from the latter place. Before that they belonged to Malerkotla. My grandfather was a shopkeeper. My father was born in 1845 on the day when the British defeated the Sikhs in the battle of Mudki<sup>1</sup> (in Ferozepur district). During my father's boyhood, my grandfather<sup>2</sup> who could read and write only the Mahajani characters, was for several years a Patwari in a neighbouring village under the British. I well remember my grandfather, and I can say he was a very painstaking and courageous man. He was short-statured, very intelligent and wise and sociable. He made friends with people very quickly and was ever ready to start on journeys. He embodied all the virtues and failings of shopkeepers. In keeping with the code of that class, he was fond of making money in all possible ways. He was very firm in his religion and belonged to that sect of Jains whose Sadhus keep a piece of cloth tied round their mouths<sup>3</sup>. He used to perform the religious duties twice a day regularly. He was fond of the company of Sadhus of this sect and was very hospitable to them. His last illness lasted just a day, and he died practically in harness.

My grandmother was a different type altogether. To this day I have not seen another woman as righteous, pure-hearted, hospitable, generous and simple as she was. She could not count beyond twenty. All her life she never used a lock and never kept a key in her custody. She was incapable of keeping money, and so her husband never gave her much. She was not fond either of jewellery or of dressing well. She was so generous that practically all she got from her husband, she distributed among her neighbours. She made herself useful to all. She would join children in their doll games.

1. The battle of Mudki was fought on 18 December 1845.

2. Lajpat Rai's grandfather's name was Rallumal.

3. Known as Swetambaras.

She needed no "dinner-things" or plates, for she merely put her vegetable on her loaf and ate it.

Occasionally she had fits of a peculiar kind. Whenever she was in this abnormal condition, it was supposed that the spirit of my grandfather's deceased sister had entered her body. Whatever she said, then, she said as if she were my grandfather's sister. The whole family would gather round her and each would consult her as an oracle for his or her own peculiar need or difficulty. She would answer all such questions. I saw her several times in this state of trance. I cannot offer an adequate explanation of the phenomenon. But of this I am sure that my grand-mother was not acquainted with tricks or fraud or humbugging. Her temperament and her character rule out all such suspicion. She kept excellent health and seldom fell ill. Considering all these facts, I find it hard to discover the cause of the phenomenon I have described. I must add that when in her trance my grandmother used to foretell the future or make revelations about matters not known to anybody. If I may depend on my memory, events often corroborated her prophesying. In any case the family had great faith in her.

As I have related above, my father was born in January<sup>4</sup> 1845. In 1849 the British annexed the Punjab, but the Jagraon side of the Sutlej was in their possession even before that. My father was educated in a Persian school established by the British. The Head Teacher was a Mussalman Maulvi, very firm in his religion, and honest and righteous and given to religious observances. Because of his lofty character his contact influenced all his pupils and Islamised their outlook. Several of them embraced Islam afterwards. Even those who did not formally accept Islam, remained Muslims by conviction much the greater part of their lives. My father belonged to the latter category. My father received instruction in his native town from this Maulvi for some time, and afterwards joined the Normal School at Delhi. He always stood first in his class, and in the final examination at the Normal School he stood first in the whole of the Punjab. In some of the papers he was awarded the maximum marks, amongst those being Mathematics and Physical Science. Throughout his life he has loved learning passionately. Now that I write this story he is fast approaching seventy. His 71st

4. Should be December, if he was born on the day of the battle of Mudki.

birthday falls in January next. But even now he reads day and night and devours all books, pamphlets and journals in Urdu, Hindi or Gurmukhi that he can lay his hand on. If he cannot get any new book he goes back to the old favourites. His reading covers a varied range, but he is particularly fond of religion and history. He is extremely well-informed about Islam, Hinduism, Christianity Jainism and Buddhism. The Quran and the Upanishads he must have read scores of times. The Bible and the Jain and Buddhistic literature also he is very familiar with. He is a keen student of religious literature in general.

For the first twenty-five or thirty years of his life he was a believer in Islam, according to the Suni School. He used to recite *namaz* and to observe the *ramzan* fast; and he cultivated acquaintance among the Ulemas and Maulvis. When Sir Syed Ahmad started his socio-religious mission, he read Sir Syed's works and became a follower of his. Upto the fortieth year he was a Muslim of the Syed Ahmed School which was popularly known as the "natural religion" school. During this period he was antagonistic to Hinduism and the Arya Samaj, and used to criticise the teachings of both in the Brahmo press. But when I joined the Arya Samaj and he studied the best of Hindu literature, his outlook underwent a radical change so much so that in old age he has become a Vedantin, and is now a believer in the Vedanta.

## CHAPTER TWO

### MOTHER'S MIRACLE

Why didn't then my father finally accept Islam? The answer is furnished by my mother's shrewdness and toleration. She did not take much time to discover that her husband's ideas were Islamic, and she strove ever after that he should have full liberty of religious belief without discarding the external Hindu garment. She served him as well as she could, and put up with his Islamic ways. My father's Mussalman friends used to come to dine at our house, she would afterwards cleanse in fire the utensils they had eaten out of. She would not object even when my father went to the length of bringing with him food cooked in a Mussalman's house, and sometimes he would even cook meat in our own house. But she strove always to make him happy. My mother was very shrewd but had a wrathful disposition. The vriest trifle could upset her. But her love for her children and her husband made her put up with things she despised. She had been born in a family where Sikhism reigned supreme. Her father and mother and brothers were Sikhs. They used to recite Japji and observed Hindu ritual and festivals, they wore long hair and in religious matters they worshipped the Gura Granth Saheb. One of the brothers of my maternal grandfather was a *Granthi*. My grandmother used to recite Japji and Rehras from three hours before daybreak till morning. All these people hated Mussalmans and Islam. But by an irony of fate my mother was wedded to a man who was a lover of Islam and a friend of Mussalmans, and who renewed every day his threat to turn Muslim.

When I consider how devoted a Muslim is to his religion, how he regards the propagation of Islam as a bounden duty and how he believes that the highest reward is attached to converting a man to Islam, I can well imagine what great pressure must my father's Muslim friends have brought to bear upon him until his 40th year, and how often they must have tried to induce him to become a Mussalman openly. That my father did not become a convert to Islam in spite of all these things is nothing short of a miracle and

the credit for having wrought this miracle must go to my mother. I remember full well that whilst I was yet a child she used to shed tears over my father's religious "improprieties" for hours. Sometimes she would not taste food for days together, and would keep heaving sighs of sorrow all the time with her children in her lap. But she would never think of deserting her husband. In fact she always lived with him and was never away from him for any appreciable period of time. She always tried to conceal his religious enormities or improprieties, and put up with everything.

My father always condemned the Hindu religion, and Hindu customs and ritual, and sometimes he used extremely harsh language about the Hindu gods and goddesses. On occasions of Hindu festivals he would not only himself not join the *poojah*, but would not permit it in the house. But my mother managed to discharge all the duties observed in the orthodox Hindu families. The observances, the *poojahs*, the *shraddhas*, she neglected none of these. Generally she did all this without my father's knowledge. Sometimes she would shut all doors in his absence and be through her orthodox observances before his return. But occasionally she might be taken unawares, or our father might gather from our talk that in his absence she had been occupying herself with idol-worship; on such occasions he would lose temper and administer her a scolding. Poor creature, she put up with everything; she would weep and suffer in silence. Our father knew that if he turned Mussalman, our mother would take her children with her and live either at his father's or at her own father's. This my father did not want and mother understood him aright in this matter. She, therefore, put up with his religious "improprieties," and never interfered with his liberty of thought.

I cannot but sufficiently praise my mother's shrewdness and forbearance, particularly when I recall that my father's income was always a meagre one, and because of his independent character his job never seemed to be secure. When I was born he was a Persian teacher getting Rupees twenty-five a month. For twelve or thirteen years he got no increment, for he was never given to flattering Inspectors and Headmasters. Within this small sum of twenty-five rupees my mother managed to run the house, to perform the religious *samskaras* of her children, to feed them well and clothe them well according to the standards of the people of her status, and even to extend hospitality to her neighbours and to the needy. My father's salary never



rose beyond Rupees thirty-five a month. In the last seven or eight years of his service he was given two increments of Rupees five a month each time. His pecuniary difficulties ended only when I became a bread-winner at the age of nineteen.

My mother was altogether unlettered. My father tried several times to teach her, and I also made several efforts but to no purpose, for besides her bad health, household duties and attention to children left her little leisure. She bore ten children, of whom at the time of her death six were alive—two sons and four daughters.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### THE SICKLY SCHOOL BOY

FOR my elementary instruction I was taught largely by my father, but partly I was educated at school also. The whole of the period during which I was a primary school boy we were living at Rupar (in Ambala district) where my father was a teacher in the District Board School. I usually held the top position in my class, except during my final year, and won numerous prizes. In age I was the youngest in my school, my teachers therefore admired me and loved me. At the age of thirteen I passed the middle school examination and then arrived in Lahore for further education. Subsequently, the Education Department gave me a monthly stipend of seven rupees and from Lahore I went away to Delhi. I was a student there for nearly eight months. There I was keeping ill-health. Mine was a sickly boyhood. Rupar where we lived for eight years was a malarious town. Malaria raged there for more than six months in the year. Sometimes the whole family would be down with fever. Malaria in Rupar enlarged my spleen. I was not in good health when I went to Delhi. There I lived at the hostel, and found that the climate did not suit me either. More than half of the period of eight months that I spent there was passed in illness. But my teachers were pleased with me there also. Six months after my moving to Delhi my father was transferred to Simla, and that being a pretty expensive place he could not take his family with him. My mother took the children to Jagraon, and I also lived there with her.

I was married in 1877 when my age was twelve years and a half. When I left Delhi for Jagraon I was fourteen and a half, and it was then I brought my wife to my mother's house. Before that I never had a word with my wife, and in fact had not even seen her.

The rest of 1879 I spent at home (Jagraon) serving my mother and my brothers. Early in 1880, I joined the Mission High School at Ludhiana, and the Headmaster finding in me a promising boy granted me a scholarship. But illness did not leave me alone

even at Ludhiana and I could not continue there for more than two or three months. Fortunately in April 1880 my father was transferred from Simla to Ambala and my mother joined him there with the children. I had not been there quite two months when I fell dangerously ill. For nearly four months I could not leave the bed. The doctor operated upon my abscess twice or thrice, and I was getting fever also. Apart from his duties at school my father attended on me day and night, and my mother also gave all the time other household work left her, to nursing me. When I think of those days I feel so sorrowful that I should have been such a source of trouble to my parents.

This misfortune continued through the whole of the rainy season and that year the rain was also excessive ; twice or thrice it continued raining cats and dogs for a fortnight at a stretch. My father had been able to get a splendid house for a cheap rent, but the house had been newly built and the roofs leaked. It so happened several times that my parents had to spend the night practically in shifting the children's beds again and again. And during the day the mother had to cook food with wet fuel. She had no servant to assist her. And my father after six hours' work at school nursed me day and night. I have been a source of trouble and anxiety to my parents all my life, but that year I put them to so much trouble that I can never possibly forget it.

At last my illness ended with the rains and in two months' time I prepared for the Entrance (Matriculation) Examination. In November 1880 I went to Lahore to appear in the examination. This was my second visit to Lahore, the first having been paid in May 1878.

I could never imagine then that Lahore would play such an important part in my life. Lahore in those days was very different from what it is today. The numerous educational institutions that we see today had not yet sprung into existence, and there was no street-lighting and no sanitary arrangements worth the name. I remember well, when I alighted on the railway platform and engaged a porter to carry my luggage, a policeman was shouting to warn the passengers against thieves and burglars, and as my porter trudged along narrow lanes my heart trembled lest he should make away with my things. But my fears were groundless. My porter was a Hindu from the hills, and 'western civilization' not yet having

made much headway, the morals of the honest, truthful hill-folk had yet to be contaminated by contact with the 'people of the plains.'

Two of my father's friends were in Lahore at that time. One of them was Pandit Shiv Narain Agnihotri, and the other was Lala Bhiwani Das who was studying for his M.A. at the Government College. Lala Bhiwani Das had been a pupil of my father and was therefore much attached to him. He was living in the College Hostel, where I put up with him. Lala Bhiwani Das treated me with much affection and was of great help to me in preparing for the examination. In particular he gave me some notes about physical science. I had read a book on physical science, but had never seen scientific instruments until Lala Bhiwani Das showed me these. In short, he was very hospitable to me in every way.

The University of the Punjab was yet in its infancy,<sup>1</sup> and in fact had not even been granted all the privileges of a University. Doctor Leitner<sup>2</sup> was at that time guiding the policy of the University and he wanted to model it on a different pattern altogether from that on which the other Universities had been fashioned. He would make it into a purely Oriental University, imparting education through the media of oriental languages. But he wanted it to grant the same degrees and diplomas to its successful students that the other Universities were issuing. For the entrance examination a student could take up eight subjects. The examinations were by no means stiff.

Even in northern India the Calcutta University held the supremacy. That was regarded to be the only pucca University. Its examinations and degrees and diplomas were given much better recognition. But people did take examinations at the Lahore University College as well, for Dr. Leitner gave many scholarships to popularise his University. I took both the examinations.

1. The Punjab University College was established in 1869. The Punjab University was formally called into existence on 14 October 1882.

2. Leitner, Gottlieb Wilhelm (1840-99) Born in Budapest, 1840; attended the Muhammedan Theological School at Constantinople; Principal of Government College Lahore, 1864; founded the Anjuman i-Punjab; worked for the foundation of the Punjab University; organised many schools, free libraries, literary societies and journals in India; Registrar of the Lahore University College.

The Calcutta University examined only in four compulsory subjects—English, Mathematics, History and Geography, and Persian or Sanskrit or Arabic. For the Punjab examination I took up in addition to these, Arabic, Physical Science and Urdu. Arabic I had been taught by my father. Because of his Islamic ideas Arabic had special attraction for him, and he took great pains that I might learn it also. But I could never feel interested in it. Though in my boyhood I had to give considerable time to the Arabic language and its grammar, I really never was well up in it. In fact three months prior to the examination I had ceased to pay any heed to it, and in appearing in the examination for Arabic I was merely trying my luck. I returned from the examination after handing over a blank answer book (in the grammar paper). But in the paper for Arabic language I got 13 marks out of 15. In Physical Science also I was as ignorant as in Arabic. But in January 1881, the results were known and I was successful in both the Calcutta and the Punjab Examinations. The Calcutta University Examination I passed in the First Division, and in the Punjab Examination I held the 53rd place in a list of 106 successful students.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DAYS OF STRUGGLE AT COLLEGE

My father was at this time confronted with the question of my further education. He was desirous of giving me higher education, but his means were so slender that he did not know how to find money for it. However, he decided at length that I must have university education at all costs.

In February of the year 1881 I got down at Lahore, and began to live in the same hostel in which I had been the guest of Lala Bhiwani Das when I was appearing in my entrance examination.

In those days there was but one College in Lahore. The tuition fee charged was two rupees a month, and the hostel fee was one rupee a month. The hostel consisted of three bungalows, two of which have survived to this day, and are included in the D. A. V. College compound—one being at present occupied by Lala Hans Raj and the other by Professor Devi Dayal. The third, which was in a corner of the College, has been demolished.

The hostel was in a very dilapidated condition. The mess arrangements were entirely in the hands of the students. There was no external supervision of any kind in the hostel. The condition of latrines and of kitchens defied all description.

When I joined College I was sixteen years and two months, and was, in fact, amongst the youngest students in my class. For the first two or three months I had to face great embarrassments. My eyes gave me great trouble. Besides, I had sometimes to go without my food. After a good deal of struggle I succeeded in getting a stipend of three rupees a month from the University. I had come to Lahore merely with the idea of studying for the degree, but on the advice of certain students in the hostel I joined the Law School also. Out of the monthly stipends I was getting I was paying two rupees as tuition fee in the Government College, three rupees in the Law School and perhaps one rupee as the hostel fee. My father could with difficulty manage only eight or ten rupees a month, and I had to live within that amount. Law books were pretty expensive, but I got the more essential among them rather cheap, by buying second-hand or I depended on my friends for their

loan. I used the same economy in buying the arts books, and got along by borrowing them.

My parents were undergoing great hardship for my sake, and were even prepared to run into debts. But I did not want to put them to trouble, and so lived very frugally.

During the first year I worked so hard for the first law examination—which qualified one for Mukhtarship<sup>1</sup>—that I developed jaundice. I passed this year in great trouble. Malaria was raging throughout the Province. When the examination approached near, the students told the University that because of malaria they had not been able to make adequate preparations; they wanted, therefore, that the examinations be postponed. The University granted this request, and we got further two months to prepare for the examination which was held in February 1882. Fortunately I got through the examination, and my success filled me with confidence in myself. So I started preparations for the other examination also, but other things intervened.

First of all came the Urdu-Hindi controversy early in 1882, which kept me busy for about two months. Secondly, for about a year I was a victim to fever. Thirdly, the idea of serving my country and my nation had taken possession of my mind, and I was giving a good deal of my time to the study of literature which had nothing to do with the examination. The result was that I was unsuccessful in the examination in November 1882. In January 1883 I took the license for Mukhtarship and went away to Jagraon to start legal practice there.

Systematic education was thus cut short for me. I put in less than two years at the Government College. A great portion of this time was taken up by the law courses, by illness and by preparation for public life. Nevertheless my teachers all liked me, in particular Babu Shashi Bhushan, Professor in Mathematics, and Professor Arjun had great affection for me. Amongst my class-mates at the College I count Pandit Guru Dutt, M. A., Lala Hans Raj, B. A., Rai Shiv Nath, Engineer, Dewan Bahadur (Raja) Narendra Nath, M. A., Professor Ruchi Ram Sabni. The close relations I had with the first three lasted a life-time. Lala Hans Raj and Pandit Guru Dutt had a conspicuous part in shaping important events in my life, and I shall relate that story in its proper place.

1. Mukhtar—Junior Pleader.

## CHAPTER FIVE IN BRAHMO SAMAJ

I HAVE said in a previous chapter that in my infancy and boyhood my father's convictions were Islamic, whilst my mother was an orthodox Pauranic Hindu. My father taught me a portion of the Quran, and I distinctly remember that I used to recite the *Namaz*. Sometimes I tried even to fast during the *Ramzan*. When at the age of fourteen I paid my first visit to Lahore, I met Pandit Shiv Narain Agnihotri who was at that time reckoned among the leaders of the Punjab Brahmo Samaj. Pandit Agnihotri was editing a journal called the *Biradar-i-Hind*. My father frequently wrote articles for this journal, attacking Hinduism and the Arya Samaj. My father had given me a letter of introduction to the Pandit with whom I had to come into contact also as a pupil, for he was at that time instructor in drawing at the Lahore District School. I was at this school only for a couple of months, for I went to see my father during the winter vacation and when this was over I went away to Delhi instead of returning to Lahore.

When I was again in Lahore for college education in 1881, I saw Pandit Agnihotri several times. Brahmo Samaj had already split into two. The followers of Babu Keshub Chunder Sen were in possession of the Lahore Brahmo Mandir. Pandit Agnihotri had seceded and set up a fresh Brahmo Samaj<sup>1</sup>, the members of which met at a house rented for the purpose and situated near the Brahmo Mandir. The Pandit was a great orator, and in those days his speeches always attracted large audiences. I saw him pretty frequently and he used to talk to me about Brahmo Dharma. On his persuasion I became a member of his Samaj.

Lala Ganda Mal, Head Clerk, Medical College, Lala Rala Ram Bhimbat of the Forest Department and Lala Kanshi Ram were at that time trustees of the Punjab Brahmo Mandir. When the time for the annual election of trustees came, Pandit Agnihotri—who

1. The Brahmo Samaj was started in Lahore in 1863 under the leadership of Navin Chandra Roy. Pandit Agnihotri gave his allegiance to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj when it was established in Calcutta. In 1887 he left the Brahmo Samaj and later founded the Dev Samaj.



in spite of his having set up a separate Samaj was continuing on the rolls of the old Samaj—tried to secure a majority in his own favour. I remember clearly that for this purpose he got several other people enrolled in the Punjab Brahmo Samaj. He got my father to sign a form of membership and then secured from him a proxy in his own favour. In the opposite camp Lala Ganda Mal wielded great influence in the Medical College, and on his bidding several students of the College got enrolled. In the elections the old party retained its majority.

During this time Pandit Shiv Narain Agnihotri's first wife died, and he brought in marriage a lady from Bengal. His Bengali wife had not been long in Lahore when she was attacked by small pox. I used to go to Pandit Agnihotri frequently, and I attended on his wife during her illness. One night—or perhaps for more than one night—I slept in their house and looked after their children. The Pandit loved his first wife intensely. Her character had left a profound impress on him. The Pandit often remembered her and heaved sighs. If she had not died so early perhaps the Pandit would not have undergone so many mental changes. He was by nature impulsive, and always stood in need of a soul that would control him by love and by force of character. When I had the privilege of seeing him for the first time he was very much under the influence of Babu Navin Chundra Roy, and of his own wife. Unfortunately both these influences were removed and there was nobody in Lahore who could exercise any control over him.

At this time the Pandit was a great believer in God. He would be moved to tears when engaged in prayers. He wielded a mighty pen, and had the gift of speech. His speeches created in me a desire to be an orator after him. But as long as I remained a member of the Brahmo Samaj I never made a speech though I did once read a paper on Raja Ram Mohan Roy's life. It was in 1881 (or perhaps in 1882) that on the occasion of the anniversary of his Samaj Pandit Agnihotri formally initiated me. It was after this initiation that I saw Lala Sain Das, President of the Arya Samaj, for the first time. He happened to be that day in the Brahmo Mandir. After the meeting was over, he talked to me while standing near a book-stall table outside. I cannot re-collect now the talk I had with him, but I remember he had only pity for me. He thought I had stepped into a trap in ignorance, whilst my real path lay in a different direction.

## CHAPTER SIX

### URDU HINDI CONTROVERSY

AT college my class-mates, Lala Shiv Nath and Lala Chetan Anand, were my intimate friends. I had become friends with them, as also with Lala Lakshmi Narain (who is now a Barrister-at-law) whilst I was at Delhi. When I came to Lahore, they came too, and for the same purpose. We all lived in the same compound. The friends I have enumerated were regarded as Delhites. My first friend among the Punjabi students at College was Lala Chatur Bhuj, who holds now a very distinguished position at the Amritsar bar.

But the memorable event of my College days is the contact with Pandit Guru Dutt and Lala Hans Raj. Guru Dutt was amongst very brilliant students in the class. In the Punjab University Examination, he did not stand first but he occupied a very distinguished position. My friend the late Lala Chetan Anand (Vakil, Multan) occupied the top position and my friend Lala Shiv Nath (Engineer) stood third. Pandit Guru Dutt probably stood fourth or thereabout. His competitor in the class was Lala Suraj Narain 'Mihir'. Lala Suraj Narain had excellent knowledge of the Urdu, Persian and English languages. Otherwise too he was intelligent and able. He was hard working and read studiously. On the other hand the Pandit had vast information of a more general kind, and his memory and intelligence were so remarkable, that he soon became a leader among his contemporaries.

Guru Dutt and Chetan Anand were Samaj-goers even before they joined College. Soon after coming to Lahore they got into close contact with the Arya Samaj. Guru Dutt was from the beginning a man with wide, varied and comprehensive interests. He knew English, Persian, Arabic, Urdu and Sanskrit ; he was very proficient in Mathematics. Science had special attraction for him ; and besides all these he was acquainted with history and philosophy and religious literature. In the class he soon won reputation as a gifted man. His personal habits were not merely simple, but eccentric also and never failed to attract notice. He liked to

be different from other folk. His teachers also knew this and sometimes demanded explanations for his eccentricities. But they would not persist in that attitude as they recognised his talent. I have written a separate biographical sketch of Guru Dutt,<sup>1</sup> and, therefore, should not dilate upon his character here. Suffice it here to say that we soon became friends and that through him I made the acquaintance, which ripened into friendship, of his great friend Lala Hans Raj. The late Lala Sain Das (in those days President of the Lahore Arya Samaj) was an elderly man who could discern worth wherever he came across it. He used to come to the hostel in search of converts and followers. Guru Dutt lived in this hostel, and besides him certain other sympathisers and members of the Samaj. These included Lala Kesho Das (Extra Assistant Commissioner) and the late Lala Chetan Anand.

During the first year I was very busy preparing for the examination, and so did not get much benefit out of Pandit Guru Dutt's company. But during my second year at College I began to spend much of my time with him. In the Urdu-Hindi controversy Pandit Guru Dutt, Lala Hans Raj and myself stood together. It will be safe to say that we began public life with this controversy. Pandit Guru Dutt and myself got a memorial signed by thousands of students. I went to Ambala and made a public speech. Among my audience was the well-known Delhi scholar, Rai Hukam Chand, M.A., at that time an Extra Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab. He was an opponent of Hindi. He wrote about me to Dr. Sime, at that time Principal of my College. The Principal demanded an explanation from me and told me that students should not take part in agitations.

These events relate probably to April or May, 1882. In the beginning of that year my friendship with the late Pandit had developed into an intimacy. One result was that my outlook began to take on a nationalistic colour. The soul nurtured on Islam in infancy, and beginning adolescence by seeking shelter in the Bramho Samaj, began to develop a love for the ancient Hindu culture in the company of Guru Dutt and Hans Raj. Guru Dutt was a great admirer of John Stuart Mill and Bentham. His company brought me into touch with the writings of these thinkers, and this

1. Pandit Guru Dutt died in 1890 at the age of twenty-five. Lajpat Rai's *Life of Pandit Gurudatta Vidyarthi* was published in 1891.

contact widened my horizons. Besides that stay in Lahore gave me an opportunity to read newspapers also. But the thing that made the deepest impression on my character was the Hindi movement. This generated within me the national feeling. I heard speeches in praise of Sanskrit and produced some literature also. The Punjab Bramho Samaj, under the influence of Babu Navin Chundra Roy, favoured Hindi. Babu Navin Chundra's attitude was motivated by nationalist considerations. He looked upon Hindi as the national language of India, and wanted it to be the foundation for the edifice of Indian nationality. These ideas impressed me profoundly, and were the beginning of national life for me. I used to hear about the Arya Samaj frequently from Guru Dutt and Hans Raj. They used to ridicule the Brahmos and thought they relied too much on the Bible. These were the days when the report of Babu Keshub Chunder Sen's being an Apostle went round, and in his speeches and writings and in Brahmo meetings there was unending talk of Christ and of the Bible.

Controversy raged in those days among the three parties of the Brahmo Samaj. I also studied some of the literature about this controversy, and this changed my mental attitude about the Samaj. The "free thought" literature disillusioned me about Christianity; the speeches and writings of Keshub Babu and his admirers impressed upon me the necessity for Revelation; and from the publications of the Sadharan Samaj I learnt how meaningless were Keshub Babu's claims to being a prophet.

I was not yet eighteen. My education was also very meagre. So these things bewildered my mind, which knew no rest. I began to turn away from the Brahmo Samaj.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONVERSION TO ARYA SAMAJ

THE company of Guru Dutt and Hans Raj had taught me to appreciate the nationalistic outlook of the Arya Samaj, but as my father was severely hostile to it, I never dared go to the Samaj. I used to keep a journal in those days. How I wish had that journal before me now and could make some excerpts therefrom for this narrative. But alas ! that journal was burnt along with my other papers. I have to depend entirely on my memory.

The two years that I spent at the College proved very eventful for me. Casting a backward glance after thirty-two years, I feel I remain in essence what I became in those years. My public career and my lasting passions were determined in those years.

Not that my ideas have undergone no kind of change, or that I have learnt or unlearnt nothing in these thirty-two years. By no means that. But certainly the principal channel for my life's current originated in those two years, and to this day it flows on in that channel. It was in those two years I became wedded to the idea of Hindu nationality. It was in those two years I learnt to respect the ancient Aryan culture which became my guiding star for good. It was in those years that I fixed the mission of my life, not merely in theory but by practical work for it and that mission continues unchanged to this day.

I recollect distinctly how in those years I would be moved to tears on reading accounts of the ancient history of my country and of her vanished glory. In that period I read a good many biographies of great men and resolved that a reasonable portion of my life would be dedicated to telling people about Hindu greatness, and to the service of the nation. In those two years I learnt the lesson of loving the nation and of serving it, and the passion for political liberty, that afterwards brought in its train so many things, was also a product of those years.

It was in November or December 1882 that I went to the Arya Samaj meeting for the first time. The Samaj was celebrating its anniversary. Next day the late Lala Madan Singh, B.A. was to speak. He had great affection for me. Before getting up to speak he took me to the roof and showed me his written speech to get my opinion about it, and indeed I liked the speech very much. When I got down from the roof Lala Sain Das caught hold of me and taking me aside he said : "We have waited long for you. Now you must join us." That was an unforgettable moment. Lala Sain Das would speak to me and then look into my face whilst his hand stroked my back with affection.

The reply was that I was one of them, of course ! No sooner had I said these words than Lala Sain Das sent for a membership blank and placed it before me.

For three or four minutes I hesitated. But he insisted and said he would not leave me till he had got my signature affixed to the form. I readily agreed. The joy that was visible that moment on his face is indescribable. It seemed as if he had become the crowned head of India. He immediately sent for Guru Dutt and narrating to him what had transpired entrusted me to his care. Guru Dutt too was delighted.

When Lala Madan Singh finished his address, Lala Sain Dass took Guru Dutt and myself to the platform and made us both give speeches. The audience expressed its delight in enthusiastic and repeated cheers and I came back home drunk with success and intoxicated with pleasure.

Thus I joined the Arya Samaj crew in December 1882.

And the boat that carried this crew was yet a tiny barge. Now after thirty-two years it looks like a ship. The tiny barge of the Arya Samaj was at that time to me the barge of Hindu nationality. At that time it was a solitary barge. But during the last thirty-two years Hindu nationality has acquired such strength that today we find a mighty fleet, in which the Arya Samaj is but a unit—a very distinguished unit albeit.

Not once in these thirty-two years have I regretted my having joined the Arya Samaj. I have always regarded that as a turning point in my life, and the great moment in which I joined it I have always recalled to my mind with joy and pride.

On returning from exile in 1907, I said from the platform of the Lahore Arya Samaj that all that was evil in me I must have inherited either from those who brought me into being or from my own previous lives, and all that was good and creditable in me I owed to the Arya Samaj. It was the Arya Samaj that taught me to love the Vedic religion and to be proud of Aryan greatness. It was the Arya Samaj that linked me with the ancient Aryas and made me their admirer and devotee. It was the Arya Samaj that instilled into me the spirit of Truth, of Dharma and of Liberty. My organising capacity too I owe to the Arya Samaj. It was the Samaj again that taught me that Society, Dharma and Country command our worship and that those shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven who make sacrifices to serve these.

In short I learnt all my lessons in public life from and in the Arya Samaj. It was there I saw models of purity in public life, and there that I made my dearest friends. I am under enormously heavy debt to the Samaj, and even if I sacrifice the last hair on my body for the sake of the Samaj I should not be able to pay back what I owe.

God alone knows what I might have become without the Samaj, but I know that I could not have become what I am.

Within a week of my becoming a member of the Samaj, Lala Sain Das entrusted me with a mission of responsibility. The late lamented Swami Dayanand was at that time in Rajputana. He wanted all to get busy with raising a propoganda fund for the Samaj. At his instance the Lahore Arya Samaj decided to send a deputation consisting of two of its members to the United Provinces. Bhai Jawahar Singh who was at that time Secretary of the Samaj and was regarded among its best speakers was selected as a member of this deputation, and the other member selected was myself. Saharanpur was the first town this deputation visited. When I started my speech the audience consisted of just three persons. Gradually the number rose to fifty. We had the same experience in Meerut: whence we proceeded to Farrukhabad. There the Arya Samajists treated us very hospitably. At Farrukhabad I realized what power lay hid in "Namaste." It worked like magic. In those days Arya Samajists fraternised each other very cordially. This tour, particularly the experience in Farrukhabad, strengthened further my ideas about the importance of the Arya Samaj.

For nearly eight months after my return from this tour I did nothing for the Samaj. But in January 1882<sup>1</sup>, two papers were started after consultations with Guru Dutt, Hans Raj and myself. One of these was called the *Regenerator of Aryavarta* and the other *Desh Upkarak*. Both of the names had been suggested by me. The idea was that the English journal would be edited by Guru Dutt and Hans Raj, and the Urdu one by me. Guru Dutt and Hans Raj conducted the English journal for nearly two years, but I could not do anything for the Urdu paper, as immediately afterwards I had to set up as a Mukhtar to earn a living.

So for nearly eight months I neglected the Arya Samaj. In September 1883 I came again to Lahore to prepare for the law examination. I put up with the late Lala Madan Singh and used to attend the weekly Samaj meetings regularly. After the Samaj meetings the late Lala Sain Das would take me to his own house and talk to me for hours.

In October we received the news of Swami Dayananda's illness in Lahore. The Lahore Samaj sent Lala Jiwandas and Pandit Guru Dutt to Ajmere so that they might attend upon Swamiji. On October 30, I moved out with Lala Sain Das and Lala Madan Singh to see the *Divali* illuminations, but my companions were very much depressed, for that day they had received the news that the Swami's illness was serious and might prove fatal. With this sorrowful news weighing on our hearts we could not get any pleasure out of *Divali*, and so returned home in that gloomy mood.

The next afternoon when I was busy reading, a boy gave me a sheet with thick black borders; on knowing its contents my book dropped down from my hand. In the evening a large crowd gathered spontaneously in the Arya Samaj building (situated in Wachhowali) and it was decided that the Samaj should hold a condolence public meeting the following day. For this meeting Lala Sain Das selected me as the principal speaker.

I returned home and sat up all night preparing my speech. In the afternoon when the meeting was to be held the Arya Samaj building was packed to overflowing; on the roof, on the walls, on the doors there was no space left unoccupied. Hundreds of people had to go back disappointed for there was no room. And though

1. Should be read as 1883.



those were winter days, because of the over-crowding the heat seemed stifling. Speaker after speaker tried to address the audience and failed. I held the floor for nearly an hour. This speech won me recognition and established my position among the front-rank speakers of the Samaj.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### A VAKIL AT LAST

THE great shock caused by Swami Dayanand's death so upset me that I could not compose my mind to proceed with the study of law books. And then that year the examination was extraordinarily stiff. Out of the sixty-five candidates only five could get through. The Arya Samaj had come to occupy the first place in my mind. From Jagraon I moved in 1884 to Rohtak where my father was a teacher in those days. After work for my living I used to devote some time to preparation for the Vakilship examination. At the same time I was taking keen interest in the affairs of the local Arya Samaj of which I was made Secretary. The Samaj was already in existence when I went to Rohtak, but it was rather in a sorry plight. Again I failed in the law examination, for want of three marks. In those days one had to secure 60 marks out of 100 in each paper, and 66 per cent in aggregate. Out of sixty-five candidates ten were declared successful. My failure distressed me much, for as a Mukhtar I found the humiliation unbearable. However, on my father's insistence I resolved to try luck once again. But never during this time did I neglect Arya Samaj work.

I raised some funds at Rohtak for the Lahore D.A.V. College in 1885, and again appeared in the law examination in December. The examination was again very stiff, and besides the story was current that the Registrar was not in the habit of letting through candidates unless he had been bribed to do so. The idea of establishing the D.A.V. College had originated in 1883 and I used to go to Lahore to attend all Committee and other meetings. During 1884-85 funds were being raised for the College, but not enough could be collected to start it. I was seeing Lala Hans Raj and Pandit Guru Dutt frequently during December 1885 and January 1886, and whenever we met we talked about the Samaj and the College. We wanted to make these the centres of our love of country and nation.

Once Lala Hans Raj and myself formed a plan that we should

offer our services for the school department of the College—Lala Hans Raj to be the Headmaster and myself the Second Master. But the only hesitation was that while Lala Hans Raj had graduated from the University the only examination I ever passed was the Entrance examination. It was possible that my services might not be deemed very valuable. Even as a Mukhtar I was earning nearly Rs. 200 a month and occupied a good position, but a teacher with my education and ability might perhaps be available for thirty or forty rupees a month. So I feared, if I offered my services for the school the idea might not be appreciated for several reasons. But I was so filled with disgust for a Mukhtar's work and was so anxious to serve the Samaj that I wanted to avoid going back to Mukhtarship in any case.

Another difficulty was that while Lala Hans Raj could depend on his brother for his personal wants, I had nobody to support me. On the contrary my parents had undergone great hardships for the sake of my education, and now they looked up to me to help them educate my younger brothers. These considerations worried me a good deal, and I kept weeping day and night. Once Guru Dutt caught me in this state and with much affection reprimanded me. I was not destined to be a schoolmaster. On Guru Dutt's advice I spent Rs. 200 and learnt that I was successful in the law examination. This changed my plans. Guru Dutt, Hans Raj and myself were agreed that I could be of better use if instead of offering personal services I went back to the bar and helped the institution with money.

## CHAPTER NINE SOME HISSAR PORTRAITS

I PRACTISED at Hissar<sup>1</sup> as a Vakil from 1886 to 1892. The Arya Samaj was established there after my arrival. During my five years' stay there I sent a handsome amount to the College, raised with the help of Pandit Lakhpat Rai Vakil and the Sahukars, Lala Chandu Lal and Lala Hari Lal. In other ways also I worked to strengthen the local Arya Samaj. Today the Hissar Samaj ranks amongst the foremost and the strongest in the province.

The success it has achieved in spreading Arya Samajic ideas and engendering national consciousness in that part, particularly among the Jats of Rohtak, Hissar and Delhi, is something unique in the province. The Hissar Samaj is one of those Samajs that have realized that reform work cannot be lasting until the gulf between the "classes" and the "masses" is bridged and the two are linked together with ties of sympathy. In this field the Hissar Samaj has done much practical work. It is a duty to say here something about those to whom the credit for this goes.

First of all I will mention the late Lala Chandu Lal, President of the Samaj. Chandu Lal belonged to a very respectable Hissar family. By caste he was an Aggarwal Vaishya. His grandfather Lala Ramji Das was the man of the most extraordinary type. When the British Government invaded Kabul for the first time, the late Ramji Das and his brothers and relations rendered valuable services as *Gomosahtas* and cashiers in the Commissariat. Afterwards he was Cashier in the District Treasury for a long time. But once the negligence of an employee of his caused some loss in the Treasury and Lala Ramji Das was put to trouble for it. From that day he resolved to have no connexion with the Government of the day, and he stuck firmly to his resolve to the end. In his socio-religious ideas Lala Ramji Das was very liberal. He did not believe in the Pauranic faith, and was no worshipper of idols. In social matters he was very liberal and courageous. Rising above the ideas of his *biradri* and his townsmen he introduced social

1. Hissar was then a small district town with population of less than 17 thousands.

reforms, which seem impossible for a man of his position even to-day. Lala Ramji Das had something really heroic in him. Regardless of what other people thought, he never hesitated in doing what he believed to be right. He was firm and even obstinate. He always kept his word, and was generous. Though an imperial *darbari* he never attended a *darbar*. Once the invitation for the *darbar* came with more than usual emphasis, and he sent in his resignation as *darbari*. His grandsons and his nephews asked him repeatedly to get the honour transferred to them, but he would not consent. He always asked his children to keep aloof from officials, for he believed seeking these people was unnecessarily derogatory.

Lala Ramji Das had been the chief cause of my shifting to Hissar. He called me from Rohtak to conduct on his behalf, a case in which the other party was the Crown. I was also looking for a suitable station. I found Hissar offered good field for me and so I set up there. Lala Ramji Das used to see me frequently, and would often say that he did not respect or trust the new educated class. He thought these people lacked the firmness of character. In spite of this he had complete trust in me. Arya Samajic ideas had found their way into his house before I went to Hissar. He did not believe in the Arya Samaj dogmas, but his outlook was liberal.

When I arrived in Hissar, a local Sanskrit scholar, Pandit Ganga Sahay, who carried on propaganda for Vedantism, was running a society. For some time my friends Pandit Lakhpat Rai and Babu Chura Mani, and myself were attending meetings of this society. But later we decided to start a regular Arya Samaj there. This resolve we carried out, and L. Chandu Lal, grandson of the sagacious, public spirited and locally renowned Lala Ramji Das, was appointed President and myself Secretary of the Samaj.

Lala Chandu Lal continued as President till his end. Our mutual friendship contracted in 1886 lasted till Lala Chandu Lal's death in 1909. He was a man of high and firm character and like his grandfather he always kept his word. He was an embodiment of manliness and courage. He made other people's difficulties his own. I cannot recollect a single occasion when a man in trouble sought his help in vain. He was a friend and counsellor of everybody in his town and in the district. People consulted him about

their legal cases, asked him for help in trade and business, sought his advice in regard to the education of their children, and exchanged notes with him in matters religious, ethical, social and political. This man had received very ordinary education. He had read a little Sanskrit, passable Hindi, and ordinary Urdu. He was an expert in Hindi book-keeping and was regarded an authority in indigenous commercial usage and *hundis* (bills of exchange) etc. He had a reputation in ability to manage an estate and landed property. The family of which he was the head was a composite of three families. He had been gifted with a keen intelligence and was quick in penetrating to the bottom of an affair. He took keen interest in all things. He was always a staunch friend. He was aristocratic by birth and temperament and had an expensive style of living. But his moral character was lofty all the same. He had known luxury and laxity at some time, but during the period I knew him his morals were above reproach. In spite of his being wealthy, it was a part of his nature to make himself useful to others and to share their troubles with them. Thus he would not only give medicines (often very costly preparations) free of any charge, but I noticed several times that people woke him up at night and he accompanied them to sick men's bedside. Day or night, he was always ready. God had brought together wonderful traits in him. It is my belief that had he received a better education Lala Chandu Lal would have ranked amongst the celebrated leaders of the land. As it is he was the most respected and the most forceful leader of his own region.

Once a Deputy Commissioner had some dispute with him, and this led to a *hartal* in the entire town. The Commissioner who came for an enquiry said to him, "You are the Raja of the district." This remark was made tauntingly, but it undoubtedly testified to Lala Chandu Lal's great influence and popularity.

For more than twenty years Lala Chandu Lal served the Samaj and made personal and monetary sacrifices for its sake. As a result the Hissar Arya Samaj became a great force in that region. Lala Chandu Lal never meddled with politics, though he understood its ins and outs. Whenever a political question was discussed before him, he grasped it very intelligently. He was always on good terms with the local officials, but after his becoming leader of the Arya Samaj they began to look askance on him.

Lala Chandu Lal stood the test when in 1907 the Government

deported me. Officers of the district were aware of our friendship. But he never disowned me. For two years all my papers were in his custody. He always said to the officials: "I am a friend of Lajpat Rai, and I believe in his innocence." At a time when innumerable other friends had given me up he stood by me. After my return from deportation I stayed with him several times. We often travelled together and once I spent with him three weeks at Dehra Dun. Even when I was a prisoner at Mandalay we were exchanging letters. Those were days when some very dear friends avoided, and even forsook me. The moneyed, the *reis*, the official, the titled dreaded not only my touch but my proximity. But Lala Chandu Lal carried on [all the obligations of friendship openly and manfully.

The Arya Samaj owed much for its progress to his strength of character, his sagacity, his generosity. In the temple that the future generations of the Hindus will raise to honour those great men who were their saviours during the 19th and 20th centuries of the Christian era and 20th of the Vikram era, whose character and sacrifices not only safeguarded the great legacy bequeathed by the ancient great, but added to it; whose hearts were an altar dedicated to the nation and the motherland—in that holy edifice Lala Chandu Lal will deserve a place of honour.

By birth Lala Chandu Lal was a Banya, but in certain respects he had a Brahmin nature, and in manly virtues he was a Kshatriya. He was in fact an embodiment of the noble traits associated with all the three higher *varnas*. I have profound respect in my heart for him. Death seldom pained me as much as it did when it took away Chandu Lal. The late Devata Balmokand who served the D.A.V. College for several years without any remuneration was younger brother of Lala Chandu Lal. Even now another brother of his, Lala Hari Lal, is President of the Hissar Arya Samaj. On Lala Chandu Lal's death, innumerable Hindus and Mussalmans of the district came for condolence and from scores of people I heard that the *Sardar* of Hariana (which is the historic name of the Hissar-Bhiwani-Delhi region) had passed away.

The Hissar Samaj was fortunate enough to have another leader of the same excellence as Lala Chandu Lal. In fact in certain respects this leader is unique in the Punjab. The noble virtue of befriending people in distress and of sharing their sorrows with them,

which distinguished Lala Chandu Lal, is found in much greater measure in this second leader, Pandit Lakhpat Rai. His perseverance, his devotion, his loyalty, his simplicity raise Lakhpat Rai to the eminence of gods.

During my life I have made scores of friends, of some of whom I feel so proud. My personal acquaintances I count perhaps in four figures. But to this day I have not come across a man whom I may put in the balance against Pandit Lakhpat Rai so far as selfless devotion, self-abnegation and self-sacrifice are concerned. Words fail me and cannot do justice to Lakhpat Rai's virtues. His love illumined the darkest moments of life for me. He never let me down. There is no other man in the world now whom I love and respect as I love and respect Pandit Lakhpat Rai.

Pandit Lakhpat Rai does not share my political opinions. By temperament he is a bit timid. I would not call him a coward, and he is not one. He is rather timid but fear in him springs not from personal considerations but from those for the grand movement to which he has dedicated the best part of his life.

His is a life of service. His near and distant relations have benefitted from this, but his family attachments have not narrowed for him the sphere of service. He has served his friends and acquaintances, and above all he has served the Arya Samaj.

His name will for ever shine in the annals of the Samaj. His work has been inspired by such lofty motives and carried on with such persistence that I think every young Arya should tie round his neck the Pandit's picture to help him in moments of trial and to frighten away the mortal sins of selfishness and egotism, of disloyalty and of treachery to the nation. I am not idolatrous, but I believe that if the coming generations should select some idols for worship from the Samaj circle, Pandit Lakhpat Rai will be found in the highest hierarchy.

Pandit Lakhpat Rai is amongst the best servants of the Arya Samaj. His life is simple and his character lofty. If there is one man amongst Arya Samaj leaders who has never sought fame, and who has permitted others to take credit for work done by himself, it is Pandit Lakhpat Rai. Than this I cannot pay a higher tribute.

Pandit Lakhpat Rai's younger brother, Dr. Dhani Ram, also



took prominent part in the Hissar Arya Samaj work. He was deep and wise and well-informed. All this and his Sanskrit learning helped the movement a good deal.

But the man who deserves the greatest credit for spreading and popularising the Arya Samaj principles in the Hissar-Rohtak-Delhi region is Dr. Ramji Lal. I have the privilege of his friendship since 1884, when he was a pupil of my father at the District School, Rohtak. By caste he is a Jat. God has blessed him with a character that brings him instantaneous popularity wherever he goes. In his own *biradari* and caste he is without a second. I have not seen another English-knowing Indian who would mix with his uneducated brethren so unreservedly and affectionately. Generally a cultured, educated man with a good social status feels awkward in developing social relations with uncultured, uneducated, unclean peasants.

My countrymen are aware of the rigidity implied in the term *hooka-pani*. 'Hooka' or the smoking-pipe is a conspicuous thing in governing social relationships. Generally speaking any Mussalman may use the *hooka* of any other Mussalman. But a Hindu generally restricts himself in this matter to his *biradri* or sometimes to his family circle. It is hard for a well-to-do educated *babu* to share the *hooka* with ordinary shop-keepers or farmers. A *babu* will not like to offer his *hooka* even to other people of his own *biradri*.

But I found Dr. Ramji Lal to be an exception. I saw him often smoking a Jat's dirty *hooka*. His house in Hissar was a centre for Jats of the entire division. People came to him from long distances for treatment and for eye and other operations. Many of the patients he fed at his own table. By his ability and his skill as physician and surgeon and his hospitality he spread his religion amongst thousands of Jats, and lit the torch of patriotism in the hearts of his own *biradri*, among whom he succeeded in creating an interest in public affairs.

Among those who served the Hissar Arya Samaj there still remain some to whom a brief reference must be made. The highest place among them I assign to the Updeshak Pandit Amin Chand. For propaganda amongst the Jats of Hissar the presence of this veteran proved a god-send. Pandit Amin Chand is inspired by the sentiments of a true Brahmin. I cannot evaluate in words all he did to popularise the Samaj in the Rohtak and Hissar districts. Besides him I must mention Pandit Chura Mani who did creditable work for

the protection of orphans.

The part that I myself played in founding the Arya Samaj at Hissar and in strengthening it during the first five years of its existence will ever be a matter of pride for me. Those were the days of trial and of opposition, and the Samaj needed tender care and persistent work.

For years the Samaj congregations were held at my house. Weeks passed sometimes when the only people forming the congregation were myself and my clerk. But I never allowed the Samaj prayer to go by default. For weeks together I led the prayer and read the sermon. I was its formal Secretary only for one year, but as long as I stayed the burden rested chiefly on my shoulders.

The Vakil members of the Hissar Samaj used to give one per cent of their income every year. After five years work, Lala Hari Lal (brother of Lala Chandu Lal) became enthusiastic about having a building for the Samaj and persuaded his brother to gift a house to serve as the *Samaj Mandir*. For this purpose I also gave a month's income, which came to more than Rs. 1,500. Some other people also gave a month's income. At that time the Hissar Samaj had not many names on its rolls, so the beautiful *Samaj Mandir* is practically a product of the generosity and work of Lala Chandu Lal and his brothers. They not only gave money, but for months supervised the building work also. The erection of the *Mandir* attached them to the Samaj for ever.

## CHAPTER TEN

### MORE ABOUT MY HISSAR DAYS

I WAS in Hissar for six years, and during that time I made an effort to fill the gaps in my education. I read a good many books on social and political problems, and on religion, besides general literature. I made several efforts to learn Sanskrit, but did not succeed, for my professional work left me too tired to be able to put in concentrated work that the learning of a difficult language like Sanskrit needs.

Judged whether by my income or by my work I was regarded among the three top lawyers at the bar. At Hissar my income went up to Rs, 17,000 a year, and so far as I can recollect it was never less than 10,000. At a modest estimate I earned 70 or 80 thousand rupees (or more) in six years. When money began to come the first thing I did was to free my father from his job. During the very first year of my career as Vakil he became a pensioner, and I presented him with a decent amount the interest of which might enable him to live comfortably all his life, and also to bring up his other children. This was really a mere precaution, for all the expenses of the family, of marriages etc., and of the education of my brothers were being borne by myself, so that he had not to spend even the interest that accrued on the amount. Ten per cent of my income I was spending regularly on national work. I used to go out frequently on Samaj work, and addressed meetings and raised funds and did other work entrusted to me by the leaders of the Samaj. I also used to write for the papers, and took interest in political affairs. In the interesting work of study, a Mussalman, Mir Mohammad Hussain, an English clerk of the district, was my companion. As long as I was in Hissar our relations were very intimate. I dined at his house several times, and he dined at mine more frequently and borrowed books from me.

During the last three years of my stay in Hissar I was an elected member of the Municipal Committee, and also its Honorary Secretary. The ward which I represented was inhabited principally by Mussalmans. When they went to the Deputy Commissioner to

propose my name, he tried to dissuade them. But they persisted and I was returned to the Committee unopposed.

