SEEMA SOHI

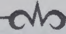
ECHOES of MUTINY

RACE, SURVEILLANCE & INDIAN ANTICOLONIALISM IN NORTH AMERICA

Echoes of Mutiny

Echoes of Mutiny

Race, Surveillance, and Indian Anticolonialism in North America



Seema Sohi

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide.

Oxford New York
Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in
Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Oxford is a registered trademark of Oxford University Press
in the UK and certain other countries.

Published in the United States of America by
Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

© Oxford University Press 2014

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a
retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior
permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted by law,
by license, or under terms agreed with the appropriate reproduction rights organization.
Inquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the
Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the address above.

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Sohi, Seema.
Echoes of mutiny : race, surveillance, and Indian anticolonialism in North America / Seema Sohi.
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-19-937624-7 (hardcover : acid-free paper)—ISBN 978-0-19-937625-4
(paperback : acid-free paper) 1. East Indian Americans—Northwest, Pacific—History—20th
century. 2. Immigrants—Northwest, Pacific—History—20th century. 3. East Indian
Americans—Northwest, Pacific—Politics and government—20th century. 4. Anti-imperialist
movements—Northwest, Pacific—History—20th century. 5. Racism—Northwest,
Pacific—History—20th century. 6. Political persecution—Northwest, Pacific—History—20th
century. 7. Internal security—Northwest, Pacific—History—20th century. 8. United
States—Foreign relations—Great Britain. 9. Great Britain—Foreign relations—United
States. 10. Northwest, Pacific—Race relations—History—20th century. I. Title.
F855.2.E2S67 2014
305.8009795—dc23
2014000010

1 3 5 7 9 8 6 4 2
Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

To my parents, Harmohan Singh and Ranjit Kaur Sohi

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments *ix*

Introduction *1*

1. Labor and Political Migrations in the Age of Empire *14*

2. The Rise of Indian Anticolonial Politics in North America and the "Making of the New World" *45*

3. Anarchy, Surveillance, and Repressing the "Hindu" Menace *82*

4. Imperial Immigration Policy, Citizenship, and Ships of Revolution *108*

5. Revolutionary Uprisings and Repressions during the First World War *152*

6. "Hindu Conspiracies" from Lahore to San Francisco *176*

Epilogue *205*

Notes *213*
Bibliography *249*
Index *259*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I could not have completed this book without the support of numerous friends, family members, colleagues, and institutions, and it gives me great pleasure to be able to thank them here. This book originated as a doctoral dissertation and I am deeply grateful to the numerous teachers I have worked with since embarking upon the long road to academia many years ago. In particular I would like to thank Moon-Ho Jung and Chandan Reddy for their consistent guidance and sage advice. I consider myself extremely lucky to have worked with my dissertation adviser, Moon-Ho Jung. His intellectual influence has shaped the central arguments of this book and I thank him for encouraging me to believe in my own work. Chandan has always been an encouraging and thoughtful mentor who saw the potential of this project far before I did. I will always appreciate his unwavering support and his faith that I would one day have a job. This project began as a paper in a graduate seminar taught by James N. Gregory. I am thankful to him for helping me to develop this project in its earliest stages. I would also like to thank Nikhil Singh, Caroline Simpson, and Laurie Sears for helping me get my ideas off the ground.

While a graduate student at the University of Washington, I was fortunate to have an inspiring and brilliant cohort and circle of friends who made my time in Seattle meaningful and offered many laughs and a welcome respite from the library. I especially thank Anna Bailey, Elizabeth Escobedo, Ji-Young Um, Vincent Schleitwiler, Ryan Burt, Nick Shiflet, Rachel Sivi, and Amir Sheikh. Since graduate school I have been lucky to meet colleagues whose work and collegiality I am grateful for. In particular I would like to thank Vivek Bald and Pawan Dhingra. I simply cannot imagine going through graduate school without the friendship and support of Caroline H. Yang. From the moment we took our first graduate seminar together I have been immensely grateful to have her as a friend and I thank her for making academic life meaningful and full of humor.

