

1929 Lahore: Study and Struggle in a Frontier/Contact Zone

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The last day of the year 1929 and Lahore was abuzz with excitement. On the banks of the river Ravi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru – the newly appointed president of the Congress, taking over from his father Motilal Nehru, who had earlier on in a ceremony both performative and symbolic, passed him a flambeau – raised the national flag and declared that *Purna Swaraj* or total independence would now be the new aim of the Congress. As the audience broke out in a frenzied *bhangra* dance (with Nehru joining them), renowned educationist Emily Kinnaid, among the few British present in the audience, 'could feel the energy pulsating through the meeting and could recognize the patriotic sense'.¹

In this essay, I look at the interface between politics and academics in the city of Lahore during the colonial period which made Lahore a frontier city where different texts and thoughts travelled through time and space to make it a contact zone that had a tremendous influence on the political scenario of the 1920s.

The colonial period in Lahore started with the British annexation of the Punjab, subsequent to the Second Anglo-Sikh War. On 12th March 1849, the last battle between the British and the Sikhs was fought at Gujrat (Punjab), which resulted in the defeat of the latter. On 29th March, Maharajah Ranjit Singh's heir, the boy-king Duleep Singh (1838 – 1893), handed over the Punjab to the British, who made Lahore, the capital of the Sikh kingdom, their provincial capital.

According to R. Kumar, 'By the end of the First World War, 50,000 people were working in the legal, educational, medical and administrative professions in Lahore'.² A burgeoning middle-class of service men and professionals, including colonial administrators, judges and lawyers, doctors and journalists, bankers and insurance agents, academics including teachers and students, political and social workers, poets and novelists, and even members of a fledgling film-industry, made Lahore a bustling city

where people from different classes interacted with each other in both public and private spaces.

Corporate-honcho Prakash Tandon (1911-2004), in his memoirs *Punjabi Saga*, recalls his time in Lahore and the establishment of a white-collar 'Lahori clan':

*Each generation, my grand-uncle, father, uncle and we ourselves, studied at Lahore. When you settled in a profession or service, most of your colleagues were old friends from Lahore; you married into some family whose sons and daughters had been to Lahore. Gradually people also began to retire to Lahore. Thus Lahore came to acquire a very special position in our society. There was an overall class of Punjabi professionals who had been educated at Lahore, and this was not a caste of birth and inheritance for in many Colleges, especially those started by charitable trusts, there were a large number of students from humble towns and villages.*³

Indeed, the number of migrants in Lahore far exceeded that of other towns in the Punjab. According to Ian Talbot and Tahir Kamran, 'As early as the 1881 Census, Lahore was recorded as having the highest percentage of "strangers", those born outside the city and the district in the Punjab. Thirty years later, the Census recorded that 463 out of every 1,000 Lahore residents had been born outside the district. The greatest number of migrants was from the neighbouring Punjab region and they saw the city as their final destination'.⁴ What had brought a majority of these migrants was the prospect of higher education because in Lahore, there were, before anything else, the colleges. As Tandon explains: 'Lahore was the first town to start schools and colleges, and although educational facilities spread all over the Punjab, higher education in arts, science, medicine, law, engineering, teaching and veterinary science was concentrated in Lahore...Punjabi parental ambitions to give their sons, and soon their daughters, higher education was indeed great, and often touching'.⁵

Among the general colleges, Government College, established by the British Government, and Foreman Christian College, established by American missionaries, were the first to come up – in 1864. Soon after, in 1870, was established the Oriental College which specialized in Oriental studies and Classical Indian languages. By 1882, the chiefs, nobles, and people of the Punjab had collected over Rs. 300,000 for a university. Among the chief-donors were the Maharajahs of Jammu and Kashmir, and Patiala. The Maharajahs of Kapurthala, Bahawalpur, Jind, Nabha and other princely states too donated many thousands of rupees. 'Finally in October 1882, the University of Punjab was formally opened as an organization equal of other universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras'.⁶ Under the lieutenant-governorship of Sir Charles Umpherston Aitchison, all these colleges were then integrated into this newly established Punjab University, which had the distinction of being the fourth largest university of British India.