A European officer of the Military Commissariat was President of the Committee. He was an extremely mischievous and tyrannical man. The citizens were sick of him and as I advocated the popular side and safeguarded the rights of the people both the Municipal President and the Deputy Commissioner kept an eye on my movements. There were twelve Indians and three Europeans in the Committee. Situations arose several times in which the twelve were arrayed on one side and the three on the other—the cleavage being racial. In my efforts to promote the cause of education and of health I achieved a fair measure of success during my three years of municipal work at Hissar. At the President's instigation, a Headmaster developed a grudge against me, but he had to suffer humiliation. The Education Department found nothing to find fault with what I had done and the Headmaster had to leave the place disgraced. On one occasion when the Lieutenant-Governor was visiting the town we had serious differences with the President and the Deputy Commissioner as regards the welcome address. They wanted that in the address there should be no mention of the grievances of the public or of controversial public questions. I insisted that these things must have a place in the address. The Indian members agreed with me, and the President and Deputy Commissioner were humiliated. The address was drafted in Urdu and I read it on behalf of the Committee. The Military official went on leave for some time and we elected one of the Indian members in his place. The election of the President was subject to the approval of the Deputy Commissioner and the Commissioner and the members knew that they were bitterly opposed to a non-official President.

Those three years created great interest among Hissar people in their municipal affairs, and I believe my work in the Hissar municipality was that of a pioneer.

During my stay at Hissar the people there began to take rather a keen interest in other (than municipal) public affairs also. Several public meetings were held in support of the Indian National Congress at Lahore (*sic* Hissar) which were addressed by speakers from outside ; hundreds of people attended these meetings. Hissar is not a big town, and including its suburbs does not contain more than 15 thousand souls. The 1388 Session of the Congress held at

Allahabad was attended by five or six delegates (three or four of them belonging to the *reis* class) from Hissar. To the 1889 Session (Bombay) also Hissar sent several delegates.<sup>1</sup> The Deputy Commissioner viewed with extreme disfavour my political activities, but as they did not go beyond the law he was helpless. The officials of the district were not pleased with my public life and my efforts to awaken the people annoyed them, but to all appearances they treated me well<sup>2</sup>. In municipal affairs generally (with the exception of certain things done in spite of official opposition) they liked my attitude, and appreciated the toning up of municipal administration by honesty, intelligence and public spirit. The judicial officials of the district also respected me in every way and once the Deputy Commissioner even hinted that he could recommend me for Extra Assistant Commissionership. My parents wanted me to accept that office, but I did not want to barter away my freedom and so declined the offer with thanks. Casting a backward glance on the subsequent events of my life I am glad I did not permit myself to be caught in that net.

Put very briefly I was a successful man at Hissar. My earnings were beyond my expectations. I was respected by the people, I had a vast field before me for public work. The officials were also pleased with me, and if I cared, I could please them more and gain all those things hankering after which so many educated men sell their souls. For me those things were within easy reach. I could have got them without selling away my conscience.

1. The Allahabad session of the Congress was attended by four delegates from Hissar including Lajpat Rai. The other delegates were Chhabil Das, Banker, Gauri Shankar, Reis and Churamani, Pleader. Only three delegates from Hissar attended the Bombay session—Lajpat Rai, Churamani and Gauri Shankar.

2. Lajpat Rai's activities in 1888 were noticed by the Special Branch of the Thagi and Dacoity Department which later became the Directorate of Central Intelligence. The report for week ending October 6, 1888 reads :

Lajpat Rai Pleader of Hissar, recently visited Bhiwani and obtained the signatures of some subordinates and railway employees to a petition, bringing forward the claims of Natives to the highest appointments in the public service. The document has also been signed by the Extra Assistant Commissioner Tehsildar and leading Babus of Hissar, will be placed before the next National Congress meeting"

But for me the scale of values was quite different. Throughout my stay at Hissar I was feeling extremely uneasy, for a voice from within told me that I was neglecting my real mission, and was wasting my life. My spirit wanted flights, and felt cribbed in the cramping small town of Hissar. For the discharge of duty and to fulfil its own potentialities it sought a vaster field. In spite of the worldly success I had attained I felt day and night that I was drifting away from the real goal of my life ; in other words I felt my 'success' to be a mere failure. To amass wealth was not the object of my life. To enjoy luxury was not my goal. To win official honours was not my ambition. My spirit yearned for things quite different from these. I wanted to sacrifice myself for my people and my country as the moth burns itself on the candle flame, and Hissar was not the proper place for fulfilling this ambition.

All the years that I spent in Hissar I felt myself to be a mere stranger. Several times I had opportunities to acquire profitable estate, but I never utilized those, for I felt that such property would fetter my freedom. I did make some temporary investments, but in spite of the advice of my parents and my friends I refused to acquire landed property. The property that was available to me would have more than doubled in price by now, and merely because of that I should have been very wealthy. People who acquired property during that period in Hissar became enormously rich thereby.

To enrol as a Chief Court Vakil five years' practice at the bar was a pre-requisite, and as soon as I had put in five years' work I began to prepare for leaving Hissar. The Divisional Judge, the District Judge and the District Magistrate gave me excellent testimonials and these helped me to get the licence for practising at the Chief Court. Within five months of my getting this licence I left Hissar.

Thus my six years at Hissar were really a period of preparation for the time ahead. Here I earned a fair amount of money, I filled the gaps in my education and passed through the first stages of public life and learned the value of perseverance in public life. Here also I made some friends whose friendship has been a great solace and source of strength for me all my life. Here I built up health too. And again it was here I got the two children—son and daughter—whom I have loved better than my other children.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### THE SPLIT IN ARYA SAMAJ

WHEN I arrived in Lahore in 1892, the Arya Samaj had in reality already split into two parties, though both were still formally continuing together. It is necessary to give the history of this cleavage rather in detail for it was an event of considerable importance for the Arya Samaj and its leaders and followers. Wherever necessary I must also give briefly in this chapter some biographical details about those responsible for or affected by the cleavage.

The responsibility for this cleavage rests mainly on the group afterwards known as the Mahatma party. The late Pandit Guru Dutt, Lala Munshi Ram, afterwards Swami Shraddhanand, Master Durga Prashad, Lala Rallia Ram, Lala Dev Raj, Rai Paira Ram and Rai Thakur Dutt were the leaders of this party.

The other party was led by the late Lala Sain Das, Lala Mul Raj, Lala Hans Raj and Lala Lal Chand. When and at what stage I joined this party will be mentioned later on.<sup>1</sup>

I have mentioned before what fast friendship subsisted between Pandit Guru Dutt and Lala Hans Raj in their student days. This friendship continued unaffected when the Dayanand School was started. Perfect harmony, without a discordant note, prevailed in the Samaj when the School was started in 1886. Lala Hans Raj was unanimously appointed its Headmaster. Lala Durga Prashad was made Second Master. Lala Lal Chand was President of the Managing Committee, and Pandit Guru Dutt was its Secretary for some time. Lala Sain Das was loved profoundly by all Arya Samajists. People had great faith in his wisdom and his character was regarded lofty and exemplary. His love of nation and patriotism were of a

1. Lala Hans Raj's party used to twit the party led by Master Durga Prashad and Lala Munshi Ram as "Mahatmas" for those people talked much of religious-mindedness. Lala Hans Raj's party was labelled in return as the "Cultured" party, for they prided themselves on their education and culture.

high standard. As an Arya Samaj leader he had a Punjab-wide recognition. He had the gift of spotting out men of worth, and I have not come across another leader who could compare with him in this quality. The close association of Lala Hans Raj and Pandit Guru Dutt with the Samaj was due chiefly to Lala Sain Das's efforts and his instinct for recognising the right man. Lala Sain Das was always in close touch with young people who were fascinated by his talking to them without restraint or reservations. It was his belief that the success of a popular movement depended upon the association of young men with it—the more it could attract courageous young men to itself, the greater the chances of its success.

The Arya Samaj was yet in its infancy. Its members in the beginning were for the most part educated people who had learnt lessons in independence of character and in patriotism from the western literature. They had gathered under the banner of Swami Dayanand having been influenced by the new movement. A few amongst them had a smattering of Sanskrit, but not many from amongst the old Sanskritists joined in. Even the few who joined perhaps did so for selfish reasons.

Amongst the pioneer members were some of the well-known graduates in the province. Lala Sri Ram, M.A., at that time Headmaster of the Normal School was for some time Secretary of the Arya Samaj. Lala Mul Raj, M.A., who won the Premchand Roychand Scholarship distinction, was the first President of the Arya Samaj. Lala Ishwar Das, M.A., and his brother Lala Achhru Ram, B.A., Lala Madan Singh, B.A., Lala Dwarka Das, M.A., Lala Kidar Nath, M.A., Lala Bhiwani Das, M.A., and several others were amongst the original members. Several of the more distinguished people amongst those young Punjabis who got degrees at the Calcutta University, were members of the Samaj. Likewise many amongst the first batches of those who qualified as Assistant Surgeons or as Vakils joined the Samaj. The names of many of them are mentioned in Pandit Lekh Ram's *Life of Swami Dayanand*, and in my Urdu biography of Swamiji. Very few Sanskrit scholars can be found among them.

Besides the people who had received high education there was a considerable number of the middle class people who held different employments in government offices. Lala Sain Das was one of them. He had not received higher education in English, but



he was very proficient in Persian and knew a little of Sanskrit too. He was a Government translator for rendering English into Urdu. When I had the privilege of meeting him for the first time, in 1882, he was getting a salary of Rs. 130 a month. The younger people I have mentioned had a better social standing than Lala Sain Das, even then. Some of them had been made Extra Assistant Commissioners and some got other jobs of very nearly the same position. Lala Sain Das owed his position neither to wealth nor to learning but to his lofty character. He had not been born in an aristocratic family and held no University degree. He owed his leadership to his matchless patriotism. Lala Sain Das was Khatri by caste, and he had no doubt the Kshtriya temperament.

Lala Sain Das was a man of great courage, inexorable in his resolve, and a strict keeper of his word. On first coming to Lahore he was also a member of the Brahmo Samaj for a while as that was the only society at that time where educated people could meet and think about reform work. Afterwards in collaboration with the late Lala Bihari Lal he organised a Sat Sabha, for the Brahmo Samaj was animated by the spirit of Bengal, whilst these Punjabi leaders wanted to instil a new Punjabi spirit into the reform work. At last Swami Dayanand's propaganda resulted in the establishment of the Arya Samaj in Lahore and Lala Sain Das found field for national work after his own inclination.

Lala Sain Das believed in God, but I cannot say he belonged to the *bhakta* (devotee) type. But his devotion for the cause of the country and nation was indisputable. He had unbounded love for the Hindu people. The miserable condition of the Hindus had lacerated his heart and kept him restless day and night. When he talked one felt he had lit a flame within himself that was consuming his body and soul. He heaved sighs when he compared the present condition of Hindudom with its glorious past. I have seen but few Hindus with Lala Sain Das's devotion, his unalloyed love, his burning passion, for their people. I have not come across anywhere, anyone with more of these qualities than Lala Sain Das had. It was the peculiar quality of Lala Sain Das's passion that it cast a spell over all who came in touch with him. Not many of those who came in contact with him could have gone away without the sacred offering from his fund of love of his people. His passion was rather

contagious ; whoever came in touch with him was deeply impressed.

Lala Hans Raj's elder brother, Lala Mulk Raj Bhalla, was by religious conviction a Brahmo, and he never joined the Arya Samaj, but for Lala Sain Das he had deep affection and Lala Hans Raj's relations with Lala Sain Das were really the result of this affection.

Many young people came under Lala Sain Das's influence. But on Pandit Guru Dutt and Lala Hans Raj his association and his ideas left a profound impress, unique in the history of the Arya Samaj. Both these young men worshipped Lala Sain Das. They had great faith in his wisdom, and he also loved them much and put great reliance on them. Lala Hans Raj received the teachings of the Arya Samaj through Lala Sain Das. About Pandit Guru Dutt it is said that when after having matriculated he was living in Lahore, he did not believe in the existence of God. I do not think he was an atheist ; but he was very much inclined towards Doubt, and was, therefore, an agnostic. Influenced by Lala Sain Das, he acquainted himself with theological literature in Sanskrit, but his conversion came when he saw Swami Dayanand on the death-bed. This sight removed all his doubts, and he became a staunch God-worshipper.

Guru Dutt was a man of extraordinary parts. Both in (intellectual) gifts and in scholarship he was far above his contemporaries. He had a certain amount of egotism in him. He was always surrounded by young men and he was fond of all the eulogistic things they said about him. (Who does not like such language ?) We all styled him "Guruji" and thus pleased him. But all the same he trusted the sagacity and earnestness of Lala Sain Das and Lala Hans Raj, and often sought their guidance in his plans.

The years '86 and '87 brought about no change in his relationships. Pandit Guru Dutt took keen interest in the Dayanand School, and occasionally did some teaching there, and interested himself in the scholars at the boarding-house. He was at that time a Lecturer in Science at the Government College. A group of Arya Samajists collected round him, and these people started reading Sanskrit and *Ashtadhyayi* with him. Guru Dutt was an extremist by temperament. By and by he took up the extreme attitude that learning English was useless. He is reported to have expressed once the wish that he could forget all his western learning and become an unalloyed Sanskritist.

Lala Sain Das and Lala Hans Raj did not share these views. They did not like his extremist preachments. Besides, Pandit Guru Dutt established a close contact with Master Durga Prashad who was a staunch advocate of vegetarianism. Lala Munshi Ram who, too, was a vegetarian also began to develop relations with Guru Dutt. Both Lala Sain Das and Lala Hans Raj were non-vegetarians.

At first Guru Dutt paid no heed to their meat-pots. But association with Master Durga Prashad and Lala Munshi Ram directed his attention to these, and a revulsion towards Lala Sain Das and Lala Hans Raj began to generate in his mind.

The question arose who was to be the Principal of the Dayanand College. Lala Sain Das was frankly for Lala Hans Raj, but Pandit Guru Dutt's admirers wanted the Pandit. I am sure Pandit Guru Dutt's mind was free from all trace of jealousy for Lala Hans Raj. But it is possible that the attitude or opinions of Lala Sain Das and Lala Lal Chand on some question had given him offence. Lala Sain Das and Lala Hans Raj were not at that time very religious minded. They had lit the torch of patriotism in their bosoms and they also believed, that to wean the people from all western learning and to substitute it by Sanskrit grammar would do great harm.

Pandit Guru Dutt had developed a point of view, judged by which, considerations for the welfare of the nation were nothing as put against theology and Sanskrit. He lived in a world of his own mind's creation and a sort of indigenous idealism (in which the 'nation' had no place) had been stamped upon his mind. Master Durga Prashad was temperamentally akin to him, and the two loved each other much.

Thus there developed two distinct currents of thought, and as a result the two groups became censorious of each other. Differences in ideas led to personal differences. Pandit Guru Dutt and Master Durga Prashad began to dislike the meat dietary of Lala Sain Das and Lala Hans Raj. In the Lahore Arya Samaj a party appeared that started attacks on Lala Sain Das because of his meat diet, and wanted to remove him from the office of President. I was at that time at Hissar and was closely associated with people in both parties. The result was that whenever I came down to Lahore neither party spoke to me without reserve.

Lala Sain Das was also not quite free from vanity. He was a sort of autocrat. He disliked extremist dogmas and did not regard

those people as safe leaders of the nation who become inordinately long-winded when leading congregational prayers, or who always kept talking of God and *dharma*. I am sure Lala Sain Das was a believer in God and regarded it as a duty to worship Him. But he was against religion being made into a fad. He believed that what the Hindu mind needed was balance. He did not want to banish religion (*dharma*), but he did want to emancipate people from religious subtleties, religious fuss and superstition. He loved Guru Dutt deeply, and regarded him as his own child. But he loved his own ideas and mission even more than that. He did not stand in the way of other people preaching against flesh-eating from the Arya Samaj pulpit, but he himself did not believe that meat-eating was bad, and therefore he was not prepared to give it up.

Lala Sain Das was besides a little bit obstinate. I believe if he had shown more of tact and forbearance at that time he could have disarmed opposition. If Lala Hans Raj had adopted such an attitude, even then I believe Pandit Guru Dutt would not have become hostile to them. But it appears as soon as differences arose the parties developed a mutual hatred. Each pursued its own path not deigning to show consideration to the other till at last they had drifted far away from each other and reunion became well-nigh impossible.

75433



## CHAPTER TWELVE

### THE SPLIT IN ARYA SAMAJ

I do not feel quite sure whether the College department was added to the Dayanand School in 1888 or in 1889.<sup>1</sup> But I remember very definitely that Pandit Guru Dutt was seriously ill at the time of the Lahore Arya Samaj anniversary celebrated before the opening of the College department. He was already a prey to tuberculosis and had become extremely emaciated. But he was present in the committee meetings which recorded the decision for starting the College classes. I was present too. Pandit Guru Dutt, Lala Sain Das, Lala Hans Raj, and myself pressed for the College department. Lala Lal Chand, Lala Dwarka Das, Rai Ganga Ram, and Lala Madan Gopal took the contrary view. In their opinion the School had not yet been sufficiently strengthened and so the proposal regarding the College department was premature. Lala Madan Gopal left the meeting before a decision was taken and at last by a majority of one Lala Sain Das's proposal was accepted.

Uptill that time if there was any rancour in the mind of Pandit Guru Dutt against Lala Hans Raj it must have existed in a very imperceptible form. I believe Guru Dutt never attacked Lala Sain Das or Lala Hans Raj, but his admirers took advantage of his reputation and his position for such work and for strengthening their party. This fire was still smouldering when Guru Dutt's illness assumed a grave form. The entire Arya Samaj, regardless of all differences, served Pandit Guru Dutt heart and soul. No stone was left unturned to save him. Lala Sain Das and Lala Hans Raj took keen interest in his health. But Pandit Guru Dutt did not survive.

Strange are the ways of Providence. Lala Sain Das also died within three or four months of Guru Dutt's death. Within a half-year the Samaj had lost both its leaders. It is a pity indeed

1. Admissions to the First Year Class were made in 1889. The Punjab University granted affiliation to the College by a resolution of its Syndicate on 18 May 1889.

that the Samaj has not been able to produce since that time another scholar of the eminence of Guru Dutt or a man of affairs with the practical sense of a statesman like Lala Sain Das.

Lala Hans Raj succeeded Lala Sain Das as President of the Lahore Samaj. It appears to me this fact also went to enrage the other party. They could not brook the idea that elderly people like Master Durga Prashad and Lala Jiwan Das should be ignored in favour of Lala Hans Raj.

The fire kept smouldering. The cleavage was clear both in the Lahore Samaj, and in the College Committee, and each party strove to capture the mofussil Arya Samajists for itself. Lala Hans Raj used also to visit the Samajes outside Lahore, but his work in the School and College did not leave him much time for that. He did not mix much with the commonality of the Samajists. Master Durga Prashad's house, on the other hand, had become the centre for the democracy in the Samaj. He went out frequently for propaganda work. The Updeshaks (preachers) also favoured his party. First, Lala Hans Raj was by nature reserved and did not mix freely with people. This gave the Updeshaks the impression that he was haughty. Secondly, Lala Hans Raj had not the resources for extending hospitality to the Updeshaks and to other people coming from outside. Master Durga Prashad had some savings besides his salary. Pandit Guru Dutt was also giving him money as long as he lived. He led a single life and therefore he did not need much. His house was always crowded with guests. The Updeshaks would also put up there. Thirdly, Lala Hans Raj was in disfavour among the Updeshaks because he was a meat-eater. Fourthly, his stern ways and aloofness had made Lala Hans Raj very unpopular with the students. He was a living apostle of discipline and was feared rather than loved. Fifthly, Lala Munshi Ram was an active propagandist from the very start, and his sympathies were entirely with Master Durga Prashad.

Lala Munshi Ram was playing a conspicuous role in the Samaj from the very beginning, and certain traits of his character attracted people to him. First of all he was frank and open in talk. Secondly, he was very hospitable. Thirdly, he took people readily into his confidence and trusted them. The fourth trait of his character was his earnestness in his ideas and in his work.

From the very start Lala Munshi Ram undertook such work

as would go to strengthen his position. He was a leader in the domestic squabbles of the Samaj. He was very closely associated with Pandit Guru Dutt and Master Durga Prashad. He visited and addressed the Samajes very frequently. His journal has played a conspicuous part in the Arya Samaj work from the day of its first appearance and has always been very popular.

In the first conflict within the Samaj, Lala Munshi Ram's party wielded great influence in the mofussil Samajes. They controlled the press, the platform and the pulpit. Lala Hans Raj's party had only one journal in English, *The Arya Patrika*, and his habits of reserve also went against him. Even so, the better educated section of the Arya Samajists was on the whole with Lala Hans Raj. On the issue of vegetarianism the general feeling was against Lala Hans Raj, but as this question got mixed with that of freedom of conscience, many amongst the well-educated, who by birth and temperament and by conviction were vegetarians, stood by Lala Hans Raj.

The causes that underlay these squabbles were the following :

First, Lala Hans Raj's personal unpopularity. People got the impression that he was haughty, and conceited and eager to gain power. His reserve, his habit of keeping himself at a distance, his sternness in administration, all went to make him unpopular.

Secondly, the question of vegetarianism. Underlying this was the question of the authority of Swami. Dayanand Saraswati. Pandit Guru Dutt had in his last days become such a devotee of the Swami that he did not tolerate the smallest difference of opinion from the doctrines laid down by the Swami. The most trifling deviation from this upset him, and sometimes in a fit of petulance he would declare Swami Dayanand to be infallible. In moments of excessive zeal he often maintained that the *Satyaratha Prakash* was true in every syllable it contained. The same spirit worked among his disciples and followers. When they raised the controversy about vegetarianism, naturally the opposite group maintained that it was not binding on every Arya Samajist to accept Swami Dayanand's teachings in their entirety and that the Swami was not infallible.

Some people in Lala Munshi Ram's group—among them Lala Atma Ram of Amritsar and several others of the younger people—regarded the Swami to be infallible. But the position

of the *party* was that until he is superseded by a agreater scholar of the Vedas than himself, the teachings and tenets of Swami Dayanand were to be accepted by all Arya Samajists in their entirety.

The College Section, as Lala Hans Raj's party was afterwards labelled, stood on the other hand for freedom of conscience, and on principle was opposed to Swami Dayanand being accepted as infallible. Some of the leaders in the College Section (for instance, Lala Mul Raj) not only regarded meat-eating to be permissible, but even carried on propaganda in its favour. Lala Hans Raj's elder brother, Lala Mulk Raj also was a meat-eater and meat diet propagandist. Lala Mulk Raj was not a member of the Arya Samaj, but the vegetarian section said that he commanded influence in the Samaj because he was the elder brother of Lala Hans Raj and because Hans Raj depended on him for his maintenance. They, therefore, blamed Lala Hans Raj for his brother's propaganda also.

It is but proper to say something about Lala Mulk Raj. He was a member of the Brahmo Samaj when Lala Hans Raj was a college student. But he had close relations with Lala Sain Das too. Lala Mulk Raj's interest in the Brahmo Samaj was never very deep. From the beginning, he was predisposed towards Hindu nationalism. He used to compose verses in memory of the vanished Hindu greatness. I shall speak of his writings later on. For the present I am speaking only of his great personal influence in the Arya Samaj and outside it. People did respect him because he was elder brother of Lala Hans Raj and because it was his generosity that had enabled Lala Hans Raj to devote himself to honorary service of the Arya Samaj and the College. But the truth is that he commanded great respect even otherwise. He owed it to his personal character, to his lofty patriotism and to other great virtues in him. Wherever he went he became a centre of patriotism and the commonweal. He was an obliging sort of man and helped people in times of need and distress. The result was that wherever he lived he built up great influence. His job often kept him on the move and took him to different towns of the Punjab. His circle of friends was very wide, and perhaps no one in the Punjab had greater personal influence than he had. I am inclined to think his influence was greater than Lala Hans Raj's.

Lala Mulk Raj was in favour of a meat diet. In his opinion the Ahinsa-preaching Buddhism and Jainism had led to the political



ruin of the Aryavarta. He believed that the popular but mistaken preachments about Ahinsa had paralysed the people. He, therefore, raised his protest against too much of Ahinsa. He was an advocate of a militant spirit. When the meat diet controversy arose in the Samaj he started a vigorous movement against vegetarianism. He issued several tracts against vegetarianism.

Lala Munshi Ram and those of his persuasion felt greatly annoyed over Lala Mulk Raj's attitude. They believed that he had taken it up in defence of Lala Hans Raj, and that he wanted to use the Samaj as a means for propagating his anti-vegetarian gospel. The truth is that though Lala Hans Raj was in general agreement with Lala Mulk Raj's views he was not in favour of an anti-vegetarian propaganda.

A side-issue of the controversy was that Lala Hans Raj and Lala Mulk Raj were "political" people and were using religion only as a cloak for their politics, and that they wanted to use the Samaj for their political ends. Lala Munshi Ram and Master Durga Prashad, on the other hand, professed to be pure advocates of religion.

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

### SOME LEADERS IN ARYA SAMAJ FACTIONS

WHEN the Dayanand School was started, one thing that had to be kept in view was that the School be made popular. In the beginning, of course, students were imported from other schools. It was decided therefore that for those who came to join the higher classes the same curriculum should obtain as prevailed in other schools, but an effort was to be made that they might learn Hindi and Sanskrit too. But those who joined the primary classes were to receive instruction only through Hindi, and for them Sanskrit was also to be made compulsory.

Differences arose early as to how Sanskrit was to be taught. Pandit Guru Dutt wanted that Swami Dayanand's books should be taught and that the scheme of studies prepared by the Swami should be adhered to. Lala Lal Chand and Hans Raj were opposed to this. Pandit Guru Dutt laid great stress on the teaching of *Ashtadhyayi*. At first things went on peacefully : some of the proposals of Pandit Guru Dutt's party were accepted, others were turned down. After Pandit Guru Dutt's death, Lala Ralla Ram of Gujar Khan became the leader of that party educational in matters. Lala Munshi Ram and Lala Ralla Ram pressed that both in School and in College Sanskrit be made the first language, and that Swami Dayanand's scheme of studies be adopted. Lala Lal Chand and Lala Hans Raj did not want English to be made secondary and optional. Nor did they want to sever connexion with the University, though they did want that besides the usual teaching according to the University syllabus, Sanskrit and Classical Sanskrit should receive special attention. Gradually this difference became a source of friction, and the Arya Samajists split over this question also.

One natural consequence was that each party began to consolidate its forces. At that time the management both of the Samaj and of the College rested with Lala Hans Raj's party. Lala Hans Raj was Principal of the College and President of the Samaj. He was besides President of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha for the Punjab.

Lala Munshi Ram's party began to strive to wrest the control of the Samaj from Lala Hans Raj's party.

That was the stage at which I found the internal squabbles of the Samaj when I arrived in Lahore in April, 1892. Even before I had moved to Lahore, I had been appointed Correspondence Secretary of the College Managing Committee in 1891, and I used to address letters on behalf of the College to the different Samajes and to other sympathisers of the College. In the election of office bearers in 1892, I was appointed Secretary, and as soon as I arrived in Lahore I got busy with my duties. Pandit Guru Dutt had died earlier. Lala Hans Raj and I had been friends since our college days. The people with whom I had to deal most as Secretary were Lala Hans Raj, Lala Lal Chand and Lala (Bhagat) Ishwar Das. From among the other group, I had to deal with Master Durga Prashad and with a few personal friends of Pandit Guru Dutt, including Bhagat Raimal Das with whom I had the privilege of being acquainted previously.

For some time, I tried to preserve my neutrality in the conflict, but my natural inclination was towards the College section. I was not in favour of over-hauling the scheme of studies at the School and College on the lines favoured by the "Mahatma" section. On the issue of vegetarianism I was altogether indifferent to dogma, and was by inclination with Lala Hans Raj. My opinion was that the question should not receive much importance.

The whole of 1892 passed in vigorous agitation. So far as I can recollect, towards the end of 1891 Lala Hans Raj had of his own accord withdrawn from the presidentship of the Samaj. Master Durga Prashad's presidency served as fuel which perpetuated the fire of squabbles. He had never been known for administrative ability or for qualities of leadership. During his term of office the platform and pulpit of the Lahore Samaj were openly used for party ends. Once he stood up on the platform and baring his bosom challenged the other party to assail him. The executive meetings of the Samaj were battle-field scenes on a small scale.

Whole of that year [1892] the parties kept busy consolidating their respective forces. New members were enrolled and the old members paid full yearly subscriptions so that their right to vote might be unassailable. In speeches and sermons and in the press, raged the tempest of indiscriminate personal attacks. I do not want to discuss which party indulged less in these things, but I can say that Lala

Hans Raj's party did things with a certain amount of decency, whilst Master Durga Prashad's party did everything in a boisterous and inflammatory way.

I remember well during that year the meetings of the Arya Samaj executive used always to take up an inordinately long time. Several times the meeting started in the evening and continued uptill midnight, sometimes to even later hours.

M. Atma Ram, Lala Tola Ram, Lala Kidar Nath, Lala Sita Ram Arya, the Late Lala Jai Chand, and Lala Jiwan Das were among the leaders of Master Durga Prashad's party. The brain of the party was Rai Sahib Paira Ram. Nobody ever doubted that he had ability and intellect. In his talk he appeared to be very saintly and patriotic. His personal character was of a high standard. He was in Lahore at that time as the Principal Assistant Director of Land Records. He was deep and even unfathomable. His policies were as inscrutable as those of Rai Mul Raj. At that time Rai Paira Ram was a big pillar of the "Mahatma" section.

Another man of position who took keen interest in the "Mahatma" section in those days and was counted among its leaders was the Executive Engineer, Rai Ladha Ram Sawhney. He was staunch as a Samajist, and good-natured and hospitable and had a loving disposition. But he was rather simple-minded and sagacity or statesmanship were none of the gifts he had been endowed with. He was impulsive rather than prudent.

Intellectually the reins of this party were in the hands of Rai Sahib Paira Ram, although Master Durga Prashad did not always accept his guidance. People who wielded great influence over Durga Prashad were generally those who stood to gain from the split, and for whom unity would spell obscurity.

What Rai Paira Ram wanted was that the reins of the Samaj government should remain in the hands of the "Mahatmas" but that the "Cultured" should not be turned out, so that the Samaj might continue to utilize their talent, their resources and their reputation. Thus, when the Executive Committee was once discussing the proposal that Rai Mul Raj should be expelled from the Samaj, Rai Paira Ram opposed it and voted with the "Cultured" section. As a consequence the proposal was defeated.

The "Cultured" believed and proclaimed Rai Paira Ram to be

a Government spy ; the "Mahatmas" treated Rai Mul Raj likewise. People suspected that these gentlemen were creating disunity on the behest of the Government so that the Samaj might become emasculated. About Rai Mul Raj my own opinion will be expressed later on, but I cannot say definitely anything as to whether the popular suspicions about Rai Paira Ram were true or false,

Rai Paira Ram had not been well-educated, but he was a man with brains. I met him on several occasions. His personal character was lofty and he had an attractive personality. When I had the privilege of his acquaintance he was very regular in the discharge of daily duties enjoined on Samajists, and abstained from drink and flesh. But what he did that year in the Samaj, and afterwards as long as he lived, makes me suspect that in politics he was a sort of Jesuit.

Outside Lahore the most active "Mahatma" leader was Lala Munshi Ram. He is writing his own biography,<sup>1</sup> and so I need not write about him at length. But I must say that I have largely revised the opinion I had of him in 1892-93 and for several years after, that he was a mischief-monger, a disunity-monger, and a hunter after fame with the ambition of becoming a leader. Now I believe it was unjust to pronounce upon Lala Munshi Ram's character on the basis of what he did in party spirit for party ends. Like all great men Lala Munshi Ram has his own failings, and flatterers often take advantage of these. Those by whom he is always surrounded influence his opinions and his actions largely. He is somewhat fickle-minded, and slips from his opinions easily. I cannot say he is altogether free from the desire for fame and power ; barring Pandit Lakhpat Rai and Lala Dwarka Dass I have not seen one among the Samajist leaders who was free from it. Lala Munshi Ram is of a fault-finding nature. Making the failings of others a target of his criticism is part of his character. But notwithstanding this I am certainly far from saying that he is a mischief-making or vindictive man. In moments of party heat I formed an opinion which I had to change afterwards, and I am extremely sorry I should ever have formed such an unjust opinion of him. Lala Munshi Ram is by nature impulsive, lofty and noble impulses dominate in him, and

1. Lala Munshi Ram wrote his autobiography during his imprisonment in Mianwali jail. This work appeared in Hindi under the title of *Kalyan Marg Ka Pathik* in 1924.

not the petty or ignoble ones. He is generous and hospitable and is actuated by a high spirit of service. He knows what it is to suffer and sacrifice for the sake of a principle. He has the spirit of sacrifice in him in a large measure. As a friend he is very loyal. As a man he is very frank and open and pious.

Lala Munshi Ram was at that time editing the *Saddharma Pracharak*, and he wielded a vigorous pen. The other party issued as a counter-blast the *Bharat Sudhar*, which was started by Salig Ram Arorbans, but in its policy was regarded as an organ of Lala Hans Raj's party.

Lala Munshi Ram's party was very popular among students and young men, especially among college students, and these young men always insulted Lala Hans Raj and his party in various ways. Lala Hans Raj himself remained serene, but his admirers and followers which included young men also replied in retaliation.

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

### FOUNDING OF THE ANARKALI SAMAJ

ON SETTLING down in Lahore I strove for some time to avoid identifying myself with either party, and to be the medium of bringing about a reunion. But soon the "Mahatmas" began to suspect that I was a disciple of Lala Hans Raj. And there is no doubt I had from the beginning a preference for Lala Hans Raj. His sacrifice, his patriotism and his simplicity had impressed me profoundly. I regarded him as the hero of the Samaj, and I believed he was the injured party. Of Lala Mulk Raj too I was an admirer. We had a temperamental kinship in political and patriotic sentiments. But what went furthest in driving me into the "Cultured" fold was the Dayanand College. I was entirely opposed to the "Mahatmas" plans regarding the College and believed that if these were acted upon the College would go to dogs. There would be no students left and no money forthcoming. At that stage I believed the College to be the biggest and the most important item in the Samaj programme. In my eyes the "Mahatmas" were enemies of the College.

I must apologise for this very lengthy digression. Put briefly the whole of 1892 was taken up by these quarrels. When I think of the unmentionable things the contending sections did in a partisan spirit I cannot but feel sorrowful. Mutual recrimination and accusations were very ordinary things, for tactics of a far more questionable kind were employed. Voters in the Samaj were influenced in various ways. The subscriptions of some were paid out of the party fund, others were won over by temptations of a different kind. Correspondence was actually stolen, and private letters published in newspapers. Many other things of a like nature happened too.

When I reflect upon this phase of Arya Samaj history in my solitary hours I feel ashamed. Even when these things were going on one felt ashamed for such things were universally condemned by the public at large. If educated people who had undertaken the work of reform and purification could stoop so low, what occasion

could there be of complaint against ordinary people's conduct? That was the question asked.

In my opinion Lala Hans Raj's responsibility for this wild orgy was as great as that of Lala Munshi Ram. But now that I have thorough acquaintance with the democratic elections of western lands, casting a backward glance on these events that happened two decades ago, I feel such goings were the inevitable consequence of the principles underlying the Samaj constitution.

As the anniversary of the Samaj approached near in November, 1892, friction reached the breaking point. The "College section" came to the conclusion that Master Durga Prashad's party was bent upon not only continuing its hold on the Samaj, but also upon capturing the College by all means, fair or foul. The executive of the Lahore Samaj prepared fresh register of *sabhasadas* (members) in the month of November every year. The *sabhasadas* are people who can vote at the meetings. When the executive commenced revision of the rolls it began to swell the numbers of its own partisans and to diminish those of its rival section by all means. Everyday a good part of night hours was taken up by these quarrels. During the day time people kept busy in their offices and also enrolled new members and at night they quarrelled with each other. At last when the "College section" became convinced that the "Mahatmas" had absolutely no regard for justice, truth, reasonableness and *dharma*, they called people in the party to consider the situation.

This meeting was held at the house of the late Lala Lal Chand in Mohalla Mohlian inside the city. All the enthusiastic members of the party, big or small, were present. This meeting was held on a Saturday night, and the next day was Sunday. The question was what course of action was to be adopted. One group wanted to take possession of the Samaj Mandir with the aid of the police. Another group wanted a decision by a court of law fixing different timings for the meetings of the two parties. A third group would not invite the police but would capture the Mandir by force of lathis at night, and would give battle if there was resistance. This last mentioned group included Lala Amar Nath Khamb. So far as I can remember this gentleman was at that time a superintendent or clerk in the Commissioner's Office. Later he became head clerk and superintendent in the District Magistrate's Office, and later still on being pensioned off he became sub-registrar. At present he is a



trusted man of the officials and an avowed enemy of nationalists. A fourth group—in which I was included—was of the opinion that since it was impossible to co-operate with the “Mahatmas” it was better to part company with them and for the time being to rent a house for our separate weekly meetings. I remember well what I said at that time : “Principles and not bricks and stone constitute the Samaj. We joined the Samaj to reform our lives and to serve the people, not to take possession of houses or to quarrel over them. You have no doubt built the Samaj Mandir at great expense in money and labour, but if sentiments of Dharma inspire you, you can raise a still more magnificent building. I am entirely opposed to quarrelling or fighting or inviting police aid or going to the court.”

The idea of abandoning the Samaj Mandir was very painful to Lala Hans Raj, but when he found that Lala Lal Chand was also inclined favourably towards my opinion, he too lent it his support and it was resolved by general consensus that we should start work separately from the other party. To give practical shape to this resolve the *sabhasadas* belonging to our party met at the house of Bhagat Ishwar Das, situated at the beginning of Anarkali, in the right hand row as you come out of the Lohari Gate. We passed a formal resolution of separation and elected new office-bearers. I was made President, and one Mr. Buddha Mal, who was at that time head clerk or superintendent in the Forest Office, was appointed Secretary.

The present Anarkali Mandir then looked a mere enclosure. In a corner of what is now the Mandir proper was a small room and verandah. and in front of it lay bare ground. There was another room in the corner of what is now the library side. In front was a two-storeyed building available on rent. In the lower flat was located the Arorbars Press which printed *Bharat Sudhar*, the paper that was regarded as our party's organ. The building in the interior and the courtyard were rented for the weekly Samaj congregations.

The anniversary days had drawn very near—perhaps only two or three weeks remained. The question, therefore, arose whether we would arrange for the anniversary celebrations or not. Not to celebrate the annual function would be a confession of our weakness and helplessness and it would mean that the real Samaj was the other

body that gathered for its congregations at Wachhowali. That was the general feeling among our party. But at the same time one could not forget that arrangements for the anniversary meant expense and hard work. At last it was resolved that arrangements be made for the anniversary, and the preparations started. Even in those days the Lahore anniversary used to be a great function, and the house rented for the Samaj was not adequate for purposes of the anniversary which was, therefore, celebrated in the Dayanand School premises. Our party was in the possession of the School, and so there was no difficulty in making arrangements there for the anniversary. The resolve to hold the annual function was notified and preparations for that started. I remember the vigils necessitated by work in those days. I was Secretary of the College and now the duties of the President of the "New Samaj" were also added on. Besides, as there were not many effective writers of Urdu in our party, the work of removing, by speech and writing, misunderstandings spread against our party, was also largely entrusted to me.

I have admitted before that my memory does not help me in fixing the year for these events very definitely. But my impression is that all this happened in 1892.<sup>1</sup> There were many petty disputes during the November '91 anniversary. At the time of religious discourse the issue of vegetarianism cropped up. Rai Mul Raj expressed himself in favour of meat eating,<sup>2</sup> and the over zealous Mahatma youngmen and boys literally took up cudgels against him. Lala Hans Raj who was at that time President of the Samaj came in for a good deal of inveighing. These scenes I saw with my own eyes. They moved me immensely and I used to keep awake at night pondering over them and wondering whether God could cure us of our national malady of disunity. To end dissensions and to unify the people we had put ourselves under God's own protection, but even there we could not rid ourselves of our sins and the result of our dark deeds was that instead of being instrumental in unifying the people we ourselves began to quarrel with each other, and that too in a manner the indecency of which knew no bounds. When I went back to Hissar after the '91 anniversary I was sick at heart and the condition of the Samaj and my own uneasiness over it compelled

1. To be correct it should be 1893.

2. This was in the 1892 anniversary of the Lahore Arya Samaj.

me to leave Hissar permanently for Lahore. The struggle in which the year 1892 passed I have described above.

I have had occasion to mention the names of the zealous members of the Mahatma section. It is but proper, therefore, that I should give a list of the enthusiastic members of the party to which I belonged. The late Lala Lal Chand and Bhagat Ishwar Das were among the leaders of the party. Lala Shaukat Rai, Bawa Chhaju Singh, Mehta Radha Kishen, Bawa Teja Singh, Lala Amir Chand, Lala Sukh Dayal, Lala Harnam Das, Lala Ram Sahai—these were counted as leaders of the second rank. Names of the leaders outside Lahore are given below :

### Mahatma Section

*Peshawar* : Late Dr. Sita Ram, Lala Sarjan Lal, Lala Mul Chand Lamba.

*Rawalpindi* : Lala Ganga Ram, Vaid Sita Ram, Lala Kirpa Ram Sahni.

*Gujar Khan* : Lala Rallia Ram.

*Miani* : Lala Jwala Sahai.

*Gujranwala* : Lala Kewal Krishan, Lala Narain Kishan.

*Amritsar* : Late Pandit Dharm Chand Kaul.

*Jullundur* : Lala Munshi Ram, Lala Dev Raj, Lala Ram Kishen, Raizada Bhagat Ram.

*Ludhiana* : Lala Umrao Singh.

*Ambala Cantt* : Lala Guranditta Mal.

*Multan* : Late Lala Kanshi Ram.

### Cultured Section

*Peshawar* : Late Bakshi Gokal Chand, B. Rallia Ram, Lala Gajju Mal.

*Rawalpindi* : Late Lala Hans Raj Sawhney, Lala Hari Ram Sethi, Lala Maya Das Sawhney.

*Abbottabad* : Seth Chuhar Lal.

*Jhelum* : Lala Har Bhagwan Das, Master Bodh Raj.

*Amritsar* : Lala Gopal Das Bhandari, Pandit Shiv Dutt Ram.

*Hoshiarpur* : Master Murli Dhar, Late M. Ram Chandra, Lala Thakar Das, the last named being now a Sanatanist.

*Ferozepur* : Chaudhri Bishen Sahai, Late Pandit Mul Raj,  
Lala Din Dayal.

*Hissar* : Pandit Lakhpat Rai,

*Ambala City* : Lala Dwarka Das.

*Multan* : Lala Chetan Anand.

This list is far from exhaustive, but I have put down the names I can recollect now. This may be helpful to the future generations in understanding a very obscure and dark phase of Arya Samaj history. I am sure Lala Munshi Ram's record is more exhaustive than mine and he will be able to give a more complete list.

At last in November, '92<sup>3</sup> the parties separately arranged the anniversary functions. At that time the fire of rivalry, jealousy and enmity was aflame. The younger spirits on both sides were highly excited. The Mahatma section was infuriated over the conduct of the College authorities in having allowed the use of the College premises—joint property of both sections—for an "unconstitutional" meeting. They regarded our Samaj as useless and illegitimate.

The parties kept watch over their respective premises at night time. If I remember aright the police guards used to come in day time also. On Friday night we were busy decorating our premises till two o'clock, and came back again at six in the morning. All day long the anniversary functions went on, and in the evening at about six, meeting of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab, started which went on till five or six in the morning. Neither party left any weapon unused to defeat the other. At that time the Mahatma section was in a majority, and the College party could only resort to obstruction. This meeting was held in the School hall and ended without coming to any decision.

On Sunday I made an appeal for funds for the College. On Saturday or on Sunday Rai Mul Raj delivered a speech on 'Arya Samaj.' The place was packed and people scaled the walls and doors to find accommodation, but there was no disturbance in the course of the speech. The anniversary was a great success.

At the end of the year (1893) the parties stood thus :

1. The two parties in the Lahore Samaj had parted company with each other. The old Samaj Mandir, the old records and the library were in the possession of the Mahatma section, and the Cultured section had rented a different house for congregations.
2. All the offices and records of the Pratinidhi Sabha were likewise in the possession of the Mahatma section.
3. The College and all its property were in the hands of the Cultured section.

## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

### CLASH OF TWO SECTIONS

WARFARE started with the new year. The press, the platform, the pulpit were converted into a three-fold arena. To defend the College I started a monthly journal which was named the "Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Samachar." The late Lala Lal Chand also used to write for that journal, but the main burden fell on me. The Mahatma section attacked the College management mainly on the ground that sufficient attention was not being paid by it to the spread of Sanskrit. To refute this charge I wrote a tract of two hundred pages which recounted all that the College had done to popularise Sanskrit and Hindi ever since its foundation. The tract was called *Dayanand College Men Sanskrit ki Talim per ek Tarikhi Nazar* (A Historical Glance at Sanskrit education in the Dayanand College.) I was besides writing frequently for the *Bharat Sudhar* and also for the *Arya Messenger*—the English journal started to counter-balance the *Arya Patrika* of the other party. A considerable portion of my time, including almost all court holidays, I had to utilize in the mofussil for raising funds for the College. Once I had to go straight from Simla to Peshawar, for had I arrived at Peshawar even a few hours later than I actually did, I would have got nothing. In two days I collected Rs. 3,000 cash ; then the Mahatma deputation arrived and the College collections stopped. To sum up, my obligations in 1893 were as under :

1. I was the General Secretary of the College Committee.
2. I was President of the Lahore Arya Samaj (Cultured section).
3. I was Editor of the *Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Samachar*.
4. I was contributor to the *Bharat Sudhar* and the *Arya Messenger*. Sometimes I had to write an entire issue of the *Bharat Sudhar*.
5. I had to tour for the College.
6. Besides all these I had to earn my living at the Bar.

My other activities included work for the Reception Committee of the first Congress session held in the Punjab,<sup>1</sup> and attendance at public meetings. The meetings for reconciliation at which endless talk produced no results took away a good deal of time.

From the beginning of 1893 to March 1897 was a period of severe struggle. In the mofussil two rival Samajes came into existence at many places. The "Cultured" organised their own Pratinidhi Sabha, and thus each party completed a separate organisation of its own.

The first thing the College section did to save the College was to decide by majority of opinion that only such Samajes would have the right to send representatives on the College Managing Committee as were raising funds for the College. (The Mahatma party had stopped appealing for the College at its meetings). This decision affected only those places at which the Samaj had split into two.

The College party had to face the question whether they would hand over the College to the Mahatmas and be done with it or whether they would continue to run it on the lines on which it was being run. They did not agree with the Mahatma scheme and were not prepared to accept it. They believed that to meet the educational needs of the Punjab it was necessary that the College should continue its affiliation with the University and prepare students for its examinations. They thought that only in that way they could serve the country. After a good deal of legal and constitutional hair splitting the leaders of the College Committee decided that where the Samaj had split in two, only that section would have the right to send representatives on the College Committee which helped in raising funds for the College and in other ways made the College a main plank of its programme of work.

This decision naturally caused great flutter in the Mahatma camp. When time came for the College anniversary in May 1894, the Mahatmas tried to take possession of the College by the use of force and a strong band of their party marched on the School singing *Dharm ke liye jan jati hai to jane do* (For the sake of Dharma lay

1. In December 1893.

down your lives), The College authorities had the outer gates of the School locked, and for the annual meeting of the College Society they decided that only such people should be admitted who could produce a certificate signed by the Secretary that they were *bona fide* members of the Society and were entitled to vote at its meetings.

The Mahatma Samajists came with the intention of entering by force. On finding the doors closed they tried to break them open. The clash came and lathis were brought into use. The late Lala Sunder Das had his skull fractured and his brother Lala Gopal Das too received injuries. Perhaps one or two more were also injured. The meeting was adjourned and both the parties submitted their statements to the police.

The next day vigorous argument took place at the meeting, but when at length the majority of those attending gave a verdict against the Mahatma section, the latter rose, walked out and went to their own Mandir where they decided to give up the College and to start a Veda Prachar Fund of their own. Thus the two sections parted company with each other in educational work. But this by no means ended hostilities. The Arya public on whose support both depended was the same and so each had to put its point of view before it to win it over to its own side.

In this civil war the combatants indulged in many unmentionable things; there was recrimination and vilification on both sides and pen and tongue were pressed into service for this. But there is another and brighter aspect also—the zeal and fervour resulted in sacrifices which will ever illuminate the annals of the Samaj. Young or old, rich or poor, each did more than one could be expected to. One month's income or salary had already been taken from all for the College funds. Some were giving a monthly subscription also. And yet a fresh levy was made, and all submitted to it cheerfully. The Mahatma Samajists had to make similar sacrifices for their Veda Prachar Fund, the Kanya Mahavidyalaya, and the local schools. The people began to suspect that the two parties were fighting only to swell their several funds. Lala Sunder Das, eldest son of the late Lala Sain Das, laid down his life in the service of his party; likewise, in the Mahatma camp, a zealous young man, Lala Labhu Ram, sacrificed his life for the cause of his party.



About this time I was also once at death's door. I suffered from pneumonia for two months, both my lungs were affected very badly, and I went through more than one crisis that very nearly took me to the grave. Doctor Beli Ram tended me with great affection and took great pains to save me. To him I remain indebted as long as I live.

Lala Hans Raj and Lala Munshi Ram both discharged their responsibilities with great courage and forbearance ; they practically wiped out their individual existence for the sake of the parties they led. The late Lala Lal Chand took a large share in the service of the College and the late Rai Paira Ram in serving the Mahatma Samaj.

## CHAPTER SIXTEEN

### THE MARTYR LEKH RAM

THE assassination of Pandit Lekh Ram in March 1897 is a memorable event in Arya Samaj history. The Pandit died at the hands of a Mussalman because of his religious convictions, and was, therefore, a martyr. In this sense of the word, he was not only the first but is also far the only Arya Samajist martyr.<sup>1</sup>

My opinion about Pandit Lekh Ram is that he was a very zealous Arya Samajist and was very staunch in his beliefs. He knew Persian and Arabic fairly well. His personal character was very high. He was a great devotee of the Samaj and of Swami Dayanand. At one time he was employed in the police department. But he left his job to serve the Samaj. The Pratinidhi Sabha paid him something for subsistence. The one-sidedness he had developed in police work did not forsake him in theological studies. He was incapable of a judicious and impartial attitude. He rendered the Hindus a great 'service' by his attacks on Islam and Christianity. Just as the Mussalman Maulvies and Christian Missionaries made the weaker aspects of Hinduism the target of their attacks and cited only such texts as had been selected by the critics of Hinduism, so also Pandit Lekh Ram made the weaker aspects of Islam and Christianity the target of his attacks and he shattered them into smithereens with the testimony of critics hostile to them. Pandit Lekh Ram's writings are replete with examples of such one-sidedness, and he was the pioneer of this type of criticism in the Samaj. Although in the early stages such an attitude proved useful for the defence of Hinduism, there can be no denying that this stifled the spirit of free and impartial investigation in the Samaj.

Pandit Lekh Ram hailed from the Frontier side. His speech lacked the polish one notices in people belonging to cultured

1. The Arya Samaj had a few more martyrs since this work was written. Among them was Swami Shraddhanand who was assassinated by a religious fanatic on 23 December 1926.

families. One might say in Punjabi he was 'akhar' (boorish). He spoke out freely and kept no mental reservations. His veracity was beyond question. In Swamiji he had perfect faith. He would not accept that the Swami was infallible, and I remember when once in Ajmer Rai Mul Raj said that Swami Dayanand had changed his views on vegetarianism under pressure from the Jains, tears flowed from Pandit Lekh Ram's eyes involuntarily. Whenever anybody attacked the personality of Swamiji, he could not contain himself. The services he rendered to Hinduism by saving Hindus from being converted to Islam or by reconverting to Hinduism those newly turned Muslim, stand unique and deserve to be recorded in letters of gold. When one recalls further that he lost his life by fearless persistence in this work, one feels no hesitation in saying that Pandit Lekh Ram was a true martyr of the Samaj.