Other colleges affiliated to the University came up too: Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (1888), Islamia (1892), Dyal Singh (1910) and Sanatan Dharam (1916). Education for women received an impetus with the establishment of Kinnaird College for Women (1913), Lahore College for Women (1922), Dev Samaj College for Girls (1934) and Fateh Chand College for Women (1935). Professional colleges included King Edward Medical College (1860), Law College (1868), Central Training College (1881), Dayanand Ayurvedic College (1898), Maclagan Engineering College (1923) and Hailey College of Commerce (1927).

According to Talbot and Kamran, 'By the end of British rule, Lahore boasted 270 colleges and a student population of 88,000'.⁷ What a far cry from the time, not even a century earlier, when John Lawrence (1811-1879), as the first Chief-Commissioner of the Punjab, had rejected the proposal for setting up a college stating that the additional expenditure to be incurred for such an institute was not justified for 'a scheme for which the state of education in the country creates no special demand'.⁸

Standing apart from all these colleges – those which came before it and after it – in its proud isolation, was National College, an institute which contributed immensely to the revolutionary stream of the freedom struggle; and was the alma-mater of two of India's greatest revolutionaries, Bhagat Singh (1907-1931) and Sukhdev (1907-1931).

Founded by Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928), and modelled on the Rand's School of Social Sciences in the US, with the objective of creating political workers in India, the college was formally declared open on 16th May 1921. For Rai, who had visualized the institute as a space for change in Indian society, it was essential that at the helm should be a man who could become a role-model and

influence the young students to follow his path. For this purpose, he chose an Andaman-returned revolutionary, Bhai Parmanand (1876-1947), to head the affairs. Here Rai was correct in his estimation as can be seen from this testimony by Ram Chandra (a student of the college and later a noted labour and political leader): 'Of all our teachers, Bhai Parmanand inspired us the most. He taught Modern European history with full fervour. Recounting in detail one European revolution after the other, he inspired the students to resolutely adopt revolutionary methods to free the country'.⁹ Thus, in Parmanand, we see an amalgamation of his life-history with the history of the subject that he taught. His life, with its academic degrees and writings, wide-spread travels, role with the Ghadar revolt, and the Andamans incarceration, was inspiring enough but his way of teaching also made a profound impact on his students who, already disillusioned with the non-violent experiment of non-cooperation, came to the conclusion that violence was the solution to bringing about a revolution in India.

And it was fittingly a professor of the college who enrolled Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev into the revolutionary party. Professor Jai Chandra Vidyalankar (1898-1977) was professor of Ancient Indian History but behind the scenes, he was a member of the Hindustan Republican Association (HRA) and a close associate of the Association's founder, the renowned revolutionary Sachindranath Sanyal (1892-1942). As a teacher, he had few equals. According to Hindi writer Yashpal, who too studied in the college:

*Professor Jai Chandra Vidyalankar used to encourage inquisitiveness and discussions among students. He was professor of Indian history and politics. He used to emphasize that students should not regard history merely as a reading but rather a more critical examination of the past. In his classes we used to debate even on (non-subject) related issues like atheism-non-atheism; spirituality vis-à-vis materialism... A group formed around him consisting of such students who liked to debate issues. It was this group that formed the nucleus of the revolutionary party in the Punjab.*¹⁰

On his part, Jai Chandra Vidyalankar, who prior to his joining National College had taught in a school in Surat and had communicated with Gandhi regarding the curriculum to be followed in national educational institutes and would go on to teach in Sabarmati Ashram, Bihar Vidyapeeth and several other institutes, maintained that in his life he never found 'such a spirited and intelligent student group ever again'.¹¹

As Yashpal's reminiscences testify, the classroom became a site of questioning and analysis rather than that of opiated one-way teaching by simply stuffing the students with peremptory platitudes. If National College had been founded as a place where social change

could take place, where free thinking was encouraged, this was a promising beginning. They also show that a lot of teaching going on in the college was beyond the syllabus, and how open the college was. Significantly, Bhai Parmanand was a teacher of Modern European History. Similarly, Vidyalkar, whose subject was Ancient Indian History, would discuss contemporary world events like the Irish struggle, Russian Revolution, and the recently concluded Non-Cooperation Movement, engaging the class in causes of its failure and discussing what the way forward was. This attempt to seek lessons from past movements as well as contemporary struggles against oppression in far-flung places reveals a lateral encounter between groups and individuals in the same or different time(s) but under the same kinds of conditions.

Students trying to find an answer to India's political conundrum turned to books like the biographies of Italian patriots Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) and Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) or Russian revolutionaries like Vera Figner (1852-1942) and Prince Kropotkin (1842-1941), histories of the French Revolution, thoughts of Voltaire (1664-1778) and Rousseau (1712-1778), and a plethora of fictional literature.

However, to go back to Yashpal's statement, it is important to note that it was this group of enthusiastic, questioning, analytical boys who later on formed the core group of the revolutionary party in the Punjab because this habit of debating and discussing was to be a crucial part of their ideological development. Not for them the usual policy of unquestioning acceptance. 'Assume nothing', Rai had written, 'analyse every idea, examine every scheme in the light of the day, in the searchlight of scientific truth. Let our schemes be tested by the most critical tests of the times'.¹² And the students paid heed to their political mentor. For all the debates and discussions, the 'consideration of pros and cons', it was important, however, that the budding revolutionaries be well-read and have facts on their finger-tips. And for this, it was essential that the students have access to books.

Thankfully for them, Lahore had a strong library culture. Commenting on the spread of the library culture in North India, C.A. Bayly says: 'In addition to older lines of communication, the Indian public man could also now draw on longer institutional memories. Alongside municipal clock towers and works of public utility, North Indians began to build public libraries in the Indian interest'.¹³ It was not as if the British established the library system in modern India or Lahore – Maharajah Ranjit Singh's youngest wife Maharani Jind Kaur (1817-1863) had a library constructed at the shrine of Data Darbar to which she donated the Royal family's collection of the Holy Quran – but the earlier libraries (as this instance shows) 'resembled the older collections

of sacred texts'.¹⁴ The new collections, with their emphasis on more contemporary, non-sacred, scientific, historical, statistical and fictional writings soon 'became a formidable store of information for use in the process of Indian public instruction and somewhat later in the battle against government control of public information'.¹⁵ The Punjab University Library came along with the University but it was the Punjab Public Library that followed two years later in 1884, right in the heart of the city, which made a marked impact on Lahore. Being there for public consumption unlike earlier libraries established by the British that had only been associated with government or mission schools or had severely restricted access for Indians, this library was open to all. In fact, the space where the public library opened was earlier occupied by the Anarkali Book Club which was a circulating library *only* 'for the European residents'.¹⁶ With the opening of the library, this Book Club was shifted to the Gymkhana and the space became open for Indians, with Lala Kirpa Ram becoming its first librarian.

Speaking on the library culture of Lahore, Professor Uday Vir Shastri, who taught Sanskrit at National College, elaborates:

In Lahore, I found an environment congenial to my own academic bent. At that time, there were a great many large libraries in Lahore. Of special note were the Punjab University Library, Lalchand Research Library of D.A.V. College, and Punjab Public Library. Other big colleges like Islamia and Dyal Singh too had first-rate libraries. There was another excellent library which did yeoman service to the public at large – the Gurudutt Bhawan library, run by the Arya Samaj, and unfortunately burnt to the ground during the partition riots. Apart from libraries, Lahore had a strong academia with a number of scholars who though involved in research of more modern subjects had an extensive knowledge of other subjects too.¹⁷

A library that played an important role in the development of revolutionary consciousness among the youth of Lahore was the Dwarka Das Library. Part of Lajpat Rai's socio-political organization *Servants of the People Society* (1921) and dedicated to the memory of his friend Dwarka Das 'who died of a broken heart because of the collapse of public life', the library was at a premier location in Lahore, surrounded as it was by various colleges.¹⁸ A voracious reader himself, Rai had not only donated his entire collection of books (as well as that of his friend Dwarka Das who had bequeathed his substantial collection to the *Society*) to the library but also took a personal interest in making it one of the richest libraries of India, buying books in bulk and subscribing to various journals round the world.