Pandit Lekh Ram was fearless in preaching his ideas. He had several times received threats from Mussalmans and it was evident that the bigoted Maulvies were athirst for his blood. The way he was assassinated will ever remain a blot on Islam. The assassin had originally come to him for *Shuddhi* (conversion to Hinduism). The Pandit lodged him in his own house and discharged all the obligations of hospitality. Eventually when he found a suitable occasion he stabbed his host and ran away. That was how he paid back hospitality.

This event caused tremendous excitement among the Hindu populace of Northern India in general, and of the Punjab and Lahore in particular. All Hindus regardless of sect or creed stood by the Samaj. I have not seen in Lahore another funeral procession as huge as the one which marched behind Pandit Lekh Ram's bier. Different estimates put it at between twenty thousand and fifty thousand souls. The procession started from the Medical College, for the Pandit had breathed his last in the Hospital where he had been removed immediately after the stabbing. The Hindu populace honoured Pandit Lekh Ram showing such high regard for him. Thousands of Hindu women showered flowers and *batashas* on the bier, or picked these up to be kept as holy relics.

The first result of this martyrdom was that at the cremation ground the two parties expressed firm resolve for reunion before the martyr's body. The speech Lala Munshi Ram made on that occasion quite befitted his position. The Sunday following the

assassination the two Samajes had a united congregation in the Wachhowali Mandir. Lala Hans Raj presided over the occasion. After this united meeting the preliminary steps for reunion were settled at my house. The Mahatma section agreed to put an end to the dispute about vegetarianism. Lala Hans Raj was again to be the President of the Samaj after the reunion. A Committee was appointed for tracing out the assassin, and work for this Committee was entrusted to me. I had to see the Superintendent of Police frequently in this connexion. The police and the Samaj each appointed its own agents for finding out the culprit, but Mussalmans foiled all their plans. Two or three people were arrested, but all of them were let off because none was identified. People were firmly convinced—and there were good reasons for the conviction—that the sympathies of the Lahore Muslims were with the assassin, and that the assassination was the result of a big conspiracy in which some of the Maulvies and Muslim *reises* of Lahore had a part and they gave shelter to the assassin and helped him make good his escape. The escape was in any case a good example of the Islamic brotherhood and unity on which the Muslims may well pride themselves.

The reunion did not last very long, for it was merely an impulsive unity. It was born of the common resentment and sorrow of both the parties at the assassination. But the points of view of the parties were still divergent. The reins of the Pratinidhi Sabha were in the hands of the Mahatmas and the Cultured held those of the College. Mutual trust and confidence were lacking, and each party believed that the other was using its resources and influence to crush it. Besides, the leader of the Mahatma party believed that if the unity lasted for a few years his party's influence at least in Lahore would vanish altogether. I was informed that Rai Paira Ram expressed this idea in this very fashion at a meeting. The result of the mistrust was that once again there were two Samajes in Lahore, and once again the Cultured were having their congregations in Anarkali. When the second split occurred I was seriously ill and was away from Lahore. On my return I found each section having its separate congregation.

## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

### A MILD CONVERSION

EARLY in 1897 the Central Provinces were visited by a terrible famine. Thousands were dying of starvation. In Lahore news was being received that the poor houses and orphanages of the Christian missions were being filled. In particular, children were dying in large number, or were being sold to Christians. These reports moved me deeply and I started a movement for the C.P. orphans. This movement was started under the auspices of the Anarkali Arya Samaj, but soon it spread to the entire Hindu community. A new society was founded at Lahore for the help of Hindu orphans, and Sanatanist Hindus as well as Brahmo Samajists joined in this endeavour. Several hundred orphans were brought from Jabalpur, Bilaspur and other places, and several orphanages were opened at Lahore and other towns to take care of them. The Lahore Hindu orphanage was started at this time. I remember the day when the first batch of orphans arrived thousands of people had gathered at the Lahore railway station to receive them. Hindu fellow-feeling was at this time very strong in Lahore.

I was busy with this work until August when I went away for rest to Abbottabad. There I was drenched in rain one day and got fever. This resulted in inflammation of the liver, and I was ill until May 1898.

Although I had been taught about religion very early in life, and I had been hearing religious discourses and reading religious tracts to some extent, I had never been really fond of religious studies and researches. As far as I can recollect I was from the beginning inclined towards action. The books that left a deep impression on my mind early in my life were *Qasis-i-Hind*, and Firdausi's *Shah Nama*. A verse in *Gulistan* which became fixed in my mind was :

I am not such that thou mayst see my back  
on the day of battle.

I am such that my head will be seen lying  
in blood and dust.

My father taught me a good deal of Persian privately. But of all the Persian books I read with him, the two epics, *Sikandar Nama* and *Shah Nama* made the greatest appeal to me. Amongst Urdu books, I was particularly fond of *Rasum-i-Hind* and *Qasis-i-Hind*. I read again and over again the portions of Maulvi Muhammad Hussain's *Qasis-i-Hind* (Part II) which eulogise the valiant deeds of the Rajputs, Ala-ud-din Khilji's raids on Chitor, Humayun's tribulations, Akbār's conquests—all these left impressions on my mind as lasting as carving on stone. It was from Maulvi Muhammad Hussain's *Qasis-i-Hind* that I first learned to admire Hindu valour, and to be proud of Hindus. I developed quite a passion for *Qasis-i-Hind*, whose influence on my life has always been very strong. From the day I touched this book I have always been curious to know about the Rajput deeds of valour. When after passing the Mukhtarship examination, I started legal practice, the first book I purchased was Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*. At that time a book on Indian history called *Waqiat-i-Hind* used to be taught at Government schools. That book created in me the feeling that Mussalmans had subjected the Hindus to great tyranny. Gradually the respect for Islam that I had acquired from early training began to change into hatred because of study of *Waqiat-i-Hind*.

When I came to Lahore Islam lost its charm for me. The company I had in Lahore made my mind turn away from Islam and what is more important, I became attached to Hinduism and Hindus. This attachment was not so much theological or religious, it was nationalistic. The two small volumes by Lala Mulk Raj Bhalla—*Shahid Ganj* and *Bir Ganj*—had some share in engendering this attachment.

As a boy when I knew nothing, I had been brought up in a Sikh environment, and used to hear my grand-mother recite the Japji. But afterwards I came under the influence of Islam and had no love either for Hinduism or for Sikhism. I looked upon both as bundles of prejudices, superstition and nonsense. The change that afterwards came about in my ideas was not the result of religious or theological teaching but of my nationalistic tendencies. All the religious literature that I had read was pro-Muslim and anti-Hindu. I had some sort of attachment for Islam. But when I read the *Qasis-i-Hind* and *Waqiat-i-Hind*, a new wave of ideas arose within me which took me farther away from Islam every day. I had no opportunity to study Hinduism and to form an opinion about its

virtues nor I had the ability to understand thoroughly problems connected with religion. I did not have the leisure to fathom these profundities ; even if I did find time, what could I have studied ? I had never learnt Sanskrit and did not know even the alphabet of Hindi. With Gurmukhi I have no acquaintance to this day. The whole of my boyhood had been taken up by the study of Urdu, Persian and Arabic. At that time there was no literature in Urdu setting forth the beauties of Hinduism. If there was any it was beyond my access. I had not yet passed the Middle School examination when *Qasis-i-Hind* and *Waqiat-i-Hind* created within me a fondness for Hinduism and Hindu history. *Qasis-i-Hind* often moved me to tears and I began to feel that both my mind and my ears were fascinated by accounts of the valorous deeds of the Rajputs. This feeling became stronger everyday till at last it developed into an irresistible passion.

## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

### HINDI AND HINDUISM

AFTER completing my school education at the age of sixteen I came to Lahore. There I began to attend the Brahmo Samaj meetings, and that made my mind gradually turn towards Hinduism. I began to be fond of hearing Hindus praised. Although Brahmo literature did not very much glorify Hinduism, its atmosphere was not free from Hindu nationalism. The Brahmos were much enamoured of the English people and English culture, but as compared with Islam they respected pristine Hinduism. They were votaries of Sanskrit and Hindi, and in the Urdu-Hindi controversy they advocated the cause of Hindi.

The Hindi-Urdu controversy taught me my first lesson in Hindu nationalism. My mind took a turn at this time and there was no turning back thereafter. Early training and parental teaching should have enlisted my support on the side of Urdu; that way lay personal gain for me, for I had spent years in the study of Persian and was fairly well acquainted with Urdu literature, whilst of Hindi I did not know even the alphabet. But as I became convinced that political solidarity demanded the spread of Hindi and Devanagri, I brushed aside all personal considerations and started propaganda for Hindi.

When this work took me to Ambala and I made a public speech there advocating Hindi and opposing Urdu, I actually did not know the Hindi alphabet. The late Rai Hukam Chand, M.A., of Delhi was present among the audience. He was not only a good scholar of English, but also a votary of Urdu, which was to him a mother tongue. He wrote appreciatingly of my speech in a paper but made much fun of my Hindi scholarship. Immediately I had returned from Delhi I learnt the Hindi alphabet and gave up studying Persian and Arabic.

At college also I had taken up Persian and Arabic and was studying these with Maulvi Muhammad Hussain Azad. One day, the Maulvi Saheb began to pour ridicule on the partisans of Hindi in



the class-room. Ridiculing the position of Bengali advocates of Hindi, he happened to remark that they as "foreigners" had no business to meddle in the affairs of this province. The late Maulvi Saheb was a Shia by faith, and was always full of praise for Iran. He would say that his very own country was Iran and always yearned for it. When he hit the Bengalis, I retorted without premeditation that the Bengalis were Indians at any rate and if they had no business to meddle with the affairs of the Punjab what right could the Maulvi Saheb, who claimed to be an Irani, have to interfere? The Maulvi Saheb felt annoyed but the sympathies of the class (with the exception of the Delhi people) were with me, and he had to keep quiet.

Because of ill health, and because of my simultaneous law course I did not care much for the arts course and used often to be absent during Persian and Arabic lectures. The Maulvi Saheb now began to "report" me. Accordingly, when I returned from Ambala, the Principal, Mr. Sime, called me and gave me a scolding, with the result that I gave up Persian and Arabic altogether.

Guru Dutt took me to the Sanskrit Professor, Pandit Bhagwan Das, and announced that he had found a new pupil for him. Very few students used to take up Sanskrit in those days, though in that particular year several students had joined the Sanskrit class. The Pandit asked me how much I knew of Sanskrit. I kept quiet, but Guru Dutt laughingly said: "This is a new convert. Up till now he was a Mussalman, now he has turned Hindu." The Sanskrit Pandit laughed and said nothing.

Lala Hans Raj had also started Sanskrit only after joining college and Guru Dutt assured me that in one year I ought to be able to pick up enough of it to get through the Intermediate Examination. I learnt precious little of Sanskrit, but this was the first incident of my life to make me a staunch Hindu, and looking backwards I have never had any regrets over it.

## CHAPTER NINETEEN

### PREPARATION FOR POLITICAL WORK

AT ABOUT this time I happened to come across the English speeches of Babu Surendranath Bannerji. Amongst those was his speech on Guisepee Mazzini, which moved me to tears several times as I read it. It made a deep impression on my tender heart and I determined that all my life I would follow the teachings of Mazzini and serve my nation. I made Mazzini my Guru, and so he continues to be to this day.

This happened in 1881-82. I had not yet joined the Arya Samaj, and in fact felt no particular attachment for it. Thereafter my work for the law examination began to slacken. My attention turned away from the curriculum. My spirit wanted to fly higher, but poverty and the hardships of my parents made me despair. Often the Penal Code or some other law book might be lying open before me, and I preparing a speech addressing people of a by-gone age. I used to keep a journal at that time in which I recorded my ideas, alas ! that journal was also destroyed.

A great revolution thus came about in my ideas. When I joined the Arya Samaj I already held very advanced views. When Pandit Agnihotri learnt that I had joined the Arya Samaj (1882) he was very much surprised and in a public speech he compared me to a bird that would leave one tree and perch on another without any thought.

I set up as a Mukhtar at Jagraon in 1883, and there my political ideas had no opportunity to develop further. But even at that time I used to write for the columns of the *Rafiq-i-Hind*.<sup>1</sup> Maulvi Muharram Ali Chishti, the editor of that paper, was also young like myself and always welcomed my contributions.

While a student at Lahore I once went to the Chief Court to see a case in which a white man was being tried for having murdered

1. Urdu weekly published from Lahore.

an Indian. The jury acquitted the assassin. Great resentment prevailed amongst Indians against this decision. I also shared this resentment. But my nationalism was not yet thorough-going. In Arya Samaj lectures I used to applaud the Government. That was in vogue those days. Besides I believed that the English had rescued us from the tyranny of Mussalmans. During 1883-84 my political ideas did not receive any nourishment. Like other people I also read English and Urdu newspapers, and occasionally wrote for the English papers also and talked about them in a casual way, but made no special study of political movement. My energies were directed mainly to passing the Vakilship examination, for I perceived that my parents had to suffer great hardships because of our slender resources. But I cannot recollect a period when my mind was wholly occupied with law studies to the exclusion of all ideas of national service.

When at last I passed the examination in 1885 and set up as a Vakil in 1886 and began to make money, I made quite a decent collection of books for my private library. Once the District Magistrate was going round to see the *Divali* illuminations and he happened to come to my house too. He said he envied me for my library and speaking to a Junior Assistant Commissioner who accompanied him, he remarked that he felt ashamed that my library should be far superior to his.

During my days at Hissar I studied all sorts of literature. I had once occasion during this period to be under the same roof with a certain Rai Sahib who was regarded amongst the prominent people of the province. He had earned a reputation even while he was a student. He was well-known for his patriotism, but was helpless being in Government service. Rai Mul Raj, he was the gentleman I am referring to, had with him a history of the secret societies of Europe in two volumes which he had borrowed from some library. He read out portions of that book to me and I became eager to read the whole book. I read a few pages then and there, but Rai Mul Raj did not permit me to carry the book home with me. I enquired of several booksellers about that book and about a life of Mazzini, but could get them nowhere. At last I wrote to a young Punjabi who was in England at the time, and he sent me both the books—Mazzini's life and the history of secret societies. I can well recollect how joyous I felt the day I got those books.

I read Mazzini's biography from cover to cover, and I was moved by it far more intensely than I had been several years before by Babu Surendranath Bannerji's speech about Mazzini. The profound nationalism of the great Italian, his troubles and tribulations, his moral superiority, his broad humanitarian sympathies, enthralled me. I began to translate his *Duties of Man* into Urdu. When this was finished I sent the manuscript to Lala Nathu Ram, a journalist friend in Lahore, who revised it and published it in his own name.

## CHAPTER TWENTY

### FIRST CONTACTS WITH THE CONGRESS

WHILST at Hissar I found the Congress looming large in the papers. The Madras session<sup>1</sup> presided over by Badrud-din Tyabji impressed me greatly. I got some Congress literature and read it. About this time were published two pamphlets by Mr. Hume, entitled *Star of the East* and *An Old Man's Hope*. I have yet to come across in Congress literature another brace of pamphlets as good as these. The wave of liberty surged through their pages and they impressed me profoundly.

In 1888 I invited to Hissar Ali Mohammad Bhimji, who was on a lecture tour on behalf of the Congress in the Punjab, and made arrangements for a public meeting to be addressed by him. His speech was heard by a large audience.

It was still the beginning of my career as a Vakil ; in fact, I had not yet been quite three years at Hissar. The European officials were not pleased with my independent ways. I was not in the habit of addressing them in the Court room by flattering epithets like *Hazur*, *Gharib Parwar*, Your Honour, etc., and always put up a fight against every irregularity. In that way I had picked up quarrels with several young European judges. I was not in their good books even before, but now their annoyance with me increased still further.

I did not mind this and in those very days started a series of 'open letters' to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.<sup>2</sup> Sir Syed was making himself very active in his hostility to the Congress and had made speeches against it at Meerut and Lucknow. I looked up his earlier writings—all his works are in Urdu—and made excerpts from them to show the discrepancy between his original creed and his new

1. The third Congress met at Madras in December 1887.

2. The 'open letters' were first published in the Urdu Weekly *Kohi-Noor*. The first of these letters appeared in English on October 27, 1888 and the last one on December 20.

creed. I did not publish the letters over my name<sup>3</sup>—not that I had any reason for concealing my identity but merely because being an obscure person I felt some compunction in openly entering the lists against so great a man. But the date-line indicated that the letters were written at Hissar, and in that town I was the only man to whom they could be ascribed. People, therefore, found out the author of the anonymous letters.

The letters concluded a little before the Congress session, and were talked about throughout the country. On a hint from my Lahore friends I put them together in pamphlet form. Hitherto I had confined my writing only to matters of local or provincial import and the writings appeared only in newspapers. I had produced nothing that would bring me a name. But the 'open letters' at once made me famous. I was not yet quite twenty-five.

When in December of that year (1888) I went to Allahabad accompanied by some friends, the Congress Reception Committee, began to honour me from the moment I arrived at the railway station. All the leading members of the Reception Committee including Mr. Hume, Pandit Ajodhya Nath and Pandit Malaviya, (who, though young, was already a distinguished figure) were present at the railway station. They had not come there to receive me, but when I alighted these leaders and the volunteers gave me several ovations. At the Congress session also I was shown respect, and I delivered two speeches.

The Punjab delegates including several distinguished lawyers (like Rai Murli Dhar and Lala Hans Raj Sawhney) decided to ask the Congress to hold its next session at Lahore. Accordingly I was authorised to invite the Congress on behalf of the Punjab. I extended the invitation but the leaders of the Congress fixed upon Bombay for the next session.

Participation in the Allahabad session of the Congress was the beginning of my political life. After this session I received several letters from Mr. Hume and with my permission he reprinted at his own cost the 'open letters,' after revising their English. This booklet was much in demand for some time.

3. These appeared as from "Son of an old followers of yours".

I remained very enthusiastic about the Congress till the end of 1889, but then the enthusiasm began to cool down. The '89 session held in Bombay was presided over by Mr. Bradlaugh. There I had the privilege of seeing both Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Hume. But rather an unfavourable impression was left on my mind. I somehow began to feel that the Congress leaders cared more for fame and pomp than for the interests of the country. But this was only a vague feeling which I could not explain articulately. However, after 1889 I did not attend any session of the Congress up till 1892.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

### INDIFFERENCE TOWARDS THE CONGRESS

THE cause of my indifference towards the Congress after 1889 was the opinion of my Arya Samajist friends. After 1889 I had the privilege of being in the company of a respectable friend<sup>1</sup> who was a staunch opponent of the Congress. The grounds for his opposition may be briefly put thus :

1. The Congress has been founded by a few Englishmen and as Englishmen love their own country it is not possible that the Congress would win political freedom for India. The English derive great benefits from their governance of India ; it is impossible that they should willingly restore India to freedom. Being afraid lest the intelligentsia should organise a strong political movement aimed at England's supremacy, they had provided this innocuous occupation for the intelligentsia so that they might gratify themselves by two or three days of speechifying and by seeing themselves eulogised in the papers. In those days this gentleman looked upon every Englishman as an enemy of India. There was no doubt, therefore, in his mind, that the Congress had been brought into existence by some Englishmen who wanted to keep Indians busy with a harmless preoccupation. He regarded the Congress not merely as useless, but even detrimental to the interests of India. In his view what was necessary was that Indians should make themselves stronger by education, by the spread of Swadeshi, and by smuggling of arms, and then bide their time till they might be strong enough to turn out the English.)

2. This gentleman had no faith in Hindu-Muslim unity. He believed that attempts at such unity would harm the Hindus. The Hindus were lacking internal solidarity, religious fervour and communal self-respect ; the Muslims excelled in all these and would, therefore, always be the gainers in the attempts at unity. Further the Islamic supremacy continued in Afghanistan, Turkey, etc., so the attempt

1. The reference is to Rai Mul Raj.



at unity would make the Muslims politically very strong. To him it appeared that the primary need was that the Hindus be strengthened and be shown the way to cultivate solidarity, and that national fervour be instilled into them. The Congress movement, he argued, would divert energy from the work for Hindu solidarity and Hindu reform and set the Hindus a futile task.

3. A further argument was that the political movement would make the Britishers suspicious of the Hindus and they would, therefore, not only obstruct the progress of Hindus, but harm them in all possible ways.

The Arya Samajist leaders generally shared this view. Some of them were of opinion that the Arya Samajists should devote all their time to the Samaj, to the exclusion of outside public activity. Some believed that if the Samajists played a conspicuous part in politics, the Britishers would look with suspicion upon them and obstruct the work of the Samaj.

The late Lala Sain Das and the late Lala Lal Chand shared this view. Lala Sain Das, Lala Mul Raj and Lala Lal Chand, all three believed that the first duty of the Hindus was to get strong enough to stand on their own legs; they ought to imbue the lessons of self-help, self-confidence and self-respect and cease looking towards others.

(The late Lala Sain Das clad himself in nothing but Swadeshi cloth and preached Swadeshi, even in 1881. Lala Mul Raj also believed in Swadeshi, and generally, though not invariably, he was Swadeshi-clad.)

In its early history the Samaj was looked upon with suspicion by the Government. Sir Lepel Griffin and Sir Robert Egerton did not have a good opinion about the Samaj. They believed the Samaj to be a dangerous movement for the Government. They were much bewildered by the progress of the Samaj. At a later stage the Samaj tried to strengthen amongst Hindus the sentiment for cow protection. And again the officials tried to embroil the leaders of the Lahore Samaj; Lala Mul Raj, Lala Sain Das and others were summoned by the police several times and once the police got (or tried to get) personal cognizance from them.

The Samaj contained a large number of Government servants, and that was another reason against the Samaj taking part in politics.

Lala Sain Das and Lala Mul Raj often regretted that the best Indian brains were used to strengthen the rule by a foreign nation. They used to dissuade the most brilliant Indian students from entering Government service. Lala Lal Chand held a different view in this matter. Lala Sain Das felt it deeply that the Pandits of Kashi should have brought Hinduism into disrepute by drawing the carriage of Lord Ripon. The acme of public morality for Hindus, according to him, was that in their religious, social reform, and educational affairs they should have nothing to do with the Government or with the Britishers, and should not seek their help, in the shape of money, or advice and guidance, or in any other form. Whatever the Hindus wanted to do, they must do it by their own effort and should develop the spirit of self-reliance in themselves. It cannot be denied that to a large extent these political views were sound and lofty.

Lala Sain Das died when the political movement was in its infancy, and the views of Lala Mul Raj and Lala Lal Chand underwent some change. This will be related in its proper place.

(When in 1893 the Punjab invited the Congress on the suggestion of Bakshi Jaishi Ram, the Arya Samajists felt great hesitation. With his sole exception, the Arya Samajist leaders took no conspicuous part in preparations for the Congress. This was partly due to the fact that the Arya Samajists were preoccupied with internal strife. Some foolish members of the Mahatma Samaj sent letters to officials saying that the leaders of the College section were all at heart anti-government and wanted to use the Samaj for political ends.

(I did join the Reception Committee of the Congress, but by no means took the active part that people expected me to take. That session owed much to the efforts of Bakshi Jaishi Ram and Babu Jogendra Chandra Bose. Lala Harkishen Lal was also among the leading lights. But there was not much harmony between Bakshi Jaishi Ram and Lala Harkishen Lal, which became evident on several occasions in the Reception Committee meetings. Lala Harkishen Lal had great influence over the late Sardar Dyal Singh.<sup>2</sup>

2. Chairman of the Reception Committee for the Lahore Congress session in 1893.

(I made two or three speeches at the 1893 Congress.<sup>3</sup> What was most worthy of note is that Rai Mul Raj took a prominent part in that session. Being in state employ he could not join as a member, but he attended the Subjects Committee meetings and other similar functions informally and urged that the Congress should adopt a permanent constitution.)

3. In one of these speeches, supporting the resolution on Education, he urged the promotion of technical education as that would increase the wealth of the country.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

### YEARS OF POLITICAL INACTIVITY

BETWEEN 1893 and 1900 I did not attend any session of the Congress. But my interest in politics did not die out. In 1900 another Congress session was held in the Punjab and this time the Arya Samajists took a keener interest than they had taken on the previous occasion. The reason was that the late Bakshi Jaishi Ram's influence had increased. Most of the Arya Samajist leaders were his friends. Because of the Samajists' influence it was decided that instead of wasting money in erecting a temporary pandal, Lahore might build a hall which even after the Congress session was over, could be of permanent use for public meetings. Lala Lal Chand and his associates worked hard for raising funds for building the Bradlaugh Hall. The Arya Samajists were opposed to christening the hall after Bradlaugh, but the majority decided in favour of that name.)

Bakshi Jaishi Ram died a few days before the session, and the interest of the Arya Samajists in the Congress began to wane. Several years after the Congress session was over, serious differences over the Congress buildings and Congress finances continued between Lala Harkishen Lal and the Arya Samajists. These differences were never settled in a regular and formal way. The late Babu Kali Prasanna Ray, the President of the Congress Committee<sup>1</sup>, used to complain seriously against the narrowmindedness and sectarian spirit of the Arya Samajists. But in this quarrel he sided with them. He believed that there were great irregularities in the Congress accounts. These quarrels had not been settled when Babu Kali Prasanna went away to Calcutta. After his departure the Arya Samajists ceased to take part in Congress politics.

1897 and 1898 were years of great misfortune for me. I have related before that from August '97 to March '98 I was so seriously

1. Chairman of the Reception Committee for the Congress session at Lahore in 1900.

ill that many of my friends had lost hopes of my recovery. For eight months continuously I was getting fever and my liver was also affected. The fever had not yet left me when my younger brother, Lala Dalpat Rai, M.A., fell a prey to tuberculosis. When I got rid of fever, his disease was already in an advanced stage. In June he departed from our midst, leaving behind a widow and two children. His death grieved me deeply for I loved him intensely and had entertained great hopes of him.

Dalpat Rai was a staunch Arya Samajist. He had great attachment for Sanskrit. I had hoped that he would have a better record of public work than mine; but alas ! his illness gave him no opportunity.

For two months after my brother's death I was working day and night on a biography of Swami Dayanand, and when I was free from that I took up again the famine relief work.

1899 was again a year of famine. In fact, the 1899-1900 famine was severer than that of 1897-98. This time, besides the Central Provinces, the Punjab was also in its grip ; it was necessary, therefore, that the orphanage work be taken up on a bigger scale. At the end of the famine we received about 2,000 orphans.

All this time I was practising at the bar, but my heart was not in my work. My practice interfered with my public activity, and my public activity interfered with my practice. I wanted to give up trying to walk on two roads. Work at the bar was not after my liking. I wanted to give it up and to devote myself entirely to the service of my country. But my father stood in my way. He wanted that I should make my pile and provide sufficiently for my brothers and my children. I used to reply that I had already discharged the obligation of educating my brothers and that I had enough with me to support my children.

In this good intention of mine, my mother offered no resistance. Her sympathy was with me. At last in 1898, on the occasion of the Samaj anniversary, I announced that I would thenceforward curtail my work at the bar, and devote my time to the service of the College, the Samaj and my country.

In pursuance of this intention I had a separate room in the Managing Committee office, situated in the school building, furnished for myself. There I began to work for the College and the Samaj.

For nearly two months I gave lectures on Indian history at the College, and during the same period compiled an English reader for the School. Besides this, I was now going out to the mofussil anniversaries more frequently than before.

In connexion with the famine work I toured in Rajputana and the United Provinces, saw the Christian orphanages, raised funds and once gave evidence before a Famine Commission.<sup>1</sup>

During the same period (1895-1900) I wrote four or five biographical books also—Mazzini, Garibaldi, Shivaji, Swami Dayanand, and Krishna<sup>2</sup>—besides a booklet for boys on the ancient Aryan civilization. I wrote a few tracts on Samajic and other topics also. Besides all this, I used to write for magazines in English. For nearly two years I was editing the *Arya Gazette*<sup>3</sup>, in collaboration with Lala Hans Raj. The main burden of this work was also on my shoulders. I studied the *Bhagvad Gita*, *Manu Smriti*, the *Upanishads* and other works and equipped myself for a Samajist's life.

With the beginning of the 20th century I took the second step towards giving up the lawyer's job. I resolved that whatever I earned thenceforward at the bar should be devoted to public work. In the letter I wrote to Lala Hans Raj announcing this resolve I dedicated this income to *public* work, not specifically to the *Arya Samaj* work, though the people took that to mean that it would go largely to the College and the Samaj. I also expected the same thing.

I adopted this course so that the temptation of making money by work at the bar might disappear. I expected that when the selfish motive disappeared, the work would vanish of itself.

1. Lajpat Rai appeared as a witness before the Indian Famine Commission of 1901 which was presided over by A.P. Macdonnell. In his evidence he voiced the objections of the Hindu community regarding the handing over of Hindu orphans and waifs to Christian missionaries. The Famine Commission agreed with the views expressed by Lajpat Rai and recommended that deserted children and orphans "should not be made over to persons or institutions of different religion; until all efforts to find persons and institutions, of their own religion willing to take charge of them have failed."

2. The Urdu biographies of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Shivaji were published in 1896 and those of Dayanand and Sri Krishna in 1898.

3. The *Arya Gazette*, Urdu Weekly, served as organ of the College section of the Arya Samaj.

Up till 1904 I was spending my income at the bar for the College and the Samaj, and whatever remained with me was given away every year at the time of the Samaj anniversary.

Reports often reached me that the Government were making enquiries about my *Mazzini* and were thinking of prosecuting me. This much I know that the Director of Public Instruction asked the Principal of the Dayanand College more than once whether my books were part of the School or College curricula. Circulars on the same subject were addressed to all headmasters in the Punjab. In a big town of the province, the Inspector of Schools found a copy of *Mazzini* in a student's box in the boarding-house, and an explanation was demanded of the headmaster. Two or three times the officials had this book translated into English to get legal advice. I am told the reason why no case was started against me was that the official legal experts disagreed among themselves.

Doubts on this question were not yet at rest when *The Punjabee* made its appearance at Lahore. The story of this paper forms an interesting episode in my life and will, therefore, get a chapter to itself.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

### HARKISHEN LAL AND THE ARYA SAMAJISTS

I HAVE said before that political life disappeared altogether from the Punjab after the Congress session of 1900. Even before that it had existed but nominally. The best of the Punjabi intelligentsia were in the Arya Samaj, and I have narrated before what the political views of the Arya Samajists were. But the Indian Association and the Punjab Congress Committee did function in some manner as long as Babu Jogendra Chandra Bose was in Lahore, and even after that as long as Bakshi Jaishi Ram was alive. This work did not really count for much; but a replica of whatever the other provinces did was seen in this province too. Whenever a new Lieutenant-Governor came, the Indian Association was ready with an address.

But on the death of Bakshi Jaishi Ram both the Indian Association and the Punjab Congress Committee fell asleep. The Arya Samajists fell off because of differences of opinion and also because they could not get along smoothly with Lala Harkishen Lal. The beauty of it is that Lala Harkishen Lal's political outlook was the same as that of the Arya Samajists, but ostensibly he was a Congressman. It seems necessary at this stage to say something about Lala Harkishen Lal.

When I came to Lahore in 1892, Lala Harkishen Lal had recently returned from England. We became rather thick with each other. Rai Mul Raj had long cherished the idea that Indians should have a National Bank of their own. He felt keenly the fact that Indian capital was being used to run English banks and companies, the profits accruing from which went entirely to the Britishers whilst Indians had to content themselves with a small interest on their capital. I had also written in the introduction to my *Mazzini* that political liberation would have to be preceded by liberation in religion, in education and in economic life. The Arya Samaj had taken up work for emancipation in the religious, the social and the educational spheres. Rai Mul Raj and those of his way of thinking wanted that the movement for economic emancipation should also



be led by the Arya Samajists. As he had confidence in my energy he often used to tell me that if I took up this work the effort should meet with success. Soon after my coming to Lahore I issued a circular letter at the instance of Rai Mul Raj raising the question whether or not an Indian Bank should be started in the Punjab. The letter was sent to select friends and the response was encouraging. But as I had my hands full, and I did not want to attend to the bank at the cost of the Samaj and the College, I took no further step.

Meanwhile Lala Harkishen Lal's talent had begun to win him a reputation. He used to ridicule the social and religious ideas of the Arya Samaj and called many of its members 'humbugs', but he knew that in this province no movement could succeed without the help of the Arya Samajists.

Lala Harkishen Lal had brought with him from England certain ideas regarding commerce and industry, which he wanted to see materialized into practical shape. He began to discuss these ideas and to give them practical shape he formed an alliance on the one hand with Mr. Gupta, Editor of the *Tribune*<sup>1</sup> and Sardar Dyal Singh, and on the other with the Arya Samajists. At this time Lala Harkishen Lal and myself were fairly thick with each other and used to meet very often.

At last the efforts of Lala Harkishen Lal and Lala Mul Raj materialized in the shape of the Punjab National Bank<sup>2</sup>, and both these gentlemen selected my brother, Dalpat Rai, for the post of manager. Amongst the original directors of the bank were the late Sardar Dyal Singh, Babu Kali Prasanna Rai, Lala Lal Chand and Lala Harkishen Lal. Sardar Dyal Singh was not in the habit of stirring out of his house, and he put no reliance on the Arya Samajists. Lala Harkishen Lal used often to call on him and had his confidence too. For some time the Directors used to meet at his house, but as the rules demanded that the meetings of the Directorate should be held in the Bank premises, at last they discontinued meeting at the Sardar's house. Gradually differences arose amongst the directors and my brother resigned.

1. The *Tribune* was founded in 1881 by Sardar Dyal Singh, and was edited by Nagendranath Gupta, a distinguished Journalist from Bengal.

2. The Punjab National Bank was established in 1895.

Eventually as a result of these differences Lala Harkishen Lal laid the foundation of another bank, and the Directors of the Punjab National Bank began to think of ousting him from their organization. Sardar Dyal Singh was no more. Babu Kali Prasanna had also gone away to Calcutta. These two seats (on the Board of Directors) had been filled by Bhagat Ishwar Das and Lala Jaishi Ram. When Lala Harkishen Lal's term expired and he was seeking re-election, the Arya Samaj group put me up against him. After a good deal of controversy and quarrels I was elected in his place<sup>3</sup>, but lasting unpleasantness was created between us. When after the death of Bakshi Jaishi Ram the dispute over Congress funds arose, this unpleasantness was further accentuated, and many people began to believe that the Arya Samaj party was opposing Lala Harkishen Lal out of some personal grudge, for by this time acute differences had arisen between Rai Mul Raj and Lala Harkishen Lal in the Bharat Insurance Company also.

The result was that before the Congress session was held in 1900, two camps had formed in the public life of the Punjab, the Arya Samaj camp and the Harkishen Lal camp. Lala Harkishen Lal had gathered round him a set of people who acknowledged him as their leader. Many of them were personally under obligation to Lala Harkishen Lal and owed their living to him but there were a few independent people also who were with him because they believed the Arya Samajists to be narrow-minded people, and suspected that they wanted to control the entire public life of the province.

The disputes about the accounts of the 1900 Congress session were never properly settled. Therefore, whenever the Committee met these controversies made their appearance. At last Lala Harkishen Lal stopped calling these meetings. Besides, Lala Harkishen Lal himself fell out with the Congress leaders and severed his connexion with the Congress. The Indian Association was inactive even before this. The result was that the Punjab was left without any political life whatsoever. The Punjab played no conspicuous part in the controversies noticeable in other provinces during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty.

3. Lajpat Rai was elected as a Director of the Punjab National Bank in 1898,

One result of this passivity was that the irregularities committed by the education and other departments of the Government received no publicity. The only English language paper of the Punjab was the *Tribune*. During Sardar Dyal Singh's lifetime this paper pursued a fairly independent policy, though during the Sardar's last days its independence and regard for truth had already become affected. But after his death this paper became lifeless. Sardar Dyal Singh's will made Lala Harkishen Lal a trustee of the paper. At the time of the 1900 Congress session, this paper was controlled by Lala Harkishen Lal.

During Sardar Dyal Singh's lifetime the Arya Samajists never had occasion to complain against the paper, for it pursued a detached and independent policy. In fact the official circles looked upon the *Tribune* as an organ of the Samajists, for the Samaj was the only living organisation of the province, and many of the leading lawyers were Samajists. The officials, therefore, inferred that the Arya Samajists were responsible for its hostile criticism of the administration. But when the paper passed into Lala Harkishen Lal's hands, its policy changed, and the Arya Samajists showed resentment. Even before 1900 the resentment was quite appreciable.

Even before Bakshi Jaishi Ram's death the idea had often been mooted that another English language paper should be started in the Punjab. But after the 1900 Congress session, the resentment against the *Tribune* became more acute. During 1903-4 the Arya Samajist leaders conferred several times to discuss the question. People began to feel that the complete extinction of political life in the Punjab was extremely injurious, and affected the progress of the Province. The officials did not in the least care for public opinion. They resolved, therefore, to revive the political movement. The question was how they could do it. The Congress Committee was in the hands of Lala Harkishen Lal; the Indian Association was almost dead; the *Tribune* was in a very abominable state. It was decided eventually that an English language paper must be started.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

### BIRTH OF THE PANJABEE

A COMMITTEE of the Arya Samaj leaders induced a young man to give up lecturership at the College and start a political newspaper. About this time there arose a quarrel between the Principal and some of the students of the Government College on Swadeshi, and we learnt that the original letters of the students who had supplied information about it to the *Tribune* were shown by that journal to a professor of the College and thus their names were revealed to the Principal.

Taking all these things into consideration ten of the Arya Samaj leaders accepted responsibility for losses in running the proposed journal to the extent of Rs. 1,000 each and Lala Jaswant Rai was induced to start the paper.

The first issue of *The Panjabee* made its appearance in the first week of October, 1904. The paper got a reputation from the very first issue which contained pungent criticism of the doings of several officials including a Hindu Deputy Commissioner. This convinced the readers that the paper would spare nobody. Several 'notes' and one or two articles in this first number were written by me. The editor had also been appointed by me—I having selected him on the recommendation of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak.<sup>1</sup> Of the duties of the manager Lala Jaswant Rai himself took charge.

It was generally known that the paper was being conducted under my guidance. Lala Harkishen Lal's group was hostile to the paper, but the policy of the paper and its fearless writings soon made it a favourite.

The names of the people who bore financial responsibility to the extent of Rs. 1,000 each were :—

1. K. K. Athavale, a journalist from Poona was the editor of *The Panjabee*.

R. B. Lala Lal Chand, M.A.; Lala Ishwar Das, M.A., Lala Hans Raj Sawhney of Rawalpindi, Lala Gurdas Ram Sawhney, Bar-at-Law, Rawalpindi; Seth Chuhr Lal, Abbottabad; Lala Kanshi Ram, Vakil, Ferozepur; Bakshi Tek Chand, M.A.; Lala Lajpat Rai. Of these Lala Gurdas Ram paid Rs. 1,000 and Seth Chuhr Lal Rs. 500. Both these amounts were refunded within the first year. Nobody else was ever called upon to pay a single pie.

With the starting of the paper a further decision was also taken—that the Punjab should send delegates to the Congress session at Bombay in 1904, and as far as might be possible should renew contact with the Congress.

The Congress session was presided over by Sir Henry Cotton. Sir William Wedderburn was also present. In the Subjects Committee, complaints regarding the Punjab were discussed. I met Sir William in Bombay, and as a result we became firm in our resolve to renew contact with the Congress.

One of the decisions taken at the Congress session was that in 1905 a deputation be sent to England. After the Bombay session I had my first meeting with Mr. Gokhale in February 1905, and on his suggestion I also decided to be one of the deputation.

After the Bombay Congress session was over I took a steamer to Ceylon. Lala Ganga Prashad, M.A., Deputy Collector in the United Provinces and a well-known Arya Samajist, accompanied me. We were on a coastal voyage in a very old British India steamer and the cabin allotted to us was a very bad one indeed. The heat was extreme. The second class deck was also very narrow and there were no chairs or benches on it. The food served was uneatable. We were the only passengers. It appeared that these steamers had no passenger traffic.

My companion was a very staunch vegetarian; he took neither fish, nor meat, nor eggs. With great difficulty I persuaded him to take eggs. The butler was a Bengali Mussalman, and the Captain an Englishman, looked upon us with contempt and never let us set foot on the first class deck. On our way we saw Mangalore, Calicut, Cannanore and Mahe. At the last mentioned place we put up at a Christian Church, and in the evening were guests at the Indian padre's table.

The Malabar coast is very verdant and beautiful, and the

Hindu inhabitants, dark in complexion, have very clean habits. In this region there is a very large number of Hindu converts to Christianity. They are almost all of them Roman Catholics. Most of them have the top-knots on their heads and believe in the caste system which regulates commensality and marriage among them.

It took us one week to get to Ceylon and when we left the steamer, the plague quarantine people caught hold of us and prevented us from entering Ceylon. At last leaving my Deputy Collector friend at the quarantine I went out to see a Parsi merchant for whom Mr. Malabari<sup>2</sup> had given me a letter. This gentleman sent a man with me, but meanwhile the quarantine people had also practically let off the Deputy Collector. It appears these people wanted to extort some gratification but when they found that they would not succeed with us, they decided not to bother us.

The Parsi merchant's man left us in a hotel. This was the first occasion for me to put up in a hotel and to take European food. The Deputy Collector now began to take soup and a little fish also. But he found the sight of meat revolting, though he did occasionally take cutlets.

We holidayed for a week in Colombo, then we went to Kandi and after that to the Nuwara Ilya mountain. The place where Ravana is believed to have kept Sita in confinement is only a short distance from this mountain. A lovely and crystal clear spring is also near by. Near the spring is Ceylon's most ancient garden.

Coming down from the mountain we paid a visit to Anuruadh-pura. This is a buried city which has been dug out only under British rule. Excavation work has revealed splendid architecture belonging to the Buddhist period. The tree transplanted from India by Ashoka's son is also in this city and it is worshipped by the Buddhists. For hours I used to wander in the midst of these ruins pondering over the vanished glory of India.

On our way back we visited the splendid temples of Madura

2. B.M. Malabari, the well-known social reformer of Bombay and one of the founders of the Indian National Congress.

and also made our pilgrimage to Rameshwaram. At Madras we were the guests of Mr. G. Subramanya<sup>3</sup> who gave us South Indian food. After three days' sight-seeing we left for Calcutta by the coastal train. At Calcutta I parted company with my Deputy Collector companion. I put up with Lala Ralla Ram, Engineer, whilst he stayed elsewhere and returned home after a day or two.

3. Prominent leader of the Congress in Madras.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

### SHYAMJI KRISHNA VERMA

IN CALCUTTA I saw Mr. Gokhale and he took me to the Supreme Legislative Council which was that day discussing the bill that transformed the irregularities of the Universities Act into regularities—the Validating Act.<sup>1</sup> The whole house was attending. From the Indian side there was only one speech of importance, and it was Mr. Gokhale's speech. From amongst the English members Ibbetson's was the most forceful speech. The mockery of the whole thing made deep impression on my mind.

One day Gokhale took me to Sister Nivedita,<sup>2</sup> and the visit gave me great joy. She took me to Mr. S.K. Ratcliffe, editor of *The Statesman*, and I can never forget the things I heard on the way from her lips. She was a great hater of British Raj and a great lover of Indians. In politics she stood for the principles for which Mazzini stood. In short this interview further confirmed me in my beliefs, and gave me profound joy.

From Calcutta I came back direct to Lahore. A few days later the Indian Association elected me a delegate for a deputation to England<sup>3</sup> and subscriptions began to be collected in the Punjab to defray the expenses. Nearly three thousand, or two thousand and five hundred rupees were collected (or was it only Rs. 1,500). Amongst those who contributed towards this fund was the late Lala Lal Chand, and probably Bhagat Ishwar Das also.

1. The Indian Universities Act, 1904, an unpopular measure passed during Curzon's Viceroyalty. The Validating Act was passed in February 1905.

2. An Irish lady, named Margaret Noble who was a disciple of Swami Vivekananda. She is believed to have encouraged and helped revolutionary movement in Bengal.

3. The Indian National Congress resolved at its annual session held in December 1904 at Bombay to send a delegation on behalf of the Congress to England in view of the impending General Election. The delegation was to place the claims of India before the electors, the Parliamentary candidates and the political leaders of England.



A grand farewell meeting was arranged and a large number of people saw me off at the railway station, amongst them being Lala Hans Raj and the late Lala Lal Chand.<sup>4</sup>

The day I was leaving came Gokhale's telegram saying that he had put off his visit to England till July on the advice of Sir William Wedderburn. But the telegram did not affect my plans, for I was very eager to go to Europe, and was afraid that if I put off the visit it might never come off at all. Besides, I did not like the idea of having to undertake the voyage in the month of July.

So I left. Lala Diwan Chand Kapur of Lahore who was going to England on business accompanied me. From Bombay I went for a day to Poona, and was the guest of Mr. Gokhale. Both he and his sister were very hospitable to me. I took one meal at Mr. Tilak's also. I had a hearty chat with Mr. Tilak and was introduced to Mrs. Tilak. Mr. Gokhale had himself taken me to Mr. Tilak's house, though he did not stop there. There was not much harmony between Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Tilak in those days, but each entertained genuine respect for the other. At least that was the impression I formed.

At Port Said I alighted from the steamer for the first time. When I saw the stalls of Indians there, I felt great joy and wanted to embrace those Indians warmly. The deck was also carrying a number of Indians—Hyderabadis and Sindhis going to Malta, Spain, Cuba etc., for business. They used to cook their own food.

From Port Said I went to Sina, thence to Naples, from Naples to Rome and thence to Milan. From Milan I went to London, arriving there on the 10th June. My impressions of these places were published in *The Panjabee* and so I need not repeat those here. An account of my visit to England and of what I did there has also appeared before in *The Panjabee*. But there are certain things about which I would like to write here.

(When in June 1905 Mr. Shyamji Krishna Verma<sup>5</sup> came to know of my arrival in London, he called on me at my hotel, and took

4. Lajpat Rai left Lahore on 10 May 1905.

5. The noted Indian revolutionary who had left India to continue his political work abroad.

me to his 'India House' that I might put up there. The opening ceremony of the 'India House' was also performed in my presence. I had frequent occasions to meet Shyamji Krishna Verma. His political ideas were very much like my own though I did not share his acerbity towards the Congress and its leaders. He was very bitter against Mr. Gokhale, and I did not like this attitude.)

(Through Mr. Verma I became acquainted with the Socialist leader, Mr. Hyndman<sup>6</sup> and one or two Irish leaders also.)

In those very days a Congress of the Labour Party (or perhaps of the Socialist Party) was held at the Holborn Hall. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was Vice-President of this organisation and at his invitation I attended the Congress and made a speech there. Shyamji Krishna Verma also spoke there.

(Shyamji was at this time editing a monthly magazine called the *Indian Sociologist*, in which he used to criticize severely the English leaders of the Congress. When Sir Henry Cotton<sup>7</sup> learnt that Shyamji and myself had made speeches from the same platform in favour of Home Rule, he felt greatly annoyed and brought a motion before the British Committee to the effect that as I was in England as a delegate such conduct on my part was objectionable. Even at that time Sir William Wedderburn<sup>8</sup> defended me. All the other members followed his example. I made it plain that by becoming a Congress delegate I had not bartered away my liberty, that my speech contained nothing to which a Congressman could take exception but that if my becoming a Congress delegate implied that I had no liberty to express my views in that country I was quite prepared to resign from the delegation, but would in no case sacrifice my freedom. At last Sir Henry Cotton said that the report of my speech he had got was not correct, and there the matter ended.)

6. H.M. Hyndman, the British radical leader.

7. Sir Henry Cotton, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, was an active member of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. He presided over the Bombay Congress in 1904.

8. Sir William Wedderburn served as Chairman of the British Committee of the Congress. He was President of the Congress in 1889 and in 1910.

The veteran Dadabhai Naoroji was also present at this meeting. In those days he was occupying a room in a house in South Kensington and had to spend a great portion of his time in canvassing.

In July I toured about visiting Manchester, Leeds, Edinburgh, Glasgow and several other cities. Now and then I made speeches also and enjoyed the hospitality of the Indian students. In August I was back again in London and at the India House. Arrangements at the India House were extremely unsatisfactory as Shyamji was loth to spend money on furnishing and equipping it. He did invest money in the building and bought a little furniture also, but for the rest he wanted all the expenses to be met out of the rent earned by the House. This was not easy in the very beginning. For some time an Ahmedabad barrister—one Mr. Desai—and myself were the only lodgers at the House.

A small incident at the House was responsible for a little unpleasantness between Shyamji and myself. Shyamji had promised a stipend for studies to a young Indian Mussalman staying with him but got so much work out of him that the poor man was left no time for studies. I promised this youngman that I would help him in going to America. Shyamji became angry when he learnt this and said that I was meddling in his affairs and ruining his institution. The matter ended after some complaining and reproaching, and had no further influence on our personal relations. But this much became clear to me that it was not easy to be a colleague of Shyamji. He has an imperious disposition and recognises no man's right to differ from him. He not only himself firmly adheres to his opinions but expects that others should have no opinions of their own at all. He has so much faith in his own superior wisdom that he would begin to run down a man the moment he dares to have differences with him. In short he is a thorough autocrat.

Besides this Shyamji is very miserly. If he helps a man he expects him to remain his bondsman all his life. He is a very exacting task master. He is simply incapable of making any allowance for another man's point of view. God has made his disposition like that.

The events since 1905 have confirmed my opinion about Shyamji Krishna Verma. But I have always regarded his patriotism beyond doubt. His political principles are sound to a large

extent and he means well by his country. But he loves his money so much and is so conceited that it is impossible for a man to co-operate with him.) To this day nobody has been able to be his colleague for a long time. Whoever became his friend fell out with him after some time. No plan of his has ever fructified. But it must be admitted that he played an important part in bringing into existence and strengthening the nationalist party. (To say that Har Dayal and Savarkar were his 'disciples' would be to belittle these two great men, but there can be no doubt that Shyamji's ideas did influence them.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

### CLASH WITH MODERATISM

DURING my sojourn in England I met the Maharaja of Baroda.<sup>1</sup> The Maharaja was staying at the Hotel Cecil. He gave a reception and the guests included Shyamji and myself. Besides us, there was only one other Indian. We were introduced to Her Highness the Maharani also. His Highness whispered to us that we were not to go away as soon as the company broke up for he would have a talk with us after the other guests had departed. Accordingly we stayed on, and had a talk when the English guests had gone away in which the Maharaja laid bare his heart before us.

Early in September I left for America in the company of Diwan Badri Nath son of Diwan Amar Nath. Badri Nath was in those days a student at Cambridge and held extremist views. He had a great desire to see America, and as I was going there he accompanied me. Because of him I was put to great inconvenience in America, for I lost my pocket book and found myself in great financial embarrassment. I think an account of my visit to America has been published<sup>2</sup> before this, so it is not necessary to write anything about it here.

Early in October I was back in London. Mr. Gokhale had also arrived, and Sir William Wedderburn had drawn up an itinerary for us. Up till November I went about delivering speeches at different places. Sometimes Mr. Gokhale and myself addressed the same audience, on other occasions we worked separately. The speeches that Mr. Gokhale made in this tour were very vigorous. Most of the meetings addressed by us had been arranged by the Labour party.

On October 31, I left England and at Marseilles took the same steamer by which Lord Minto was coming to India to take charge as Viceroy.

1. Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, ruler of Baroda, 1875-1939, who was well known for his progressive views and reforms.

2. Published in *The Panjabee* of 6, 14, 20 and 27 November 1905.

When I returned to Lahore,<sup>3</sup> the citizens gave me a very warm and cordial reception. At the railway station there was such a huge crowd that it was feared that some people might be crushed. Babu Jogendra Chandra Bose carried me on his shoulders. Outside the railway station also there was a vast concourse. Students unharnessed the horses and drew my carriage themselves. In that manner I was taken to my house. For several days meetings were being held in my honour. I received several addresses from the Indian Association and different colleges. The Government College students also gave me an address.

At the Arya Samaj anniversary that year when I rose to speak, the organisers had to adjourn the meeting because of the huge audience and to make special arrangements for my speech in the afternoon at the Dayanand School Hostel.<sup>4</sup> It was estimated that at least ten thousand people were present at this meeting. The people received me very kindly and I was on my legs for two hours. Afterwards, in 1907, this speech was used against me. In concluding the speech I had said that I saw blood raining from the national sky; the sky looked clear, but specks of blood were already visible. In 1905 nobody had anticipated even in imagination the things that the nationalists did later on, but a student of history could ascertain in which direction the wind was blowing.

A few days later hot stuff began to come in news from Barisal. The Government broke up the Barisal Conference and arrested several nationalists<sup>5</sup>. The first protest meeting in the country was held in Lahore at which I said that our loyalty was conditioned by law and that though we could be expected to be loyal to the laws, it was absurd to demand loyalty beyond these limits. I said also that if the policy of repression brought about unpleasant results the responsibility would not be ours.

I attended the 1905 session of the Congress.<sup>6</sup> This session went

3. Lajpat Rai returned to Lahore on 22 November 1905.

4. The meeting was held on 26 November 1905.

5. This followed in the wake of the Anti-Partition agitation in Bengal. A protest meeting called on 14 April 1906 at Barisal in East Bengal was forcibly broken up by the police and Babu Surendranath Banerji was taken into custody.

6. Held on 27-30 December.

a long way to strengthen the foundations of the nationalist party. The citizens of Banaras gave a splendid reception to Gokhale. I was sitting in the same carriage with Gokhale. On the foot-board stood the volunteer Sundar Lal whose shouts deafened the ears. Looking at this reception one thought the evil days of the nation would soon be over. Gokhale was very happy. Only if we had workers there would be enough of appreciation and fervour amongst the people, said he. Tears were seen in his eyes. It was a wonderful sight indeed.)

After Mr. Gokhale's Presidential address, the Subjects Committee met in the evening, and controversy arose on the very first resolution. This resolution was for welcoming the Prince of Wales, later King George V, to India. I opposed the resolution. Severe famine prevailed in the country and people were dying of hunger; besides, the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon had created great unrest. To call the Prince of Wales at this moment was a bureaucratic subterfuge, the intention of the inviters being to allay political unrest by diverting public attention to *gala* shows. Bal Gangadhar Tilak stood by me. The discussion took up a good deal of time. All the old leaders of the Congress were against us. Only a few Bengalis, Punjabis and Marhattas were on our side.

At last the resolution was carried by a majority, but we announced immediately that we would oppose it again in the general meeting of the National Congress. This enraged the older leaders, and the U.P. leaders were frightened. Information was sent the same night to the Commissioner, the Officer Commanding and the Police Superintendent of Banaras. The next morning Munshi Madho Lal<sup>7</sup> of Banaras brought the Deputy Commissioner to the Pandal. They had begun to fear that there might be some rioting, and were making preparations accordingly. We were dubbed as sedition-mongers and '*badmashes*'. The whole of that night and the next morning this situation remained the topic of discussion. Threats were held out to us in the morning. Some said we were bringing the province into disgrace, others feared the Congress would be dead. So on and so forth. But our resolve remained unaffected.

Now it was 11 o'clock. The time for the Congress sitting had arrived. But Gokhale did not turn up. The news came that he was

7. Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Banaras Congress.

busy in confabulations.

At last Gokhale arrived, but instead of going to the Congress pandal he began to persuade me. I told him our difference was one of principle. When he found me inexorable he made a personal appeal to me and asked me to waive opposition for his sake. To this I agreed and gave him a promise that we would abstain from attending the sitting whilst this resolution was being dealt with so that we might not have to oppose it ; the understanding was that in the record it would not be said that the resolution was accepted un-animously. I got Tilak to agree to this understanding. But the young Bengalis, J.N. Roy, and R. Ray, would not agree in any case. So they had to be kept out by force. Thus was the welcome resolution carried.)

I addressed the Congress on the last day of the session. I was allowed only five minutes, but I went on speaking for twenty minutes. The feelings of the vast majority were with me. This was the first speech of its kind delivered from the Congress platform, and in a way might be said to have laid the foundations of the nationalist wing. The speech evoked repeated applause and people punctuated it with cries of "go on, go on". The elderly leaders sitting on both sides of the President, particularly the Bombay delegates, began to tremble and turned pale with fear. They were repeatedly asking Gokhale to stop me and to order me to sit down ; but Gokhale said he could not do so. At last I closed my speech saying I did not want to take undue advantage of the President's indulgence. In the evening Romesh Chander Dutt sent me word through Mr. Palit that my speech was the best of all delivered at the Congress session and that he had liked it immensely.<sup>8</sup>

Immediately the speech had been delivered rumours were afloat that the Government was going to start a case against me and that I would be arrested before I left Banaras. From Banaras I went to Dehra Dun to see my daughter. There I received a telegram from Lahore enquiring whether I was all right. At Lahore the report was current that I had been arrested at Banaras. People did not feel sure about me till I was actually in their midst in Lahore again.

8. Lajpat Rai spoke with vigour when supporting Resolution XIII protesting against the repressive measures in Bengal. He advocated a policy of self reliance for Indians and wanted that they should not any longer behave like beggars.



## CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

### THE CALCUTTA CONGRESS

SWACESHI, Boycott, and Swaraj were being preached vigorously throughout the country in 1906. I was also making speeches and writing articles occasionally. *The Panjabee* was in my hands; although Mr. Athavale was the editor, the main responsibility was mine. Early in the morning I used to go to the press to see the final proofs. I had not seen in proof the issue on the basis of which a case was started against *The Panjabee*.<sup>1</sup> If I had seen the proofs I would not have allowed that article to go as it was. But the Government was manifestly annoyed with *The Panjabee*. Every week we used to hear rumours of a prosecution. It came at last in the stormy days of 1906. Warrants of arrests were issued for Lala Jaswant Rai and Mr. Athavale, but they were released on bail.<sup>2</sup>

The most memorable event of 1906 was the Congress session. Calcutta had been fixed as the venue for it. The Extremists of Bengal wanted to elect Tilak as President for the session. The Moderates led by the Bombay people and Mr. Gokhale, were against this proposal. The force of public opinion in Bengal was thrown on the side of Tilak. But eventually after consultation with the Bombay leaders the Presidentship was offered to Dadabhai Naoroji. When his assent was received it was broadcast even before it had been considered by the Reception Committee. The idea was that as Dadabhai Naoroji was held in great esteem by the country, nobody would oppose his election, particularly when it was known that he had agreed to the proposal. Probably he had been cabled

1. The objectional articles entitled 'How misunderstandings occur' and 'A deliberate murder' appeared in the issue dated 11 April 1906. The first one referred to the system of *begar* (forced labour); the second concerned the murder of an orderly by his European officer against whom no action had been taken.

2. The proceedings in *The Panjabee* Prosecution were instituted in the Court of the District Magistrate on 26 October 1906. Jaswant Rai and Athavale were released on bail.

that his acceptance was necessary to save the Congress from a grave crisis. This move caused great flutter among the Bengal Extremists. Those were the days when Arabinda Ghosh was Principal of the National College in Calcutta and was carrying on propaganda for his ideas. But eventually the young party also accepted Dadabhai.

That year the Punjab had also sent a strong contingent of delegates. I think some 60 to 70 (or perhaps about 80) men were sent. Lala Shadi Lal, Barrister, was amongst the delegates and shared the same tent with me<sup>3</sup>.

Bengalis had great faith in me and held me in high esteem, Lord Minto had then recently denounced boycott in a public speech and belauded what he called 'honest Swadeshi.' I think he did so in his speech opening the Congress Exhibition. The young party was very angry with the leaders for having invited Lord Minto to open the Exhibition. The day I arrived in Calcutta I learnt that a public meeting was to be held in Calcutta that very day to reply to Lord Minto's speech. My name was announced for chairmanship in the notices. I had not been informed about it at all. This annoyed me very much and I proceeded to C. R. Das's house where Pal and Tilak stayed, to see them and to make my protest. I found out that Bepin Chander Pal was responsible for the announcement. He insisted that I should preside over the meeting. I did not like to put him in a false position. A big meeting was held in the afternoon. Thousands of people had assembled and the speeches went on for several hours.

The Extremists had a separate camp of their own where Tilak, Khaparde, Bepin Chander Pal, Arabinda Ghosh and others made speeches. I also attended one or two public meetings organised by them, but made no speech with the exception of that already referred to. Besides these, a large number of private meetings were held. One or two parties were arranged in my honour by the Extremists. I advised them repeatedly against expending away their whole strength in enthusiasm, for we had to deal with a mighty foe. We must move with caution and deliberation, so that our movement might not be nipped in the bud. I believe these temperate counsels were altogether ignored by the Extremist Bengalis.

3. The delegates from the Punjab to the Calcutta Congress numbered 139 out of a total of 1663.

Sensational developments took place in the Congress session. Pherozeshah Mehta was openly attacked, and Mr. Gokhale to some extent. Fierce controversy raged about the resolution on Swadeshi. Vehement speeches were made on each side. Even Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was hissed by the audience. To me it appeared that the difference in the attitudes of the two groups was one of words only. So I moved an amendment, which though not accepted by the Extremist leaders was carried by a majority.<sup>4</sup> Bepin Chander Pal and his party walked out. The leader of the Moderates, Gokhale, was pleased with me and said that I had saved the situation. At this meeting too I had a small quarrel with the Bombayites.

There is little doubt, that if Dadabhai Naoroji had not occupied the chair, and had I not intervened, all that happened at Surat next year would have happened at the Calcutta Congress.

4. The differences had mainly arisen between the Extremists and the Moderates regarding the resolution on Boycott (Resolution VIII). The Moderates wanted the Boycott to be limited to Bengal only as a political weapon.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

### GOKHALE'S VISIT TO LAHORE

THE Punjab experienced stormy days towards the end of 1906. Two topics preoccupied the Punjab Council, the Lyallpur Canal Colonies Bill and the Land Alienation Act.<sup>1</sup> There was widespread resentment against the canal colonies measure ; that against the Alienation Act was confined to the Hindus. I wrote articles against the Alienation measure in *The Panjabee*.

*The Panjabee* was being prosecuted, but in spite of that calamity its writings continued to be as bold and progressive as ever, and it was this fact that made it such a favourite with the people. Government agents and the enemies of nationalists tried to induce Mr. Athavale several times to secure his release by disowning the article in question and thus shifting the entire responsibility to Lala Jaswant Rai. They assured him of his release but he declined to take their advice. When we returned from the (Calcutta) Congress, the case was in its last stages. In his written defence, Lala Jaswant Rai had admitted that the item had been printed with his permission, and thus taken the entire responsibility on himself.

Great enthusiasm prevailed throughout the Punjab. Sympathies of the Muslim masses were also with *The Panjabee*, for the article for which it was being prosecuted dealt with the extraordinary circumstances in which a Muslim constable had died. People had no doubts about the veracity of what *The Panjabee* had published.

The political storm was intensely fierce in this province in the first two months of 1907. Public meetings were organised spontaneously and resolutions were passed against the Government. I also visited several places and addressed audiences on Swadeshi and Boycott and on Patriotism.

1. The Punjab Canal Colonies Bill was introduced in the Council of the Punjab Lieutenant-Governor on 25 October 1906 and passed on 28 February 1907. The Punjab Alienation of Land (Amendment) Bill was also introduced in the Legislative Council on 25 October 1906 and passed on 21 February 1907.

In these very days Mr. Gokhale was touring in Northern India and was receiving splendid reception everywhere. A new life seemed to inspire the country. At my instance the Indian Association invited Gokhale to Lahore. I was at that time the President of the Association. Great preparations were made for Gokhale's reception and it so happened that he arrived in Lahore the very day the District Magistrate had pronounced orders in *The Panjabee* case, sentencing Lala Jaswant Rai to two years' hard labour, and Mr. Athavale to six months.<sup>2</sup>

The order was read out to Lala Jaswant Rai and Mr. Athavale at about 10 o'clock. A large crowd had assembled in the court compound. People ran after the prisoners' carriage and cheered them lustily. Flowers were showered on them at several places. I immediately presented a bail application in the Sessions Court. This being granted, I myself took the warrant for release to the jail.

Meanwhile the mob had caused some damage in the District Magistrate's bungalow and created panic in the entire Civil Station. Youngmen hurled abuse at some white people, threw mud on the carriages of others, and even man-handled a few of them. To the English eyes the *Ghadr* was being enacted again. The atmosphere in the town became very tense.

A crowd was waiting outside when Messrs Jaswant Rai and Athavale were let out of jail. I was also present there and so was the veteran Lala Ishwar Das. The mob became rowdy near the District Magistrate's bungalow, but we controlled it. In the Lawrence Gardens it attacked an Englishman going in a phaeton because he was a reporter of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, and there was bitter resentment against that journal. I shouted at once saying that it was disgraceful that such a big crowd should attack a solitary individual. It was nothing but cowardice. I was hissed by the boys, but the Englishman was spared. The crowd marched along censuring my conduct.

Mr. Gokhale arrived at the railway station at about 4 o'clock. People had assembled there in large numbers. Everywhere they were talking about *The Panjabee* case. When Mr. Gokhale got

2. Mr. G.K. Gokhale arrived at Lahore on 15 February 1907.

into a carriage, the waves of enthusiasm surged high. Loud shouts started—"Bandematram," "Victory to Bharat Mata," "Perdition on her Enemies" etc., etc. When the people unharnessed the horses of Mr. Gokhale's carriage, I got down, and walked some distance with the crowd, but Mr. Gokhale's insistence forced me into his carriage again. When having gone round the rest of the town the procession was marching through Anarkali, the crowd seemed innumerable. Lala Jaswant Rai and Mr. Athavale were also present and a huge crowd was standing behind them. The people lifted both of them and put them forcibly into the carriage in which sat Mr. Gokhale and myself. Perhaps Mr. Gokhale did not relish this very much, but he was helpless, for the popular feeling was at an intense pitch.

Mr. Gokhale was in Lahore for three days and very extraordinary enthusiasm prevailed in the town. In one of the public meetings addressed by him Mr. Gokhale said, "I place no limitation on the ambition of my country. We want to be in our country what others are in theirs."

One of the meetings was presided over by me, and in my remarks I recalled the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Princess Sophia and Princess Bamba (both grand-daughters of Maharaja Ranjit Singh) were among the audience. The elderly leaders resented this very much but the younger people were simply bewitched.

Mr. Gokhale's visit served as fuel to the fire that was already alight in the Punjab.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

### AJIT SINGH AND THE ZAMINDAR AGITATION

IT SEEMS necessary at this stage to say something about Ajit Singh. Before 1897-98 he was a student at the Anglo-Sanskrit School, Jullundur, and was a favourite pupil of the late Lala Sunder Das. His brother Kishan Singh<sup>1</sup> was also with him. There can be no doubt that it was Lala Sunder Das who first imbued the two brothers with the sentiments of patriotism. Kishan Singh left the school very early, but Ajit Singh passed the matriculation examination.

I first came to know Kishan Singh during the 1897 famine. He was sent as a relief agent to Nagpur and he did excellent work there. When he returned with a batch of orphans, he was made Superintendent of the newly started orphanage at Lahore. Ajit Singh was at that time a student at the D. A. V. College and had rather spendthrift habits. Shortly after this he left studies and used to visit the orphanage pretty frequently to see his brother. I had no contact beyond a few chance meetings<sup>2</sup> with Ajit Singh but I was acquainted very well indeed with his brother. To me Kishan Singh appeared to be superior to his brother. Ajit Singh used to take part in public debates, and now and then wrote for the press too. He earned his livelihood as an instructor in Urdu, Hindi and Persian to Englishmen.

In the early years of this century (about 1904) I severed formal connexion with the orphanage. R. B. Bakshi Sohan Lal was appointed its Secretary.

At the 1906 Congress session I noticed Ajit Singh at the meetings of the Extremist section. In 1907 he organised a new society called the "Bharat Mata," with the aid of Sufi Amba Prashad. At the meetings of this society Ajit Singh and other young men openly propagated the doctrines of the extreme wing, and made vigorous speeches against the British Government

1. Father of the famous revolutionary Bhagat Singh.

2. Ajit Singh corroborates this statement in his unpublished autobiography.

About this time Ajit Singh approached me several times for financial aid, but I laid down certain conditions which he did not keep up. Mr. Gokhale's visit helped in strengthening Ajit Singh's work. Besides, he got an opportunity to work amongst the zamindar peasantry because of the Canal Colonies Bill, and enhancement of the canal taxes. Ajit Singh thus became very influential.

The zamindars began to approach me also. I asked them to seek the help of Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Das and Mian Muhammad Shafi. Once I drafted for them a telegram addressed to the Viceroy. All my work for them was confined to my pen. I wrote in the press about the Canal Colonies Bill but started no active campaign against it. But the people knew that they had my sympathies with them and I was working for them through the press. Though I was playing no active role in the Anti-Canal Colonies Bill agitation, I did address audiences about this time at Amritsar, Ambala, Ferozepur and other places preaching patriotism and Swadeshi. At my suggestion some vakils at Ambala and Ferozepur broadcast leaflets about *begar* or forced labour.



## CHAPTER THIRTY

### LYALLPUR MEETING

FROM every district, town and village I received invitations to address public meetings ; but I kept putting off. Ajit Singh had begun to move out ; thousands of enthusiastic people used to assemble to hear him. Besides Ajit Singh, Chaudhry Shahab-ud-din, and the editor of the *Zamindar*<sup>1</sup> were also working in the Lyallpur canal colony. Chaudhry Shahab-ud-din, Vakil, was working with remarkable enthusiasm. The meetings these people organised were attended by thousands of people. Chaudhry Shahab-ud-din composed a poem in Punjabi and its recital created tremendous effect.

Towards the end of March or the beginning of April, I also received an invitation from Lyallpur. I had previously written to one or two Vakils there that it was an opportunity to win the sympathy and affection of the people. They sent me an invitation on behalf of the Zamindar Association. I put them off once or twice, but Chaudhry Shahab-ud-din came personally and pressed the invitation on me.

About this time a cattle fair was to be held at Lyallpur, and the local people wanted to organise a meeting against the Canal Colonies Bill on the occasion of the cattle fair. I accepted the invitation for Lyallpur on the insistence of Chaudhry Shahab-ud-din. On the night of 20 April<sup>2</sup> I entrained for Lyallpur, accompanied by R. B. Sukh Dayal, Bakshi Tek Chand, Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutt, and Lala Jaswant Rai of *The Panjabee*.

A big crowd was waiting at the Lyallpur railway station when we arrived there the next morning. Lala Jaswant Rai and myself

1. Urdu newspaper published from Lahore and edited by Mian Saraj-ud-din.

2. The meeting at Lyallpur was addressed by him on 22 March and he must have left the day before that.

were seated in the same carriage, and the people unharnessed its horses, and began to draw the carriage amidst loud shouts of "Bande Matram." When we had gone a few paces I jumped out of the carriage but Lala Jaswant Rai was not permitted to get out of it.

Our party put up at the house of Lala Ram Chand Manchanda. Chaudhry Shahab-ud-din, Vakil, Mian Saraj-ud-din editor of the *Zamindar*, and a pro-Government Zaildar came to see us there. After talking for a while all of us went out together to the public meeting where we found a huge crowd listening to Ajit Singh. When we arrived, Ajit Singh's speech was stopped and regular proceedings started. A retired Sikh military officer was made chairman of the meeting and he made a fine speech. The substance of the speech I delivered was that the soil of India belonged to our ancestors and to us, and that the English had no right to deprive us of it.

Banke Dayal recited his well-known Punjabi song beginning with *Pagri Sambhal O Jatta* which stirred the people greatly. A Maulvi from Sialkot also recited a poem in Punjabi. Shahab-ud-din and Ram Bhaj Dutt made speeches, and last of all I read out the Memorial, printed copies of which we had brought with us from Lahore. Printed replies to the criticisms against the Canal Colonies Bill, on behalf of the Government, were distributed in that meeting, and the speakers refuted those. Rai Bahadur Hari Chand came to the meeting accompanied by his sons and his nephews, and they all remained there for a considerable time. At that time it was believed he had been deputed by officials to watch the proceedings. The District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police were also there in the outer ring, and watched the proceedings for a while, but the people took no notice of them. Nor did they interfere in anyway. The Sikh and Muslim zamindars were excited to an intense pitch, and if the police had interfered there would have been a grave danger of rioting.

The meeting had not yet concluded when Ajit Singh got up to address it. Some people were in favour of stopping him from making a speech, but Ram Bhaj Dutt insisted that he (Ajit Singh) must be permitted to speak. The speech was seditious, and therefore organisers of the meeting several times thought of stopping him, but Ram Bhaj Dutt continued to dissuade them. At last they asked him to stop and the chairman declared that the

meeting was over. But the people continued to listen to Ajit Singh<sup>3</sup>. We left the meeting and returned to Lahore the same night.

The Memorial adopted at the Lyallpur meeting had been originally drafted by Chaudhri Shahab-ud-din. In its original drafting it was too strong. It was then revised by Mian Muhammad Shafi and finally brought to me. Even then it seemed to me to be unnecessarily vehement and I further toned it down.

3. Ajit Singh's account of this meeting as given in his unpublished autobiography is substantially the same. He categorically states that he had no connection with Lajpat Rai and that the latter disapproved his activities.

## CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

### PINDI DISTURBANCES

A FEW days prior to the Lyallpur meeting, Ajit Singh had gone to Rawalpindi and addressed an audience there. One of the Pindi meetings had been presided over by Lala Gurdas Ram Sawhney, Barrister; and among the signatories to the announcement for the meeting was Lala Amolak Ram, Vakil. The speakers included Lala Hans Raj Vakil, Pandit Janki Nath Kaul, Barrister, and Khazan Singh, Barrister.

All five of them were afterwards served with a notice by the Deputy Commissioner asking them to show cause on a specified date why they should not be debarred from legal practice because of their having taken part in that meeting. This notice caused a tremendous stir throughout the Punjab, for Lala Hans Raj and Lala Amolak Ram were among the well-known and very popular leaders of the province.

I arrived at Rawalpindi a day prior to that fixed for the hearing of the notice. Lala Gurdas Ram Sawhney, for whom I had great affection, received me at the railway station and his carriage took us both to the house of a barrister where a small conference was discussing plans for the next day. Rai Bahadur Maya Das Sawhney, Lala Bodh Raj, Barrister (son of Lala Hans Raj Sawhney), Lala Hans Raj Sawhney, Lala Amolak Ram, Pandit Janki Nath and a few others were present.

There I learnt that arrangements had been made for a *hartal* in the town at the time the notice was being heard at the Court. I was told there would be complete cessation of business at the railway godowns and the *Mandi* and other places. I was delighted to learn this but remarked that if a *hartal* was proposed care must be taken that it was not a failure, and that whatever was undertaken must be accomplished. The line of defence was decided upon at this meeting, and a statement was also written out.

At ten next morning we went to the Court and found a vast concourse filling the entire Court compound, so much so that

it was not possible to move about freely. The Deputy Commissioner was late in arriving at the Court, and the crowd was swelling every minute. It was estimated that about 20 thousand people or perhaps more had assembled that day in the Court compound.

At last the Deputy Commissioner arrived at nearly 12 o'clock. Immediately he called Mr. Aziz Ahmed, Barrister, and the accused and told them that under instructions from the Punjab Government further proceedings had been stayed. The crowd started "cheers" and the news spread with the speed of lightning.

A large number of people came to me in the bar-room and asked me to make a speech. I declined. Then they asked me to accompany them to the town in a procession. Again I declined.

A few minutes later came the news that the mob had forced its way into the bungalows of the Deputy Commissioner and the District Judge and was doing some damage there. Immediately men were sent to make the mob desist from such activities, and to arrest the danger of a fracas. But it appears some police people were acting as agents provocateurs and inciting the mob to violence. Some European passers-by were manhandled. In short, a complete picture of rioting was being presented.

In a short while we learnt that the mob had forced its way into Boota Singh's mills. The people called Boota Singh a "traitor" and held him responsible for the whole trouble. On the insistence of the public I had accepted to address a meeting at the *Mandi* in the evening, but after this rioting I dropped the idea.

We were still in the court when we learnt that the military had been sent for to suppress the rioting and to arrest the rioters. We were told also that a Pathan regiment had shown some unwillingness in getting ready. A Pathan came to me saying such and such regiment was awaiting my orders. I laughed and put him off. I suspected that man to be a spy.

The military put down the rioting, and put a large number of people in the look-up, including some very prominent citizens and some educated young men. We were getting all the news but what could we do?

Lala Hans Raj was indisposed and so he went to his house. When the time for the meeting drew near we foregathered at Lala Hans Raj's house. He was not inclined to go to the meeting, but I said it would be very cowardly not to go, and besides, it was

a good opportunity to express regret over the disturbances and to try to pacify the people. There we learnt that the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Agnew, and the Police Superintendent were waiting with a police guard on the way to the place for the meeting. But we all set out and on the way a police messenger brought us word that the District Magistrate wanted to speak to us. We complied with this order and presented ourselves before him. The District Magistrate was sitting in a chair and the Superintendent of Police was standing near-by. A vast body of Indian police officers stood around them. The Deputy Commissioner ordered that no public meeting be held, or speeches made, that if the meeting was held against these orders he would hold us responsible. Lala Hans Raj said we would abide by the order, and that we were very sorry over the disturbances. Then the Police Superintendent turned towards me and said if the meeting was held, I should personally be made responsible for it. I replied that I knew a bit of law and understood my own responsibilities, and therefore his 'sermon' was unnecessary. Mr. Agnew lost his temper in anger and burst out: "Go away I do not want to hear such talk." To cut the story short we returned and sent word to the people who had come for the meeting, that the authorities had forbidden the holding of meetings and that therefore they should better return to their homes.

Nothing further happened that night. Next morning we all took our meals together and went to the Court. Lala Hans Raj and Lala Amolak Ram did not turn up there. After waiting for a while I returned to the house of Lala Gurdas Ram, where I was staying, and had a nap. At about 3 o'clock a servant woke me up and informed me that Lala Gurdas Ram had been arrested by the police. I dressed at once and went to the Court. There I learnt that Lala Hans Raj, Lala Amolak Ram and Lala Gurdas Ram had all been taken under arrest, and that the houses of Pandit Janki Nath and Malik Khazan Singh were being searched. For the arrests European soldiers had been called in.

The arrested persons were brought to the Court where they

applied for bail. The bail application was not granted. Accordingly I hurried to the railway station and at once entrained for Lahore so that I might file an application for bail at the Chief Court. On the way I found that the news of the arrests had already spread far and wide.<sup>1</sup>

1. For details of the Rawalpindi disturbances see Chapter I of the *Story of My Deportation*, pp. 140-46.

## CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

### THE PANJABEE APPEAL

THE NEXT day the bail application was filed. Ordinarily a judge would hear the application and pass orders, but in this case a Government Advocate was present to oppose the application. The judge decided that the application should be heard by a bench, and that in the meanwhile the Government Advocate should ascertain from the Rawalpindi District Magistrate why the bail should not be granted.

Before the application came up for hearing the District Magistrate concerned came to the Court with a letter from the Officer Commanding at Rawalpindi addressed to the Chief Court Judges which probably said that if the arrested leaders were let out on bail there might be a revolt among the Indian troops. This letter was not shown to the counsel for the accused, although they had applied that they might be permitted to see the letter and given a copy thereof. After formally hearing the arguments the judges decided that the bails could not be granted.

About this time I learnt from several sources that the police and the Government were anxious to catch hold of me somehow. The Chief Court Registrar said to Mr. Bodh Raj, Barrister, that the man really responsible for all this mischief (meaning myself) was still free but that it was hoped that he would not be so very long.

Whilst these events were taking place at Lyallpur and Rawalpindi Lala Jaswant Rai's case had been decided by the Chief Court.<sup>1</sup> The Sessions Judge had reduced his sentence from two years to six months.<sup>2</sup> The same day the Chief Court let him out on bail.

Commenting on the speech made by Lala Jaswant Rai's counsel in the Sessions Court the *Tribune* which was in those

1. The Chief Court's judgement in *The Panjabee* appeal was delivered on 16 April 1907.

2. The Session Judge delivered the judgement on 18 March 1907.



days being edited by a Christian Barrister, Alfred Nundy, (appointed at the instance of Lala Harkishen Lal) remarked that Lala Jaswant Rai was shifting the entire responsibility to the editor. The result was that in the Chief Court, Lala Jaswant Rai's counsel at the outset stated in unambiguous terms that his client accepted full responsibility for the article in question.

The day the orders were to be read out the judges looked pale with fear. A strong posse of police was posted in the Court compound, as also on the roadside from the Court to the prison. Justice Reed sent his peon twice to his bungalow to see that all was well there. When the Chief Judge had read out the orders and the police arrested Jaswant Rai and Athavale, I stepped forward and shook hands with both. Jaswant Rai touched my feet.

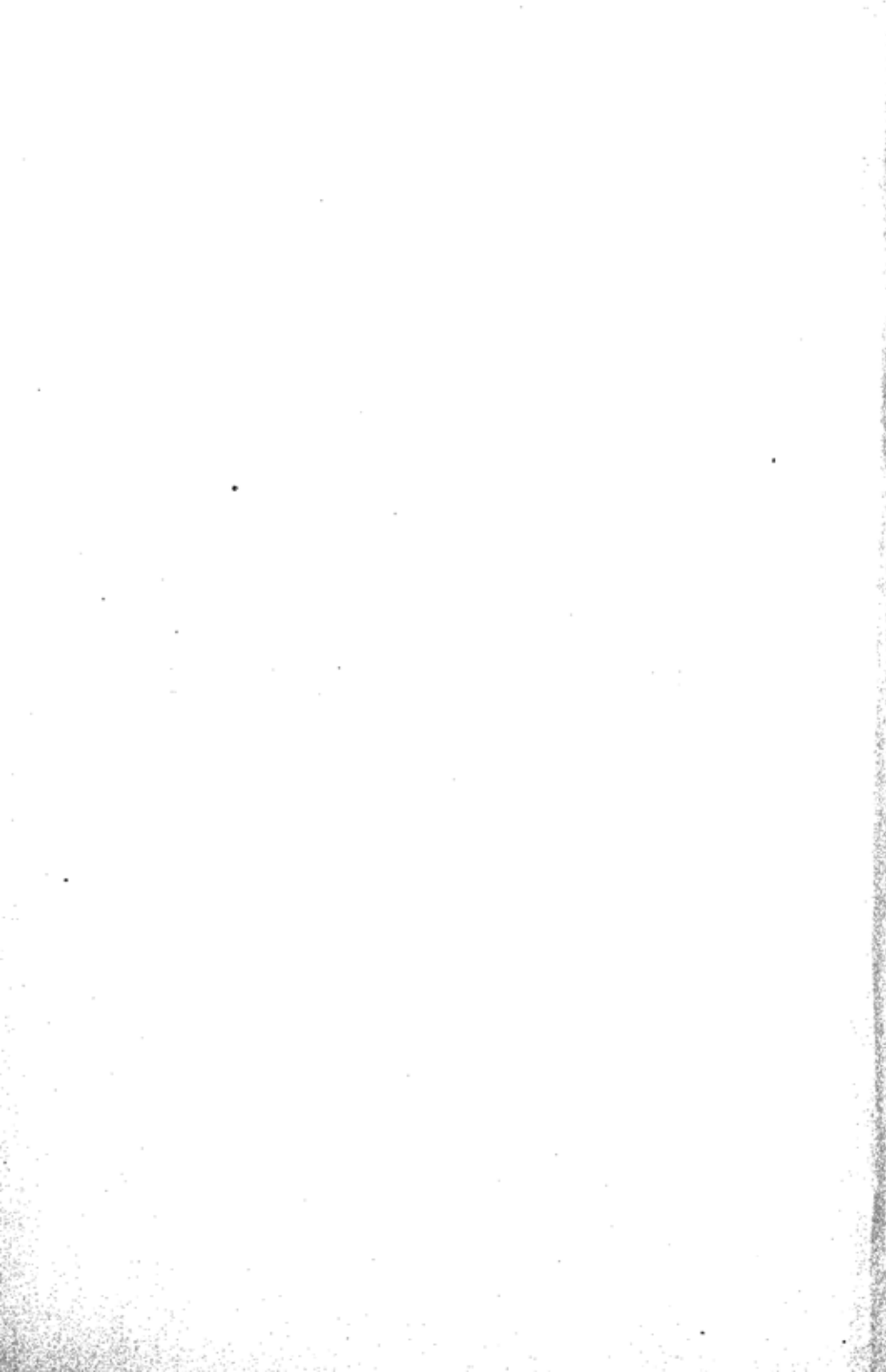
On the way to the prison the police and the mob came into collision with each other several times. People threw mud at the police, so much so that the European police officials left their carriage and took shelter in Lala Jaswant Rai's. The police attacked the people furiously.

These *fracas* resulted in the arrests of an Arya Samaj preacher, one Ghasita Ram, and of a D.A.V. School student, by name Kishen Singh. When I got the news I hastened to the Kotwali to cheer them up. The D.A.V. School student was afterwards acquitted.

After the arrests of the Rawalpindi lawyers, Lala Dhanpat Rai, Vakil, spoke to me about the necessity of helping them unitedly, and to achieve this unity he took me to the bungalow of Lala Harkishen Lal. We met there twice or thrice to decide our course of action. Since the birth of *The Panjabee*, Lala Harkishen Lal had been feeling annoyed with me. He believed that I wanted to injure him and his reputation. Accordingly the *Tribune* used to attack our group and the Arya Samaj.

I was living alone at my bungalow those days. Because of the plague epidemic my wife and children had all left. Besides myself only my father and the servants were living in the house. On the 9th May I was arrested and deported. The story of this deportation I have already published. Whatever I have to add to that I would do in a subsequent volume.

## **THE STORY OF MY DEPORTATION**



## INTRODUCTION

I DO not think many words are needed to introduce this little book to the reader. It is a plain narrative of my life in exile and makes no pretensions to literary merit. The book has been written in a hurry and during intervals of time spared from engagements which required constant travelling.

So far the Government have not seen their way to disclose fully the grounds upon which they took action against me. When questioned on the subject in the House of Commons by some Liberal Members of Parliament the Secretary of State for India, generally took shelter under the stereotyped reservation that it was not in the public interest to make a full statement. It is well known how from day to day he was heckled and challenged to disclose the grounds on which the action of the Government was based or to order an open enquiry into my case. Viscount (then Mr.) Morley not only failed to give any good grounds for his action but was very unfortunate in the partial statements he from time to time made. His facts were invariably wrong and his information faulty and incomplete.

The *Englishman* of Calcutta, however, pretended to supply the omission on the authority of a Punjab Correspondent, and charged me with having tampered with the loyalty of the Native Army. The statement of the *Englishman* has been challenged and now forms the subject of a libel suit filed by me against that paper in the High Court at Calcutta. I have no hesitation in repeating here, that the statement is absolutely false and has no foundation in fact.<sup>1</sup> Another yellow journal of London (*The Daily Express*) trotted out another cock-and-bull story to explain away the mystery connected with my exile, and charged me with having intrigued with the Amir of Kabul for the overthrow of the British

1. The case against the *Englishman* for publishing libellous statement was filed in the Calcutta High Court on 24 April 1908. Lajpat Rai won the case and was awarded, Rs. 15,000 as damages plus costs.

Raj in India. The charge being a tissue of lies and absolutely unfounded, an attempt was made, even before my release, to start legal proceedings against the *Daily Express*. A lawyer friend (The Hon'ble Mr. Dixit of Bombay) addressed a letter to me at Mandalay, asking for authority to proceed against the paper on my behalf, in a Court of Law. This communication was, however, intercepted and the attempt frustrated by the Government. On my release, however, my lawyers (Messrs. Bhupendra Nath Bose and Company of Calcutta) have served the Proprietor, the Publisher and the Editor of the *Daily Express* with a notice calling upon them to retract the libellous statement made in their paper and make proper amends, failing which legal proceedings will be taken against them in due course.<sup>2</sup> Of my other traducers, the chief culprit, who practically set the ball in motion, was the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore. Almost everything that appeared in the English Press against me was based upon the false and mischievous statements circulated by this paper.

The Government of India have to thank these friends of theirs for the awkward position in which they find themselves today, because no impartial observer of contemporary events can help remarking that the present situation owes much of its bitterness to the narrow-minded insolence of these advocates of repression. The deportations really form only a link in the chain of circumstances that have led to the existing tension in the relations of the rulers and the ruled in this country. Lords Minto and Morley are only reaping what was sown by Lord Curzon and his lieutenants. The lust of power, the greed of gain (both personal and national) and the habits of intolerance and insolence begotten of an unlimited and unchecked authority over the subject races, have added immensely to the anomaly of an alien rule. The present discontent owes its origin to that policy of defiant Imperialism which was started long before Lord Curzon came out to India, but which was perfected by him. Its effects have been deepened by the insolent and scurrilous tone of the Anglo-Indian Press.

The only redeeming feature of the situation is the occasional intervention of those high-minded sons of Britain and Ireland who

2. In the libel action against the *Daily Express* in 1909 the verdict was in favour of Lajpat Rai and he was awarded £50 as damages.

sincerely believe that the best interests of their Empire require that all its component parts should be kept bound in ties of affection and contentment and should be treated with fairness and justice. There are some among them who are actuated by even higher motives and who hold that no nation has a right to exploit another, and that if by chance, one nation acquires supremacy over another, it is the bounden duty of the former to be guided in their rule by a regard for the best interests of the latter, and to treat them only as their wards till they are able to assume control of their own affairs. The number of this latter class, however, is very limited. Consequently their voice is feeble and they fail to make any substantial impression upon the British Democracy either in the House of Commons or outside of it. Sometimes they succeed in eliciting a frank and hopeful declaration of liberal principles from a British Statesman, but the failure of the latter to fulfil the expectations thus raised and the wide divergence between their principles and their conduct, between their promises and their doings, adds considerably to the complexity of the political situation. At the same time there can be no doubt that the little group of liberal and nationalist Members of Parliament who take interest in the affairs of their Empire beyond the seas, by raising their voice against the oppression directed towards the subject people and by pleading for right and justice in their dealings with the latter, render an inestimable service to the Empire. It will be an evil day for their Empire when these advocates of the application of liberal principles to the affairs of the Empire disappear from the British Parliament leaving the Jingoës a free hand in the dismemberment of the Empire, the unmanageable greatness of which has turned their little heads into pumpkins. It is true that these gentlemen are not able to make any practical impression upon the affairs of the Government of India, but the service which they render to the cause of humanity is by no means to be despised. Their efforts help in the evolution of a sympathetic European public opinion which is a source of great encouragement to a struggling humanity. We are living in an age where complete isolation is impossible. The affairs of the different nations are so intertwined, dependent and interdependent upon one another that the affairs of one part of the world cannot fail to arouse the interest of the other. The sympathetic interest of the other great nations thus becomes a valuable asset to every nationality struggling for independence. Under the

circumstances although I share the opinion of a large number of my countrymen that our political salvation is not likely to be achieved by begging for it at the bar of the British public, yet I sincerely think that the raising of Indian debates in the House of Commons has its own uses and the gentlemen who raise them are entitled to our gratitude. If there are any amongst my countrymen who expect that any group of members of the House of Commons can get them a Charter of political liberty, they are, I am bound to say, mistaken. It is not in their power to do so, but even if it were, they would do nothing which would be opposed to the interests of their own country. An Englishman is nothing if not a patriot. But then there are patriots and patriots. There are some who think that the highest patriotism does not require the trampling under foot of less powerful nationalities. In their opinion Jingo Imperialism involves a loss of moral virtues which degrades a people and eventually prepares the ground for the subversion of those liberal principles which alone can be the basis of a democratic state.

These people represent the best conscience of England, and to them I beg to offer my grateful acknowledgements for their having raised their voice against the un-English and high-handed proceedings of their own Government in deporting me without a hearing and a trial before a regularly constituted tribunal of justice. Their task was at best only a thankless task and they performed it nobly.

There is one thing more which I think I must notice before I close this part of my introduction. Failing to justify my deportation on its own merits the authorities have maintained that the result justified the step. The Punjab, it is maintained, has been quiet ever since. It is characteristic of human nature that a drowning man catches at a straw.

Being conscious of their failure to satisfy the public conscience of the justice of their proceedings, they fall back upon the old jesuitical plea that the end justified the means. But here again, I am afraid, they are not on firm ground. The so-called excitement in the Punjab in the spring of 1907 was explained by me in a letter written on the day of my arrest and published in *The Panjabee* two days after<sup>3</sup>.

3. See Appendix 1.

No one has yet been able to controvert the facts stated therein. The principal fact was the agitation over the Act which affected the rights of the colonists in the Chenab Canal Colony. This Act having been vetoed, the chief cause of excitement was removed.<sup>4</sup> The deportations; the wholesale arrests and searches at Rawalpindi and the Public Meetings Ordinance no doubt played their part in stunning and demoralising the educated classes, but the excitement not being due to any direct action of these classes their own demoralization could not have killed the agitation outright, if the Colonies Act had not been withdrawn. It should not be ignored that this Act affected the educated classes also, as a good number of their leading men had proprietary interests in the Colony which they considered were threatened by the proposed legislation. This was the common platform upon which the educated and the uneducated had joined hands. The platform having been removed from under their feet, the combination ceased and the cohesion gave way. The result would have been exactly the same even if the deportations had not taken place.

Having disposed of the deportation and the grounds alleged in support of it, I wish to address a few words to my countrymen on the present situation, though this is hardly the proper place to give my opinions in full relating to it. I want to say only one word.

That we have entered on stormy days is patent to every one. Who raised the storm and how, are matters, a discussion of which is not likely to help us materially in suggesting measures which may enable us to get through it successfully. That the Government is chiefly responsible for it, none need doubt, though it is questionable whether even the Government could altogether avoid it. It is all very well to be wise after the event, but wisdom at the right moment is a rare commodity. The Government in India is composed

4. The bill was vetoed by the Governor General Lord Minto within three weeks of the deportation of Lajpat Rai in spite of the opposition of the Punjab Governor Sir Denzil Ibbetson and some of the members of the Governor General's Council. Lord Minto refused assent to the Bill because he believed it to be "a very faulty piece of legislation—legislation which would be unadvisable at any time, but which at the present moment, if it became law would add fuel to the justifiable discontent which has already been caused".



of human units, every one of whom has his personal idiosyncracies, failings and weaknesses. And so have the people. It is fruitless to attempt to apportion the blame between the two. It is sufficient if both parties appreciate the gravity of the situation and try to meet it in such a way as may lead to the peaceable settlement of the problems involved. The Government know their business and I do not presume to advise them. But I have a right to speak to my own people and claim their indulgence. To them I say, "Weigh the situation coolly and calmly. Do not over-estimate your capacities, nor under-estimate your difficulties; make an exact estimate of both and then proceed with a determination and firmness worthy of *men*." It is true there can be no gains without incurring risks. But nations, circumstanced like ours, are not made or saved by dare-devil methods or by a boldness which does not count upon the likely losses and risks. The road is uphill and infested with dangers. The number of pioneers who have to go forward and clear the ground as sappers and miners is few and far between. Any uncalled for and unnecessary sacrifice of life and energy is a crime greater and more heinous than any, of which any one can be guilty in individual interests. Indians who have consecrated their lives to the service of their country are no longer their own masters and have no right to throw away their lives like mad men. By doing so we cut the very ground-roots of the tree over which we have sought an asylum. It may be *heroic* to die under an impulse of patriotic duty but it is nobler to resist the temptation and live a life of renunciation and sacrifice. Life must precede death. To die nobly one must first learn to live nobly. Noble is the death which towers the edifice of a well-lived life, a life lived for principle, for the motherland and for humanity. One does at times feel that perhaps the sons of India care more for life and the comforts of life than for honour. They were not so in olden times. Their present callousness to honour is a proof of their degradation, but this makes it all the more necessary that those in whom the consciousness of a duty towards their country and towards a life of honour has awakened, ought to try to live as long as they can, consistently with their ideals of honourable life. An honourable death is no doubt better than a dishonourable life, but an honourably lived life is infinitely superior to a death under a short-bred impulse. The number of those who can and are willing to die for their country or to live for it is exceedingly limited. It is a pure waste of valuable material

to allow their ranks to be thinned by recklessness.

The country is in a state of transition. The different parts of it vary in the stages of their development. Some parts are yet far behind. Their political consciousness has yet to dawn. Moreover, they greatly differ in intellectual calibre, religious fervour, social purity and physical backbone. In the matter of education, too, there is a great deal of divergence. The ideas that have filtered downward to the masses in one province are yet only on the surface in another. The social environments, too, are different. It is impossible, therefore, to speak of the situation from the stand-point of the most advanced and the best developed parts of the country without qualifications and limitations which considerably take away from the value of such generalisations when put to practical test. Every responsible man has, therefore, to work (speak and act) under restraints imposed by the conditions of life surrounding him. It is no use fretting at things which must take time to change. Nor is it profitable to cavil at conditions over which one has no control. I do not claim any intimate knowledge of the conditions of life in Bengal, Bombay and Madras, but knowing Upper India as I do, I must say that the conditions of life prevailing there require the services of a large number of capable and devoted public men whose sole or first care should be their country, before the political consciousness of the people can reach the level it occupies in the better educated and better developed provinces. The responsibilities of public life in Upper India, require a clearer and a bolder conception. This, however, is not to be gained by the irresponsible talk of undisciplined enthusiasm, much less by violent methods. The man is unfit to be a leader who is not capable of taking a dispassionate view of things in times of excitement when passions have been roused up to a high pitch. But a coward is he whose calculations of personal interest and personal safety do not let him take a higher and broader view of life when the right moment comes. Real wisdom lies in doing the right thing at the right time. Real courage consists in not flying from the consequences of one's acts when the latter overtake him. Bravado is not manliness, nor rashness, patriotism. There should be no halting or faint-heartedness after a thing has been well thought out, but doing things merely under spasmodic impulse, without devoting the necessary thought to their *pros* and *cons* is neither politic nor wise. Having passed the period of tutelage we are no longer children to be led by the nose by

others. "It remains to us to throw aside the youthful overconfidence and the no less youthful discouragement of nonage. We are grown men, and must play the man,

strong in will

To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield, cherishing the good that falls in our way, and bearing the evil, in and around us, with stout hearts set on diminishing it. So far, we all may strive in one faith towards one hope :

It may be that the gulfs will wash us down.

It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,

.....but something ere the end,

Some work of noble note may yet be done."

Before I close, however, I have to tender my most affectionate thanks to all classes of my countrymen who sympathised with me in my trouble. The feeling evoked in the country by the deportation was simply wonderful. I have met with innumerable proofs of it since my return. They have touched the deepest chords of my heart and I wish I had deserved at least a hundredth part of what my countrymen think of me. Barring certain classes of Indians who live and prosper on calumniating their own countrymen and whose chief business in life consists in carrying tales to the foreign rulers of the land, the whole country entered an emphatic protest against the deportation, from the Himalayas to the Cape and from Diamond Harbour to Karachi. I do not know if within the memory of man any other act of the British Government ever evoked a similarly universal outburst of indignation. The whole country spoke like one man irrespective of caste or creed. The Mohammedan merchants of Ahmedabad and Surat gave a crushing reply to the lie circulated by Anglo-Indian journalists that the Mohammedans were happy at my deportation and had no sympathy with me. One of the big representative gatherings of Mohammedans held in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh that was reported to have expressed satisfaction at my deportation was attended by seven men only. My thanks are equally due to the large number of my countrymen outside India. Students or traders, lawyers or doctors, merchants or manufacturers, in London or in Paris, in Great Britain or in America, in South Africa or in the East, in Japan or in Mauritius, all combined to protest against the deportation and to express their joy on my release. I do not know how to adequately thank them. I am fully conscious of having done

nothing to deserve such universal marks of love and respect from my countrymen. My services in the cause of my country are too insignificant to fully account for all this. I can only ascribe it to that growing sense of national unity that has found a sudden realisation within the last three years and which has simply surprised both friends and foes. I thank God for having spared me to see it, and my earnest prayer is that I may have the strength to do my duty to my country in this all-important period of its life. As a Hindu it is my devout prayer that I may be born again and again in this Land of the Vedas to contribute my *Karma* to the corporate *Karma* of the nation.

LAHORE,

June 15, 1908.

## CHAPTER ONE

### BEFORE THE ARREST

I WAS arrested on the 9th May 1907 at 2 p.m.; but before stating the facts relating to my arrest, I should like to narrate briefly the events of the nine days preceding it.

It was on the 30th April that the telegraph brought the news of the now historic notice served on three of my lawyer friends at Rawalpindi by the District Magistrate of that place. This notice furnishes a typical illustration of the extent of legal knowledge and judicial acumen of a large number of the Deputy Commissioners of this Province, and therefore, deserves a permanent place in the history of British administration in the Punjab. It also illustrates the evil of combining executive functions with judicial in the person of one officer. I, therefore, reproduce it below *in extenso*.

"Lala Gurdas Ram, Advocate, Lala Hans Raj, Pleader, Lala Amolak Ram, Pleader—It has been reported to me that a meeting was held in the City not long ago at which a person named Ajit Singh was the principal speaker. Lala Hans Raj is said to have been the President, Lala Amolak Ram the Secretary and Convener of the meeting, and Lala Gurdas Ram one of the speakers. It is reported to me that the speech of Ajit Singh was of an extremely seditious character. The speech of Lala Gurdas Ram partook of the same character, and contained also some disgusting and unseemly expressions with regard to Mr. Kitchin, Settlement Collector and Magistrate. I hereby give you notice that I shall hold a public enquiry into the above matters at 11 a.m. on 2nd May. You are invited to be present and anything you may wish to say will be duly heard. The enquiry is to be held with two objects in view : (1) Should the evidence be considered sufficient, with a view to asking the sanction of Government for your prosecution under sections 124-A and 505, Indian Penal Code ; (2) In order to report the facts which the enquiry may establish as proved to the Financial Commissioner and the Chief Court with a view to action being taken to suspend your licenses as Revenue Agents, or to take action under Sections 41, 37 of the Legal Practitioners Act as

the case may be. Please write 'seen' below this. (Signed) P.D. Agnew, District Magistrate, 30th April 1907."

I may say in passing that this notice was perfectly illegal, the District Magistrate having no power under the Criminal Law or the Legal Practitioners Act to do any thing of the kind. Never before, since the introduction of British Law in India, has any such notice been known to be issued. The object of the District Magistrate evidently was to disgrace, insult and annoy the persons concerned and to strike terror among the people.