Labour leader Raja Ram Shastri, who was appointed assistant-librarian by Rai's society, would purchase revolutionary and socialist literature for the library and

keep close contacts with its members. He would also keep tabs on the kind of literature that the members were reading. Needless to add, National College students Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Bhagwati Charan Vohra, Ram Kishan, etc., quickly enrolled themselves as members of the library and became especially close to him. Shastri, who had recently turned to socialism, breaking the orthodoxy of his family, would select and pass on books on socialism to Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and the others. Among this literature was the material that came for Rai through post and included prohibited and banned stuff. Included in the postal literature that came from abroad was the 'secret stuff sent by noted communist leader and radical humanist M.N. Roy', with whom Rai had struck up a friendship while on his sojourn abroad.¹⁹ 'Roy's correspondence included his journal *The Masses*. There were other revolutionary pamphlets that too came for Lalaji'. Since Shastri had the job of opening Rai's mail, he would first pass on the material to Bhagat Singh, who would read and make notes of it to pass on to his friends, before returning the material to Shastri who would then take it to Rai. Thus a lot of material not available in the public sphere became known to Bhagat Singh and his group and helped in the maturing of their ideas.

Durga Das Khanna (1908-1984), student of Foreman Christian College, recruited into the party by Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev, and later almost condemned to death in the Governor's Shooting Case (1930), recalled how once he was interrogated by his Principal Dr. Lucas and History professor Dr. Wilson regarding an answer he had written as the material was not from the prescribed text books. When Khanna replied that he had obtained the information from B. D. Basu's *Rise of Christian Power in India* (1923), the teachers were surprised as the librarian of the college had strict instructions not to issue that book to any student. Khanna informed them that he had got the book from the Dwarka Das Library whereupon the principal asked him to bring his uncle (who was also the counsel of the college) to meet him. When the uncle visited, the principal told him, 'I warn you that your nephew is going to be hanged one of these days! Because you are our counsel, I just want to warn you that he may not go to extremes'.²⁰

Lahore was also home to the largest print and publishing industry in the Punjab. According to the 1916 gazetteer, Lahore district had 75 printing presses with 17 of these in operation for more than twenty years. In 1919, of a total of '264 newspapers and periodicals published in the Punjab, 156 were published in Lahore'.²¹ Prominent among these were *The Civil and Military Gazette* (1872-1963), *The Tribune* (1881-till present), *Zamindar* (1911-1950s), *Bandematram* (1918-1930s), *Partap* (1919-till present), and 'the combined circulation of the

whole Punjab press was estimated at 320,000 copies'.²² This reflected a phenomenal growth since the time the British asked Munshi Harsukh Rai (1816-1890) to move his business from the United Provinces to Lahore, which he accordingly did to set up Punjab's first newspaper, the Urdu *Koh-i-Nur* (1849-1904).

Famous author and raconteur of Lahore, Pran Neville, has talked about the influence that the newspapers had on the reading public, when men would gather around, puffing on their hookahs and 'go through all the dailies such as *Milap*, *Partap*, *Veer Bharat*, *Zamindar* and pick up spicy news items for discussion'.²³ And indeed, newspaper articles had started influencing a large number of people. Speaking before the 1921 India Press Laws Committee headed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (1875-1949), Malik Barkat Ali (1885-1946), former editor of the *Observer* of Lahore, declared: 'The passion for journalism had descended to the market; shopkeepers, and the masses, now read the newspapers. It is not merely the educated classes who read them. The man in the street has begun to read the newspapers'.²⁴ It is thus an acknowledgement of Lahore's passion for the printed word that in 1920 a Congress Report described Lahore as containing 'the largest number of literate classes' in the province and 'best supplied in the Punjab with news from day to day'.²⁵

Besides the mainstream publishing industry, Lahore also had a flourishing underground publishing and printing system which brought out banned books and other subversive material. Two notable agencies involved in such a publication network were the Bharat Mata Book Agency, headed by renowned revolutionary Ajit Singh (1881-1947) and his friend Sufi Amba Prasad (1858-1917), and the Bandematram Book Agency, founded by revolutionary poet Lal Chand 'Falak' (1887-1967). Both the agencies worked in tandem and published pamphlets criticizing the British Raj as well as speeches by political leaders. A look at these pamphlets – *Ungli Pakarte Pouncha Pakra*, *Desi Fauj Zafar Mauj*, *European Tehzeeb Ka Namuna*, *Inquilab*, *Bandar Bant* – shows the writers discussing various forms of discrimination faced by Indians under alien rule. The policy and crooked ways of the English, exposés of their tricks and deceits, the distinction between European and native troops on the basis of colour, comparison of American and French revolutions with the state of India, were some of the topics discussed. Their publications were immensely popular among the public as a British secret note reveals: 'They commanded a ready sale as they were well-written and sufficiently spicy to tickle the palate of the Lahore public'.²⁶ Interestingly, *Bandar Bant* was an Urdu translation of *Christianity and Civilization* (1838), James Howitt's (1792-1879) scathing look at British rule in India. This put the British administrators in a fix since they did