All the three gentlemen mentioned in this document were persons whose friendship it was a privilege to enjoy and cherish, the first two being men who were looked upon as leaders of the national movement in this province and whom I have always looked up to, as men worthy of my respect and admiration for the many qualities of head and heart they possess and the third being a friend to whom I was bound by very intimate ties of personal attachment. On hearing the news of their impending trouble, I thought I was in duty bound, to proceed to Rawalpindi and extend to them my friendly sympathy and such professional advice and assistance as I was capable of rendering. So without enquiring from them or without knowing if they required my services, I left for Rawalpindi by Calcutta Mail on the 1st May and reached there the same evening at 8 p.m. As usual I proceeded straight to the house of the late Lala Gurdas Ram Sawhney. At night some of us had a short consultation, and we arrived at the conclusion that the notice of the District Magistrate being illegal and unprecedented, Lala Hans Raj, Gurdas Ram and Amolak Ram should not respond to it in person and should take no part in the contemplated proceedings, but that Mr. Aziz Ahmed and Mr. Bodh Raj Sawhney (who is Lala Hans Raj's son), Barrister-at-Law, should appear in court and watch the proceedings on their behalf.

Next morning at 10 o'clock, I went to the Court with the late Lala Gurdas Ram Sawhney and found that people were coming in large numbers to witness the proceedings. The time fixed for the proceedings to begin was 11 a.m. But long before that time the whole compound of the Court premises was one surging mass of human faces and heads. I did not wonder at this impressive scene, for I knew that Hans Raj, Amolak Ram and Gurdas Ram were very popular amongst all classes of people and were loved and respected.

universally ; but it was soon brought to my notice that the presence of that vast crowd was not wholly to be accounted for by the popularity of the gentlemen involved and that it was partially due to labour-strikes that had taken place the same morning in the Government Arsenal and at the Railway Workshop. The Deputy Commissioner, who was expected every minute, came late and it could be observed that the people were getting impatient at the delay. At last he arrived at about 12-30 p.m. and at once proceeded to his seat in the Court. Counsel putting in appearance, the District Magistrate announced that the enquiry would not proceed that day, and that fresh intimation would be given of the next date, if any, that might be fixed for the enquiry. This news was received by the multitude with mixed feelings of disappointment and triumph—triumph at the District Magistrate having apparently shirked the enquiry and disappointment at the prospect of its being resumed on another date. By way of a reply to the District Magistrate's order postponing the enquiry, the crowd requested the lawyers concerned to accompany them to the city in a procession, which the latter very properly refused to do. The crowd, however, was not in a mood to go away quickly and messages began to pour in upon me to address them there and then, a request which I refused without the slightest hesitation. Upon this they pressed me to promise them an open air address in the afternoon. Although I was very reluctant to agree to this, I ultimately yielded to pressure. By this time the crowd had begun to melt away and people were retracing their steps towards the city.

A little later came the news that an unruly portion of the crowd had separated from the rest and was doing damage in the compound of the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow and that a number of persons had proceeded to the house of the District Judge. Every one present in the Bar Association room, where I was sitting, felt shocked at this strange and unexpected development. I had hardly had time to speak out my mind when some one quite spontaneously suggested that the crowd had evidently been led to excesses by the police in plain clothes in order to bring more serious trouble on the lawyers. All present, who knew the character of the local police seemed to accept this explanation as a matter of course. Every one, however, began to look towards the District Magistrate's room, evidently expecting that he would go out to stop the riot, but he did not leave his Court-room until news was received that rioters had

left the Civil Lines and were proceeding towards the *Company Bagh* (Public Garden). Lala Hans Raj Sawhney had his cases to attend to, and I well remember the expression of horror on his face when returning from a Court-room where he had been doing his professional work, he heard the news of the excesses committed by the mob on their way to the city. Shortly after this, I in company with my friend Gurdas Ram Sawhney came to his house where we took luncheon.

At about 4 p.m. we proceeded to the house of Hans Raj Sawhney and found that he was not feeling well. We, however, prevailed upon him to accompany us to the meeting place as his absence was likely to be misconstrued, and as in our opinion it was proper for him to express his indignation at what the mob had done that afternoon. As we were proceeding to the place of the meeting somebody came and informed us that the Deputy Commissioner wanted me and that the meeting had been prohibited as illegal. The road to the meeting place passed by the spot where the Deputy Commissioner was sitting on a chair surrounded by a strong *posse* of police force. The District Superintendent of Police was also present. A strong guard of police armed with rifles was just then responding to the order of 'fall in'.

What happened next may be described in the words of the Deputy Commissioner himself according to the evidence he subsequently gave in the riot-trials at Rawalpindi before the Special Magistrate :

"Sometime between five o'clock and half-past, there was a sound of cheering among the crowd. I was sitting outside under some trees. Lala Lajpat Rai appeared in front of the Police Station accompanied by ten or twelve people who, I thought, were pleaders, among whom I recognised, though I did not much attend to the matter at the time, Lala Hans Raj, who was immediately next to me, Lala Gurdas Ram, who was at the other end of the semi-circle into which they formed themselves, and a minor pleader whose name I think is Nanak Chand. I said to Lala Lajpat Rai, 'I forbid this meeting which you intend to hold in the *Mandee*. We have a body of twenty-five police here ready with carbines loaded, whom I shall order to fire if the meeting does not disperse, and you will be one of the first to suffer.' I also said to Lala Hans Raj and Lala Gurdas Ram 'I hold you responsible for what happened this morning.' Lajpat



Rai said that he objected to the tone of these remarks and that he knew the law. I think that remark was addressed to Mr. Tomkins. I said I was not there to listen to objections, but he was there to hear my orders, which were that no meeting was to be held and that he and the pleaders were to go home at once."

This is slightly different from the telegram that appeared in *The Panjabee*<sup>1</sup> that very evening and which gave a more accurate version of what actually happened :—

'After the District Magistrate's postponing the enquiry, it was announced at the earnest request of the crowd that Lala Lajpat Rai will address a meeting at the Carnac Ganj in the evening. At about one hour before the time fixed, the District Magistrate with the Superintendent of Police came and sat at the Police Station and proclaimed an order declaring the proposed meeting unlawful. At about 5-30 when Lala Hans Raj Sawhney, Lala Gurdas Ram, Lala Hans Raj Bhandari and others in company with the lecturer were going to the place of the meeting, they were intercepted on the way by orders of the Deputy Commissioner who wanted to see them stop. The District Magistrate asked who Lala Lajpat Rai was and upon the latter presenting himself, he said, 'I as District Magistrate have forbidden the meeting, distributed buckshots in the Police, got out the cavalry, and my instructions are that if attempt is made to hold the meeting, the police should fire. I, therefore, order that you should quickly go home and hold no meeting.' Addressing Lala Hans Raj he said, 'I hope you are satisfied with to-day's work ; this is a direct result of yesterday's meeting and the one held before, which I call seditious. I think today's meeting is also likely to be seditious. I have, therefore, forbidden it and declare it unlawful. In case of serious consequences I hold you, Lala Amolak Ram, the Secretary, and (pointing towards Lala Gurdas Ram), you, and (pointing out towards Lala Lajpat Rai) you also, responsible. You understand that ?' Upon which, Mr. Tomkins, District Superintendent Police, advanced further and addressing Lala Lajpat Rai said 'You should understand that you will be responsible.' Upon which the latter replied 'I know my responsibility, knowing as I do a bit of the law, and I have heard the orders.' The District

1. This was most probably from Lajpat Rai himself.

Magistrate repeated what he said before saying that this evening's meeting was likely to be seditious, to which Lala Lajpat Rai replied 'I object to these remarks. I have heard the orders.' The District Magistrate said 'I know your object. I have given my orders and you better clear out.' To this Lala Lajpat Rai replied 'I have not come here of my own accord. I have been sent for by you'. The party then returned and explained the order of District Magistrate to the people assembled."

All through the night disquieting rumours kept coming in, of arrests, of removal of persons arrested to the jail, of high-handedness of the police and so on.

Next day at about 3 p.m. or shortly before, as I was having a little rest, I was aroused by one of the servants of Gurdas Ram by his informing me that the latter had been arrested and taken to jail. I at once got up, dressed and drove to the Court, where the news was confirmed. I came to know there that five warrants had been issued, that two of them had been executed by the arrests of Messrs Gurdas Ram Sawhney and Khazan Singh, Barrister-at-Law and that two more were meant for Lalas Hans Raj and Amolak Ram and that it was not known for whom was the fifth. People began to surmise that it might be for me. We were, however, talking in this strain when a body of British Cavalry were heard approaching the Bar Association Rooms and we were told that Pandit Janki Nath Kaul had been arrested. Hans Raj and Amolak Ram were just then seen seated in a tonga and escorted by the British Cavalry. As soon as the prisoners were removed, an application for bail was made to the Sessions Judge but it was promptly refused.

After a short consultation it was decided that I should at once leave for Lahore with a view to arrange for bail in the Chief Court. Consequently I had to run to the railway station to catch the Punjab Bombay Mail which was leaving at about 4 p.m.

All this occurred on the 3rd May 1907. On the 4th, an application was made to the Chief Court for bail. The Chief Judge ordered, contrary to all previous practice observed in such proceedings, that the same be heard by a Bench consisting of himself and a Barrister Judge. The application was opposed by the Government Advocate and the Judges could come to no definite decision.

Eventually they ordered that the necessary facts not having been laid before them at the time, they wanted to hear the application again on Monday, on which date they expected the Government Advocate to be in possession of sufficient material to enable them to come to a decision. On Monday the Deputy Commissioner appeared in person and handed over a statement and also a letter from the Officer Commanding the Rawalpindi Station. This latter document was not shown to the Counsel who argued the application for the petitioners. The application was ultimately rejected. Next day an application for a copy of this document was refused upon which one of the Counsels, engaged in the case, applied for its inspection on payment of the usual fee, which application too was not granted. What the public thought of these proceedings may best be gathered from the following comments which appeared in *The Panjabee*<sup>2</sup> of the 8th May and which faithfully represent my feelings in the matter :

"A letter from Constantinople, dated April 5th, published in the *Times of India* (weekly edition of the 1st May 1907) contains the following about the ways of the Secret Police of Turkey : 'In Turkey,' says the *Times of India* correspondent, 'the bomb-thrower is generally a member of the Secret Police—thirsting for promotion—it matters not to him whether men are killed or not so long as his version of the occurrence obtains credence in the Sultan's eyes. If this is achieved his future is assured. Great honours await him, and though he may not go down to the grave respected, he dies envied for his success in mundane affairs.' Since the second outburst of rowdyism in Lahore it has several times been suggested to us that these fresh outbursts are probably due to the zeal of Police Officers in white clothes. That the desire for 'promotion' or 'success in affairs mundane' by display of zeal is not confined to the Turkish Policemen, but has many times been proved or suspected to be at the bottom of many a *chalan* (prosecution charge sheet) and confession in India, is a fact well known to everybody who has ever had anything to do with the administration of justice. That the authorities should have by this time failed in finding out the real culprits

2. This too appears to have been written by Lajpat Rai himself,

of the excesses said to have been committed on the 16th of April lends weight to this conjecture. The excesses at Rawalpindi are believed to be the work of the same agency. The scene in Anarkali on the night of Friday last is also another evidence of the same type according to some very respectable eye-witnesses. Under the circumstances, is it too much to ask the authorities to look into the matter more impartially and cool-headedly than they are likely to do under police inspiration ? To us most of the panic in evidence in ruling circles all over the province is due to exaggerated and false reports of the Government detective agency, and we are both amused as well as sorry to find that the Government should have lost their head over these false reports.

“The situation in the Punjab has become critical. The arrest of the leaders at Rawalpindi and the subsequent proceedings show that the Government has entered on a policy of repression. The Government have evidently to strike at the leaders irrespective of the political opinions held by them and to terrorise the smaller fry and the public. The arrests at Pindi are the first signal. The so-called judicial proceedings taken subsequently show what sort of prudence or judgement people should expect from the judiciary in cases of this nature. On the day the leaders were arrested there was no evidence against them either under Section 124-A or under Sections 436, 147, or 109. At least none was recorded. The Sessions Judge rejected the application for bail without satisfying himself that there was any evidence connecting the accused with the alleged acts of incendiarism. He was influenced by the report of the District Magistrate to the effect that release on bail would be followed by further riots and mischief. The same dodge succeeded in the Chief Court also. Any one could read the faces of the learned Judges composing the Bench of the Chief Court that rejected the application for bail. The signs of a struggle between their judicial instincts and their executive fears were too apparent to be missed. Their judicial conscience forced them to constantly ask the Government Advocate as to how the evidence as to seditious speeches connected the accused with the mischief by fire said to have been caused by the rioters. No reply was forthcoming, but still the opinion of the District Magistrate and that of the Officer Commanding Rawalpindi Station, which was before them, so to say, forced their hands and they eventually yielded to the grounds of expediency. The first act of this drama has thus been played and a thick curtain

has, for the present, fallen. If there is any indication of what is to follow the people should be prepared for the worst, and under the circumstances we may very well weigh the situation and settle our future plans.

"The Pindi proceedings naturally have aroused wide indignation. But all the same they strongly appeal to our sense of vanity as well. They excite our laughter also. The Government have practically given way to demoralisation, and we pity them for this display of weakness. Is this all the strength, of which the Anglo-Indians so much boasted? What does it come to? It is a sad confession of the existence of extreme unrest, and of the force of the agitation which has evidently, according to this official admission, taken hold of the Punjab. Will Mr. Morley still say that he does not believe in the existence of unrest? The Punjab Government has completely shaken his statement to pieces. Will anybody believe that the Government has resorted to these extreme measures to kill a few gnats only? What does the calling out of the Military, Indian and British, display? We will not reply for the Government. Is there no one to point out to the Government, what a ridiculous figure they cut when every time there is some proceeding connected with a sedition case in the Chief Court, they exhibit their weakness with an entirely disproportionate display of police force? Oh, what has the mighty British Government in India come to! However, we need not be much anxious about the prestige of the Government. The question that arises to our lips is how to continue our work in this crisis. On this subject we venture to give a piece of advice and warning to our people. The first thing is to continue our work manfully and fearlessly, unless it is actually stopped by executive or magisterial orders. Meeting after meeting should be called in order to give opportunities to the Magistracy to declare them unlawful and to disperse them by force. Of course, political work should be carefully dissociated from rowdiness of all sorts. We do not believe there is much of rowdiness in our province. We are convinced that rowdiness in Pindi was the work of the secret police. This is the only way for these worthy agents of the Government to justify the alarming reports which they make to Government. Having made these false reports, they join the mob and then set examples of rowdiness, thus creating further work for themselves and others. Friday's scene in Anarkali Bazar may be traced to the same causes.

"But in spite of this we beg to warn all people against the danger of degrading political work to the level of small and shabby acts of rowdiness. We know that disregard of laws by Government officers lead to lawlessness on the part of the people but we would beg our people to keep their heads cool and save the situation by not forgetting even for a minute that they are engaged in a very sacred mission—that of gaining political status. Their work should in no case be defiled by small and mean acts. We do not believe any Indian can ever be capable of insulting ladies unless his moral sense has been entirely worked by constant espionage in the service of a foreign Government or unless he has completely lost his balance of mind by anger. Indians have a very great regard for females, say what the Europeans may. To a Hindu his wife is only a part and parcel of his own self, *and every other woman on earth*, whoever she may be, is a *Devi* (goddess) to be respected like a mother or a sister. Nor have the Hindus ever earned any name for cowardly attacks on isolated men and wayfarers. We decline to believe that any Hindu has been guilty of these degrading acts in the recent disturbances. These are the acts of *gundas*, whoever they may be. Subject to this warning we hope the Punjabis will preserve a manly attitude on this occasion. Firm and dignified, they should not relax their efforts for political rights. The British laws are so far sufficiently wide and liberal as to leave them a good margin for steady and zealous work on constitutional lines. Let us, therefore, studiously keep ourselves within the law. Acting within the law, let the Executive or the Magistracy stop our work by force or illegal orders. If political work in this province is to be stopped, let it not be stopped out of fear for our personal safety, or out of panic. Let the Government stop it by order. If any such orders are given let us obey them. Obedience of such orders will, we are sure, recoil on the heads of the Government and force people to seek other methods of carrying on their political propaganda. Our work so far has been open, carried on in broad daylight, within the bounds of the law, and without the slightest disregard of the authorities."

These notes must have been written on the 6th and 7th of May under the fullest consciousness of an impending storm. A friend who happened to see some high European officers in these days informed me in confidence that they were gnashing their teeth and thought that I was the source of all mischief and should be dealt with strongly and summarily. He suggested

the advisability of my being on guard and giving them at least no future opportunity of involving me. From another source I came to know that my speech at Lyallpur<sup>3</sup> was being closely scrutinized with a view to instil sedition from it. Another friend warned me on the authority of a person who is known to be in the confidence of high officers that I stood in danger of being treated like Bhai Ram Singh, the head of the Kukas.<sup>4</sup> Some suggested that I should leave Lahore and let the storm pass. But the reply I gave to one and all was that having done nothing by which the authority of the law could be invoked against me and not being conscious of having done anything by which the executive arm of the Government could legitimately be brought down on me I feared neither the one nor the other. My sole thought then was to do something for my Rawalpindi friends, as the consciousness that while they were in jail I was sleeping comfortably at home made me very miserable and restless. I wanted to be as near them as I possibly could, viz., at Rawalpindi, but the knowledge that their friends and relatives did not favour the idea and would rather not have me at Rawalpindi, deterred me from going there. The attitude of some of them was such that it led me to suspect that perhaps they attributed their misfortunes to my presence at Rawalpindi and that they were anxious to dissociate themselves from me. Under the circumstances all I could do was to send to my friends in lock-up a message of sympathy coupled with an offer that my services were at their disposal whenever required and that it was out of deference to the wishes of those who were in charge of their case that I was not at Rawalpindi. Having sent this message to my friends in trouble I set myself to work for them in other ways. The proposal to hold a protest meeting at Lahore, to be followed by similar meetings elsewhere, met with a prudent shaking of the head and had to be given up. It was,

3. This was delivered on 22 March 1907 at a meeting of agriculturists who were agitating against the controversial Punjab Colonisation Bill.

4. Bhai Ram Singh was the head of Namdharis, a religious sect of the Sikhs who were believed to have political designs. In 1872 he was deported to Burma under Regulation III of 1818 without a trial where he subsequently died.

however, suggested in the interests of our Rawalpindi friends that all personal differences should be sunk and that concerted measures should be taken to help them in every possible way. I acted on the suggestion at once and waited upon a gentleman with whom I was generally credited to be not on good terms<sup>5</sup>. In the course of all this I never thought even for a moment of any asylum for myself. The rumours of my impending arrest, however, were so thick and persistent that I thought it necessary to speedily dispose of all such correspondence as needed my immediate attention, so that no letters of any importance might remain unanswered.

The other thing I did was to prepare my father for the coming catastrophe. My wife, my daughter, who had been widowed only about two months before, and my youngest son were just then away on a visit to my brother-in-law at Ludhiana. Of my own family the only one that was at that time at Lahore was my eldest son. That my wife and my daughter were away was a source of satisfaction to me because in case of an arrest followed by a search, if any, I did not want to have any domestic scenes. Of all my people the only one whose memory troubled me much was my aged father. All my life had been a continued struggle between my filial sense of obedience to my father and my sense of duty towards my country. Often I had displeased him by acts which he could not approve and sanction, but never had his displeasure gone so far as to induce him to break with me. Temporary displeasure and disapproval notwithstanding, he had always been my guardian angel. His passionate attachment to me had been the mainspring of his life and the principal moderating influence that had prevented me from breaking all ties of blood and relationship in favour of a life of renunciation. It was the influence of his high character and his moral rectitude that had given a spiritual bent to my mind. Ever since I became a man, the one principal consideration that was always present in my mind had been my extreme solicitude to avoid his displeasure. In my household he was always the chief

5. Lala Harkishan Lal, see also page 128.



ruler in all domestic matters, and except in matters affecting my public life his will was law for me and mine.

It was only natural, that at this time of apprehended trouble he should be uppermost in my mind. Consequently my first thought was to prepare him and to beg of him not to give himself up to grief in case of anything untoward happening to me.

The information given to me about the intentions of the Government to deal with me as they had previously dealt with Bhai Ram Singh, the head of the Kukas, led me to study the law on the subject, viz., Regulation III of 1818. A perusal of the Regulation was, however, reassuring; as being fully conscious of having done nothing to deserve summary deportation under that Regulation, I could not persuade myself to believe that the Punjab Government, presided over at the time by a man whose sense of his resources as well as of the omnipotence of Anglo-Indian power in the Punjab was simply unbounded, would be likely to publish to the world such a confession of their weakness as the deportation of my humble self was bound to imply. Having, however, prepared myself for the worst, the idea of an attempt to escape having not even for a moment ever entered my head, I set myself to do what I considered my duty towards my friends at Rawalpindi and towards my country. I wrote letters to some Indian leaders in the other Provinces informing them of the situation in the Punjab and also penned a letter to Sir William Wedderburn as President of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress enclosing certain papers on the administration of the Chenab Canal Colony. Two days before the English Mail day, I had posted a letter to a friend in England saying that I was posting that letter so early as there was no knowing if I would be free to write one on the Mail day. I informed him of the situation in the Punjab and of rumours about my arrest. My apprehension, however, did not prove to be quite precise, as I was spared to write some letters on the morning of the Mail day. I was writing a letter for the Press on the political situation in the Punjab, when some of my friends amongst them Lala Hans Raj, Principal of the D. A. V. College. Lahore, came at about 10 a. m. that day to ask me to accompany them on an outing. I replied that I had no time nor was I in a mood to go out

for a picnic. They tried to persuade me, saying that I was wasting myself in fruitless anxieties and so on, but I stuck to my refusal, giving them to understand by my tone that it was no use dissuading me from my self-imposed task. I proceeded with the work and finished it before taking breakfast. After breakfast I again wrote a letter or two and then dressed to go to the Chief Court. I had no work in Court that day; but two days before, a client had left Rs. 350 with me with instructions to engage a senior counsel and to file a miscellaneous application for revision in a certain case of his. I put the money in my pocket and ordered my carriage, with the object of carrying out my client's behest. The unposted letters and the letter for the Press also were in my hand when my Munshi informed me that two gentlemen wanted to see me.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE ARREST AND THE DEPORTATION

ON BEING informed that two gentlemen wanted me outside I went out to receive them and found Lala Ganga Ram, Inspector, Anarkali Police, and Munshi Rahmat Ullah, Inspector, City Police. The latter said that the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner wanted me, but that they could not say why and for what purpose. As I knew that the Commissioner of Lahore had been sending for different people to seek their intercession to allay the prevailing unrest, my first thought was that I was also sent for with the same object and I told Inspector Rahmat Ullah that I had some business in Court and would see the Commissioner on my return. The Inspector, however, said that the Commissioner was at the District Office and wanted me for a few minutes, after which I could go to Court.

On this I suspected that something was wrong, and smiling, said, "Very well, come on ; my carriage is ready and we shall go together." As soon as the Inspectors and myself had got into the carriage I handed over the papers I had in my hand to my clerk and told him to go to Court. My carriage was just passing out of the gate when I saw Mr. Rundle, the District Superintendent, Police, coming towards my house. Almost simultaneously I saw another European Officer also coming in the same direction. Both jumped on the steps of my carriage and I was no longer in doubt about the object of the police visit. Knowing Mr. Rundle, I asked him to come in and so he did. The District Police Office is only about two minutes' walk from my house. On arriving there I was told by the Commissioner, Mr. Younghusband, that I had been arrested in pursuance of a warrant issued by the Governor-General in Council, who had decided to deport me but that I would be treated with consideration. Hearing this I said that I was at his disposal. The only other persons present in that room, to the best of my knowledge, were Mr. Mant, the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Rundle, the District Superintendent, Police, and another European whom I did not know. The Commissioner asked

me if I wanted to see any one before being deported and my reply was a prompt "No". He then asked me if I wanted to leave any letters for my people and if I would not like to get some clothes and bedding from my place. I said I did. He then gave me paper, pen and ink to write my letters but after consulting one of the officers present, said that my letters could not be delivered to the addresses before 6 p.m. and that my clothes and bedding would have to follow me. In a moment I decided what attitude to adopt, which was one of complete indifference to what was happening. Accepting the Commissioner's offer I wrote two letters, one to my friend Lala Dwarka Das and the other to my son Pyarelal. In the former I enclosed the currency notes of Rs. 350, I had in my pocket and asked him to refund the money to the client or do his work, whichever the client might prefer. I added a general wish that the few cases I had should be properly attended to, if the clients agreed to have them conducted by him, or that their fees might be returned with opinion to make their own arrangements. About myself after stating the fact of my arrest with a view to being deported, I said that my destination was not known, the Commissioner having told me that they were not permitted to give me that information. I asked Lala Dwarka Das not to be anxious for me at all, as I was in God's hands and whatever He did was for the best. After I had closed this letter I asked the Commissioner if I could keep my money with me to which he replied in the affirmative. I then extracted the notes from the letter and put them into my pocket, adding a *post scriptum* to that effect. To my son I only communicated the fact of my arrest with a wish that, in my absence, he was to obey and to console my father and look to his comforts. I asked him also to hand over a few suits of clothes and a bedding for me to the police. After I had finished these letters I was searched for firearms and nothing being found on my person, I was told to go with the Deputy Commissioner in his motor car, which was drawn up outside.

In the words of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, the Deputy Commissioner himself took the wheel. By his side sat the District Superintendent of Police, armed with a revolver and the back seats were occupied by myself and a European Sub-Inspector of Police. On getting across the canal bridge towards Mian Mir I noticed the military, both European and Native, foot and horse, coming

in strong force. I also saw some pieces of artillery being carried. The sight only excited my laughter which, however, I suppressed. Shortly after, the motor car stopped in front of a European guard and I was asked to get down. The Deputy Commissioner was met by the Officer-in-Command, to whom probably he explained who I was and what was wanted of him. The officer and the Deputy Commissioner walked in front and I, between the two police officers, followed them. When we reached the quarter guard, a cell was unlocked and I was asked to walk in. The cell having been locked and a British soldier having mounted on duty, the Deputy Commissioner asked me if I wanted anything to eat and drink. My reply being in the negative, the Deputy Commissioner and the District Superintendent of Police, both left me. Having shut the door I surveyed my cell, read the copy of the prison rules hanging on the wall, took off my coat, dusted the wooden bedstead, the only piece of furniture that I found there and then stretched myself flat as I felt a little pain in my liver. Here within less than an hour from my arrest, I found myself alone to think of the future before me. Having made myself comfortable on Tommy Atkins' prison bedstead of wooden planks, I began the process of self-examination. The first thing for which I gave grateful thanks to God was my good luck in having been spared a scene at the time of my arrest, which perhaps might have been difficult to avoid if my father, my wife or any of my children had been present. The second thing for which I thanked God was that my mother was dead. I was, of course, sorry for my father but I had such a strong faith in his strength of character and in his habitual presence of mind in times of misfortune that the idea of his discomfiture did not weigh very heavily on me. As for my wife and children, the thought that they were under the guardianship of my father left no cause for serious anxiety in my mind. Having thus freed my mind from all thoughts of the family, I began to analyse my own moral and mental strength and found that there was not the least chance of a breakdown. Having been a believer in the wisdom of Providence from my infancy, I found that I possessed a sufficient reserve of faith to stand me in good stead in all emergencies and under all circumstances. Having thus subjected myself to a process of serious self-examination for all future purposes, I came out of the ordeal stronger and firmer than I had ever been in my life. I concluded this self-

examination by a fervent prayer to my Creator to give me strength to preserve a manly, dignified and firm attitude in my tribulation and to save me from the temptation of ever doing anything consciously or unconsciously that may in the slightest degree injure the sacred cause of my country, bring the latter into disrepute, or be source of disgrace to the society to which I belonged. This self-examination over, I felt inclined to have a serious laugh at the move of the Government. Knowing my people so thoroughly as I did, I was amused to find the Government so hopelessly betrayed by its informants. In all this, however, I saw the hand of God, pointing out a silver lining in the dark clouds on the horizon of my country's future, brightened by the paralysation of those forces which had kept it in chains of bondage for such a long time.

Sometime about 6 p.m., I heard the sound of the key being turned in the lock and a voice calling me by name. On opening the door I found Mr. Rundle, the District Superintendent of Police, with another European member of the Police force as well as a Mohammedan Inspector or Sub-Inspector. Asked to step out, I accompanied him to the road where a landau was waiting for us. Getting into the landau we reached the military siding of the Mian Mir railway station where a train was standing and evidently awaiting our arrival. One of the Europeans present asked me to get into one of the carriages which I did. Immediately after, the train gave the whistle and I took my leave of Lahore. Looking back at the event, after a lapse of a year, I can honestly say that I never believed that it was my last farewell to Lahore. Even then I thought, as if I was going away on a short trip, though with an uncertainty as to the exact duration of my absence. As soon as the train started, the chief police officer in charge came to my carriage, and in his presence I was again searched by the European Police Inspector present. The money in my pocket was taken away with the assurance that it would be returned to me at the end of my journey. My gold watch and chain were at first left with me but on further consideration even these were taken by the Inspector in his own personal custody. The chief police officer in charge, then said that he was sorry that they had been forced to take that step against me but that they had done it in self-defence. I replied that I had done nothing to deserve it and that in my opinion, the whole trouble had been caused by inexperienced,

tactless, haughty English youths, being invested with large and unlimited powers. He replied that although perhaps my description may be applicable to some, but they were all under proper control and it could not be maintained that there was no check on them. In this way we conversed for a short time. Mr.—in the meantime assured me that the Government intended to treat me well and with consideration and that the sort of accommodation they had provided me with, was an evidence of their good intentions. I thanked him for his assurance and added that to me it was not a matter of very great consequence, if the Government considered that their safety demanded my removal from Lahore. The reply, which Mr.—gave, left an impression on my mind that my removal was intended to be a temporary one and could not be continued for long.

The Police Guard on duty over me, consisted of a Mohammedan Sub-Inspector, six Mohammedan Constables, one Hindu Sergeant and another Hindu Constable. They were all closely watched wherever the train stopped. To resume my narrative, however, I bade good night to Mr.....at Jandiala and prepared myself for a good night's rest. I had for some years been suffering from chronic insomnia. But the state of my mind during the night can best be judged from the fact that I enjoyed a very good sleep and my guardians had to awake me at Phillaur to give me some warm milk. Next morning when I got up, the Punjab had been left behind and we were travelling on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. Throughout the Punjab the shutters of the carriage were drawn up but on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway I was allowed to lower them between the stations. At the approach of a railway station they were again put up.

The next morning I found myself at Diamond Harbour railway station on the Eastern Bengal Railway. The chief police officer in charge came to me and asked me if I knew where I was and if I could guess where I was going. I told him I knew the station as I had been there once before, and that probably I was being taken to Rangoon or Mandalay. He must have been surprised at this, because till now my final destination had been very carefully kept secret from me. At about 8 a.m. I left the carriage and walked over to the edge of the river where a ferry steam launch picked us up and carried us to the Government Steamship "Guide". I wrote two letters, one to my father and the other to my son. The former is

not forthcoming but a copy of the latter has been preserved. It ran as follows :

“Diamond Harbour  
Dated 12th May 1907.

“My dear Son,

I am fairly well, as well as I can be in this condition. There is one thing, however, which I assure you, viz., that I am determined to keep up my spirits and not feel miserable. I am prepared to take things as they come. Please do look after your grandfather and mother. Obey them and console them and take particular care of your widowed sister and her little son. Keep well with your uncles and bear your misfortune *manfully*. The same for Piarey Krishna. See that he and Amrit do not suffer in their studies. Remember me to all my friends and tell them that I am not at all borne down by my tribulation. The same for ever.

Yours affectionately,  
Lajpat Rai”

On the river side the Deputy Inspector General of the Punjab Police took leave of me and remarked, “you are leaving India. Let us see when you return.” After I had taken my seat in the boat he took a snapshot of me, bid good-bye to the senior Police officer (a Bengal man) and returned to the railway station. The Bengal police officer was rather a rough sort of man, without any desire to be polite. In a short time the steam-launch stopped by the side of a ship and after the guard had removed all their luggage I stepped on board the steamer *en-route* to the place of my exile.

We had left Diamond Harbour before noon on the 12th and we reached Rangoon on the afternoon of the 15th. On board the steamer also, the European Police Inspector posted guards on me. Once, I remember, I laughed at it and on his asking me the reason I told him that I had no mind to drown myself as in my estimation my life was of greater value to me and my people than it was to the Government and its officers. He was, however, generally courteous and showed some anxiety to look after me. In the harbour at Rangoon I was asked to keep to my cabin lest some one going about in boats, etc., might see me. After a good deal of waiting, the Police Commissioner's launch was announced and I was transferred to the same. The Commissioner of Police, a haughty



old fellow, more particular about his authority and prestige than about the comfort of those entrusted to his care, could not allow me a seat on the deck where he was, but ordered me to the saloon where shortly after a local police officer joined me. We landed on a jetty which was all quiet and free from any kind of traffic. A few Punjabis in police uniform were, however, in evidence. A *palki gharri* was placed at my disposal. The European Inspector who had escorted me from Lahore sat by my side and a local police officer on the opposite seat.

Thus protected and guarded against any attempt to rescue, I reached the Panduzuing railway station. This is a small suburban station at some distance from the railway station of Rangoon proper. We had to wait in the carriage for some time before the train actually came and I was taken, well guarded of course, across a Railway Bridge to the platform where the Mail train was drawn up. I had been looking at Burmese buildings, houses and temples, etc., on both sides of the Irawaddy from the steamer since morning, and now I saw Burmese faces, men, women and children, mixed up with a large number of foreigners amongst them, Indian and Chinese being particularly and prominently noticeable. From the very moment, the steamer entered the mouth of the Irawaddy I felt, I do not know why, drawn towards Burma and its people. It may be that going there as an exile I calculated upon their sympathy and good-will. Or it may be that (with the exception of the little island of Ceylon where I had been some years before on a pleasure trip), Burma being the first Asian country which I was visiting, the political helplessness of Asia drew all my sympathy towards my fellow Asiatics, or it may be that the Burmese having received their religion from us Indians, I felt a sort of kinship with them which prompted me to think well of them. Be that as it may, in Burma I did not feel the desponding sensation of being in a strange land. At Indian faces, of course, I looked with sentiments of affection, regardless of their being Hindus or Mohammedans, Punjabis, Bengalis or Madrasis. To me all of them were my own people, bound up to me by a tie which at that time appeared to me to be particularly dearer and stronger than any other.

Descending the bridge and walking between policemen both in front and in the rear, I passed by a well-dressed Punjabi gentleman, who recognized me at once. Involuntarily I read a volume of

misery and grief on his face, and responded to his *salam* with a winking of my eyes. A second after, I was seated in a first class compartment reserved for me and my guard. In the back carriages of the train, I saw a number of Punjabi Sikhs, wearing police uniforms looking at me eagerly and talking rather excitedly. The Commissioner of Police, however, soon sent them word to keep in doors and also ordered the shutters of my compartment to be raised, a process repeated at the approach of every station right up to Mandalay, where we reached the next day between 2 and 3 p.m. The journey was uneventful except for some touching marks of respect and regret shown by the Mohammedan constables forming part of my escort. Let me state here that all through the journey from Lahore to Mandalay, I met with nothing but kindness from the Hindu and the Mohammedan policemen forming my escort. On board the steamer, they talked with me freely and I can never forget the depth of feeling displayed by a young Mohammedan constable having a most handsome and prepossessing appearance. While deeply regretting my misfortune and almost weeping over it, he gave expression to his own and to his country's feeling of helplessness in words of deep and sincere pathos. The others—although they did not say this in so many words—expressed similar sentiments and did all that lay in their power to make me comfortable. For the first time in my life, perhaps, did the noble purity of the Indian mind, uninitiated in the hypocritical gloss of the Western civilization, burst upon my soul in its full and original grandeur. Of course, they had no criminal intention, as I myself had none, but, all the same, they did not conceal their sentiments towards me, and rendered me every possible service. It was with a real pang that I parted from them at Mandalay.

At this latter station the whole platform was cleared before I was asked to get down and to walk over to the carriage awaiting outside. I could, however, see several Punjabi faces peering at me from office windows and door panes. I had hardly left the station premises when to my surprise I found my friend Mr. G.K. Devdhar, M.A., of Mr. Gokhale's Servants of India Society, Poona, at my feet. The affectionate touch of a friend's hand moved me so deeply that it was with great effort that I controlled myself. For a moment I quailed under the influence of the touch and feared lest that which the actual arrest and deportation had failed

to do should be effected by this sudden display of love and regard on the part of a friend whom I never expected to meet there. As soon, however, as Mr. Devdhar touched my feet the police construed it into an attempt at rescue and the Inspector took hold of my arm and a European Sergeant getting hold of Mr. Devdhar's tore him off my feet. I could only give a silent but affectionate nod in response to my friend's attempt to embrace and honour me. The next moment I saw him driving past me greeting with folded hands. This time my hands being free I responded. I was, however, sorry for Mr. Devdhar because I was sure that henceforward his movements would be closely watched and his footsteps dogged. I have reasons to believe that my apprehensions were not groundless.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### UNDER RESTRAINT IN MANDALAY FORT\*

I REACHED Mandalay railway station on the 16th May 1907. Thence I was driven to the Fort in a hackney carriage, in the company of the Assistant Commissioner of Rangoon Police, who had come with me from Rangoon, and the European Inspector of Lahore Police. The route taken was a circuitous one, evidently adopted in order to avoid all habited portions of the city. My first impression of the Fort was a very poor one. My imagination had drawn the picture of a strong citadel situated on an eminence and surrounded by lofty walls, such as one so often finds described in English novels. This Fort I found to be a rather plain building situated on a level with the other parts of the city, though surrounded by a high wall and a broad deep moat full of water. We entered by the south gate and driving past the royal palaces and royal tombs stopped in the portico of a nice brick bungalow built in European style with tiled roofs. Here a European officer, the Superintendent of Mandalay Jail, received us. The Superintendent took me to the upper storey of the bungalow, where I was told that two rooms had been set apart for me as a temporary measure.

Special provision had been made to guard me at the house. A police guard consisting of eight Burmese constables and one English-knowing Burmese Sub-Inspector under the command of a European Sergeant had been deputed to keep guard. Double guard, one at each staircase, was posted at night. The Sub-Inspector and the European Sergeant came up several times during the course of the night to see that I had not escaped. Some patrolling officers also came on rounds. A personal undertaking, upon my word of honour, not to attempt to escape was asked for by the Superintendent in the evening and was most unhesitatingly given.

In the meantime, another house was arranged for me. It

\*This chapter is a brief summary of Chapters III—VI of the original work.

was close to that of the Superintendent in the vicinity of the Palace Gardens, towards the north of the latter. I lodged with the Superintendent for two days and on the third was removed to the new bungalow. The house in which I was confined is a P.W.D. bungalow, built by the British, outside the Palace Canal, on the north side of the Royal Gardens. Between it and the Royal Gardens is a metalled road open to the public. Towards the south of this road, almost opposite the bungalow set apart for my residence, was a small wooden house for a British Guard, on duty.

All the time I was confined at Mandalay, in fact from the moment of my arrest upto the moment of my release at Mian Mir West (Lahore Cantonment) railway station I was closely watched. No one except the officials on duty, or the servants engaged to attend on me, were allowed to approach me, or to see me, or to talk with me. During this time I was not allowed to see any of my relatives, or friends. In the month of August I was informed that the Government of India had no strong objections to any of my relatives seeing me, provided the intending visitor obtained the previous permission of the Government of the Punjab to that effect. Towards the end of August, or in September, my youngest brother, Lala Dhanpat Rai, Pleader, Ferozepur, applied for permission to see me, but the Government of Sir Denzil Ibbetson<sup>2</sup> refused to grant it. That stopped further applications of a similar character.

All my correspondence was censored; only some of the letters addressed to me being actually delivered. Among the letters suppressed were one or two letters from Mr. G.K. Gokhale. Most of the letters containing any reference or allusion to my arrest, deportation, or confinement, were not given to me; nor any other that contained any mention of any of the events that were happening at Lahore or in other parts of the country. Complaints of any kind mentioned in letters written by me to my friends were censored and disallowed, though letters containing a good word for the Superintendent were readily passed.

2. The Lieutenant Governor of Punjab who succeeded Sir Charles Rivaz in 1907.

No newspapers of any kind were allowed. Even the European Sergeants on duty were forbidden to have any newspaper with them while on guard. Books of all kinds were carefully looked into before they were admitted as well as when the same were returned.

During walks I was at first escorted by a European Sergeant only, though he was expected to go fully armed; but I had been there only a few days when the escort was increased by the addition of two police constables in uniform. On roads no one was allowed to approach me or to talk with me, though no one ever attempted to do so. Some policemen in white clothes were always prowling about the house and on the roads to see if any communications were smuggled. For some days Indians passing on the road in front of the house were subjected to a lot of annoyance. Some Police officers in the excess of their zeal closed that road for Indians and would not allow them to use it. Even respectable men in carriages were made to go back and take to other roads. The Police in Burma is composed of a very large number of Indians, mostly Punjabis, both in the constabulary as well as among the officers. They were studiously excluded from duty in connection with the state prisoners.

For some time to come, *slamming* scare was kept up and Indians saluting me, by raising their hands to the forehead, were marked, threatened and shadowed. One evening two Indians were actually arrested and brought to the guard on the charge of prowling about the roads. One of them was at once let off with a warning. The other who was a Sikh was detained for some time until the District Superintendent of Police was sent for, who cross-examined him very closely as to his parentage, occupation and whereabouts. This man was a retired Overseer and now a contractor in the Public Works Department in Burma. He was warned not to come that side again and then set free. All this pained me very much and the next day I declined to go out for a walk. I wrote a letter to one of my friends at Lahore giving an account of the incident and adding that I had discontinued going out for walks, because I would rather take no exercise and stay in, than see my countrymen thus insulted and harassed for the offence of saluting me. I asked my friends to devise some means of informing the Indians at Mandalay to take no notice of me and not to bow to me whenever they were to see me on the roads, as it did no good to either party; that it

resulted in their being insulted, while it added to my difficulties. This letter was not passed and returned to me with the remark that this communication could not be allowed. The District Superintendent of Police then came and asked me the reason of not going out for walks. I informed him of the real reason, upon which he remarked that the man had been seen lurking about twice or thrice and hence it was necessary to take notice of him and that an incident like that was not likely to be repeated. The Superintendent of Jail too gave me a sort of assurance that people saluting me will not be meddled with. But I know that as a matter of fact this *salam* scare was kept up for a long time. Later on, I was informed by more than one European Sergeant that native soldiers had been told not to salute me nor to frequent the road in front of the House. Some of them, however, never cared a jot for these orders and continued to come and look at me and even occasionally *salamed* me. On several occasions I signed to them not to do so but they did not care.

I was not allowed to go out of the Fort during the entire period of my confinement except for once when I was driven to the General Hospital for the examination of my eyes, with a view to a change of glasses. On the 30th July the permission to go out for walking was temporarily withdrawn, but it was again restored after two days. The withdrawal was, I think, based upon certain reports received from the Punjab that certain persons had started to pay us a visit and to hold communication of some sort or other with us.

The rooms allotted to me were very poorly furnished. The food I got was neither bad in quality nor insufficient in quantity. I had milk and tea twice a day and fairly good food for breakfast and dinner. Of course, no delicacies were allowed. Luxury, the Superintendent maintained, could not be allowed at Government expense.

The day I was arrested at Lahore I was feeling some trouble in my liver. My health in no way improved by the journey, and the day I reached Mandalay I was feeling worse. I suffered from those troubles which are more or less chronic; particularly the disorder of stomach and sleeplessness. The latter makes no difference in personal appearance. I have often observed that while I have been getting indifferent sleep for nights my appearance has not suffered at all.

A state of confinement and loneliness, insufficiency of exercise, a sense of annoyance produced by humiliation and unwarrantable subjection, want of agreeable company and similar other discomforts were bound to produce their effect, and make chronic troubles assume an acute shape. Consequently I suffered a great deal from these complaints in the first three months of my confinement, but latterly having been reconciled to my fate and surroundings I improved considerably.

The Government officials who visited me were apparently very solicitous about my health, though they could do nothing to give me greater facilities for improving it. The Superintendent of Jail and the Deputy Commissioner always insisted on my taking long walks twice a day though they could not appreciate the difficulties that stood in the way of my complying with their wish.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### HOW I OCCUPIED MYSELF

THE daily routine, I observed at Mandalay was as follows :—

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

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

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

Besides religious reading, the range of my studies at Mandalay was fairly wide. I finished every book that I could lay my hands

on, however trivial its contents, or however ephemeral its interest. For me the greatest need was to keep myself occupied. I read a very large number of novels, which were of no real value, with the sole object of killing my time. All the same the following list of books read by me at Mandalay will show that I occupied my time very profitably in studying some standard works of literature.

(a) Of books dealing with Burma, the Burmans and Burmese History, I read :

1. "Burma under British Rule and Before" by J. Nisbet, 2 volumes.
2. "Picturesque Burma, Past and Present" By Mrs. Earnest Hart.
3. "The Burman, his life and notions" by Schway Yoe.
4. "Silken East" by O'connor in two volumes.
5. "Among Pagodas and Fair Ladies" by Gaseoigne.
6. Sir J.G. Scott's Burma: hand book of practical information
7. Fielding Hall's "A People at School."
8. Fielding Hall's "The Soul of a People."
9. "Census Report of British Burma."
10. "The Administration Report of Burma for 1904-05.

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

(b) General books :

1. Justin M'Carthy's "Reminiscences," two volumes.
2. Justin M'Carthy's "History of Our Own Times" five volumes.
3. "History of Modern England" by Herbert Paul, five volumes.
4. Duffy's "New Ireland".
5. Herbert Spencer's Autobiography, two volumes.
6. Lecky's "History of the rise and influence of Rationalism in Europe," two volumes.
7. Hallam's "History of Middle Ages," 3 volumes.
8. Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic," two volumes.
9. Bryce's "The American Commonwealth" two volumes.

10. "Ledger and Sword, A History of the East India Company," two volumes.
  11. "History of the Indian Mutiny," by Kaye and Malleison, volumes 2 and 3.
  12. Lord Robert's "Forty-one Years in India."
  13. Fielding Hall's "Hearts of Man."
  14. Voltaire's "Candide."
  15. "Evolution of Industry" (Contemporary Science Series).
  16. Harbilas Sarda's "Hindu Superiority."
  17. Dickinson's "Modern Symposium."
  18. Patterson's "Nemesis of Nations."
  19. Poems of Byron.
  20. Poems of Thomas Moore.
- (c) Novels (a few names only).

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

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

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

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

*The Review of Reviews* (only one number allowed).

*The Nineteenth Century and After*.

*The Westminster Magazine*.

*The Fortnightly Review*.

*The Contemporary Review*.

*Hindustan Review*, (2 or 3 numbers allowed).

*The Modern Review* (only two numbers allowed).

*The Vedic and Gurukul Magazine*.

*The Zamana*, an Urdu Monthly.

*The Makhzan*, an Urdu Bi-monthly.

*The Dev Nagri Pracharni Patrika*, a Hindi Monthly.

During my confinement I did a certain amount of literary work. I wrote :-

- (a) A small book on Burma in Urdu based on notes taken from the books I read as well as on conversations with the Burmese Sub-Inspectors.
- (b) An Urdu novel which I could not finish. I, however, wrote about 150 pages of foolscap size.
- (c) A small paper in Urdu on current topics.
- (d) A paper on the 'Message of the Bhagwad Gita' in English.
- (e) An article on Social Reform in English.

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

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

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

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

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

"And thus when they appeared at last,  
And all my bonds aside were cast,  
These heavy walls to me had grown  
A hermitage—and all my own!  
And half I felt as they were come  
To tear me from a second home;  
With spiders I had friendship made,  
And watch'd them in their sullen trade,  
Had seen the mice by moon-light play,  
And why should I feel less than they?

We were all inmates of one place,  
And I, the monarch of each race,  
Had power to kill—yet strange to tell  
In quiet we had learn'd to dwell,  
My very chains and I grew friends,  
So much a long communion tends  
To make us what we are;—even I  
Regain'd my freedom with a sigh.

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

## CHAPTER FIVE

### STATE OF MIND DURING CONFINEMENT

ABOUT two months before my arrest I had lost my son-in-law,<sup>1</sup> a distinguished B.A., B.M., of the Panjab University and a brilliant young medical practitioner, twenty-six years of age. This sad event had left my daughter<sup>2</sup> and her infant son entirely dependent on me. The public engagements of the period, however, hardly left me any time to devote to the affairs of my poor girl and to make suitable arrangements for her future. My eldest son<sup>3</sup> too was at that time without any work. About two years before, he had left his studies to apply himself to business. The winter of 1906-1907 he had passed in a small cotton ginning factory, jointly owned by me and two of my friends, in order to receive a preliminary training in business. I had had no time to give him a start in life, when the events of the spring of 1907 made it impossible for me to do anything for him. Thus my affairs were in a state of complete disorder when I was arrested. The first thing to which I had, therefore, to devote my attention, while at Mandalay, was to issue instructions to set them right for the benefit of my sons. My sons already knew what my belongings were, so I had only to transfer them in proper form in their favour and I accordingly did so without any loss of time. The arrangement has left me practically penniless with the exception of a few shares in some Joint Stock Companies and the amount of money standing to the credit of my charity accounts.

Of my children the only one for whom I cared much and whose thought sometimes disturbed me was my widowed daughter. Of the other members of my family the only one for whose sake I at times, regretted my deportation was my old father. I was happy to think that my mother had died long before and that both my younger brothers had settled in life. I had, therefore, not many family cares to distract my thoughts and sadden my mind in my exile.

1. Dr. Jai Chand.
2. Parbati Devi.
3. Pyare Lal.

Of my wife I was confident that she would bear her misfortune with fortitude. In the first few letters that I wrote to my son I impressed upon him the necessity of looking after my father and of doing nothing which might annoy him. Now that I am free I can only look with pride upon the high-mindedness and nobility with which my father took my exile.

I owe a great deal to my mother, who gave me constant lessons in charity, generosity and hospitality. Looking back to my childhood, it gives me great pleasure to remember how my good mother felt delighted whenever an astrologer could tell her that her son would be charitably disposed. Her daily life was a constant lesson to me in charity and hospitality. In my manhood, she was always proud of my public life and did everything she could to encourage me to spend as much in charity, as I liked. Besides being charitable and hospitable, she was high-minded to a fault and could never brook an insult from any one, high or low. She never begged favour of any body and was rather haughty in her resourcefulness. Quick of temper, she was given to use strong language in moments of anger and was ever ready with retorts and repartees.

Although much of my personal character I have inherited from her, my obligations to my father are no less. It was he, who gave a religious as well as a literary bent to my mind and taught me my first lessons in patriotism. Lately he might have perhaps thought, now and then, that I had exceeded his instructions and over-stepped his expectations but all the same the seeds that have fructified were sown by his own hands. It was a matter of great satisfaction, therefore, to have learnt on my return from exile that in what was to him the greatest misfortune of his life, he maintained a strong, noble, manly and dignified attitude and never for a moment entertained any proposal which would have been as unworthy of my faith in the righteousness of my cause. However, in my exile it was my constant care to cheer him up, by my letters, in reply to which I always received equally encouraging and loving communications from him. My letters to him used to be very brief, as my father not knowing the English language, I had to write to him in the vernacular and I feared that long letters in the vernacular might be delayed by the Superintendent for translation. With every letter that I wrote to my father, I sent a transliteration of it in Roman character to the Superintendent, so that the letter may be posted without much delay. Twice or thrice I wrote long letters to him in English and posted



them to my brother who translated them for my father. My father's letters to me were also brief but they contained sufficient material to assure me that he was manfully doing his duty by my children and was bearing his misfortune with fortitude. I had, however, no means of knowing that besides looking after the family he had taken up his veteran's pen in my defence and was wielding the same with effect, to the utter discomfiture of the evil doers amongst my countrymen. I have learnt it with shame that an Indian Deputy Commissioner should have considered it necessary in the performance of his duties as a British Magistrate, to keep a regular and perfectly unwarrantable espionage upon the old man's movements, as if he was in any way responsible for my political creed and for any acts which I might have done. The old man, however, never flinched for a moment, and kept up his faith in my innocence, never giving way to despair in the poignancy of his grief at the absence of a son who had never let his filial love and respect taken even the second place to his affections and regards.<sup>4</sup>

From the very first I had thought that my confinement could not be a very long one. I knew that the Government had taken the step in a state of panic and in perfect ignorance of the condition of the people. I was sure that they would soon find out their mistake and that the Parliamentary friends of India would not allow the Government to persist in this policy of persecution and high-handedness for long. My first impression was that my release would not possibly be effected earlier than the final conclusion of the Rawalpindi and Lahore riots trials and that if it is not delayed by any fresh disturbance, it was sure to come about soon after these cases had been finally disposed of by the Chief Court. It was, therefore, with great personal interest that I watched the progress of these cases. It was my belief that whatever efforts might be made at fabricating false evidence, at inventing stories of sedition, extorting false confessions, or implicating me in the disturbances that had taken place, nothing could be proved against me. Nobody knew better than myself, what I had done and what I had not. Everything I had done was done in the open, without any attempt at secrecy and I

4. The extracts from Lajpat Rai's correspondence with his father, sons and friends quoted in the original work to show the state of his mind during his incarceration in Mandalay Fort have been omitted.

was always prepared to own it without the least hesitation. Although I knew full well that the corrupt police of this country was capable of proving *anything* and *everything*, even things which had no existence whatsoever, yet the voice from within told me that truth must win in the end and that before long the authorities would begin to feel ashamed at the cruel hoax that had been played upon them by their subordinates. The acquittal of the Rawalpindi lawyers was as much a certainty to my mind as the rise of the sun every morning. As soon, therefore, as I heard of their honourable discharge,<sup>5</sup> I concluded that my release could not be far off.

Somehow or the other I associated the order of my release with the close of the summer session of the Government of India at Simla. I thought that before leaving Simla, the Government of India would reconsider my case and probably order my release. Consequently from the middle of October to the 9th November I was always on the tiptoe of expectation. In the diary notes of the 24th and 25th October I find entries showing the anxiety of uncertainty and the consequent disinclination to do serious (literary) work. There are similar notes up to the 30th. The last entry says that the mind was disturbed by constant conflict between hope and fear.

On the 2nd November there is an entry to the effect that "Whatever hope there was, was disappearing, which distracted the mind very much." It was this uncertainty that was really annoying.

I heard that the Viceroy was to leave Simla on the 9th November and that the last meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council was to be held on the 4th. This led me to infer that orders on my case would be passed by the 5th at the latest. Allowing four days for red-tape, I concluded that something might be heard by the 9th. On the 7th November a ray of hope disclosed a silver lining on the horizon. On this date the Superintendent of Jail told me that the Government of India would no longer pay for clothing and shoes for me, and that I was at liberty to arrange for them on my own money. He added that the clothes and shoes already ordered would have to be paid for by me. No sooner did he leave the place than I told the

5. The six Rawalpindi lawyers were discharged on 1 October 1907 by the Special Magistrate, A.E. Martineau, for want of sufficient evidence against them. The Magistrate also criticised the improper manner in which the police conducted the case.

European Sergeant on duty that the Superintendent's order was the precursor of liberty.

I knew very well that the Government would not release me at Mandalay and would take me back to Lahore with the greatest possible secrecy in order to avoid all demonstrations of joy on the part of my countrymen *en route* or at Lahore. But when the evening of the 9th changed into night without any order, I felt greatly disappointed and vexed. I wrote to home for clothing as if I had no hope of my release. On the morning of the 11th I went for the last time to take a stroll in the Royal Gardens. I left Mandalay the same day at 11. 15 a. m.

Although occasionally I was very sad and melancholy during my exile, I was generally contented and made every effort to make the best use of my time. The following entry in my diary made on the 13th July will explain the general frame of my mind during this period :

13 July (Saturday). "Sorry ; have failed to enjoy peace of mind even at the time of and during prayer, and this in spite of all efforts to the contrary. Several times have I said to myself : God has granted you this opportunity for religious exercise, concentration of mind study and literary work. Why should you not accept it with feelings of gratitude and setting aside all anxiety, care and ambition, make the best use of the same ? Your attachment to your children has never been so deep as to stand in the way of doing your duty. Why then should you allow yourself to be so much troubled by anxiety, care and sorrow ? The treatment you have received is in no way singular. Thousands of men and women have before this suffered even greater privations in the same path. Some of them were tortured and maltreated simply for teaching virtue, e.g. Socrates. Why this chicken-heartedness ? Selfishness is the rule of the world. Every one suppresses another for his good. The English do the same. They are not angels so as to be just and righteous. The world is always like that."

This self analysis is followed by a note recording the restoration of the peace of mind and a sense of satisfaction at the things as they were. On the 30th July, the permission for long walks having been suspended, I felt very much put out and recorded a note which takes a very despondent view of life. In this note I say, that

this condition of uncertainty and ignorance of what is likely to happen, is very annoying.

Similarly on the 3rd August it is noted that the Sergeant on duty told me the story of a man who in conditions similar to those of mine, lost the balance of his mind and became mad. In reply I told him that as far as possible I was determined to retain my sanity unless Providence willed it otherwise.

On the 4th of August it is noted that I had for some days been very regular in prayers and religious reading. "God be thanked thousands of times. I have been reciting Vedic hymns for the last two or three days, which make me feel very happy."

On the 13th of August I noted as follows :

"I was uneasy on account of sickness but thoroughly contented. I am now getting accustomed to solitude and the latter is not so painful now as it used to be."

On the 24th August, two days after an altercation with the Superintendent of Jail, I thought of the Samaj (i. e., the Arya Samaj) and the College (i. e., the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore) and at other times of other things. Sometimes these thoughts made me sad and sometimes filled me with hope.

The 15th October, the day on which my friend Lala Jaswant Rai's period of incarceration was to terminate, was a day for rejoicing for me. On that day I offered special prayers to God for his health.

I have already stated that the last fortnight of my confinement I passed in constant expectations of my release. My mind in those days was swayed by fear and hope alternately.

## CHAPTER SIX THE MEMORIALS

ALTOGETHER I submitted two memorials protesting against my deportation and imprisonment and praying for my release. The first was handed over to the Superintendent of Jail on the 29th June. A few days before this, I came to know that a question had been put in the Parliament enquiring from the Secretary of State for India if I had protested against my deportation and if so what was the substance of my protest.<sup>1</sup> The conversation led me to think that my friends in the British Parliament probably wanted to know what I had to say against the Government's high-handed action in deporting me without trial. Till then, I had not made up my mind on the question of petitioning for my release, although I had already applied for a copy of the Government of India's order relating to my arrest and also of the grounds on which it was based. In reply thereto, the Superintendent of Jail supplied me with a copy of the Warrant of Committal bearing date 7th May 1907, in pursuance of which I was arrested and deported in order to prevent "commotion within the dominions of His Majesty the King Emperor of India."<sup>2</sup> The copy of the Warrant supplied is reprinted below :

"Home Department, India.

To the Superintendent of Jail, Mandalay.

Whereas the Governor-General in Council, for good and

1. Before Lajpat Rai had reached Mandalay questions were asked in the British Parliament on 13 May about his arrest and deportation without trial. Prominent among those members of Parliament who frequently asked questions in the Commons on this subject were V.H. Rutherford, O'Grady, William Redmond, Frederic Mackarness, and Henry Cotton. John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, made a full statement on the question on 6 June, but it was a repetition of the views of the Punjab Government. It was on 18 June that Mackarness asked if Lajpat Rai had made any protest against his arrest and Morley had replied that he had no information.

2. This was done under instructions of the Government of India and the authorities did not consider it necessary to convey to Lajpat Rai any details regarding the reasons for his detention.

sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Lajpat Rai, son of Radha Kishen, shall be placed under personal restraint at Mandalay, you are hereby required and commanded in pursuance of that determination to receive the person above-named in your custody and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of Governor-General in Council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor-General in Council.

(Sd) H.H. Risley,

Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

Dated the 7th May 1907.

I had, besides, asked permission of the authorities to let me have newspapers to read and while away my time with. This was refused by the Local authorities. I could not possibly think of any reason why they should have deprived me of this, considering that I could not communicate with the outside world and attributing this refusal to the narrow-mindedness of the Local Officers, I wrote a letter to the Superintendent of Jail asking him to ascertain if such were the wishes of the Government of India. He forwarded my query to the proper authorities and on the 22nd June officially informed me that the matter had been determined upon by the highest authority and that no newspaper could be allowed to me<sup>3</sup>. The want of newspapers was felt by me as the greatest deprivation, for I naturally wanted to know what was happening in my country.

A few days before, I had received a copy of Regulation III of 1818 from home in compliance with a request made by me to that effect. I read the Regulation very carefully and could find nothing therein which justified the refusal to allow newspapers. I considered this to be a great hardship and consequently decided to memorialise the Government of India on the subject as well as to enter a written protest against my arrest and deportation. Having arrived at this conclusion, I wrote down the draft of the Memorial the same day. Before making a fair copy of it, I

3. The request for supply of newspapers was considered by the Government of India but was refused.

read it to the Superintendent of Jail and asked him if he had any objections to it. He advised me to strike out the portion about my ill health, as well as the request contained at the end of the Memorial but I did not agree to it. I regret I do not possess a true copy of this Memorial. On the 20th July the Superintendent of Jail asked me for a copy, which was required by the Government of Burma, and I had to reproduce it from memory. I do it again for the information of my countrymen, so that they may know what I wrote to the Government. To the best of my memory the memorial printed below is a substantially faithful reproduction of the original, except that a word here or a word there might be different.<sup>4</sup>

To

H.E. the Viceroy & Governor-General of India.

SIMLA

May it Please Your Excellency,

That your petitioner is a State Prisoner confined in Fort Dufferin, at Mandalay, Burma ; that he was arrested at Lahore and deported therefrom on the 9th of May 1907 in pursuance of a warrant issued under the authority of Your Excellency in Council, in accordance with the provisions of Regulation III of 1818 and bearing the date of 7th May 1907 ;

That neither at the time of his arrest, nor subsequently, was your petitioner informed of the charge or charges against him on the basis of which action was taken against him under the said Regulation ;

That your petitioner is not conscious of having done, or having attempted to do, any thing which could make the Regulation applicable to his case ;

That your petitioner respectfully but emphatically denies that at the time of his arrest, or immediately before or after it, there was any reasonable apprehension of any "commotion" taking place in any part of the dominions of His Majesty, the King Emperor of India ;

4. Lajpat Rai's memory served him well. The memorial reproduced here is substantially the same as the original in the official records of the Government of India.

That your petitioner very respectfully but very emphatically denies ever having done or attempted to do any thing which was likely to cause "commotion" in the Indian dominions of His Majesty the King Emperor or which could otherwise justify the application of Regulation III of 1818 to him ;

That your petitioner believes that he has been the victim of false information given against him by his enemies and of the biased reports of misinformed officials based upon misunderstandings and misapprehensions on their part ;

That your petitioner respectfully prays that he may be informed of the grounds on which action against him has been taken under Regulation III of 1818, so that he may be in a position to reply to or explain the same, at least, for the consideration of Your Excellency in Council ;

That your petitioner has always been a peaceful worker, devoting most of his time in furthering the cause of education amongst his countrymen, organizing and distributing charity for the relief of orphans, widows and other famine-stricken people in time of famine and in organizing relief to the sufferers from the great earthquake in the Kangra Valley in the year 1905 ;

That he worked as a Municipal Commissioner for a period of three years and has been practising as a lawyer for about twenty-five years ;

That never in his public life extending over a period of twenty-five years has he ever been suspected or known to do anything which was likely to cause "commotion" in the dominions of His Majesty the King Emperor or to do any other act which would justify the application of Regulation III of 1818 to him ;

That your petitioner is a constant sufferer from enlargement of the liver and diseases of the stomach ; that he suffers from sleeplessness also ; that in case of doubt, the facts may be ascertained by reference to his medical attendants at Lahore ; that his prolonged confinement in a strange land and a strange climate and under conditions of restraint without sufficient opportunities of exercise is likely to tell heavily on his health ;

That he prays that if his immediate release cannot be ordered he may be informed of the grounds on which action has been taken against him and his petition may be forwarded to His Majesty



the King Emperor of India. The petitioner further prays that in the meantime, pending consideration of his petition, he may be permitted :

- (a) to read Indian and English newspapers, as being deprived of the right of reading them, he feels extremely lonely ;
- (b) to send for a servant of his own home to attend upon him ;

That the petitioner shall further deem it a favour if he can be informed of the probable duration of the period of his confinement ; for which your petitioner shall, as in duty bound, feel grateful and pray etc,

Your Excellency's Humble  
Petitioner,  
Lajpat Rai of Lahore

Fort Dufferin, Mandalay,  
Dated 29th June 1907.

From the copy of the Regulation received for me, the Superintendent of Jail came to know that the law required him to submit a report about me to the Government of India on the 1st of July. He asked me if I wanted him to recommend me for any privileges. I told him that I would like to be permitted to take drives out of Fort ; to have the police-vigilance reduced a little and also to be allowed to see my friends. He said he would see what he could do for me. The Regulation lays down that "every officer in whose custody a State Prisoner may be placed was to submit a report to the Governor General in Council, through the Secretary to Government in the Political Department, on the conduct, the health and the comfort of such State Prisoner." Consequently the Superintendent of Jail submitted my memorial and his report thereupon to the Government of India direct. On the 6th August he read to me the orders of Government of India, on my petition, which were altogether unfavourable.<sup>5</sup> I asked for a copy

5. The Government of India turned down the requests made by Lajpat Rai in his memorial of 29 June 1907 without reference to the Secretary of State for India. The memorial had been forwarded direct to the Governor-General in Council by Captain H.H.G. Knap, Superintendent of Jail, Mandalay.

of Government of India's orders and was supplied with a slip containing the following Memorandum of the Government's decision which is here reproduced *verbatim* :

"Government of India decided that you cannot go for drives beyond Fort Dufferin",

"Nor reduce police vigilance (terms of request vague.)"

"Regarding desire to be informed of charges against you, Government of India direct that no more particulars can be given beyond the reasons already given. (The only reason given was that I was deported in order "to avoid commotion within the dominions of His Majesty, the King Emperor of India".) You must submit your memorial to the King through the local Government.

"Can't have your own servants nor newspapers, (already refused.)

"Nor any information regarding duration of confinement."

"No strong objection to your seeing your relatives but meetings and individuals to be restricted and only with permission of the Punjab Government."

Of course, I was quite prepared for such a reply. The only point on which I had hope, was the request as to newspapers. For drives I did not care much. But I was greatly amused at the directions given to me about the despatch of my petition to His Majesty the King and at the decision of the Government of India, refusing to forward it to His Majesty as it had not been received through the proper channel. I thought it was extremely ludicrous to say to a prisoner, who had been refused all access to legal or other advice, that a petition handed over by him to the Superintendent of Jail, the only person to whom he could do so, had not been sent through the proper channel. To me it appeared that the Government considered the matter too ugly to send it to the King at that stage and hence this pretence to cause a delay. It was certainly absurd on the face of it to be told to send my petition through the local Government as it was the business of the Superintendent of Jail to find out the proper channel for such petition and if on account of his ignorance of the rules, he did not do it, it was preposterous to hold the prisoner responsible for it.

I was so much disgusted with this reply that I resolved to send no more Memorials. I have never had any faith in petitioning. I knew well that His Majesty being a constitutional monarch was not likely to interfere in the Government of India's action which had received the seal of approval from a statesman of Mr. John Morley's political principles. My only reason for asking my petition to be laid before the King was just to let him know the heartlessness of his Government in India, in refusing newspapers to a political prisoner of my position and education. This evasive red-tape reply convinced me that the Government of India did not want my case to go before His Majesty at that early stage. They were yet trying to fish out some evidence against me. The accused in the riot cases at Lahore and Rawalpindi were being pressed and in some cases, tortured to implicate me in these disturbances and the Government of India evidently hoped to get something substantial against me. Indulging in these thoughts, I decided to drop the idea of sending a fresh petition to the King, *through the proper channel*, though the Superintendent of Jail reminded me of it several times. I replied that there was no hurry and that I would take my time. Knowing a bit of history as I did, I despaired of getting any justice or fairplay from despots and resolved to settle down in the life of bondage to which I had been doomed by the latter's verdict. I thought that it was sufficient that I had entered a written protest and a denial to the general charge against me.

In September, however, I happened to read in an English magazine, which had been passed on to me by the Superintendent that one of the charges against me was that of having attempted to tamper with the loyalty of the Native Army. I considered it to be a gross libel on my intelligence and good sense and thought that I was in duty bound to enter a protest against it. Consequently I drafted another memorial addressed this time to the Secretary of State for India. The memorial ran as follows :

To

The Right Honourable

The Secretary of State for India,  
London.

May it Please Your Excellency,

"That your petitioner is a State Prisoner confined in the Fort at Mandalay, Burma ;

"That he was arrested at Lahore and deported to this place in pursuance to a warrant of committal under the authority of His Excellency the Governor-General of India in Council, under Regulation III of 1818 ;

"That neither at the time of his arrest nor afterwards, has your petitioner been informed of the charge or charges on the basis of which action has been taken against him under the aforesaid Regulation ;

"That your petitioner has already in his petition addressed to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India submitted that he had done nothing which could justify the application of the aforesaid Regulation to him ;

"That he had never done nor attempted to do anything which caused or was likely to cause commotion in the dominions of His Majesty the King-Emperor of India : That in fact there was no reasonable apprehension of any such "commotion" taking place at the time of petitioner's arrest ;

"That your petitioner has been a victim of false information given by his enemies or of the biased reports of misinformed or prejudiced Government officials ; and that if informed of the grounds of his deportation, he would be able to explain the same to the satisfaction of Your Excellency ;

"That your petitioner being kept in entire ignorance of the allegations against him is not in a position to make a more definite statement or to point out proofs of his innocence ;

"That newspapers having been steadily disallowed to him, your petitioner is not even in a position to explain away or refute the "supposed grounds" of the Government of India's decision against him ; that he, however, takes the liberty of respectfully repeating that the action of the Government of India in applying Regulation III of 1818 to him was quite unjustified and uncalled for ; that there was no occasion for it, and that the Regulation was never meant for times of settled administration and for persons of your petitioner's humble position in life ;

"That your petitioner further begs to submit that he took no part in the Lahore or Rawalpindi Riots ; that he did not directly or indirectly encourage any person to bring about the same ; that he did not make any seditious speeches ; that he was always within the

bounds of Law and the Constitution in expressing his disapproval of certain measures of the Government which were at the time of and immediately before his arrest exercising the public mind ; that he never advocated any violent or illegal methods of redress ; nor did he associate himself with any people who, to his knowledge, advocated such measures ; that the suspicion, if entertained against him, of having tampered with the loyalty of the Native soldiers of His Majesty's Army, is entirely devoid of any foundation, your petitioner having had no opportunities whatsoever of mixing or communicating with the same;

"That the petitioner respectfully begs to add that in depriving him of his personal liberty without ever informing him of the grounds thereof ; in condemning him unheard and undefended ; in acting on information given behind his back, and in refusing him access to legal advice, the Government of India have on this occasion failed to act in accordance with those principles of justice and fairplay which are generally believed to be characteristic of British Administration;

"That the petitioner has reason to think that the Regulation which has been enforced against him is an unconstitutional act of the late East India Company, beyond the powers granted to them by their Charter ; that being opposed to the letter and spirit of the British Constitution and British Laws it is *ultra vires* ; That it has never been approved of or sanctioned by the British Parliament. That the provisions of the said Regulation giving permanent powers for all times to the executive Government to deprive British Subjects of personal liberty without a proper trial by a Court of Justice are opposed to all notions of natural justice and Government by Law;

"That the petitioner very respectfully begs to point out that the "personal restraint" mentioned by the Regulation could not have contemplated more than what was absolutely necessary for the object stated in the preamble ; that the Regulation ostensibly aimed at prevention and not at the punishment of a man who had no trial ;

"That looked at in this light the decision of the Government of India in disallowing newspapers and refusing to let the petitioner have a private servant of his own or a cook of his nationality are hardly just and necessary ; nor can there be any justification

for not allowing him to see any of his friends at all and in laying down that only such relatives can be permitted to see him as have received the previous sanction of the Government of the Punjab to that effect and that only in the presence and immediate hearing of an official;

"That the said restrictions are opposed to the practice observed in Great Britain for the treatment of political prisoners or persons confined under special acts of Parliament without a trial ;

"That your petitioner is a married man having a wife and several children (including a young widowed daughter and her baby) to protect, educate and support;

"That in any case there can be no justification for his confinement continuing after the supposed apprehension of "Commotion" has ceased to exist ;

"That your petitioner very earnestly hopes for that justice and fairplay for which the British Nation and their Government are renowned and that they will order the petitioner's release with permission to return to his home and resume his ordinary vocation in life ;

"That, lastly, in case His Majesty's Government find it impossible to order the *unconditional* release of the petitioner and his restoration to his family, they may graciously be pleased to permit him to leave India for such time as they may in that behalf choose to fix, with liberty to reside in Great Britain or any other country on the continents of Europe or America, for which act of justice, the petitioner shall as in duty bound pray, etc.

Mandalay

Your Excellency's humble servant,

Fort Dufferin,

Lajpat Rai of Lahore.

22 September 1907.

Of course I never received any reply to this Memorial, unless the order of my contemplated release at Lahore, communicated to me by the Commissioner of Mandalay on the 11th of November.

be considered as a reply to the said Memorial.<sup>6</sup> The argument that Regulation III of 1818 was an unconstitutional act of the late East India Company was suggested to me by the perusal of a short history of the East India Company known as "Ledger and Sword" which I was reading in those days.

I may state here, once for all, that no undertaking of any kind was required of me nor was any given by me about my future behaviour, nor were any conditions imposed on my release. In fact, no other communication passed between me and the Government of India either in writing or by word of mouth but what has been stated above, with the sole exception of the warning that was given to me by the Commissioner of Mandalay on the 11th of November when communicating the orders of the Government as to my intended release at Lahore.

I was supposed not to know that Sardar Ajit Singh was also at Mandalay, although as a matter of fact I came to know of it the very day he reached there.<sup>7</sup> It was also known to me, that he was being searched for. The very next day after Sardar Ajit Singh's arrival the Superintendent excluded the Eastern side of the Fort from the range of my walks and I at once understood the reason thereof. Shortly after this, a Sergeant asked me, if I knew where Ajit Singh was. I said I was not supposed to know it and that he knew it better than I did. He smiled and then told me that Ajit

6. This memorial had no connection with Lajpat Rai's release; in fact it was not forwarded to the Secretary of State until 5 December 1907, long after he had been released.

Morley had initially approved the action of the Government of India in deporting Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh but immediately after their deportation, Morley found that there was no tangible evidence against Lajpat Rai which would justify the action. Morley persistently demanded the release of the two deportees in his private correspondence with the Governor-General and finally Minto too changed his earlier opinion and was convinced of the injustice done to Lajpat Rai. In his communication of 5 November Minto wrote to Morley: "Lajpat Rai is undoubtedly a man of high character and very much respected by his fellow countrymen, and if when I was asked to arrest him, I had known what I do now, I should have required much more evidence before agreeing. Ajit Singh is of much lower standing in every way and I shall regret associating them in their release".

7. Ajit Singh arrived at Mandalay on 16 June 1907.

Singh was also confined in the same Fort in a house located near the Eastern Gate. A few days after, I saw Sardar Ajit Singh from a distance walking with a European Sergeant by his side. After this I heard the police talking freely of Sardar Ajit Singh and of the events that occasionally happened at his house when they were on guard there, though the higher officers still pretended to believe that I had no knowledge of Sardar Ajit Singh's presence at Mandalay.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### RELEASE AND RETURN HOME

ON THE 11th November 1907 the Commissioner of Mandalay Division accompanied by the Superintendent of Police and the Deputy Superintendent of Police came at 10.15 a.m. to the bungalow in which I resided. The Commissioner took me apart and said that I was going to be released, but would be conveyed home under escort to Lahore and set free there. In the meantime I should not attempt any communication by telegram or otherwise with my friends or others. To this, the Commissioner added a warning on behalf of the Viceroy that in case I was again found doing any thing seditious, I would be arrested and immediately deported.<sup>1</sup> The only reply that I gave him was that I understood it.

The Commissioner told me that a train was ready for me and the time fixed for its departure was 10.45 a.m. and that I should lose no time in packing up my things. Having said so, the Commissioner left the bungalow and with the assistance of the police I packed up my luggage in less than half an hour. The Superintendent of Police accompanied me to the railway station where, on a siding, a special train was ready to start and some European officers were standing.

The Superintendent of Police then gave me a cordial shake of hands and I got into the train which whistled off immediately. A First Class compartment was reserved for me and the Deputy Superintendent of Police who was escorting me. In the yard I noticed a Sergeant, who I knew was on duty that day with Sardar Ajit Singh. I concluded that Ajit Singh also was in the same train and enquired of the Deputy Superintendent of Police if it was so. He did not give a straight reply, saying that he might be following me in another train. I learnt, however, before the sun went down that Sardar Ajit Singh was in a Second Class compartment in the same train with a European Inspector of Police and a European Sergeant

1. Lajpat Rai was released unconditionally and this warning by the Commissioner was un-called for.

as his escort. Besides the officers, twelve native constables formed the escort. The Deputy Superintendent of Police made all arrangements for our food and was generally courteous.

At 5-10 a.m., on the 12th November the train reached Poozoundaung, suburban station of Rangoon, where I was taken down and put in a hackney carriage with all the windows closed. Thus we drove to the same jetty where I had landed six months before on my way to Mandalay. When all the luggage had been removed to a steam launch, the Commissioner of Police, rather haughtily and without the least consideration for my comfort, ordered me to go down the hold where rigging, etc., of the steam launch were stored. This was a terribly suffocating hold, with hardly standing accommodation for two of us, i.e., myself and a European Sergeant. Sardar Ajit Singh was given a place on the deck of the launch. It took them 15 minutes to reach alongside *S. S. Guide* during which time I was freely perspiring. After everything had been removed and Sardar Ajit Singh taken on board, I was asked to leave the hold and follow. On board the steamer I and Sardar Ajit Singh were asked to stand at two different corners pending cabin accommodation being arranged. Shortly after, a cabin was placed at my disposal and two others were occupied by the European Inspector and the European Sergeant. Sardar Ajit Singh was assigned a place on the deck. The *Guide* left Rangoon at 7-10 a.m. on the 12th. For the first two days the sea was rather rough, but on the third it was pleasant. The officers of the ship were generally courteous, one of them, Mr. Cooper, Additional Chief, being particularly kind. On the 15th at about 3 p.m. the *Guide* came in sight of a pilot brig, *The Fraser*, and an order from the captain of the ship was communicated to me to stick to my cabin, as the steamer was to be anchored alongside the pilot brig. Sardar Ajit Singh was told off into the hold the same time.

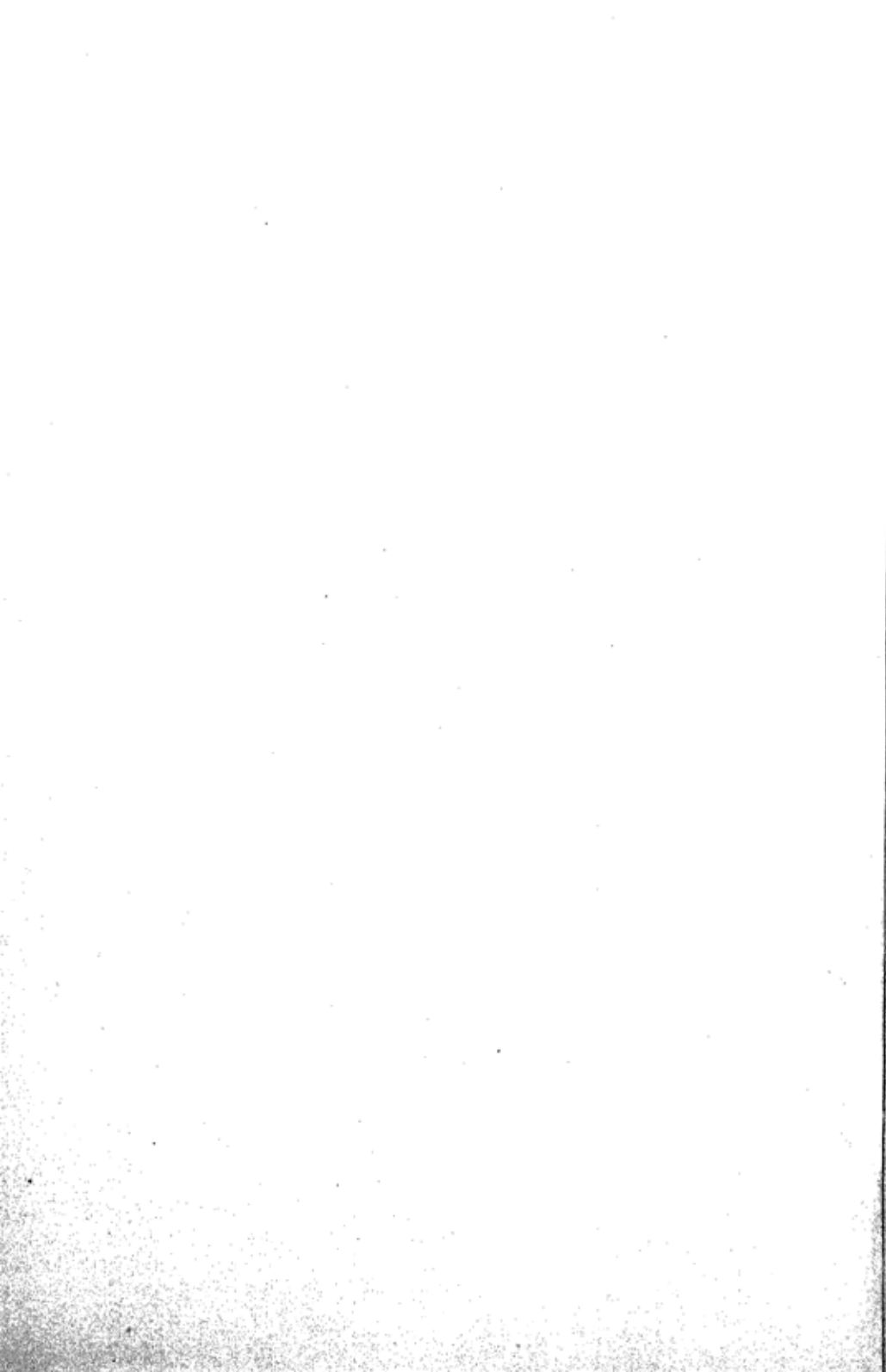
Some communication passed between the two Captains (of the *S. S. Guide* and *The Fraser*) which took about half an hour. After that the anchor was raised, and then at about 7 p.m. the Steamship *Guide* entered the mouth of the Hooghly and anchored opposite the Saugor Light House for the night. Early next morning at 5-30 the anchor was raised. At about 8-30 a.m. the steamer passed Diamond Harbour, and at 10-00 a.m. she again anchored at Raipur, some twenty-five or thirty miles from Calcutta. There the party stopped till 4-30 p.m. when the anchor was raised and the steamer was once more

moving towards Calcutta. We landed near Budge Budge about sunset. Once again I was on Indian soil. A special train was in readiness on a siding of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. Inspector Mathews of the Bengal Police joined us while landing. A First Class carriage was allowed to me and my guards, the two European Inspectors, and a second class carriage was given to Sardar Ajit Singh. Mr. Clark, the Traffic Manager of the Bengal Nagpur Railway, was also in the train and so was the Assistant Traffic Manager. Mr. Clark provided dinner to me in his (Mr. Clark's) own saloon and was very courteous and kind. At noon on the next day, the 16th November, the train reached Bilaspur (C.P.) on the Bengal Nagpur Railway, from where it took a branch line to Katni. All this day we had to live on tinned food, though Mr. Clark did everything he could to give us plenty and make us comfortable. Early next morning we found ourselves at Bina on the G.I.P. Railway, from where we travelled *via* Jhansi to Delhi. The arrangements for food, etc. were excellent. From Delhi we travelled on the Southern Punjab Railway to Lahore *via* Bhatinda. The train was running under a false name and particular care was taken to keep the platforms clear of Indians so long as the train stopped.

During the whole of this journey, which took seven days, Sardar Ajit Singh and myself were kept quite separate, and on the railway journey the shutters of the windows were kept generally closed and at times attempts were made for secrecy which were simply ludicrous and excited laughter. Otherwise the behaviour of the officers in charge was all that could be desired. No newspapers were allowed except the *Times Weekly*, dated the 13th November, and a copy of *Fry's Magazine*. The train reached Mian Mir West (Lahore Cantonment) railway station at 5-30 a.m. on the 18th instant, immediately after which myself and Sardar Ajit Singh were taken to a saloon where Major C.H. Bensley, the Superintendent of Lahore Central Jail, read us first the warrant of transfer from Mandalay Jail to Lahore Jail and then the writ of release. This over, a landau was placed at my disposal and a tum-tum for luggage. Every assistance was given in the removal of the luggage. Mr. Rundle, the Superintendent of Police, Lahore District, drove in front of me in his tandem and left after I had entered the compound of my bungalow.

Thus after an absence of six months and nine days I returned home.

**INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE  
UNITED STATES AND JAPAN**



## INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

I SAILED from England on the 14th of November [1914] and reached New York City on the 21st. In the same steamer travelled Professor J.C. Bose<sup>1</sup> and his wife and the Professor's Assistant, Mr. Sen, in one party; and Professor B.K. Sarkar,<sup>2</sup> Shiva Prasad Gupta<sup>3</sup> and the latter's Secretary, one Suraj Narain, in another. In New York, myself, S.P. Gupta and his servant stayed together in hotel or in rooms and Professor Sarkar lived apart. His proceedings and activities were a mystery to us, as he never let us have a peep into his doings.

Within a few weeks of my arrival, Professor Sarkar invited me to a dinner at Chakravarty's<sup>4</sup> place. When we reached there we met three persons—S.B., Chakravarty and his partner in business Sekunna, a German.<sup>5</sup> S.B. I had always suspected as a spy, and I was surprised to find him at the house of an avowed nationalist. I did not like any of the three. S.B. of course was a fellow guest. The house or the apartment was extremely untidy, I may say dirty, the crockery black and the cutlery repressive. Even the food was not good. I did not like either the talk or the

1. Professor Jagdish Chandra Bose (1858-1937), the eminent Indian physicist and botanist, who was on deputation to Europe and America in 1914.

2. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, a distinguished scholar and Professor of Political Science from Calcutta who was actively engaged in revolutionary work.

3. Shiv Prasad Gupta, a prominent nationalist leader from Banaras.

4. Dr. Chandra Kanta Chakravarty, a young Bengali revolutionary who was living in New York since 1909 and in partnership with Sekunna owned a patent medicine. He was a representative of the Indian Independence Committee in Berlin and one of the prominent persons involved in what is generally known as "Hindu-German" conspiracy for overthrowing the British Government of India by force of arms. The German Government appointed him in December 1915 as the head of the 'conspiracy' in U.S.A.

5. Ernest Mathias Sekunna, who was a window-dresser by profession and was in the confidence of Chakravarty.

manner of Chakravarty and his partner, though they were very kind and respectful and wanted to please me. I discouraged all political talk, except of the most ordinary kind. I managed to tell Sarkar that I did not like the place and the company and so we left as soon as we could.

A few days later the New York Chapter of the H.A.A. (Hindusthanee Association of America, an organisation of the Hindu students and other Hindus) organised a reception in my honour at which they invited a large number of Americans and all the local Hindus. The Punjabis and the Mahrattas, in fact all the Hindusthanees with the exception of Bengalis, were conspicuous by their absence. The reception was given in the premises of the Vedanta Society of New York. Professor Bose was present in part of the proceedings and his wife probably throughout. Chakravarty was presiding. He made an anti-British speech at the opening and continued in the same strain throughout. At times he was distinctly pro-German.

In my speech I explained my position thus : "I am an Indian patriot and I wish freedom for my country. I have no sympathy with the Germans nor I have anything against them. Considering our present circumstances we will rather stay in the British Empire as a self-governing part of the latter, than go out to be governed by another nation."

The climax came when Sekunna spoke and broke into pieces a clay figure of John Bull which he had brought with him for the purpose to indicate his wishes in connection with the present conflict. There were some Britishers in the audience who took great offence. In my closing speech in reply to a resolution of thanks and appreciation, I apologised profusely for the rude conduct of Sekunna and dissociated myself entirely from his sentiments. In the audience were at least two if not more Bengali spies.

That was my last association with Chakravarty in that trip.

Soon after, the Punjabis and the Mahrattas who were living in a Cosmopolitan Club near Columbia University invited me to a dinner at their place. The two Punjabis, S. S. and Dalip Singh Gill had seen me before. They were very angry with the Bengalis. The Bengalis, of course, called them spies and I have no doubt they were correct with regard to S. S. There was one Mohammedan also in the bunch, A. A. I suspected him also.

D.S. Gill appeared to me more of a profligate than a knave. He bore a very handsome appearance and was a great favourite with the American ladies. He lived luxuriously on his good looks. The ladies simply vied with each other in showering gifts on him. The Mahrattas were rather sullen so far as the Bengalis were concerned, and one could see that most of them belonged to the Gokhale school. They were very kind and respectful to me.

Several Bengalis saw me individually in my rooms and argued with me about the political conditions in India and about the War. I discouraged all wild talk and gave them distinctly to understand that although I was not pro-British in my sympathies and did not wish for their victory, I had no faith in the Germans and did not believe in the deliverance of India with their help or through their agency. I have been always rather fanatically attached to the theory that liberty won with foreign help was not worth having.

Two Punjabi boys, members of the Ghadr Party, also visited me in these days. They tried to fish out if I was not a revolutionary at heart and was carrying an outward mask of being a constitutionalist. I understood they were going to Europe. One of them was Kedar Nath, the other most probably Rishi Ram.<sup>6</sup>

Shortly after, Professor Sarkar arranged a meeting with Barkatullah.<sup>7</sup> We met the latter several times and he told me that they were expecting a big rising in India, that a date had been fixed and everything was ready. He also said that the Amir of Cabul was with them, and that I need not be afraid of co-operating with them as India would be free in three months. I called him a "baglol", which meant that the man was too sanguine and was a kind of fool. I told him I had not a grain of faith in what he said and also that I did not want either the Amir's or the German's rule in India, and

6. They were Kedar Nath Sondhi and Rishi Kesh.

7. Maulvi Barkatullah hailed from Bhopal and was a strong advocate of anti-British Pan-Islamism. In 1909 he became a Professor in the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and started there a paper called *The Islamic Fraternity*. The paper was suppressed by the Japanese authorities for its strong criticism of the British and in 1914 he was dismissed from his post on the request of the British Embassy. He left Japan and on 23 May 1914 arrived in San Francisco where he began to take active part in Ghadr Party propaganda.



that howsomuch I hated British rule I did not believe that at this stage India could defend herself against foreign intruders even if they succeeded by any chance in turning out the British. He called me a coward and refused to give me any more confidences. We parted, however, quite friends. I formed a low opinion of his intelligence but a high one of his patriotism and character. We met several times but he told me nothing further.

On 30th or 31st of December we left for Boston, I mean myself and S.P. Gupta. We met all the Hindus there, who treated us with respect and kindness. The Bengalis were mostly of revolutionary opinions. I saw Swami Parmanand only once in a reception given by the Unitarian Association on New Year Day. Beyond ordinary greetings and friendly enquiries we had no talk.

At Boston I met for the first time in my life Rustam Rustamji of Bombay. He with his wife was living in the same hotel where we were staying and gave Mr. S.P. Gupta to understand that he was financially broke and had not paid his hotel bills for a long time. He sought financial help from S.P. Gupta which the latter refused. When I returned to America at the end of 1915 I learnt that Rustamji was being paid by the British for propaganda work in connection with the War.

On my return to New York after a fortnight, Professor Sarkar invited me to a dinner he was giving to his American friends at the hotel Breslane. The following were present: Mr. John Quinn, Mr. Burk Cochrane (the ex-Congressman and the famous Irish orator), Mr. Keneo Merzer, the German Professor, Mr. S.P. Gupta and myself. I think there were one or two more but I do not remember their names. That was my first acquaintance with Keneo Merzer. Only once more I met Keneo Merzer and that was at the house of Cochrane in L.I. to which place I was led by Mr. Quinn in a hired taxi-cab. Never again did I see or meet him.

During the whole of my stay in New York, from the 21st of November upto the 3rd or 4th of February [1915]. I think, I did not meet any German or even German-American except Professor Seligman<sup>8</sup> or Professor Felix Adler, and they never appeared to me in any way strongly pro-German. I say strongly pro-German

8. E.R.A. Seligman, Professor of Economics, University of Columbia.

because in my judgement they were neither pro-British. During the last week of my stay I met Walter Lippmann<sup>9</sup> who entertained me at dinner at the Harvard Club. I also met the staff of the *New Republic* probably twice at their daily luncheon. They were all pro-ally. I also met Professor H.R. Mussey and his wife who were pacifists. By Professor Seligman's courtesy I met several other noted educationists, social workers and philanthropists, but these meetings had no political significance whatsoever. On the morning of the last day when I was about to go to Washington, H.L. Gupta<sup>10</sup> called on me and as I had no time to talk with him in my room he took his seat with me in the taxi-cab and we drove together to the Pennsylvania station. He gave me to understand that he was in the confidence of the German Government and wanted to know if I could co-operate with them. My reply was in the negative. He promised to see me again somewhere in the middle-west. In New York I also met Mr. Keir Hardie Jr., the son of the famous British leader and he and his wife entertained me several times.

At Washington (D.C.), at Atlanta (Georgia), and at New Orleans nothing of any political significance whatsoever happened.

At Boston where I was for a fortnight, from the 3rd of December up to the middle of January, I started writing my book "Young India" and the two notable acquaintances I made there were those of Professor [J] Woods [of Harvard University] and a Japanese Professor whose name just now I cannot recall (Saki, I think). Professor Woods gave me some letters of introduction for Washington and so did Mr. John Quinn of New York.

I reached Chicago sometime in March and stopped at a private boarding house, in rooms hired for us by Mr. K.K. Bose of the H.A.A. In Chicago I met Dr. Khan Chand, a Punjabi young man. Chand wanted me to speak under the auspices of a German organisation, but I refused. One evening a tall stranger called on me and repeated the request which I had turned down before when made by

9. The veteran American journalist who edited the *New Republic*, a liberal paper of New York.

10. Heramba Lal Gupta, a former student of Columbia University, was at that time in charge of the revolutionary conspiracy in New York and Chicago and represented the Berlin Committee in U.S.A. He was later convicted in Chicago trial relating to the violation of the U.S.A. Neutrality Act.

Khan Chand. I am not quite sure if Khan Chand was present, though I have always thought that the man came at the instance of Khan Chand. I believe he was a German. My reply was in the negative and I do not believe the man was there for more than five minutes. He saw that I was embarrassed and left me.

It was here that H.L. Gupta saw me second time. He had a pretty long conference with me, possibly two. He tried to persuade me to join them and impressed upon me the importance of the opportunity. He said the Germans were eager to have me on their side and were prepared to follow my advice, on any terms I would like to make. I explained to him my position and refused to have anything to do with the movement. I impressed upon him the desirability of using a part of the money they were getting from the Germans for educational purposes and also for the purpose of establishing colonies of Indians in the South American Republics mainly for the benefit of and in the interest of Indian political refugees. At Chicago Professor Benoy K. Sarkar joined us and from his conversation I gathered that he had met some very important men on the German side. The next time I met Gupta was at Los Angeles, some days after the Chicago meeting. He had come specially to see me. This was his last attempt to win me over to their side. He wanted me to sign a proclamation of independence which they wanted to issue and in which they proposed to incite the Indian soldiers that were fighting in Flanders to rebel. Once more he offered me the leadership of the whole organisation and told me that the German leaders had issued special instructions to their Consulates to try to win me over and that they would do anything I would want them to do. Once more I refused and ended with the suggestion I had made before for future propaganda and asylum for themselves and others. He promised to lay aside, if he could, a certain sum for that purpose and hinted that the same may be entrusted to me. A few days later he telegraphed under an assumed name that that could not be done. That was my last meeting with Gupta before I left the United States for Japan. I

have reason to believe that Ram Chandra<sup>11</sup> advised him against my suggestion. In Los Angeles every Hindu I met was a revolutionary. Their attitude towards me was one of mixed respect and pity—respect for my past services and patriotism; and pity for my *fears*; as they could never believe that I really meant what I said.

#### AT SAN FRANCISCO

I reached San Francisco in the beginning of April and stopped at a hotel near the Market Street. For a week I made no attempt to meet any Hindu until one evening I was suddenly accosted by Ramesh and Mahesh Chander in the Market Street. The boys told me their sad story and I at once felt drawn towards them. They gave me their address and asked me to come and see their sisters and brothers. I cannot say definitely whether the first time I went to their house, S.P. Gupta was with me or not, but I do know that the first time I met Ram Chandra was at their house. In the very first meeting I and Ram Chandra had hot words. He made some outrageous remarks against Dayanand and the Arya Samaj and I resented the same. We soon found out that we had no common ground between us in politics. After that Ram Chandra met me several times. He took me to his rooms and his wife cooked for us. He came to my place many times and we had long discussions. He told me a good many things about the German plans relating to India and as usual I ridiculed the possibility of their success. The most important thing he told me was about a projected cargo of arms and ammunition which was to be landed somewhere near Karachi. He said he had told them that hundreds and thousands of Indians would be there to receive arms and start a revolution at once. He was afraid lest there may be nobody there to receive

11. Ram Chandra, leader of the Ghadr Party belonged to a Brahman family of Kalu Khan, Peshawar. He came into prominence in 1906-7 at Lahore with Ajit Singh and assisted the latter in the agitation against the Government both by speaking and writing. He was for some time editing *India* published from Gujranwala and also *Akash* of Delhi. He left India at the end of 1911 for the Far East and reached Seattle, Washington, U.S.A. He joined Har Dayal who made him the editor of the *Ghadr* in January 1914. On the departure of Har Dayal from U.S.A. in April 1914, Ram Chandra virtually became the head of the Ghadr Party on the Western Coast. He too had connections with the Berlin Committee and was an active member of the "Hindu German Conspiracy."

arms and he might be discredited in the eyes of the Germans. I took him to task very severely for having practised deception upon his employers as he could not be ignorant of the fact that outside the ranks of the army, the whole of the Punjab and Karachi could not produce even 5,000 men who had ever seen a rifle, much less a machine gun. He admitted this and justified his conduct on the ground that that was the only way to get German help.<sup>12</sup>

Ram Chandra left a very repulsive impression on my mind but this impression was only formed after I had been seeing him for about three months. Bit by bit, I came to know him. He begged me to help him in finding a man or men who could carry his messages to India. I did suggest him two names and when the men came to San Francisco I frankly told them my opinion of the situation. I gave them no message myself and I told them distinctly that I had absolutely no interest in Ram Chandra's plans, and that they should not labour under the impression that I wanted them to do anything for him or for his scheme. These men wanted to go back to India and they had no money and, therefore, they easily fell in with the plans of Ram Chandra who paid them more than their expenses in each case. They were themselves inclined that way, though my opinions had shaken their belief in the possibility of success on those lines. I told them frankly that I would be glad to see India free if I could see any chance of success even with German help. But that even if I could believe in the possibility of that success I had absolutely no doubt that the Germans would grab India and would suck the life blood out of her, even more mercilessly than the English had done. Ram Chandra and H.L. Gupta both had told me of the terms they had made with the German Government as to the future relations of a free India with the German Empire. My reply was a contemptuous laugh each time. Ram Chandra admitted that he did not believe in the possibility of India becoming free with German help but that he did not care. Lives were of no consequence to him. He was bent upon driving out to India every Hindu of any consequence or influence in the United States so as to be the sole leader of the surviving gang of

12. A paragraph containing general observation of Lajpat Rai about Ram Chandra's character has been omitted from here.

ignorant Hindu working men in the country. Many of those that went left their money and property in his charge. He gave me to understand that he was in possession of many thousands of their money. To the best of my memory he said that one man alone had entrusted him with 40,000 dollars. Of course he was a trustee of this money for the Ghadr party but there was no lack of money in their treasury. He did admit that he was getting money from the Germans also. He was very bitter against the Bengalis and he called Har Dayal a conceited and deluded fool. It was during the first month of our acquaintance that he gave me 3,500 Dollars to be sent to the Punjab for being used in defence of Bhai Parmanand and his fellow prisoners.<sup>13</sup> He told me that it was Ghadr money and that in case more was needed he would give. I told him quite frankly that I was not at all certain of the money reaching its destination, but that I would try. I don't think that money was ever paid to any one in India. It is still with me. When going to Japan I left it in trust with Professor Rieber of the University of California. I have used its interest but the principal is intact. I invested it in Cuba Cane Sugar Preferred Stock when I came to New York, through Mr. Quinn. The stocks were purchased at almost par of the value of 4,000 Dollars. In the beginning of the year when the price went down to about 70, I sold 20 at 72½ and the other 20 are still with me. I consider that to be a sacred trust.

In June when I had finished revising my book 'Young India', Ram Chandra to whom I spoke of it, said he could induce some one to help me in publishing the book. One day he brought a man (Indian) with him and gave me 600 Dollars for the expenses. He never read the book unless after its publication. When he did read it he was sorry he had helped me with money for its publication, as he did not like the opinions I had expressed in my writing about the revolutionaries. Out of the 600 Dollars 200 were paid to the typist who made a fair copy of it for me. 400 were deposited with Professor [Arthur. U.] Pope of the University of California, who undertook to find a publisher for me.

13. Bhai Parmanand, a former Professor of D.A.V. College Lahore, was convicted in the First Lahore Conspiracy Case (1915) and sentenced to death. The sentence was reduced to life imprisonment by the Viceroy.

Professor Pope<sup>14</sup> sent the manuscript to Walter Lippmann of the *New Republic* who after trying one or two of the other publishers eventually gave it to (B.W.) Huebsch. That finishes the story of how 'Young India' was published.<sup>15</sup>

In May 1915, I was planning to leave San Francisco for Japan in the company of S.P. Gupta and Sarkar when information reached me that Harish Chandra, son of Munshi Ram, was coming to California. As I was eager to meet him and hear the story of Mahendra Pratap<sup>16</sup> from him, I waited. S.P. Gupta and Sarkar left in the middle of May and I had to wait for a week before Harish Chandra came. He gave himself out as the agent of the Indian Revolutionary party of Berlin who had been entrusted to go to India with money. I advised him to abstain from doing that. On the 3rd of July, I left San Francisco for Yokohama. In San Francisco he was the guest of Ram Chandra and lived at his expense. He borrowed 50 Dollars from me also.