not know how to proceed against the translator of the pamphlet, Swaran Singh (1887-1910), as Howitt's book was available in libraries and in circulation. This strategy by the Indians reveals that they had understood the tricks of the trade and had carried the ball to the court of the British by striking against two of their most vaunted pillars of free-speech, and law and justice. And now the British did not know how to proceed since 'a prosecution of Swaran Singh...would probably stir up much feeling and if it failed, the result would be disastrous'.²⁷ The voluminous exchange of letters between the Central and State governments shows how much the proliferation of these pamphlets had disturbed the equanimity of the higher authorities. Thus we have H.G. Stokes, Secretary, Government of India, writing to the Deputy Secretary, Punjab, that 'the Governor-General in Council considers that the Punjab is the last province in which it is safe to permit seditious matter to be published with impunity'.²⁸

Besides the underground network of printing and distributing such books, Lahore was also dotted with book shops. Indeed by 1920, 'the number of book shops in Lahore exceeded that of a similar sized town in England' and some of them, like Ramakrishna and Sons at Anarkali, would clandestinely make available smuggled books.²⁹ 'The transnational reach of radical texts', writes Daniel Elam, 'through a network of illicit printing and circulation meant that writers around the world could participate in a global conversation, especially after World War I, about new political possibilities – not only on a national scale but a global one'.³⁰

Ideas and thoughts thus circulated freely, whether in public spaces like libraries and reading rooms or in the more private space of *baithaks* (gatherings). Rana Jung Bahadur, at that time the editor of the weekly *Nation* and later the editor of the daily *Tribune*, had this to say in an interview:

*These young men who were engaged then in nurturing the (revolutionary) movement in the Punjab, many of them used to come to my house and meet there and hold discussions. I was not a very active participant in those discussions. And I must confess that I had never been taken into their confidence by them...But also since I was a bachelor and my house was a very convenient meeting place, they used to assemble their quite often. I used to visit also Sri Bhagwati Charan Vohra's house because there also these young men used to meet.*³¹

Private spaces thus had a two-fold agenda: open discussions and debates but also the secret hatching of plans, the airing of views which in more public spaces, even if not infested with CID, would have them captured, dragged to the courts, and imprisoned for sedition.

There were also the *dhabas*, the precursors of the modern coffee-houses. One such place was the Ghee

House run by Sukhdev and Bhagat Singh's college-mate, Ram Kishan (1901-1940). At the corner of the Mohanlal Road, it was a veritable meeting ground for students not only from different colleges but also schools. Dayanat Rai, who was convicted in the Punjab Conspiracy Case, stated in an interview that it was at this *dhaba* that the seeds of an organization for school students were implanted: 'I was an eighth class student of D.A.V High School in 1928. One day Naujawan Bharat Sabha³² leaders were sitting at Comrade Ram Kishan's Ghee Shop. Bhagwati Charan, Sukhdev and Dhanwantri pointed out that the Students' Union had become active but there was a need to bring in younger students in the struggle'.³³ Dayanat Rai and Baldev Raj (Lala Lajpat Rai's grandson), who were class-fellows and listening to the elders, pointed out that neither NBS nor the elderly Students' Union offered them any opportunity as they were deemed too young. As an answer, Vohra explained that these two organisations were not meant for children and then suggested that school students should form a separate organization which would work actively with the advice of NBS and Students' Union leaders. Thereupon they formed a Bal Students' Union with Dayanat Rai as president and Baldev Raj as secretary. When their seniors were being tried in the LCC, these youngsters collected fund for their defence. They held meetings to educate younger students, took part in the Salt Satyagraha and strikes in schools, hoisted the Red Flag on Jan 26th, 1930, at the D.A.V. School and its hostel, and observed Peshawar Day in Bradlaugh Hall on August 5th 1930.

These were the spaces then where the circles of acquaintance could be widened. School students who otherwise might not have been able to interact with college students could do so at these *dhabas*. Youngsters who might have been wary of approaching their seniors in other places could do so in the informal atmosphere of such places.

Bradlaugh Hall, which opened in November 1900 and was named after Charles Bradlaugh (1833-1891), who acted as 'Member for India' in the British House of Commons right till his death, was the political and cultural nerve-centre of Lahore. 'Every important personality who came to India' recalled Professor Chhabil Das, 'people like Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the labour PM, and so many others – like all-India leaders Sir Surendranath Bannerjea, Dr. Annie Besant, Mr. Srinivas Sastri, or the Chinese leader Wellington Koo – would come and deliver their message invariably at the political centre called Bradlaugh Hall'.³⁴ Thus Bradlaugh Hall gave the Lahoris an opportunity to listen to views cutting across the political spectrum. And it was at Bradlaugh Hall that the young college students challenged the Raj by commemorating

the martyrs of Indian freedom struggle with slides and lantern shows, accompanied by impassioned running commentary.

Another significant space as regards the disseminating of political views was the *bagh* (park/garden) outside Old City's Mochi Gate – likened by many old Lahoris to the Speaker's Corner in London's famed Hyde Park – where important political leaders like Lajpat Rai, Allama Iqbal (1877-1938), Motilal Nehru (1861-1931) and Hasrat Mohani (1875-1951) addressed huge crowds:

*During the late colonial era, it became a public space which drew huge crowds from the city and beyond to attend political rallies. Here locality and space dramatically intersected in the holding of mammoth political meetings which impacted on not only regional, but national developments...indeed, the success of the public rallies held at the Mochidarwaza was an index of a politician's popular standing.*³⁵

After the Assembly Bomb Incident and the beginning of the 1929 Lahore Conspiracy Case: King-Emperor vs. Sukhdev & Others, when India had discovered a new slogan, 'every other evening, the venue echoed with the thunderous slogans and cries of *InquilabZindabad*'.³⁶

Other cultural spaces included the Lahore Museum (1865) and Mayo School of Arts (1875) and drew visitors from India and abroad. A novelty that opened in 1872 was the Lahore Zoo, the second zoo to be opened in India after the one at Alipore, at a time when there were only a handful of zoos all over the world. Yet another kind of novelty were the cinema houses.

These spaces or 'zones of engagement' then allowed the students (and budding revolutionaries) to broaden their horizons. Moving easily between campuses, libraries, *baithaks*, newspaper offices, *dhabas*, assemblies and cinema halls, debating and discussing political, socio-economic, and literary issues and passing through the circuits which zigzagged Lahore – where Victor Hugo rubbed shoulders with Veer Savarkar, where Mazzini conversed with Marx, where Bankim debated with Bakunin, where Vande Matram was sung along with the Marseillaise and the Internationale, where Waris Shah was memorized along with Hall Caine, where a Black actor James B. Lowe playing Uncle Tom was liked as much as the Baghdadi Jewish Indian actress Ruby Myers (known by her Indian screen name Sulochna) playing the eponymous *Wildcat of Bombay* – these youngsters in turn shaped a city that showed a diverse range of interests and an interconnection between the local, the national and the international. It is these inter-connections with their fluidity and flexibility that lent a cosmopolitan character to the city.

'Those were heady days', Durga Vohra (1910-1996), wife of Bhagwati and a revolutionary in her own right, reminisced about her days in Lahore:

*People left their homes. Discussions...emotional and passionate poetry, poetic symposiums, seminars, and plays...Spaces whether public or private became a forum for debate. It seemed as though a storm had descended. Everything was haywire ... No regular hours for eating or sleeping. Dirty and torn clothes, worn-out shoes...but such passion...none of them returned home.*³⁷

They might not have returned home, but it cannot be denied that it was presence of the revolutionaries and the huge public support they enjoyed while being tried in the Lahore conspiracy case that made the Congress take a more confrontational stance during its Lahore conference and echo their fervour by declaring *Purna Swaraj* as its avowed aim.