In San Francisco I never went to the Ghadr Ashram nor attended any of their meetings except a dinner which was given in my honour by the Mohammedan working-men. Even there Ram Chandra gave a speech in which he criticised my point of view in strong terms. All the other Hindus I met in San Francisco were men of no consequence in any way and they came to see me just because they had heard of me in connection with the country's cause. No one was pro-British. Most of them were pro-Germans and hated England and English rule. A few only were amenable to sober talk. The Bengalis were all rank revolutionaries. Those actively engaged gave all the indications of being more mercenary than patriotic. They struck hard bargains

14. Arthur U. Pope, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, University of California, Berkeley. He was a friend of Har Dayal, Lajpat Rai and several other Indians in U.S.A.

15. 'Young India' was published in August 1916 by B.W. Huebsch of New York. The first edition had a foreward by J. T. Sunderland, an American missionary, who was sympathetic to the Indian cause.

16. Mahendra Pratap of Hathras (Uttar Pradesh) a well known revolutionary, had left India in company of Harish Chandra as soon as the First World War broke out in Europe. He reached Germany and was received by the Kaiser. Later he went to Kabul and set up there a Provisional Government of India.

with the leaders and would not go unless amply replenished with money. One of them (A.C.C.) wanted ample guarantees for the future. This was my first experience with this class of revolutionaries and I was frankly shocked, yet I never doubted their patriotism. Among the Punjabis I found better men, men who talked in the spirit of those who do not calculate when they engage in a work of that kind. These men lived on nothing. They could travel any class. They wore any clothes and never bargained. They were truly *Khalsa* (pure). Of course there were of the other type in them too. Ram Chandra was the worst.

## IN JAPAN

I think I reached Japan on the 19th or 20th of July. I met S.P. Gupta and B. K. Sarkar. The latter introduced me to a Bengali, Abani Mukerji,<sup>17</sup> as a safe man who with his knowledge of the Japanese language, could be of great help to me during my residence in Japan. He said he needed help as he had spent all his money. All he wanted, added Mr. Sarkar, was board and lodging. I was told that he was a relative of Sir R.K.M. Abani told me he was interested in business.

In one of the hotels near the Hakone Lake, I came across Bhagwan Singh<sup>18</sup> and Thakur<sup>19</sup>. I knew neither and it was

17. Abani Mukerji was one of the group of Bengal revolutionaries who was sent to Japan in March 1915. He was arrested by the British authorities at Singapore on his return journey when he was carrying messages from Rash Behari Bose in Japan and gave to the police considerable amount of information about revolutionary activities. For his later life in Russia see *M. N. Roy's Memoirs* (1964) pp. 296-301.

18. Bhagwan Singh was a native of Amritsar district. He left India in 1909 or 1910 and was the *Granthi* (priest) of the Sikh Gurdwara in Hong Kong during 1910-13. In May 1913 Bhagwan Singh went to Japan and arrived in San Francisco on 6 May 1914 in company of Maulvi Barkatullah where he became one of the leaders of the Ghadr Party. When the War broke out he was actively engaged in anti-British agitation on the Pacific Coast and was chiefly concerned in organising the Siam-Burma enterprise. He sailed from San Francisco at the end of October 1914 for Manila wherefrom he reached Japan in June 1915. Bhagwan Singh left Japan by the middle of 1915 for China. He travelled under several names such as B. S. Jakh, Bali Pritam.

19. P. N. Thakur or Rash Behari Bose, the famous Indian revolutionary who was the chief architect of the revolutionary movement in North



pure coincidence that I happened to be lunching in the same place where they were. They recognised me at once. Bhagwan Singh came to my room and had a discussion with me which ended in strong language. I told him that I would be leaving the hotel at once as I could not stay with him in the same place. He said they were going away. His companion he said, was a Bengali, who was on his way to the United States. Bhagwan Singh and Thakur did leave that hotel the same afternoon. On my return to Tokyo I told Abani of my meeting Bhagwan Singh and Thakur and I begged him to keep away from them as I had no intention of mixing up with the revolutionary party. Abani promised to do so, but I know that he never did. One day he persuaded me to meet Bhagwan Singh in the Anio Park and hear his ideas. As usual we parted with hot words. Bhagwan Singh wanted me to join them. I refused. I told him I would help him if I found him in trouble, but I would not be a party to any of their programmes unless they gave up their (what to me appeared to be) stupid plans and worked for the future as distinguished from the present.

Once more Bhagwan Singh came to my house. He was under constant surveillance there. Two police constables were with him. He made his final appeal and said he was leaving the country and that I should at least give them the benefit of my advice. I never met him again in Japan.

Abani also left. In the meantime I met a Punjabi boy, Kesho Ram Sabharwal by name, whom I had slightly known in India. He told me he was on his way to the United States and was waiting for a remittance from home. I said I could help him in finding the balance of his passage money and that in the meantime he could board with me. This boy served me like a slave and although I came to know later on that he was associating with revolutionaries, I never broke relations with him. I think it was he who induced Thakur to seek my help in an emergency.

India. He was mainly responsible for throwing of Bomb on Lord Hardinge in December 1912 at Delhi but he was able to escape. Rash Behari continued his activities in Northern India, particularly in fomenting disaffection among Indian troops. When the arrests started taking place in connection with the Lahore Conspiracy Case he escaped to Japan.

I loved him like a son and was determined not to desert him. Soon after Bhagwan Singh gave the police a slip, Thakur was in a panic. He had a large sum of money with him and he was afraid that in case of arrest the money will be lost. So one day he came to me and wanted me to help in saving the money. He said he was going to the United States for business and the money was his. I told him that was a lie and that the money was not his nor was it for business. Eventually he admitted that it was revolutionary money and that even if I did not agree with their views and programme, why should I refuse them help to save the money. Kesho joined in the appeal and I yielded. The total amount that was entrusted to me was 21,500 Yen. A few days after 2,000 Yen were taken back and 19,500 Yen (Nineteen thousand five hundred) remained with me when I left Japan. Thakur was at that time hiding on account of the order of deportation that had been passed by the Japanese Government against him and H.L. Gupta.

In my conversations with Thakur I came to know that he was a terrorist and did not believe in the possibility of absolute independence for India in the near future. He had no faith in the Germans yet he was prepared to use them for terroristic purposes. I begged of him to give me no secrets and he gave me very few. I had a high opinion of the man's character and courage.

I do not exactly remember when H.L. Gupta met me in Japan but I think it was sometime in October. He said he had come there to work for the Indian Revolution and seek the help of the Japanese. He was of course sent by the Germans and was being financed by them. He did not make any attempt this time to persuade me to join their ranks but sought my advice as to how to carry on an anti-British propaganda in Japan. I told him frankly that in denouncing British rule in India I would co-operate with any one, though I would never give myself out either as a revolutionary or as one standing for separation from the British Empire.

Myself, H.L. Gupta and Thakur all carried on our propaganda independently of each other. Mine was more effective than theirs as it was generally moderate and well-worded. Almost every paper in Tokyo and Yokohama published articles either written by us and translated by the Japanese or inspired by us. Most of the influential papers were strongly anti-British in tone. I found that

at heart every educated Japanese hated the British but a good many were opposed to open breach. I doubt if at any time in 1915 even one per cent of the educated Japanese looked upon the alliance with England with anything like enthusiasm. It was England, they said, who stood in the way of their expansion in Asia ; it was England who was interested in hampering their trade and so on. I met the representatives of the Japanese Press (some twenty of them) at a dinner they organised in my honour. Throughout my stay in Japan I was in close touch with the Japanese Press. I went to their offices pretty constantly and we exchanged civilities in various ways. On account of the lectures that I gave at the Waseda and Keio Universities and also at the Higher Commercial School at the invitation of the authorities, I was getting quite popular among the young Japanese. In this work I was substantially aided by the other Indians in Tokyo. Although I did not allow H.L. Gupta and Thakur to come to my place but I did on a few occasions meet either the one or the other, at other places. Other Indians came to see me very frequently. Twice they organised dinners in my honour.

Among the high officials, I met the Premier [Count Okuma] and several members of the Cabinet and also one or two other important politicians. Among the Professors at Waseda and Keio I made many acquaintances. With a few I was on warm friendly terms—Mr. Abe of the Waseda and Professor Whelnack (?) at Keio. The President of the Keio entertained me at lunch and took me several times to his club.

I do not believe H.L. Gupta was more than a month in Japan, before he was put under police surveillance. He and Thakur were always accompanied by two policemen, but of course they could dodge them as often as they liked.

The coronation of the Emperor of Japan in November gave the Indian residents of Japan an opportunity to organise a banquet in honour of the occasion. About 100 people attended, half of which were prominent Japanese politicians, professors, journalists etc. I was asked to preside and I did. To avoid unpleasantness I made it a condition of my accepting the office that no other Indian excepting myself would make any speech on the occasion and that politics would be strictly eschewed. As a matter of fact no Indian spoke. Except the speech of the President and the

remarks from the Chair at the end, the rest of speechifying was done by the Japanese. The dinner was a great success.

The day following the dinner, H.L. Gupta and Thakur were served with notices to leave the country within five days.

This came like a bolt from the heavens and the whole Indian colony was stirred. I saw several important Japanese public men in connection with the affair and pointed out that the carrying out of the order involved the arrest and execution of these men by the British. There was only one non-British steamer that could take them to Shanghai and that meant their certain arrest at that port. The Press sent a deputation to the Foreign Minister to protest against the order and other politicians raised the question in Parliament. There was a general feeling of indignation in the country on the action taken. At my request Professor Iso Abe and Professor Shibusawa saw the Premier who was sick and confined to bed then. The Premier professed entire ignorance and said that the action had been taken by the Foreign Minister without consulting him and the Cabinet, but that now that it had been taken, they could not countermand it. It was hinted that the Japanese Government would not pursue the matter with any keenness, if the men escaped or hid themselves.

All efforts to get the order cancelled or changed or modified having failed, I was assured by a Japanese journalist that the men would be safe, and that arrangements had been made to that end. The details were withheld from me nor did I express any desire to know them. On the evening before the last date fixed for their deportation the two men entered the house of a very well known party leader among the Japanese members of Parliament and never came out. The police men sitting outside reported the matter to the headquarters and the house was searched with no result. The owner of the house simply refused to give any explanation. The Government made no attempt to proceed against him. On the other hand he made bitter attacks on the Government on the floor of the Lower House. The Japanese public opinion breathed a sigh of relief. They thought that the action of the Foreign Minister compromised the honour of Japan. Of course search parties were sent and for a number of days all Hindus were closely watched, including myself. A police watch was placed at my house and wherever I went I was followed by two constables. I protested and my friends

intervened with the result that the surveillance on me was stopped. In the meantime I had booked my passage to the United States. This step I had taken in October, long before the incidents that led to the deportation order. I had made up my mind not to go to India and although Japan fascinated me in more ways than one I found life there very dull and uninteresting on account of my ignorance of the Japanese language. Moreover, the Anglo-Japanese alliance gave me a feeling of uncertainty and considering everything I concluded that America was the better of the two from all points of view. So I took advantage of the reservation I had made in October and booked my passage by a steamer that left Yokohama on the 12th of December. The Indians in Japan treated me magnificently. They extended their hospitality profusely and helped me in my work in every possible way.

On the 11th, I think, about half a dozen Professors of Waseda entertained me at dinner at the Nippon Club and brought me a message from the Premier that I was in no danger at all and should not go away. In fact, they pressed me to cancel my departure but I excused myself. Thus ended my trip to Japan.

#### BACK IN THE UNITED STATES

I reached San Francisco during the last week of December 1915<sup>20</sup>, probably on the 27th or the 28th or the 29th. Here I met Bagai and S.. I had known the latter's father in India and had met the former in Japan. He was then on his way to the United States and had S. for a companion. Bagai told me that he had left India as on account of his political views he did not consider it safe for him to stay there. He had collected all his money and was carrying it with him to the United States with a view to employ it in business and settling for good in the United States. His wife and three sons were with him. I tried to persuade him to stay in Japan but he did not agree. On my return to the United States I took him into my confidence as to the money I had brought with me from Japan viz. the 19,500 Yens. With his advice that money and the ten thousand rupees that I had received from my son in India during the latter days of my stay in Japan, after paying off my expenses, etc. were deposited with the International

20. Lajpat Rai landed at San Francisco on 27 December 1915.

Banking Co. I told Bagai that in my judgement S. was a spy, and in a few days Bagai confirmed my opinion by certain avowal which S. had made to him. Bagai was at that time thick with Ram Chandra. Ram Chandra met me at his house and also at my house, but the more we met, the farther we went from each other. There was impending a split at the time in the Ghadr Party. The party opposed to Ram Chandra demanded accounts of moneys spent and a greater control in the affairs of the movement. Ram Chandra was not prepared to concede either. He asked me to help him by speaking in his favour and by persuading his opponents to withdraw their opposition. I refused. In the meantime Bagai and others organised a festival on the occasion probably of Basant Panchami. They asked me to speak. I did speak and was followed by Ram Chandra who expressed great pleasure in finding me in sympathy with the Ghadr movement etc. This was evidently a trick to compromise me. He and others in his confidence calculated that if I kept silent I would be identified with them and they could use my name; but that if I protested, that would end all the influence I had with the Indians in the country and would become completely innocuous to cause any harm to them. I was very indignant at this attempt and lost no time in repudiating the statements by Ram Chandra as to my sympathies with the Ghadr party. In his *final* speech Ram Chandra tried to explain what he had said and made a kind of half-hearted apology. This incident widened the gulf between me and Ram Chandra, but Ram Chandra kept up seeing me, once in a while. In the meantime his opponents began to seek my advice and help. A.C. Ch, the Bengali student at the University of California, the Editor of the *Hindusthanee Student*, one day made a proposal for starting another Urdu paper under my editorship for which he said funds had been promised. I refused to do anything in the matter. I explained that my stay at Berkeley was purely in the interest of my studies. I was revising the manuscript of "Young India" in the light of the criticism that had been made on it by Mr. J. Harold Laski of the Toronto University at the request of Mr. [B. W.] Huebsch and also in the light of events that had happened since it was finished in the first half of the previous year, and was making extensive studies with a view to write another book relating to India. I spent four months in Berkeley. The last month was spent partly in a hospital and partly in a sanatorium. The other three months were

occupied in hard work, writing or studying. In spite of repeated requests and very tempting offers I refused to take sides in the politics, internal or external, of the Ghadr party. We started a proposal of sending a man to South America to study the chances of Indian colonization there. Dr. K.D. Shastri and Mr. H. Rakshit were co-operating. This also angered Ram Chandra who interpreted it as another attempt to divert the financial resources of the supporters of the Ghadr Party.

In the months of March and April several big meetings were held of the Ghadrites in the different parts of California at which Ram Chandra and Saihgal denounced me as an opponent of the Ghadr movement. This was to avert the danger of any section of the Ghadr party seeking my help as against him. Bagai was an out and out partisan of Ram Chandra and was in the inside of the movement; not having the slightest intention of involving myself one way or the other in Ghadr politics, I decided to leave California and move to New York.

Just when I was about to leave I received a cablegram from Tokyo asking for 10,000 Yen out of the money that had been entrusted to me. On the 3rd of May a telegraphic remittance of 5,000 Dollars, American money, was sent to Yokohama. This remittance was, by his consent, sent in the name of H. Rakshit. The same evening I left Berkeley. I reached New York by the 20th of May, having made a stay of less than a week at Chicago.

The first thing I did in New York was to read the proofs of my book "Young India". This occupied me about six weeks altogether off and on. All this time I lived in the Latham Hotel. The two Hindus who met me often were R. K. Khemka and P. N. Sinha. In July I moved to rooms in 72nd Street from where I had again to shift to rooms in the West End Area near the 79th Street. All this time the man who kept me company was P. N. Sinha. While in West End Area I came to know that Harish Chandra had returned to the United States. Myself and Sinha started a search and after several days we traced him to Walleck Hotel. He called and gave me an account of what he had done and heard since we met last in San Francisco in June 1915. His statement in brief was that in September or October 1915 he received 4,000 Dollars from a certain person in New York who was acting as go-between between the Hindus and the Germans; that with that money he went to

England where he was arrested and detained for ten days ; that after ten days he was ordered to leave England and reside in France ; that from France he slipped to Switzerland where he met German officials and cooperated with them ; that Har Dayal was at that time in Berlin, but on account of differences between him and the other members of the Indian National Party in Berlin, Har Dayal was under suspicion and had been confined; that Har Dayal was at that time engaged in writing a book in which he would strongly denounce me ; and that he was now in United States to work in cooperation with Chakravarty in connection with the movement in the Far East. I warned Harish Chandra against Chakravarty and told him that the Hindus in the United States were closely watched and that he should be careful. To Sinha I hinted that the story of Harish Chandra sounded so improbable that I suspected that Harish Chandra had been bought over and was now in this country as a British Secret Service man.

Just then, either before or after I met Harish Chandra, H. L. Gupta came and met me at the Hindu Restaurant. Dr. Sinha and I communicated this suspicion to him. Both he and Sinha disagreed. Gupta and Chakravarty were at that time fighting for leadership. In the absence of Gupta in Japan, Chakravarty had managed to take a trip to Germany and there got the supreme command for himself.<sup>21</sup> When Gupta on his return found that, and Chakravati treated him with scant consideration, they began to fight and call each other names. Somehow Harish Chandra heard of my suspicions about him and naturally he cut off all connections with me. He returned to me the fifty Dollars he had taken from me in June 1915 at San Francisco. After this I saw Harish Chandra twice again at two dinners, one given by Pagar (a Mahratta student) in honour of his marriage and the other by Swami (Bodha nand) in honour of his mother's *Shraddha*. This was the last I saw of Harish Chandra.<sup>22</sup>

21. Chakravarty had gone to Germany in December 1915 and returned to New York on 1 February 1916. As a result of this visit the German Government appointed him as the head of the Indian Conspiracy in America, a position which was formerly held by Heramba Lal Gupta.

22. Lajpat Rai's suspicions about Harish Chandra were perhaps correct. Harish Chandra's later career is shrouded in mystery and it is not known how he met his end.



In September I rented an apartment at 547 West 123rd and Sinha and one more Bengali boy, Sanyal, whom I knew slightly came to live with me. Sinha was broke and in debt. The British Consulate had tried to employ him as a spy, an offer which he rejected with supreme contempt. I took a fancy to the man. His views were extreme but he seemed to be only a talker and was doing nothing practical. I was feeling lonely and wanted some company. So we began to live together. Chakravarty saw me twice and asked me to go to Germany. I refused. Then he proposed to me to take charge of a hostel he wanted to open for the benefit of Hindu students. I declined. He made similar offers to Sinha and Sanyal, which on my advice they refused. I made no secret of my dislike of Chakravarty and the other Bengalis also began to share my opinion. In the meantime came M. N. Roy.<sup>23</sup> He was represented to me as a revolutionary who had fled to take refuge in the United States. But what interested me most was that during his stay in California he had fallen in love with an American girl<sup>24</sup> who reciprocated his sentiment and agreed to marry him. Her people, however, would not listen to the proposal. The girl had consequently left their problem (*sic*) to follow Roy and share his fate. The girl happened to be a graduate of the Leland Stanford University and had a brother in New York employed in some business firm. The Hindu boys in New York, including Chakravarty, were disposed to consider M. N. Roy as a traitor to the cause in so far he had fallen in love with this girl and consequently impaired his usefulness to the country. Most of them denounced him and Chakravarty insulted the girl when she one day went to his place to make enquiries about her lover. The moment the story was brought to me I expressed my sympathy with Roy and his girl. Roy, however, did not actually meet me until they had been married and the marriage made public. I opened my rooms to them and we began to exchange visits. Roy was in dire need and I gave him in all 350 Dollars out of which fifty were

23. Narendra Bhattacharya, who took up the name of Manabendra Nath Roy in U.S.A. landed at San Francisco on 15 June 1916 by the *S. S. Nippon Maru*. In the ship's list his name was given as Charles Allen Martin.

24. Evelyn by name.

earned by Mrs. Roy in doing some work for me. Mrs. Roy soon after secured a position.<sup>25</sup>

During my stay in New York I never refused hospitality to any Hindu who came to see me regardless of political views. The Bengali boys often cooked at my place and we ate together, some time I paying the whole cost ; at others they paying in part or in whole. Besides, whenever any one was in dire need I advanced cash also. During the winter of 1917 I spent about a 1000 Dollars in this way and more later. Most of this money was never returned. So when the arrests and prosecutions took place in 1917 and 1918,<sup>26</sup> I was in constant danger of being involved. Six or seven times during this period the Police, or the Department of Justice or the Military Intelligence Bureau sent for me and grilled me quite closely. I helped others (I mean other than Bengalis also) but never for even a minute did I ever place faith in their movement.

The low opinion of Chakravarty I had formed was confirmed and so was my opinion of Harish Chandra. Bagai also confessed that at the request of Ram Chandra he received regular salary from the British for over six months. H. L. Gupta was in my opinion a little better than Chakravarty. He had manners and good breeding in his favour. In conspiracy with another young Bengali for whom I felt compassion, he tried to get money from me. He made the latter ask for it and I did give about 200 Dollars at different times. Sanyal left before the arrests started. Roy left New York before he was indicted in San Francisco case and so on.<sup>27</sup> What happened at San Francisco and to Harish Chandra does not fall within my experiences and so I would not mention that fact ; on the whole I formed an altogether very poor opinion.

25. For M. N. Roy's recollections about Lala Lajpat Rai, see his *Memoirs* pp. 26-29

26. Chakravarty was arrested in March 1917 and this was followed by the arrest and indictment of other Indians, who were involved in the 'Hindu-German Conspiracy' and the violation of American Neutrality Act.

27. M. N. Roy fled to Mexico in May 1917 with his wife Evelyn. See Roy's own version in his *Memoirs* pp. 43-44. He was indicted in his absence on 7 July 1917 in the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of California, San Francisco

of these revolutionaries. I may mention that 2,500 Dollars more were sent to Japan through Mr. Bagai of San Francisco in July 1916, out of the 19,500 Yen I had been entrusted with. I have Mr. Bagai's letter and the receipt he got in my papers somewhere.

My experience of the *Indian revolutionaries in the United States* has been very sad and disappointing. I would state my impressions by provinces.

(1) Most of the Bengali revolutionaries I found absolutely unprincipled both in the conduct of their campaign and in the obtaining and spending of funds. Their patriotism was tainted by considerations of gain or profit. They spent a lot of money on luxuries. Most of them were anxious to save as much as they could for future use. I have already spoken of Chakravarty and H. L. Gupta. The only one of the Bengali revolutionaries for whom I have had genuine respect is M. N. Roy. I am only speaking of those I have come across in the United States.

I think the temptation to which young men, undisciplined in public life, struggling for a mere living in a foreign country against great odds, where moral moorings had been unloosened by free thought and the teachings of Nietzsche, were subjected by a sudden accession of pecuniary strength, proved too much for them. It is no wonder they succumbed to it.

(2) Among the Punjabis the worst cases were of Ram Chandra and Harish Chandra. The Sikhs on the whole proved to be purer, more unselfish and disciplined. The worst possible case among them was that of Bhagwan Singh but even he was infinitely superior to Ram Chandra or Chakravarty or Gupta. He did spend a certain amount of money on luxuries, but he never embezzled or misappropriated or saved money for future use. On the whole I believe him to be honest, sincere, brave, selfless and patriotic. I have not yet come across a single Sikh revolutionary whom I considered guilty of misappropriation or mis-use of revolutionary funds. On the other hand most of them always lived a life of self-abnegation putting themselves invariably in positions of danger. Amongst the educated Panjabis (students and workers) I came across a good many who were rather lukewarm in their patriotism but never one who would use even a cent of revolutionary money on himself. As for traitors and spies, I think the Punjabis had as many of that tribe as the Bengalis.

(3) *Mahrattas and Madrasis*. My experience of them has on the whole been very pleasant. I found them sober, reasonable, honest, patriotic and self-sacrificing. Of course there were exceptions, but as a rule I found them good.

Even in the United States Bengalis could not get rid of their provincialism. In San Francisco, in Chicago, in Detroit, in New York, in Boston, in Urbana, in Minneapolis, in Pittsburg, everywhere one noticed the same spirit. They were always ready to receive kindnesses, hospitalities and help but rarely reciprocated. They fought amongst themselves and in some cases hit each other hard, but against non-Bengalis, they always made common cause. I wonder if their provincialism will ever leave them. As between themselves I observed instances of extreme trust and mutual helpfulness. To each other they freely gave when they had. They treated me very kindly and with great respect, so long as I trusted them and helped them. The moment, however, I started the Indian Home Rule League without them, without giving important positions to them, they boycotted me. Some of them objected on principle to my propaganda, being out and out revolutionaries, but there were many who would not join as the organisation gave them no opening for the exercise of power and for personal gain. I say this because I found the same thing in the H.A.A. The H.A.A. was mostly run by the Bengalis, but whenever a non-Bengali President was elected the Bengalis became luke-warm. At any rate that was the judgement of K.D. Shashtri, N.S. Hardikar, R.K. Khemka, and that was the invariable experience and opinion of Punjabi, Mahratta and Madrasi students everywhere.

The Bengali revolutionary leaders in the United States brought nothing but discredit to their cause in this country (U.S.A.) as well as in German circles. The disclosures made in San Francisco trial<sup>28</sup> were terribly damaging. There was hardly one man who came out unscathed and untainted. I have lost almost all faith in secret work and in secret organisations. I am not at all enthusiastic about political revolutions. Most of the Bengali revolutionaries that I met, appeared to me to be believers in the cult of "Superman". They would be the worst possible rulers, if the Government of India ever

<sup>28</sup> The trial of Germans and Indians, held during 1917-18 for the violation of U.S. Neutrality Law generally known as Hindu-German Conspiracy Case.

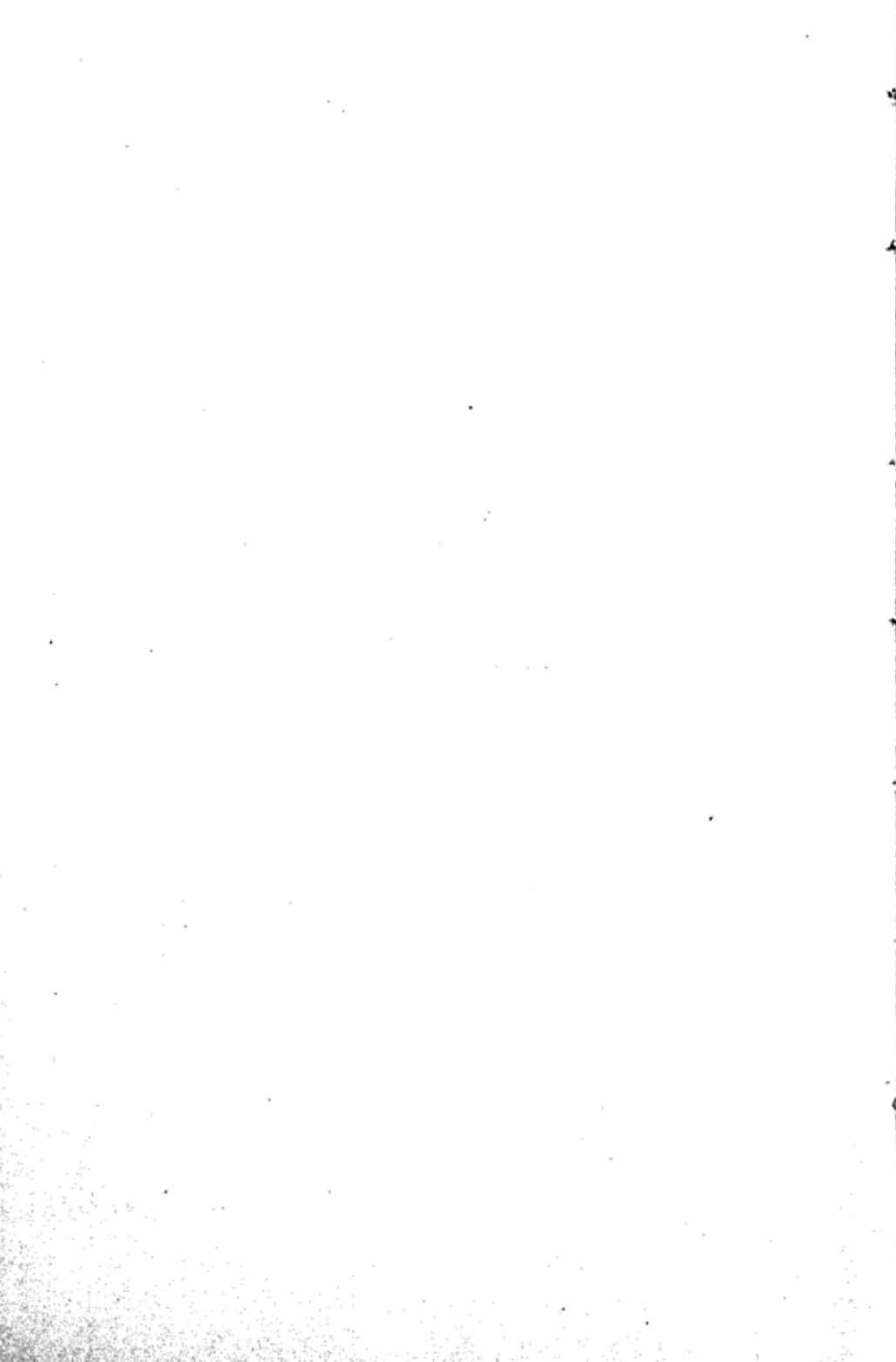
fell into their hands. I doubt if they have any genuine respect or regard for democracy. Consciously or unconsciously they are mostly Nietzscheans, believers in the divinity of leaders or in the aristocracy of intellect. Fired by idealism and reverence they are capable of great deeds and noble selflessness. On the whole they are a great people having all the vices and failings of strong emotion and strong passion.

I am not quite certain, if in making these notes I have been strictly accurate in giving dates and in relating events in the sequence in which they occurred.

For good reasons I kept no diaries and made no memoranda at the proper time. I am making this record to make up for that omission as best as I can.

June 6, 1919.

## **APPENDICES**



## APPENDIX I

### THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE PUNJAB<sup>1</sup>

#### CAUSES OF DISCONTENT IN THE PUNJAB

SOME people think that the situation in the Punjab has become very serious. The panic in official circles resulting in the arrest of five respectable citizens of Rawalpindi, no doubt, justifies that view. In my opinion, however, this panic has been artificially created by the Secret Police and the Government has simply played into the hands of its own agents. It is silly to reproach this or that man for having brought about this state of things. To suggest that any one or any two or three men in this province possess the power or influence to bring about this state of things is both stupid and absurd. It may be highly flattering to their vanity and in a sense complimentary also, but it cannot stand the test of close examination on the basis of actual facts. Discontent, no doubt, there is and a great deal of it. But this discontent has been brought about by Anglo-Indians themselves and the causes of this may be thus summarised in chronological order :

- (a) The letters and articles, etc, that appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* sometime in July and August last year under the heading 'Signs of the Times', etc.
- (b) The prosecution of *The Panjabee*, coupled with the refusal of the Government to take similar action against the *Civil and Military Gazette*.
- (c) The Colonization Bill.
- (d) The Land Alienation Act Amendment Bill.
- (e) The increase of Canal rates on the Bari-Doab Canal.

1. This letter appeared in *The Panjabee* of 11 May 1907. It was written by Lala Lajpat Rai a few hours before his arrest and provides a clear analysis of the situation in the Punjab and the causes of the discontent in the province at that time.



- (f) The abnormal increase of Land Revenue in the Rawalpindi District.
- (g) The appalling mortality from plague which has made the people sullen and labour scarce, and raised the wages abnormally.

Now the first six causes are directly attributable to Anglo-Indians. The last is a visitation of God. The first two might perhaps have been innocuous but for the four following. Joined, however, they have increased the volume of discontent enormously. The sixth has played the most important part. The silent economic revolution caused by the same has acted terribly on the minds of men belonging to the lower strata of Government servants, and has very naturally brought about strikes such as would have been incredible a few years before. Under the circumstances can the Government honestly and conscientiously acquit its own officers of want of foresight and statesmanship in insisting on unpopular measures and passing them in the teeth of universal opposition, of disregarding the economic changes, and failing to recognise the claims of classes of Government servants to an increase in their salaries proportionate to the increase in the wages of private labourers? Had this been done in time and with consideration, all discontent would have been quieted.

#### AGITATORS RESPONSIBLE AND IRRESPONSIBLE

Are the agitators to be blamed for having pointed out the Government's mistakes and identified themselves with popular grievances? What have they done? They have enlisted the sympathies of the masses by standing for their grievances and agitating for the removal of the same. The Government had from time to time reproached them for standing alone and away from the masses, and as, therefore, having no justification to speak in their name. Here was an opportunity for them to remove this reproach. Can any one honestly say that they have done wrong in utilising this opportunity? Should they have stood aloof from the people and refused to take up their cause and articulate the same? Had they done so they would have been unworthy of their education and guilty of treason to their own people. Why should they then be blamed for having espoused the popular cause? A year before they were incomprehensible to the masses. The masses did not and could not be expected to follow them in their cry for Self-Government. As for the demand

for an increased employment of Indians in higher offices under Government, the people were not quite certain if that could immediately help them very much. They said that it made no difference in their lot whether they were governed by a Mister or a Lala or a Maulvi. The recent legislation, however, made them think differently. They found that the services rendered by them to the Empire in the past had really counted for nothing and could not but suspect that Government was treating them very badly. The class legislation indulged in by Government so defiantly in the proud consciousness of their unlimited strength has affected class after class until there was hardly any section of the population left which could honestly display any enthusiasm for the Government. We know that there is a class of Government hangers-on, their contractors, news-vendors, and title hunters, etc. whose leaders are always enthusiastic for the Government, for it pays them so well to do so. But even they can not honestly lay their hands on their hearts and say that they had no hand in the agitation over the Colonization Bill and the Canal Water Rates Resolution. The difference is this, that they acted behind the *purdah*, keeping appearances all right, while others acted boldly and openly. These unpopular measures gave an opportunity to some "young talkers" who utilised it to their heart's content. Their fearless speeches and their readiness to suffer for their convictions went straight to the people's hearts and attracted thousands to their meeting places. Now it is silly to assume that they had any responsible people at their back for the simple reason that no thoughtful or responsible man could possibly bring himself to believe that the country was *at all* ready for a political cataclysm. The cry in the Punjab has always been for "organised work". No organization could be started or perfected in the state in which the Province has been for the last nine months. The tree of organization requires a cool atmosphere and undisturbed soil to take root and fructify. People have not rushed into print or to public meetings to denounce youthful and impulsive speakers or writers, but they have all the same done their level best to influence them towards moderation and towards more permanent and solid ways of doing things such as might leave solid and lasting results behind. It is unfortunate that they did not succeed to the extent they wished, but even their failure has its own significance. If amateur orators and others whom nobody knew two or three months before, could repulse with impunity the advances of responsible leaders to control and guide them; if they

could refuse to listen to the advice of the latter, question their moral courage, and at times denounce them as cowards, and still practically keep the field to themselves, *this* shows that they depended upon the sympathies and appreciation of the people in general, ignoring those who wanted to control and guide them. They had something in them which appealed to the people and which brought them appreciation and encouragement.

#### REAL GRIEVANCES VOICED BY THE AGITATORS

It is again silly to suppose that their audiences consisted only or mainly of the juvenile population. Could any one in his senses maintain that meetings at Lyallpur, Multan, Batala, Amritsar, and Delhi consisted of students only? Who attended the meetings at the local "Bharat Mata" office after the schools and colleges had been closed on account of the plague? What is the total strength of the school population at Lahore or at Rawalpindi or at Delhi, compared with the numbers that have been attending the meetings addressed by Sardar Ajit Singh and Syed Hyder Riza? The fact is, and it cannot be honestly ignored, that the propoganda carried on by these gentlemen has met with popular approval; it meets the fancy of the masses, and their utterances find a ready and appreciative response from the thousands whom they address, and form tens of thousands more who devour their speeches or writings as reported or published in the vernacular press. The irresponsible writer in the Anglo-Indian journal may talk or write what pleases him, but the responsible authorities can no longer shut their eyes to the fact that Sardar Ajit Singh and Syed Hyder Riza really represent a solid bulk of public opinion which it will be madness to ignore or treat with contempt. I do not, however, believe that the state of things has come to such a pass as to justify the panic which appears to have taken hold of Anglo-Indian circles in the Punjab. The discontent in the Punjab has not yet assumed proportions so as to lead people to overt acts of violence. The stray acts of violence hitherto in evidence represent the doings of the Secret Police, or of *Gundas*, or of a few frenzied boys, or perhaps of all these combined.

#### THE RIGHT PATH FOR GOVERNMENT

But there is no denial that this may lead to further and greater disorders if nothing is done to remove the discontent that is at the bottom of it and to soothe the enraged and outraged feelings of the people. Repressive measures might cow down the people for a time,

but that they are bound to fail in the end, if it is intended to crush the spirit of the people thereby, is certain so long as the people believe that their interests and those of the Government clash. And so long as these two are in conflict, the popular feeling is sure to burst out from time to time; do what you may to crush or kill it by force. The thing is new just now. After over fifty years of peaceful Government, when the people have quite forgotten the troubles of a disordered state of society, and after they have taken to easy going modes of life, it shocks them to hear of the arrests such as have taken place in Rawalpindi. It may unnerve them for the time, and the political movement in the Punjab may be put down for some time to come. But as soon as the people recover their stunned senses, and begin to think how insignificant are individual interests in the struggle for national rights, their sympathies for the first victims will change into homage for the cause and for those who were the first to suffer for the cause. Fear will give way to the desire for martyrdom and panic will disappear. This process will be facilitated and hastened if these arrests become too common, as they are likely to be, in the present state of panic in official circles, but that these arrests will seal the fate of the national movement, I decline to believe. The efforts of the Government at repression are only natural. The effect of these measures on the public mind will show how much real political life there is in the country and how far it can be relied on. It will give a fresh starting point to those who desire to devote their lives to this cause. National evolution is bound to proceed on the lines of repulses, defeats, struggles, and the like. None need despair. True wisdom as well as the spirit of resignation to the Divine Will teaches taking things as they come, drawing right conclusions therefrom, modifying ways and means in accordance therewith and then proceeding steadily and surely.

Lahore,

9th May 1907

LAJPAT RAI

## APPENDIX II

### MINUTE BY SIR DENZIL IBBETSON.<sup>1</sup>

I REGARD the present political situation in the Punjab as exceedingly serious, and exceedingly dangerous, and as urgently demanding a remedy.

2. On two occasions within the last ten weeks in connection with the sentences upon the proprietor and editor of *The Punjabee*, Europeans as such have been insulted on the Mall of the Capital of the Province; while, when the accused were first convicted, a demonstration was made in front of the dwelling house of the Chief Magistrate, and another was attempted in front of Government House. It is true that those concerned were for the most part students. But the facts are none the less significant as indicative of the spirit which is abroad.

3. The agitation which immediately led to these results was essentially addressed to the townsfolk. But the present movement has also assumed a far more dangerous form, a definite anti-English propaganda having been started among the villagers, wherever it has appeared to the agitators that an existing grievance has prepared the ground for their operations.

4. In both of these fields, the Extremist party, encouraged by the license which has been allowed to agitators, by the success which has attended their operations elsewhere, and by the impunity which they have enjoyed throughout India, continuously and openly preach sedition, both in print in their newspapers, and by word of mouth at public meetings which are convened by them and which are numerous attended, while the well disposed classes stand aghast at our inaction, and wonder whether the gods

1. The minute by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, presents the political situation in the Province as viewed by the authorities on the eve of the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. The voluminous appendices which accompanied the minute when forwarded to the Government of India have not been reproduced here.

wishing to destroy us, have made us mad. And their amazement will, before long, inevitably turn into contempt for a Government which can (as they regard the matter) so abnegate its functions as to permit sedition to flourish unrebuked, and for a ruling race who tamely submit to open and organized insult.

5. As regards the newspapers, the Government of India are kept in touch with the native press and are no doubt well aware of what is going on. But a few recent extracts are given in Appendix I as samples of what is being periodically circulated among the people of the Province by papers recently started for the purpose. Possibly nothing worse is being written in the Punjab than elsewhere; but, as I shall presently endeavour to show, such writings are far more dangerous in this province than in other parts of India.

6. But I imagine that the Government of India are not so well informed as to the campaign which is being carried on by means of public meetings. It assumes two main forms. The one is prosecuted in the towns, and its nature will be gathered from Appendices A, B, F and G. The first two consist of special police reports of a meeting held by the "Anjuman Mohibban-i-Watan", at the office and under the auspices of a paper called the "Bharat Mata" (the combination of Muhammadan and Hindu names is in itself significant), and of a portion of a lecture delivered at Amritsar, the headquarters of the Sikhs, by the most active of the agitators. The last two are extracts from speeches delivered at Rawalpindi and Ferozepur. Any number of similar instances could be furnished.

7. The other form of the campaign is directed to the corruption of the yeomanry who inhabit the villages of the Province, and is a still more serious matter. For this latter campaign, the agitators have chosen two main fields of operation. The first is the Chenab Canal Colony in the Lyallpur district. Here the Government has, by large expenditure of capital, introduced canal irrigation into the extensive Crown wastes of one of the doabs of the Western Punjab. It has colonized them by picked cultivators chosen from the most congested districts of the Central Punjab. These men have been translated from holdings insufficient to support them and their belongings in comfort, to new areas of virgin soil, which have in the vast majority of cases been

given them free, and in all but a very few cases, on payment far below the market value as tested by the public auction of a limited area ; advances for cattle, implements, house-building and the like, have been made at very low interest ; water has been supplied them free at first, and then at moderate rates ; the assessments have been admittedly lenient ; and absolute security of tenure at a favourable rent has been conferred upon them on the fulfilment of conditions which are by no means onerous. The virgin soil has yielded plentiful harvests, they have suddenly risen from poverty to affluence, and the story of Jeshurun has been repeated.

8. Towards the end of last year, a Bill was introduced in Provincial Council which in certain minor respects modified and added to the terms upon which the colonists held their land, the modifications being directed, not to the benefit of Government, but to uniformity of tenure and the better administration of the colony for the general good. For some time no notice whatever was taken of the measure. But about the beginning of the year the editor of a local paper raised the cry of breach of faith on the part of Government, and the agitators at once saw their opportunity. They sent emissaries from Lahore to organize an agitation throughout the colony, and to hold public meetings at which their leading men attended and spoke. The Government of India have already been fully informed of the character of the agitation, and it is enough to say here that the most unscrupulous devices were made use of, the plain meaning of the Bill and the intentions of Government being distorted in the most ingenious and malevolent manner. Appendix E contains a police report of the speeches at one of these meetings.

9. Again on the Bari Doab Canal, which brings water to the thirsty lands in the south of the Lahore district, and with it, certainly to a formerly precarious cultivation, and wealth to the cultivator, the rates charged for water have recently been enhanced to take effect from the autumn harvest of the current year. Here again the agitators saw their opportunity. At the close of the meeting held at Lahore on the 1st April, and reported in Appendix A, it was arranged to invite a number of the village headmen to a meeting to be held on the 7th, an account of which will be found in Appendix C ; and as a fact, some 500 or 600 are believed to have been brought into Lahore for the occasion.

10. The Chenab Colony afforded a particularly effective centre for agitation, as in it were collected yeomen from all the central districts in the Punjab, and the feeling aroused in the colony naturally found an echo in the mother-districts, in some of which a considerable amount of discontent appears to have been felt. In almost all of them the agitators have attempted to inflame local feeling and in some of them their efforts have met with success. The list of meetings given in Appendix H will show how continuous and (within the Central Punjab) widespread their efforts have been.

11. One striking and exceedingly dangerous feature which has been observable everywhere is, that special attention has been paid to the Sikhs and, in the case of Lyallpur, to the military pensioners; and that special efforts have been made to procure their attendance at meetings, to enlist their sympathies, and to inflame their passions. So far, the active agitation has been virtually confined to districts in which the Sikh element is important, and which furnish numerous recruits of the native army; printed invitations and leaflets have been principally addressed to villages held by Sikhs; and at a public meeting held at Ferozepur, at which disaffection was openly preached, the men of the Sikh regiments stationed there were specially invited to attend, and several hundred of them acted upon the invitation. The Sikhs are told that it was by their aid, and owing to their willingness to shoot down their fellow-countrymen in the Mutiny, that the English maintained their hold upon India; that they fought for us in the Soudan, in Somaliland, in China, at Saraghari, and so forth and that we are now showing our gratitude by breaking faith with them by depriving them of their rights, and by over-taxing them. They are taunted with the suggestion that the cowardly Bengali has extorted a permanent settlement from the English, while the manly Punjabi is still periodically re-assessed. The assertion—false, of course, but suggested by the primogeniture rules—that the holding of a sonless grantee will be resumed by Government, is particularly addressed to the military pensioners, a large number of whom have no sons; and it has been asserted that even sons will not inherit. Some of the most general arguments are of simply devilish ingenuity; as that, in raising the rates upon the irrigation of cotton and sugarcane, Government desires to crush two most promising indigenous industries and so to defeat the Swadeshi movement; or that, since the plague attacks natives, but not Europeans, it is plain that



Government is disseminating it by some mysterious means. Another curiously wrong-headed argument is, that we have taken the people's money and given them paper in return ; and they are asked who is going to cash our currency notes when we are gone. The suggestion tells against us with an ignorant audience. Finally, the success which has attended the agitation in Bengal (presumably the resignation of Sir B. Fuller is alluded to) and the fact that in the face of the agitation in the Chenab Colony some of the provisions of the Colonization Bill were removed, and in face of that at Sialkot some of the proposed taxation remitted, are incessantly quoted to enforce the lesson that agitation is an effective weapon, and that they have only to persevere in order to extract almost any desired concession from Government. And each new concession as it is made is added to the list.

12. Another most dangerous suggestion which has found a place in the armoury of the agitator, though it is only just beginning to assume a prominent position there, is that of a combination to withhold the payment of Government revenue, water rates, and other dues. This I regard as an inconceivably dangerous suggestion, since it is difficult to see what Government could do in the face of such a combination, if at all general and persistent. Of course the advantages of passive resistance and the helplessness of the few Europeans against the millions of natives are sedulously insisted upon ; and so called "District Associations" have, in two districts at any rate, issued leaflets calling upon the villagers to refuse supplies, carriage, and other help to Government officials of whatever sort, when travelling in the district. In one case the leaflet is accompanied by a picture of a villager beating an official. In the Rawalpindi district, in which the assessment has recently been revised mass meetings have been held at which the zamindars have been advised to refuse payment of so much of their revenue as represents enhancement. Finally, the police are pilloried as traitors to their fellow countrymen for performing their duties in connection with the agitation, and are adjured to quit the service of Government, while the same invitation is addressed to our native soldiery.

13. A minor sign of the times is, that when a couple of weeks ago, the menial staff on that portion of the North-Western State Railway which traverses the Chenab Colony went on strike, public meetings were convened to express sympathy with them

and substantial sums of money were subscribed for their support. And several strikes have occurred among the minor revenue officials : though so far, they have been local and temporary.

14. I have said enough to show how persistent, how malignant, and how widespread the agitation has become. The active spirits belong almost without exception to the Arya Samaj, a society founded primarily with a religious object, but which in the Punjab at least, has always had a strong political bent. It is difficult to say what their precise object is, and probably a good many of them hardly know themselves. The chief leader of the movement recently urged his followers to "agitate for agitation's sake". Some of them, no doubt, look to driving us out of the country, or at any rate, from power, either by force or by the passive resistance of the people as a whole. But the immediate object of all seems to be, to make our government of the country impossible ; and probably the idea of the great number is that we shall then, in order to escape from an impasse, be compelled to give them a larger share of power and of appointments, and to introduce the changes which they desire. And the main method by which they have set themselves to bring the Government machine to a standstill is by endeavouring to stir up a feeling of hatred for the English as such and for all that appertains to them.

15. In this endeavour, they have been immensely assisted by the recent prosecution of *The Panjabee* newspaper. The story for the publication of which *The Panjabee* was prosecuted was one of the deliberate murder of a native by an English Officer, on provocation of the most trivial nature. The Indians are, by the traditions of generations, always ready to believe anything against the Government of the time ; unfortunately one of the gravest scandals of our rule in India is the frequency of unprovoked and sometimes fatal assaults by Europeans upon natives, and the virtual impossibility of procuring convictions from a jury upon the more serious counts ; and I fear that the story is almost universally believed to be true, even by those who are best disposed towards us. Needless to say, the prosecution has brought it to the knowledge of thousands, all over the Province, who otherwise would never have heard of it. But there is a still more effective cause of the evil that has been wrought. It is easy to be wise after the event ; but there can be no doubt whatever that the decision to prosecute for promoting enmity between classes (Section 153-A)

instead of for sedition (Section 124-A) was a disastrous mistake. A prosecution for the latter offence would have had the sympathy of all the more moderate and conservative elements in the country. But by electing to proceed upon the former, we at once created a racial question, and one, moreover, upon which we did not come into court with clean hands ; and thus ranged against us those who would otherwise have been with us. Full advantage was taken of our blunder by our opponents ; and they were assisted by the fact that the local English paper had recently published a series of highly objectionable letters directed against the natives as such, and that (since they were hardly bad enough to ensure a conviction) permission to prosecute the paper for the same offence for which *The Panjabee* was being prosecuted was refused. Thus the editor and proprietor of *The Panjabee* have posed as martyrs in the cause of Indians as against English ; and they have received the sympathy of many who would have given it under no other conditions. Several of my district officers have impressed upon me how much harm this prosecution has done in their districts (or perhaps I should say, in their larger towns) and how they can trace the growth of a feeling of antipathy to the English from its date.

16. It is difficult to describe the present situation as a whole, since it varies widely in different parts of the Province. I have had the advantage of discussing it within the past six weeks with the officers in charge of twenty-seven out of twenty-nine Punjab districts.

17. Everywhere people are sensible of a change of a "new air" (*nayi hawe*) which is blowing through men's minds, and are waiting to see what will come of it. But in the east and west of the Province, the new ideas are confined to the educated classes, and among them, in the main, to the pleaders, clerks, and students ; and there is no active propaganda, even in the larger towns, except in so far as it may be preached by agitators from outside. As the centre of the Province is approached, however, the feeling in the towns grows stronger, and there are greater signs of activity and unrest. In the cities of Amritsar and Ferozepur there has been an attempt on the part of the Lahore agitators to arouse feelings of disloyalty which has apparently met with considerable success in Ferozepur, though it has not been so successful in Amritsar. In the towns of Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Lyallpur, an active anti-English propaganda is being openly and sedulously preached.

In Lahore, the capital of the Province, the propaganda is virulent and has resulted in a more or less general state of serious unrest.

18. Among the villagers no serious and general spirit of disaffection has, I believe, been aroused as yet. But a feeling of discontent undoubtedly exists throughout the central districts of the Province in connection with the Colonization Bill and the enhanced canal rates, and is more or less acute in those districts (Lahore, Lyallpur, Sialkot and Ferozepur) where the agitators have directly appealed to the people. For the moment there is a lull, as the Viceroy has been asked to withhold assent from the Bill, while the imposition of the enhanced rates has been postponed on account of unfavourable seasons and plague. But the feeling is still there ; it is kept alive by emissaries who are collecting subscriptions in the villages—nominally to cover the cost of memorialising ; and my last letter from the Deputy Commissioner of Lyallpur tells me that, if the discontent in connection with the Bill is dying down, he is impressed with the fact that the general anti-English feeling among the villagers is growing in intensity.