Notes

1. Kama Maclean, *A Revolutionary History of Interwar India: Violence, Image, Voice and Text* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2016), p. 137.
2. R. Kumar, 'Urban Society and Urban Politics: Lahore in 1919', *Five Punjab Centuries: Polity, Economy, Society and Culture: 1500-1990*, edited by Indu Banga (Delhi: Manohar, 1997), pp. 180-193.
3. Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Saga: 1857-2000* (New Delhi: Rupa, 2000), pp. 171-172.
4. Ian Talbot and Tahir Kamran, *Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond* (New Delhi: OUP, 2017), p. 21.
5. Tandon, *Punjabi Saga*, pp. 174-175.
6. Davis Emmett, *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab: 1836-1947* (Delhi: Academic Publications, 1983), p. 53
7. Talbot and Kamran, *Colonial Lahore*, p.168.
8. H. R. Goulding and T. H. Thornton, *Old Lahore* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1924), p. 125
9. Ram Chandra, *Naujawan Bharat Sabha and the H. S. R. A.* (New Delhi: Self Published, 1986), p.12.
10. Yashpal, *Simhalokan* (Allahabad: Lokbharati, 1997), p. 70.
11. Jai Chandra Vidyalkar, *Bhartiya Krantimargi Rashtriya Vichardhara Sun 1920 ke Baad*. (Mandsaur: Natnagar Shodh Sansthan, 1993), p. 40.
12. Lala Lajpat Rai, *Problems of National Education* (1920. ND: Publications Division, 1966), p. 75.
13. C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India: 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), p. 349.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 349.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 349.
16. Goulding and Thornton, *Old Lahore*, p. 49.
17. Udai Vir Shastri, *Jeevan ke Mod* (Ajmer: Vidhyodaya Prakashan, 1991), p. 168.
18. Feroz Chand, *Builders of Modern India: Lala Lajpat Rai* (ND, Publications Division, 1976), p. 249.
19. Raja Ram Shastri, Oral History Project (OHT) at Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML), Interviewed by Hari Dev Sharma, 27 July, 1982. Acc. No. 434, p. 90. The quotes in the next two sentences are from the same source.
20. Tribune, 23 January, 1999.

21. Emmett, *Press and Politics in British Western Punjab, 1836-1947* (Delhi: Academic Publications, 1983), p. 563.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 564
23. Pran Neville, *Lahore: A Sentimental Journey*. (New Delhi: Harper Collins, 1997), p. 13.
24. Emmett, *Press and Politics*, p. 93
25. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Electronic Book) Vol. XX: 25 March 1920-June 1920 (New Delhi: Publications Division, 1999, 98 volumes), p. 83. <https://www.gandhiashramsevagram.org/gandhi-literature/collected-works-of-mahatma-gandhi-volume-1-to-98.php>
26. James Ker, *Political Trouble in India: 1907-1917* (Calcutta: Editions India, 1973), p. 321.
27. Home/Pol 146/1909 B at National Archives of India (NAI).
28. Home/Pol 145/1909 at NAI.
29. Shalini Sharma, *Radical Politics in Colonial Punjab: Governance and Sedition*, (London: Routledge, 2009), p.11.
30. Daniel Elam, 'The "arch priestess of anarchy" visits Lahore: violence, love, and the worldliness of revolutionary texts', *Revolutionary Lives in South Asia: Acts and Afterlives of Anticolonial Political Action*, edited by Kama Maclean and J. Daniel Elam, (London and NY: Routledge, 2015, pp. 28-42), p.38.
31. Rana Jung Bahadur Singh, Cambridge Oral History Collection (COHC), Singh Interviewed by Uma Shankar, 27 July 1975, Interview No. 208. <https://www.s-asian.cam.ac.uk/archive/audio/collection/j-b-singh/19-20>
32. Naujawan Bharat Sabha was established by the students of National College in 1924. Soon it expanded to include students of other colleges too. First limited to Lahore, it soon had branches in the other districts of Punjab, Sind, and NWFP. It was banned by the British in 1929.
33. Ram Chandra, *Naujawan Bharat Sabha*, p. 261.
34. Chhabil Das, OHT at NMMI, Interviewed by S. L. Manchanda, 17 May, 1971. Acc. No. 163, p. 3.
35. Talbot and Kamran, *Colonial Lahore*, p. 59.
36. Neville, *Lahore*, p. 26.
37. Durga Vohra, 'Bhagat Singh jo mere bahot nikat they', *Kranti ke ve Din*, edited by Vachnesh Tripathi (Delhi: Vikram Prakashan, 2002), pp. 87-98.

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