19. The real danger of the situation lies in inaction on our part, and in what that inaction must lead to. The agitators have the great advantage of activity, they are attacking ; they are working for a cause. The Muhammedans, and the Sanatan Dharam or school of orthodox Hinduism, are for the most part loyal, but also inactive ; they "do not want to have bricks thrown at them", as one of them put it. Between these two extremes stand, in the towns, the great mass of the people. They cannot be wholly unaffected by racial sympathy, and it is human to enjoy seeing a foreign Government heckled. Their interests are bound up with order and security ; and their sympathies would be wholly with a strong Government, if Government will only be strong. If it is weak, however, they will inevitably join the opposition, if only for the sake of peace. They are standing now, waiting for us to strike ; and everyday that we delay renders our position weaker.

20. In the villages the most dangerous feature of the situation is the readiness with which the peasantry have lent their ear to the agitator and have believed his teaching and followed his counsels. So far, perhaps, no very serious or lasting harm has been done. But the activity of the agitators is increasing, and they are extending their field of operations ; the evil is daily

spreading, and the anti-English feeling intensifying, both in towns and in villages ; and the process must inevitably continue, if we allow seditious poison of the most insidious and malignant character to be poured into the minds of the people, both orally and in print. My Hindu visitors daily impress upon me the rapidity with which the evil is spreading, and the danger of inaction ; my Muhammedan visitors tell me that if something is not done, they will not be able to restrain their younger men, who will go over to the enemy in a body.

21. I had hoped that the impetus which had been given to the agitation by the prosecution of *The Panjabee* would gradually subside. But I see no sign of its doing so. On the contrary, the agitators, emboldened by the impunity which they enjoy, are daily becoming more audacious and more active. It is an exciting game that they are playing ; and so far, it has been unattended by danger to the players. This situation cannot continue with safety ; and we must take measures to put an end to it.

22. The Punjabi is no doubt less hysterical than the Bengali. But he is not exempt from the defects of the East. Credulous to a degree which it is difficult for us to understand ; traditionally disposed to believe evil of his Government ; difficult to rouse, perhaps, but emotional and inflammable when once roused, he affords ground admirably adapted to the purposes of the political agitator, especially when some local grievance may have predisposed him to discontent. In the case of the Sikhs, the danger is especially great. It is only sixty years since they ruled the Punjab ; it was largely their loyal help that enabled us to put down the Mutiny ; they occupy all the centre of the Province ; they supply a large and important portion of our native army ; and a religious movement has lately made considerable progress among them which tends towards solidarity and pride of class, and will render them more powerful, whether for good or evil. The very sturdiness of the Punjabi, which makes him more difficult to move than the Bengali, makes the matter far more serious when he is moved and if the loyalty of the Jat Sikhs of the Punjab is ever materially shaken, the danger will be greater than any which could possibly arise in Bengal.

23. If then the present process of open diffusion of sedition is not to be allowed to go on, the question is how it is to be stopped.

Hitherto we have had recourse to prosecutions under one or other of the sections of the Indian Penal Code which relate to sedition and to promoting enmity between classes ; the section of the Criminal Procedure Code which enables us to take security for good behaviour from persons who have committed acts punishable under these penal sections, not having been made use of in the Punjab. Now, without saying that in no case should a prosecution be undertaken, I do say emphatically that in all cases it does an infinity of harm. If unsuccessful, it is a disastrous blunder. If successful, it advertises far and wide the matter to which objection is taken, and brings it to the ears of thousands who otherwise would never have heard of it ; it attracts public attention to the prosecution of men who pose as martyrs for the good of their country and people ; the speeches of counsel are often almost as harmful as the original matter ; when sentence is pronounced there are pathetic scenes in court, the martyrs bowing their heads to receive the parting benedictions of the party leaders ; they are garlanded as they mount the vehicle which is to convey them to jail ; they are attended on the road by crowds who insult Europeans ; when released they are conducted in triumphant procession through the streets. Meanwhile, if it is a newspaper that is being prosecuted its fortune is made, for its circulation increases enormously ; the proceedings in court are reported in minute detail ; sympathetic articles are sedulously collected and reprinted from the whole of the Indian Press ; the proceedings are spun out to an intolerable length ; while the evil is not suspended, even temporarily. After the editor and proprietor of *The Panjabee* had been convicted and sentenced, and while they were out on bail pending appeal, that paper published a description of a dance which constituted the foulest insult that can be conceived to Englishmen, and what is worse, to Englishwomen but which was so framed that it was impossible to take notice of it. The article in question appeared in the issue of the 17th March 1907, and I would specially invite the attention of the Government of India to its contents.

24. I am advised that action under the security section of the Criminal Procedure Code in no way avoids the evils which attend a prosecution, that the offence which has to be established is the same, and must be established substantially in the same manner ; and that, if the accused so desire the license of Counsel and the length and publicity of the proceedings will not be in any

way diminished under what was presumably intended to be a more summary and effective procedure. The taking of security is in itself no punishment, and if it is desired to enforce the bond in case of breach of its conditions the whole process of quasi-prosecution has to be gone through a second time. In the case of speeches the difficulty of proof is a serious obstacle to the employment of either of these means of repression, since the evidence must be wholly that of detectives and informers who have to rely upon their memory of what has been said.

25. What is urgently needed to meet the present situation, and what alone will meet it effectively, is power to prevent, by executive action, the stream of seditious poison being poured into the minds of our people, either by printed matter or orally. The offence which would then be committed, if the executive prohibition was disregarded, would simply be that of disobedience to a lawful order. There would be no question of what had been written or spoken, or of its character; the only question would be the fact of publication or speech, and whether it had been prohibited. The issue would be simple and non-political, and the penalty would not be such as to arouse resentment by its severity. The powers and measures which I consider necessary are as follow :—

I. Power to notify that, in any specified area no public meeting shall be held without notice to the police. The police would then attend as such with shorthand writers; and not, as at present, as detectives, liable to discovery and insult.

II. Power to prohibit any such meeting without assigning reasons. This would be a dangerous power in the hands of an unwise officer, as there is much which is very objectionable, but which it would be a mistake to attempt to repress. It would not be exercised except with the previous sanction, general or special, of the Commissioner.

III. Power to prohibit any specified person from addressing public meetings, without assigning reasons.

IV. A Press law. For years past I have been convinced that such a law was urgently needed for the safety of our rule in India, but have not pressed for it, because I have felt

that to pass such a law, and to repeal it a few years later, would do far more harm than good. The law should empower the executive to suppress any paper, after warning, and should provide against its reappearance under the same management, though under another name.

- V. It should be provided that when a conviction has been had under any of the criminal sections already referred to, based upon matter which has appeared in a paper should *ipso facto* be suspended from publication till the decision of the final appeal, and, if the conviction be upheld, should *ipso facto* be suppressed.
- VI. Conspiracy or incitement to withhold the payment of Government dues should be made a penal offence. This proposal was considered in Lord Elgin's time and dropped on grounds which were mainly ephemeral in their character.

26. Such are the powers which I deem to be essential in order to enable me to cope with a situation that is already dangerous, and the danger of which is almost daily increasing. They are powers which it will be necessary to use with the greatest discretion. It will be necessary scrupulously to avoid anything that might be construed as an attempt to repress the discussion of specific grievances, however fanciful the grievance and however wrong headed and hysterical the discussion. Even deliberate misrepresentation of the objects and actions of the Government must in such cases be tolerated so long as it is not malignant. But words designed to inflame the feelings of the listeners or of the readers against the English as such, or against the English Government, or to incite them to oppose the Government, whether by overt act or by passive resistance or abstention, or to render its working impossible by withholding its dues, should not be allowed.

27. At best it will take some considerable time before any power of this nature can be conferred; and it is out of the question that the situation must meanwhile be allowed to develop as at present, without any preventive action on our part. There is one power which we already possess, and which I have not yet discussed. It is that of deportation under Regulation III of 1818.



No conditions can well be conceived which should fall more precisely within the scope of the preamble to that Regulation than those at present existing in the Punjab. The "security of the British dominions from internal commotion" is threatened ; while judicial proceedings are, for certain reasons "inadvisable or improper." All the evils attendant upon a prosecution are avoided, and the procedure is quiet, sudden and effective and of a nature calculated to strike terror into the minds of those concerned. I am separately addressing specific proposals under this head to the Government of India. But the power is one which can be used only in the most sparing manner ; and it is by no means certain that matters have not now gone too far for it to be effective. If that is so, it will be necessary again to consider the advisability of prosecution if executive powers cannot be conferred at once. The one thing that we cannot afford to do is to remain inactive.

28. I have written this Minute under a full sense of responsibility. If the power for which I now ask had from the first been enjoyed by Government, the evil could and would have been repressed in its first beginning. As it is, I am compelled to sit inactive and watch the infection spreading, because I have no preventive powers, while punitive measures do more harm than good. I am not sure that the powers for which I ask may not in any case come too late to prevent very serious trouble and evil of an enduring character. But I am convinced that without them, the peaceable government of the Province will before long become so difficult as to be almost impossible. And they should be given without a day's avoidable delay, for everyday the situation becomes more serious.

DENZIL IBBETSON

30th April 1907

Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and  
its Dependencies

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

**SURENDRANATH BANNERJI.** Born on 10 November 1848 ; went to England in 1868 to compete for the Indian Civil Service ; entered the Indian Civil Service, 1869 ; Assistant Magistrate Sylhet, 1871 ; left service, 1874 ; Professor of English at Metropolitan Institution of Calcutta, 1875 ; joined the Congress in 1886 and was its President in 1895 and 1902 ; was one of the most eminent Moderate leaders of India ; was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council for eight successive years ; Member Imperial Legislative Council, 1913-20 ; President of the Moderate Conference, 1918 ; a journalist of repute and Editor of the *Bengalee* for many years ; Member of the Franchise Committee on Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme, 1918 ; Member Bengal Legislative Council under reform scheme, 1921 ; Minister of Government of Bengal in charge of local self-government and public health ; wrote his autobiography, *Nation in the Making* ; died on 6 August 1925.

**HENRY COTTON.** Born on 13 September 1845 ; educated at Magdalen College School, Brighton College and King's College, London ; entered the Indian Civil Service, 1865 ; proceeded in 1867 to Bengal where he served in several official positions ; Chief Secretary, Government of Bengal, 1891-96 ; Acting Home Secretary to Government of India, 1896 ; Chief Commissioner, Assam, 1896-1902 ; retired from service, 1902 ; was one of the active sympathisers of the Indian National Congress and was its President in 1904 ; was an active member of the British Committee of the Congress ; Member of Parliament, 1906-10 ; Publications : *Memorandum on the Land Tenures of Bengal*, 1884 ; *India in Transition*, 1885 ; *Indian and Home Memoirs*, 1911 ; died on 22 October 1915.

**SWAMI DAYANAND.** Born in 1824 in Mandvi in an orthodox Brahmin family ; left home at an early age and wandered throughout India in pursuit of knowledge and truth from 1845 to 1860 ; completed his education under Swami Virjanand of Mathura and pledged to devote his life to the dissemination of truth, to the waging of war against the falsehoods of the *Pauranic* faith and to the establishment of the right method of education as was in vogue in Vedic times ; spent the first years of his public life in revising his readings and preaching ; decided on the establishment of a reformed

Hindu Church after the religious discussions at Banaras ; established the first Arya Samaj in Bombay on 10 April 1875 ; founded the Lahore Samaj in 1877 ; organised Samajes throughout India except Madras ; wrote the *Satyarth Prakash* and a *Commentary on the Rigveda* ; died on 30 October 1883.

ARABINDA GHOSH. Born in Calcutta on 15 August 1872 ; went to England at the age of seven ; educated privately and at St. Paul in London, (1884-89) where he acquired proficiency in classics and won several prizes ; joined King's College, Cambridge, on a scholarship, 1890 ; qualified for the Indian Civil Service but was not selected as he failed in riding test ; joined Baroda State Service in 1893 and continued there up to 1907 ; was Professor of English in Baroda College in 1900 ; entered politics after the partition of Bengal ; was one of the chief leaders of the Extremists ; was prosecuted in the Alipore bomb case but acquitted ; left politics on release and retired to Pondicherry and devoted himself to spiritual and yogic exercises ; died in 1950.

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE. Born at Kolhapur on 9 May 1866 ; educated at Elphinstone College Bombay ; joined the Deccan Education Society and became a Professor of History and Political Science in Fergusson College and devoted himself to educational work for 20 years ; was the editor of the *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha* in 1887 and Honorary Secretary of the Deccan Sabha ; actively identified with the Indian National Congress ; was Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Conference for four years and of the Indian National Congress Session Poona in 1895 ; was an eminent exponent of Moderate politics in India ; President of the Congress Session, 1905 ; gave evidence before the Welby Commission, 1897 ; elected to Bombay Legislative Council, represented Bombay on the Supreme Legislative Council, 1902 ; re-elected successively ; opposed Curzon's Universities Bill ; Congress Delegate to England in 1905 and 1908 ; Member, Royal Commission on Public Services in India, 1912 ; died on 20 February 1915.

GURUDUTT VIDYARTHI. Born on 26 April 1864 ; studied at District School Jhang, Multan High School, where he distinguished himself as a scholar of Persian ; became an Arya Samajist while still at School ; after matriculating with distinction joined Lahore Government College in 1881 ; was instrumental in Lajpat Rai's conversion to the Arya Samaj ; headed the list of candidates in

Intermediate examination in 1883; was closely associated with D.A.V. movement from the very beginning (October, 1883); stood first in B.A.; took prominent part in settling the constitution of the D.A.V. College and the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha; served as a Lecturer in Government College Lahore, 1887-89; played an active part in the Arya Samaj's internal conflict as a protagonist of the "Mahatma" section; was a strict vegetarian; contributed articles to the Samaj Magazines and wrote small books on Vedas; died young on 19 March 1890.

**HANS RAJ (MAHATMA).** Born on 19 April 1864; educated at Mission School and the Punjab University College; graduated in 1885; came under Swami Dayanand's influence in College days and when the D.A.V. College was started he offered to serve the society honorarily; retired after serving the Institution for twenty-five years during which it had become a premier educational institution in Northern India; was President of the D.A.V. College Managing Committee for seven years; was leader of the College section in the Arya Samaj split; was actively associated with the famine relief work; took leading part in the Shuddhi movement; died on 16 November 1938.

**HAR DAYAL.** Born about 1884 at Delhi; educated at St. Stephens' College, Delhi, and at the Government College Lahore; was a distinguished student; went to Balliol College, Oxford on a State scholarship in 1905; refused the scholarship in protest against the repressive measures of the Government of India in 1907; returned to India and preached Indian Nationalism; went to France, Algiers and then to Martinique; went to California in 1912 and taught Philosophy at the Stanford University; started the Ghadr Party and the *Ghadr* newspaper in 1913; was arrested in the United States in 1914 and on release fled to Europe; went to Berlin and organised the Indian Revolutionary Committee there; fled to Sweden after differences with the Committee; went to London in 1927; became a pacifist; died in Philadelphia in 1938.

**HARKISHEN LAL.** Born on 13 April 1864 at Leiah; educated at Lahore; went to Cambridge on a scholarship, returning to India in 1890; officiated as Professor of Mathematics in Government College and part-time Professor in Oriental College, Lahore; started practice in 1913; was the pioneer of industrial and commercial enterprises in the Punjab and floated the Punjab National Bank, the People's Bank,

Bharat Insurance Company and other concerns ; was an active member of the Indian National Congress and was Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 1909 Lahore Congress session ; was arrested and put on trial before a special tribunal in April 1919 in connection with the Punjab Martial Law ; was a Minister in the Punjab under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years ; died on 13 February 1937.

ALLAN OCTAVIAN HUME. Born on 6 June 1829 ; educated at Haileybury College and London University ; joined Bengal Civil Service at the age of twenty and appointed in 1849 to the North-Western Provinces ; awarded C.B. (1860) for the services during the Mutiny at Etawah ; Secretary in the Revenue and Agriculture Department, Government of India, 1870 ; retired from service, 1882 ; one of the founders of the Indian National Congress and its general secretary for several years ; left India in 1894 but continued to take active interest in Indian reform movement and lived to see the introduction of the Morley Minto Reform scheme ; died on 31 July 1912.

MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA. Born at Allahabad on 25 December 1862 ; educated at the Muir Central College, Allahabad ; graduated in 1884 ; LL.B. from Allahabad, 1892 ; school master, 1885-87 ; edited *Hindustani*, 1887-89, *The Indian Union*, 1889-92, the *Abhyudaya*, 1907-9 ; Member Provincial Legislative Council, 1902-12 ; President, Indian National Congress in 1909, 1918 and 1933 ; Member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1910-20 ; Member, Legislative Assembly, 1924-30 ; founded the Nationalist Party in 1926 ; worked for the establishment of the Banaras Hindu University and was its Vice-Chancellor, 1919-39 ; President of the Hindu Mahasabha, 1923, 1924 and 1936 ; was President of the Sanatan Dharam Mahasabha ; a loyal Congressman throughout his life ; was a member of the Indian Industrial Commission, 1916 ; attended the Second Round Table Conference ; died on 12 November 1946.

MUNSHI RAM (SWAMI SHRADDHANAND). Born at Jullundur in 1856 ; educated mostly at Banaras ; came into contact with Swami Dayanand and became an Arya Samajist ; practised as a lawyer from 1885 to 1902 ; was active in the Arya Samaj work and was the leader of the 'Mahatma' party in the Samaj split ; founded the Gurukul Kangri of which he was the Governor till 1921 ; took *Sanyas* in

1917 ; organised famine relief work in Garhwal in 1918 ; was Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Amritsar Congress Session in 1919 ; arrested in September 1922 in Guru-ka-Bagh agitation and jailed ; was an active promoter of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements after his release ; worked for the uplift of the depressed classes and set up the *Dalit Uddhar Sabha* ; wrote his autobiography *Kalyan Marg ka Pathik* in Mianwali Jail ; assassinated on 23 December 1926.

**PHEROZ SHAH MEHTA.** Born on 4 August 1845 in a merchant family of Bombay ; educated at Elphinstone College ; graduated in 1864 ; went on scholarship to England ; called to the Bar in 1868 ; was a successful lawyer in India ; entered Bombay Corporation in 1872 and was active there for ever thirty eight years ; was its Chairman thrice ; was one of the most influential Moderates ; was one of the founders of the Bombay Presidency Association ; member of the Bombay Legislative Council, 1886 ; one of the founders of the Indian National Congress and presided at the Calcutta Session in 1890 ; Chairman of the Reception Committee, Indian National Congress at Bombay, 1889 and 1904 ; elected to the Bombay Legislative Council in 1892 and time and again after that ; was an active member of the Bombay University Senate ; President, Bombay Provincial Conference, 1892 ; gave evidence before many Public Commissions ; was intimately connected with the Bombay mill industry ; appointed Vice-Chancellor Bombay University towards the end of his life ; died on 5 November 1915.

**DADABHAI NAOROJI.** Born on 4 September 1825 in a Parsi family of Bombay ; educated at Elphinstone College ; started his career as a Head Native Assistant Master and rose to the chair of a Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, the first Indian to hold that position ; experimented for opening of girl schools during his college days under the Students Literary and Scientific Society ; initiated a project of religious reform among the Parsi community, acting as Secretary of the *Rahnumae Mazdayasnan Sabha* founded on 1 August 1851 ; active member of the Bombay Association formed on August 26, 1852 where he made his first political speech ; started the fortnightly *Rast Gofstar* or Truth-Teller, 15 November 1851 ; went to England in June 1855 to join Cama and Company, the first Indian firm to be established there ; returned to India in 1859 and started his own business ; left for England again in April 1864 where he

continued to work for his country through the London Indian Society ; came back to India on 5 May 1869 ; Dewan of Baroda, 1874 ; elected to Bombay Municipal Corporation, 26 July 1875 ; submitted a note to the Indian Education Commission of 1882 ; started a monthly journal *The Voice of India*, 1 February 1882 ; was a founder-member of the Indian National Congress and its President in 1886, 1893 and 1906 sessions ; Member of the House of Commons from Finsbury, 1892 ; was the first Indian to sit on a Royal Commission, the Welby Commission of 1895-1900 ; advocated Swaraj as India's goal at the 1906 Calcutta Congress Session ; died in 1917.

BEPIN CHANDRA PAL. Born on 7 November 1858 in Sylhet district of Bengal ; after matriculation studied at the Presidency College, Calcutta where he came under the influence of Keshub Chander Sen, consequently becoming a Brahmo against the wishes of his father ; was forced to give up studies ; became Headmaster of a High School in Cuttack ; attempted to run a school in Sylhet ; was Headmaster in a Bangalore school ; edited *Bengal Public Opinion*, 1883-84 ; sub-editor of the *Tribune* Lahore, 1887-88 ; Librarian in the City Library Calcutta, 1890-92 ; went to England and America as a Brahmo Missionary during 1898-1900 ; started *New India* weekly in 1901 ; toured southern India during 1901-02 as a Brahmo missionary ; joined the Congress in 1886 but came to the political forefront after the partition of Bengal ; started the *Bande-Mataram* ; refused to give evidence in a case against Arabinda Ghosh and was sentenced to six months imprisonment in 1907 ; went to England in 1908 where he started the fortnightly *Swaraj*, which was later suppressed and discontinued ; imprisoned for one month on return to India in 1911 on account of an article in *Swaraj* ; started a monthly magazine *Hindu Review* in 1912 which met the fate of his earlier ventures ; was an Extremist and left the Congress with Tilak in 1907, rejoining in 1916 ; worked actively in the Congress up to 1920 but did not accept the non-cooperation programme of Mahatma Gandhi ; elected member of the Legislative Assembly of India, 1923-26 ; retired from active politics, died in 1932 ; important literary works : *Nationality and Empire*, *Memoirs of My Life and Times*, *The New Spirit*, etc.

BHAI PARMANAND. Born in 1874 ; educated at Lahore, Calcutta and London ; was for some time Professor of History and Political Science in the D.A.V. College, Lahore ; visited East and South Africa

as an Arya Samaj missionary ; on his return in 1909, he was arrested, tried and asked to furnish security for good behaviour for three years ; visited Trinidad and British Guiana carrying the message of Hinduism ; was an early promoter of the *Ghadr* movement in the United States ; was sentenced to death in the First Lahore Conspiracy Case (1915) ; the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment ; was Chancellor of the *Kaumi Vidyapith* for five years ; opposed the Congress leadership for its 'anti-Hindu' policies and joined the Hindu Mahasabha ; was a member of the Central Legislative Assembly for several years, 1932-46 ; died in 1948.

MANABENDRA NATH ROY. Born in a Brahmin family near Calcutta in about 1889 ; original name Narendranath Bhattacharya ; studied at Arabinda's National University ; joined the revolutionary movement early in life ; spent twenty months in jail as an under-trial prisoner in the Howrah Conspiracy Case ; joined the Ramakrishna Mission ; soon returned to revolutionary work and went to Batavia on a mission for securing arms for the Indian revolutionaries in 1915 ; went to the United States in 1916 on behalf of the Indian Revolutionary Committee of Berlin ; was indicted in the Hindu-German Conspiracy Case ; fled to Mexico in 1917 ; founded the Communist Party in Mexico in 1919 ; met Lenin in 1920 ; was the chief architect of Asian Communism and a member of the Communist International for some time ; was the Comintern representative in China in 1927 ; left the Communist International on account of differences and developed the philosophy of Radical Humanism ; founded the *Vanguard*, later *Masses* ; was expelled from Germany, Switzerland and France ; returned to India in 1930, where he was arrested and sentenced to six years rigorous imprisonment ; released on 20 November 1936 ; became an exponent of Cosmopolitan Humanism and in 1952 was one of the Vice-Presidents of the International Humanist and Ethical Union ; was editor of *Independent India*, the *Marxian Weekly* later named *Radical Humanist* ; publications include : *Philosophical Consequences of Modern Science*, *Facism and Historical Role of Islam*, *Science and Superstition*, *India and War*, *Revolution and Counter-revolution in China*, *the Russian Revolution*, *Beyond Communism*, *Reason, Romanticism, Revolution*, *Memoirs* ; died on 25 January 1954.

SHYAMJI KRISHNA VERMA. Born at Mandvi in Cutch State on 4 October 1857 ; educated at Mandvi, Bhuj and Bombay, where he



distinguished himself as a scholar of Sanskrit by 1875 ; came into contact with Swami Dayanand, 1875-76 ; was engaged as Assistant by the renowned Sanskrit scholar Professor Monier Williams at Oxford where he went in March 1879 ; joined Balliol College, April 1879 ; graduated from Oxford in 1883 ; called to the Bar, Inner Temple, 1884 ; Advocate, Bombay High Court, 1885 ; Dewan of Rutlam State, 1886-88 : Member of Ajmer Municipality ; Counsellor in Udaipur State, 1895-97 ; left India in 1897 for England where he supported Extremism in Indian politics ; started the *Indian Sociologist* in 1905 ; instituted five travelling fellowships for Indians to study in England and founded the 'India House' in 1905 ; fled to Paris in 1907 and later settled in Geneva ; died on 31 March 1930.

SYED AHMED KHAN. BORN on 17 October 1817 ; entered government service in 1837 and rose to be a subordinate Judge in the North-Western-Provinces ; rendered faithful services to the British during the Mutiny at Bijnor, saving their lives ; wrote a pamphlet in Urdu on the *Causes of the Mutiny* ; was devoted to antiquarian research and was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society ; founded a Translation Society at Ghazipur in 1864 (afterwards moved to Aligarh) and had several valuable English works translated o Urdu ; retired from government service in 1876 ; wrote a reply to Sir W.W. Hunter's work on the *Indian Mussalmans* ; founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, 1877 ; was a member of the Legislative Council of North-Western Provinces and an additional member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council, 1878-82 ; was knighted in 1888 ; devoted his whole energy and means to the promotion of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh ; opposed the Indian National Congress and advised Muslims not to join it ; died on 27 March 1898.

BALGANGADHAR TILAK. BORN on 23 July 1856 in Ratnagiri district in a Chitpavan family ; matriculated in 1872 and joined the Deccan College ; graduated in 1876 and passed the law examination in 1880 ; collaborated in promoting the New English School at Poona in 1880 ; started the *Kesri* and the *Mahratta* along with others in 1881 ; one of the founders of the Deccan Education Society and Fergusson College, 1885 ; taught Mathematics in the College and resigned on account of differences with Gokhale ; started the Shivaji and Ganesh festivals ; worked for famine and plague relief in 1896 and 1897 ; sentenced to 18 months hard labour in the first

sedition trial in July 1897 ; was the leader of the 'Extremists' at the Banaras and the Calcutta Congress ; left the Congress at Surat ; sentenced to six years in the second sedition trial on 22 July 1908 ; released in June 1914 ; started the Home Rule League, 1916 ; went to England in 1918 with the Home Rule League deputation ; appeared before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Reforms ; returned to India on 27 November 1919 ; enunciated the idea of responsive cooperation at the Amritsar Congress session ; died on 1 August 1920. His publications : *Gita Rahasya*, *The Arctic Home of the Vedas*, and the *Orion*.

WILLIAM WEDDERBURN. Born at Edinburgh on 25 March 1838 ; educated at Loretto School and Edinburgh University ; stood third in the Indian Civil Service competition, 1859 ; served in Bombay Civil Service, 1860-87 acting as Judge of the Bombay High Court and retired when acting as Chief Secretary to Government ; President of the Indian National Congress, 1889 and 1910 ; Member of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, 1895-1900 ; Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress ; Member of Parliament, 1898-1900 ; publications include pamphlets on Criminal Procedure, Arbitration Courts, Agricultural Banks and other matters affecting the conditions of Indian people, *Allan Octavian Hume* : died on 25 January 1918.



## INDEX

- ALE Iso, 210, 211.  
 Abbotabad, 66, 76, 100.  
 Achhru Ram, Lala, 47.  
 Adler, Felix, 200.  
 Agnew, P.D., 125, 141.  
 Agnihotri, Shiv Narain, 19, 23, 24, 81.  
 Ahmedabad, 138.  
 Ajit Singh, Sardar, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 140, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 203 fn., 226, 228 fn.  
 Ajmer, 31, 74.  
 Ajodhya Nath, Pandit, 85.  
 Ali Mohammad Bhimji, 84.  
 Alipur Conspiracy Case, 5 fn.  
 Allahabad, Congress Session at, 44, 85.  
 Amar Nath, Diwan, 108.  
 Amar Nath Khamb, 63.  
 Amba Prasad, Sufi, 118.  
 Ambala, 17, 18, 26, 66, 67, 79, 119.  
 Amin Chand, Pandit 40.  
 Amir Chand, Lala, 66.  
 Amolak Ram, Lala, 123, 125, 140, 141, 144, 145.  
 Amrit Lal, 159.  
 Amritsar, 25, 66, 119, 207 fn., 226, 229, 234.  
 Anglo-Sanskrit School, Jullundur, 118.  
 Anuruadhpora, 101.  
 Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, 57, 67.  
 Arya Samaj, 13, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 47, 75, 81, 98, 99, 109, 128, 179, 203 ; at Hissar, 35 ; split in the, 46-56, 71-72 ; at Lahore 48 ; position of the two parties in 1893, 68 ; founding of the Anarkali Samaj, 62 ; government's suspicions about, 88 ; Ibbetson's views on, 233.  
 Athavale, K.K., 99 fn., 112, 115, 116, 117, 128.  
 Atlanta, 201.  
 Atma Ram, Lala, 54.  
 Atma Ram, M., 59.  
 Aziz Ahmed, 124, 141.  
 BADRI NATH, Diwan, 108.  
 Bagai, V.D., 212, 213, 214, 217, 218.  
 Balmokand, 38.  
 Banaras, 197 fn. ; Congress Session at, 110-111.  
 Banke Dayal, 121.  
 Bannerji, Surendra Nath, 81, 83, 109 fn.  
 Barisal Conference, 109.  
 Barkatullah, Maulvi, 199, 207 fn.  
 Baroda, Maharaja of, 108.  
 Batala, 226.  
 Beli Ram, Doctor, 72.  
 Bensley, Major C.H., 194.  
 Bentham, Jeremy, 26.  
 Berkeley, 206, fn. 213, 214.  
 Berlin, 206, 215.  
 Bhagat Ram, Raizada, 66.  
 Bhagat Singh, Sardar, 118 fn.  
 Bhagwan Das, Pandit, 80.  
 Bhagwan Singh, 207, 208, 209, 218.  
 Bhandari, Gopal Das, 66.  
 Bhandari, Hans Raj, 144.  
 Bhatinda, 194.  
 Bhiwani, 38, 44 fn.  
 Bhiwani Das, Lala, 19, 20, 47.  
 Bihari Lal, Lala, 48.  
 Bilaspur, 76, 194.  
 Bishan Sahai, Chaudhri 67.  
 Bodh Raj, Lala, 123, 127.  
 Bodh Raj, Master 66.  
 Bodhanand, Swami, 215.  
 Bombay, 101 fn. 104 ; Congress Session at, 44, 86.  
 Boota Singh, 124.  
 Bose, Jagdish Chandra, 197, 198.

- Bose, Jogendra Chandra, 89, 95, 109.  
 Bose, K.K., 201.  
 Bose, Rash Behari (*alias* P. N. Thakur), 5 fn.  
 Boston, 200, 201, 219.  
 Bradlaugh, Charles, 86.  
 Brahmo Samaj, 24, 26, 27, 48, 55, 79 ; Split in the, 23.  
 Buddha Mal, 64.  
 Budge Budge, 194.
- CALCUTTA, 23 fn., 91, 97, 102, 103, 115, 131, 132, 193 ; Congress Session at, 112-113 ; University of, 19, 20, 47.  
 Calicut, 100.  
 Cannanore, 100.  
 Ceylon, Lajpat Rai's visit to, 100-01.  
 Chakravarti, Chandra Kanta, 197, 198, 215, 216, 217, 218.  
 Chhabil Das, 44 fn.  
 Chhaju Singh, Bawa, 66.  
 Chandu Lal, Lala, 35, 39, 41, 36-38.  
 Chatur Bhuj, Lala, 25.  
 Chetan Anand, 25, 26, 67.  
 Chicago, 201, 202, 214, 219.  
 Chuhar Lal, Seth, 66, 100.  
 Chura Mani, Lala, 36, 40, 44fn.  
 Clark, Mr. 194.  
 Cochrane, Burke, 200.  
 Colombo, 101.  
 Congress, *see* Indian National Congress.  
 Constantinople, 146.  
 Cooper, Mr., 193.  
 Cotton, Sir Henry, 100, 105, 180 fn.  
 Curzon, Lord, 103 fn., 110, 132 ; Viceroyalty of, 97.
- DALPAT RAI, 92, 96.  
 Das, C.R., 113.  
 Dayanand, Swami, 30, 31, 33, 47, 54, 55, 57, 73, 74, 92, 93, 203.  
 Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore, 21, 33, 38, 52, 118, 152, 171, 179, 205 fn.  
 Dayanand Anglo-Vedic Shool, 46, 109 ; Conflict on curriculum in, 57.  
 Dehra Dun, 38, 111.  
 Delhi, 5, 12, 17, 23, 25, 26, 35, 38, 40, 194, 208 fn., 226.  
 Detroit, 219.  
 Dev Raj, Lala, 46, 66.  
 Dev Samaj, 23 fn.  
 Devdhar, G.K., 161, 162.  
 Devi Dayal, Lala, 21.  
 Dhani Ram, Doctor, 39.  
 Dhanpat Rai, Lala, 128, 164.  
 Diamond Harbour, 138, 158, 193.  
 Din Dayal, Lala, 67.  
 Dixit, Mr. of Bombay, 132.  
 Durga Prashad, Master, 46, 50, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59.  
 Dutt, R.C., 111.  
 Dwarka Das, Lala, 47, 52, 60, 67, 155.  
 Dyal Singh, Sardar, 89, 96, 97, 98.
- EDINBURGH, 106.  
 Egerton, Robert, 88.  
 Elgin, Lord, 239.
- FARRUKHABAD, 30.  
 Ferozepur, 11, 67, 100, 119, 164, 229, 231, 234, 235.  
 Fort Dufferin, 182, 184, 185, 189 ; *see also* Mandalay.
- GAJJU MAL, 66.  
 Ganda Mal, Lala, 23, 24.  
 Ganga Prashad, Lala, 100.  
 Ganga Ram, Lala, 66, 154.  
 Ganga Ram, Rai, 52.  
 Ganga Sahay, Pandit, 36.  
 Garibaldi, 93 ; Biography of, 4 fn.  
 Gauri Shanker, 44 fn.  
 Ghosh, Arabinda, 113.  
 Gill, Dalip Singh, 198, 199.  
 Glasgow, 106.  
 Gopal Chand, Bakshi, 66.

- Gokhale, G.K., 100, 103, 104, 105, 108, 110, 111, 112, 114, 116, 117, 119, 161, 164, 199 ; visit to Lahore, 115.
- Gopal Das, Lala, 71.
- Government College, Lahore, 21, 22, 99, 109.
- Griffin, Lepel, 88.
- Gujar Khan, 66.
- Gujranwala, 66, 203 fn.
- Gupta, Heramba Lal, 201, 202, 204, 209, 210, 211, 215, 217, 218.
- Gupta, Nagendranath, 96.
- Gupta, Shiv Prasad, 197, 200, 203, 206, 207.
- Guranditta Mal, Lala, 66.
- Gurdas Ram, Lala, 140, 143, 144, 145.
- Guru Dutt, Pandit, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 46, 47, 51, 53, 57, 58, 80 ; ideas on Sanskrit studies, 49 ; attitude towards non-vegetarian diet, 50 ; views on Dayanand, 54 ; death of, 52.
- HANS RAJ, Lala, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 33, 34, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 72, 75, 80, 93, 104, 152, 171 ; responsibility for split in the Arya Samaj, 54.
- Har Bhagwan Das, Lala 66.
- Har Dayal, Lala, 107, 203 fn., 205, 206 fn., 215.
- Hardie, Keir (Jr.), 201.
- Hardikar, N.S., 219.
- Hardinge, Lord, 5, 208 fn.
- Hari Chand, R.B., 121.
- Hari Lal, Lala, 35, 38, 41.
- Harish Chandra, 206, 214, 215, 217, 218.
- Harkishan Lal, Lala, 91, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 128, 151 fn., 189.
- Harnam Das, Lala, 66.
- Hathras, 206 fn.
- Hissar, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 50, 65, 66, 67, 82, 83, 84, 85.
- Hong Kong, 207 fn.
- Hoshiarpur, 66.
- Huebsch, B.W., 206, 213.
- Hukam Chand, Rai, 26, 79.
- Hume, Allan Octavian, 84, 85, 86.
- Hyder Riza, 226.
- Hyndman, 105.
- IBBETSON, Sir Denzil, 103, 135 fn., 164 ; minute on situation in the Punjab, 228—240.
- Indian Home Rule League of America, 219.
- Indian National Congress, 43, 101 fn., 103 fn., 109, 118, 152 ; Allahabad Session, 44 fn., 85 ; Bombay Session, 44 fn., 86, 100 ; Banaras Session, 110, 111 ; Calcutta Session, 112-114, 115 ; Lahore Session, 70, 89, 91, 95, 97, 98 ; Madras Session, 84.
- Ishwar Das, Bhagat, 58, 64, 66, 97, 103.
- Ishwar Das, Lala, 47, 100, 116.
- JABALPUR, 76.
- Jagraon, 11, 12, 17, 33, 81.
- Jai Chand, Doctor, 174 fn.
- Jai Chand, Lala, 59.
- Jaishi Ram, Bakshi, 89, 91, 95, 97, 98.
- Jandiala, 158.
- Jaswant Rai, Lala, 99, 112, 115, 116, 117, 120, 121, 127, 128, 179.
- Jawahar Singh, Bhai, 30.
- Jhansi, 194.
- Jhelum, 66.
- Jiwan Das, Lala, 31, 53, 59.
- Jullundur, 66, 113.
- Jwala Sahai, 66.
- KABUL, 35, 206 fn.
- Kalu Khan, 203 fn.
- Kandi, 101.
- Kangra Valley, 183.

Kanshi Ram, Lala, 23, 66, 100.  
 Kapur, Diwan Chand, 104.  
 Karachi, 138, 203, 204.  
 Katni, 194.  
 Kaul, Dharam Chand, 66.  
 Kaul, Janki Nath, 123, 125, 145.  
 Kesho Das, Lala, 26.  
 Kewal Krishan, Lala, 66.  
 Khan Chand, Dr. 201, 202.  
 Khaparde, G.S., 113.  
 Khazan Singh, Malik, 123, 125, 145.  
 Khemka, R.K. 214, 219.  
 Kidar Nath, Lala, 47, 59, 199.  
 Kishan Singh, 118.  
 Kitchin, Mr., 140.  
 Knap, H.H.G., 184 fn.

LABHU RAM, Lala, 71.  
 Lahore, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 30, 31, 33, 43, 46, 48, 50, 58, 59, 60, 62, 66, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85, 94, 95, 96, 103, 104, 109, 111, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120 fn., 121, 122, 126, 139, 145, 146, 150, 151, 152, 154, 157, 158, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 176, 178, 179, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187, 189, 190, 192, 194, 203 fn., 205 fn., 226, 227, 230, 234, 235 ; Orphanage, 76 ; Congress Session at, 70, 89, 91, 95, 97, 98 ; University College, 19.

Lajpat Rai, Lala, ancestry and early life, 11-16 ; education, 17, 20-22 ; role in the Urdu-Hindi controversy, 26 ; joins Arya Samaj, 29-30 ; on the death of Swami Dayanand, 31-32 ; at Rohtak, 33 ; passes pleader's examination, 34 ; shifts to Hissar, 36 ; work for the Hissar Arya Samaj, 41 ; member Hissar Municipality, 42-43 ; joins the Lahore High Court Bar, 45-46 ; the D.A.V. College movement, 52 : on Arya Samaj split, 58-64 ; President of the Anarkali Samaj,

64 ; movement for the relief of C.P. orphans, 76 ; preparation for political work, 81-83 ; 'Open Letters' to Sir Syed, 84, 85 fn. ; at Allahabad Congress Session, 85 ; at the Lahore Congress Session, 90 ; evidence before the Famine Commission 98 ; Congress delegate to England, 103-06 : visit to America, 108 ; at Banaras Congress, 109-111 ; at Calcutta Congress, 112-14 ; at Lyallpur meeting, 121-22 ; deportation to Mandalay, 154-194 ; visit to the United States, 197-207, 212-18 ; visit to Japan, 207-12 ; on Indian Revolutionaries in United States and Japan, 218-20 ; letter to *The Panjabee* on the political situation in the Punjab (1907), 223-227.

Lakhpur Rai, Pandit, 35, 36, 39, 60, 67.

Lakshmi Narain, Lala, 25.

Lal Chand, Lala, 46, 50, 52, 57, 58, 63, 64, 66, 69, 72, 88, 89, 91, 96, 100, 103, 104.

Lamba, Mul Chand, 66.

Laski, H.J., 213.

Leeds, 106.

Leitner, G.W., 19.

Lekh Ram, Pandit, 47, 73-4.

Lippmann, Walter, 201, 206.

London, 104, 108, 131, 138, 186, 187.

Los Angeles, 202, 203.

Lucknow, 84.

Ludhiana, 11, 17, 18, 66, 151.

Lyallpur, 120, 122, 123, 127, 226, 229, 231, 234, 235 ; Lajpat Rai's speech at, 150.

MACDONNEL, A.P., 93 fn.

Mackarness, Frederic, 180 fn.

Madan Gopal, Lala, 52.

Madan Singh, Lala, 29, 31, 47.

Madho Lal, Munshi, 110.

Madras, 84 fn., 102.

Madura, 101.

Mahe, 100.

- Mahendra Pratap, Raja, 206.  
 Mahesh Chander, 203  
 Malabari, B.M., 101.  
 Malaviya, Madan Mohan, 85, 114.  
 Malerkotla, 11.  
 Manchanda, Ram Chand, 121.  
 Manchester, 106.  
 Mandalay, 3, 38, 132, 158, 159, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 169, 171, 172, 174, 176 fn., 178, 180, 181, 182, 184, 186, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194.  
 Mangalore, 100.  
 Manila, 207 fn.  
 Mant, Mr., 154.  
 Martineau, A.E., 177 fn.  
 Mazzini, G., 81, 82, 83, 93, 94, 95, 103 ; *Life of*—by Lajpat Rai, 4 fn.  
 Meerut, 30, 84.  
 Mehta, Pherozshah, 114.  
 Merzer, Keneo, 200.  
 Mian Mir, 155, 157, 164, 194.  
 Miani, 66.  
 Mianwali, 60 fn.  
 Milan, 104.  
 Mill, John Stuart, 26.  
 Minneapolis, 219.  
 Minto, Lord, 108, 113, 132, 135 fn., 190 fn.  
 Mohammad Hussain, Mir, 42.  
 Morley, John, 131, 132, 148, 180, fn., 186, 190 fn.  
 Mudki, 11, 12 fn.  
 Muhammad Hussain Azad, 79, 80.  
 Muhammad Hussain, Maulvi, 77.  
 Muhammad Shafi, M., 119, 122.  
 Muharram Ali Chisti, Maulvi, 81.  
 Mukerji, Abani, 207, 208.  
 Mul Raj, Pandit, 67.  
 Mul Raj, Rai, 46, 47, 55, 59, 60, 65, 67, 74, 82, 87 fn., 88, 89, 90, 95, 96.  
 Mulk Raj, Lala, 49, 55, 56, 62, 77.  
 Multan, 25, 66, 67, 226.  
 Munshi Ram, Lala, 46, 50, 53, 56, 57, 58, 61, 63, 66, 74, 206 ; Lajpat Rai on, 60-61.  
 Murli Dhar, Master, 66.  
 Murli Dhar, Rai, 85.  
 Mussey, H.R., 201.  
 NANAK CHAND, 143.  
 Naoroji, Dadabhai, 105, 106, 112, 113, 114.  
 Naples, 104.  
 Narain Kishan, Lala, 66.  
 Narendra Gosain, 5.  
 Narendra Nath, Raja, 22.  
 Nathu Ram, Lala, 83.  
 New Orleans, 201.  
 New York, 3, 197, 198, 200, 201, 205, 206, 214, 215 fn., 216, 217, 219.  
 Nietzsche, 218.  
 Nivedita, Sister, 103.  
 Nundy, Alfred, 128.  
 Nuwara Eliya, 101.  
 O'GRADY, 180 fn.  
 Okuma, Count, 210.  
 PAIRA RAM, Rai, 46, 59, 60, 72, 75.  
 Pal, Bepin Chandra, 113, 114.  
 Panjab University, 19, 25, 174.  
 Parbati Devi, 174 fn.  
 Paris, 138.  
 Parmanand, Bhai, 3, 205.  
 Parmanand, Swami, 200.  
 Pennsylvania, 201.  
 Peshawar, 66, 69, 203 fn.  
 Phillaur, 158.  
 Piarey Krishna, 159.  
 Pittsburg, 219.  
 Poona, 104.  
 Pope, Arthur, U., 205, 206.  
 Port Said, 104.  
 Punjab National Bank, 96, 97.  
 Pyare Lal, 155, 174 fn.  
 QUINN, John, 200, 201, 205.

- RADHA KISHEN**, Mehta, 66.  
**Radha Kishan**, Munshi, 12-13, 181.  
**Rahmat Ullah**, 154.  
**Raimal Das**, Bhagat, 58.  
**Raipur**, 193.  
**Rakshit**, H., 214.  
**Rala Ram Bhimbat**, Lala, 23.  
**Ralla Ram**, Lala, 57, 102.  
**Rallia Ram**, Lala, 46, 66.  
**Rallumal**, 11 fn.  
**Ram Bhaj Dutt**, 120, 121.  
**Ram Chandra**, M., 66.  
**Ram Chandra Peshawari**, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 213, 214, 217, 218.  
**Ram Kishen**, Lala, 66.  
**Ram Mohan Roy**, Raja, 24.  
**Ram Sahai**, Lala, 66.  
**Ram Saran Das**, R.B., 119.  
**Ram Singh**, Bhai, 150, 152.  
**Ramesh Chander**, 203.  
**Rameshwaram**, 102.  
**Ramji Lal**, Dr., 40.  
**Ramji Das**, Lala, 35, 36.  
**Rangoon**, 158, 159, 160, 163, 193.  
**Ratcliffe**, S.K., 103.  
**Rawalpindi**, 66, 100, 123, 126 fn., 127, 128, 135, 151, 152, 176, 177, 186, 187, 223, 224, 226, 227, 229, 232, 234; disturbances at, 140-50.  
**Ray**, R., 111.  
**Redmond**, William, 180 fn.  
**Rieber**, Professor, 205.  
**Ripon**, Lord, 89.  
**Rishi Kesh**, 199.  
**Risley**, H.H., 181.  
**Rivaz**, Sir, C., 164 fn.  
**Rohtak**, 33, 35, 36, 40.  
**Rome**, 104.  
**Roy**, J.N., 111.  
**Roy**, Kali Prasana, 91, 96, 97.  
**Roy**, Mrs. Evelyn, 216 fn., 217.  
**Roy**, M.N., 207 fn., 216, 217, 218.  
**Roy**, Navin Chandra, 23 fn., 24, 27.  
**Rundle**, Mr., 154, 157, 194.  
**Rupar**, 17.  
**Rustamji**, Rustam, 200.  
**Rutherford**, V.H., 180 fn.  
**SABHARWAL**, Kesho Ram, 208, 209.  
**Sadharan Samaj**, 23 fn., 27.  
**Saharanpur**, 30.  
**Sahni**, Kirpa Ram, 66.  
**Sahni**, Ruchi Ram, 22.  
**Saihgai**, 214.  
**Sain Das**, Lala, 24, 26, 29, 30, 31, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 71, 88, 89.  
**Salig Ram Arobbans**, 61.  
**San Francisco**, 199 fn., 203, 204, 206, 207 fn., 212, 214, 215, 216 fn., 217, 218, 219; Trials, 219.  
**Sanyal**, 216, 217.  
**Saraj-ud-din**, Main, 120, fn., 121.  
**Sarjan Lal**, Lala, 66.  
**Sarkar**, B.K., 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 206, 207.  
**Sat Sabha**, 48.  
**Saugor**, 193.  
**Savarkar**, V.D., 107.  
**Sawhney**, Bodh Raj, 141.  
**Sawhney**, Gurdas Ram, 100, 123, 125, 141.  
**Sawhney**, Hans Raj, 66, 85, 100, 123, 124, 125, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145.  
**Sawhney**, Ladha Ram, 59.  
**Sawhney**, Maya Das, 66, 123.  
**Seattle**, 203 fn.  
**Sekunna**, E.M. 197, 198.  
**Seligman**, E.R.A., 200, 201.  
**Sen**, Keshub Chunder, 23, 27.  
**Sethi**, Hari Ram, 66.  
**Shadi Lal**, Lala, 113.  
**Shahab-ud-din**, Chaudhry, 120, 121, 122.  
**Shanghai**, 211.  
**Shashi Bhushan**, Babu, 22.  
**Shastri**, K.D., 214, 219.  
**Shaukat Rai**, Lala, 66.  
**Shibusawa**, Professor, 211.



- Shiv Dutt Ram, 66.  
 Shiv Nath, Lala, 25.  
 Shiv Nath, Rai, 22.  
 Shivaji, 93.  
 Shraddhanand, Swami, 73 fn. ;  
   *see also* Munshi Ram.  
 Shyamji Krishna Verma, 103,  
   104, 105, 106, 107, 108.  
 Sialkot, 121, 232, 234, 235.  
 Sime, J., 26, 80.  
 Simla, 17, 18, 69, 177, 182.  
 Sina, 104.  
 Singapore, 207 fn.  
 Sinha, P.N., 214, 215, 216.  
 Sita Ram, Arya, 59.  
 Sita Ram, Dr., 66.  
 Sita Ram, Vaid, 66.  
 Sohan Lal, R.B. Bakshi, 118.  
 Sri Ram, Lala, 47.  
 Subramanya, G., 102.  
 Sukh Dayal, Lala, 66.  
 Sukh Dayal, R.B., 120.  
 Sunder Das, Lala, 71, 118.  
 Sundar Lal, Pandit, 110.  
 Sunderland, J.T., 206 fn.  
 Suraj Narain 'Mihir', Lala, 25.  
 Suraj Narain, 197.  
 Surat, 114, 138.  
 Sutlej, 12.  
 Syed Ahmed Khan, Sir, 13, 84.  
 TEJA SINGH, Bawa, 66.  
 Tek Chand, Bakshi, 100, 120.  
 Thakar Das, Lala, 66.  
 Thakur Dutt, Rai, 46.  
 Thakur, P.N., 207, 208, 209, 210,  
   211, *see also* Rash Behari Bose.  
 Tilak, B.G., 99, 104, 110, 111,  
   112, 113.  
 Tokyo, 199 fn., 209, 210, 214.  
 Tola Ram, Lala, 59.  
 Tomkins, Mr., 144.  
 Tyabji, Badrudin, 84.  
 UMRAO SINGH, Lala, 66.  
 Urbana, 219.  
 VIVEKANAND, Swami, 103 fn.  
 WASHINGTON, 201.  
 Wedderburn, Sir William, 100  
   104, 105, 108, 152.  
 Woods, Prof. J., 201.  
 YOKOHAMA, 206, 209, 212, 214.  
 Younghusband, Mr., 154.

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