Many institutions and individuals have provided invaluable support and assistance during my archival research trips and writing. I thank both the History Department and the South Asian Studies Program at the

University of Washington for allowing me the freedom and time to focus on my dissertation research and writing. At the University of Colorado I am grateful to the Ethnic Studies Department, the Office of Diversity, Equity & Community Engagement, and the College of Arts and Sciences for their support. I was able to locate wonderful images in the final stages of this project and I thank Amarjit Chandan and Surinder Pal Singh for so generously sharing their family photos with me. Archivists at the San Bruno, California, regional branch of the National Archives; the National Archives in Washington, DC; the National Archives in Canada, Ottawa; the Simon Fraser University Special Collections; the Vancouver Public Library Special Collections; the Holt-Atherton Special Collections at the University of Pacific Library; the staff at the Interlibrary Loan Office in Norlin Library; Joanna Ogden; and Samip Malik at the South Asian American Digital Archive, were instrumental in guiding me toward archival collections and photographs.

At the University of Colorado, I would like to thank my colleagues, the staff, and folks from the Ethnic Studies Department, especially Arturo Aldama, Emma Perez, Reiland Rabaka, Bianca Williams, Canary Zindell, Christie Ferber, and Sandra Lane. I am especially thankful to Daryl Maeda for being such a solid ally, mentor, and friend.

I am grateful to my editor, Susan Ferber, for helping transform this project into a book and to the anonymous readers at Oxford University Press for helping me to sharpen my ideas. My appreciation also goes to Oxford's production team, especially Sunoj Shankaran and Michael Durnin.

I have relied on many friends for conversations, support, advice, and much needed breaks from writing. Andrew Burwick and Casey Gallagher have endured countless conversations about the looming book deadline with humor and graciousness. Caroline H. Yang, Jayan Kalathil, Brett Whalen, and Malissa McLeod have provided many laughs and I thank them for keeping me grounded and reminding me of who I am.

Family members who extend across many states and countries have encouraged this project from near and afar. Davinder Sohi, Amardeep Sohi, and Suman Dally in England have kept up with the various steps of completing this book over many years and across different cities. I am grateful to my grandmother, Manjit Kaur Bal, for telling me stories of what Southall looked like from the perspective of a newly arrived woman in the 1950s and for always providing me with endless sustenance and affection. I thank the Holland, Foote, Erickson, and Greene families for their encouragement along the way. I am especially grateful to Barbara Greene—one of my staunchest allies and advocates—Sharon Holland, Bonnie Holland, and my honorary Holland "Uncles." My roots to the Central Valley of California are a source of pride and I am especially grateful to Tejinder, Rupinder,

Gurpreet, and Aman Gill; Manpreet Kang; Surjeet, Kuki, Ambika, Raj, and Sunny Chatha; Daljit, Parmjit, Udai, and Keerat Gill; and Sonia Kahlon and John Sandhu. I wish that my Thieji, Inder Kaur Sohi, my grandfather, Harbajan Singh Bal, and my uncles Paul Grewal and Taranjit Sandhu, could have seen the completion of this project. I acknowledge them here for their grace and courage in the face of adversity.

My brother, Amar Sohi, has kept me laughing since I was a child and I thank him for continuing to do. Although he and my sister-in-law, Jessica Sohi, would often joke about the foreignness of my working life, they never ceased to be encouraging and supportive. I also am grateful for Savita Bella and Ravi Sohi, who have brought such happiness into my life.

This book is dedicated to my parents, Harmohan Singh and Ranjit Kaur Sohi, from whose own witty and inspiring stories of migration I have learned the joy of humor, the wisdom of humility, and the meaning of integrity. I am immensely grateful for the sacrifices they have made and for providing me with a life of what has always felt like endless opportunity. My mother has always been a source of strength and I thank her for the consistent and perfect advice she has always offered. I am fortunate to have a father who is gifted with the art of storytelling, who has always taken a keen interest in my work, and who continues to be my greatest critic, supporter, and role model.

Finally, my deepest thanks go to Andy Greene, whose intellect and generosity have sustained me for the last twenty years. I could not have completed this book without him. He has been my companion in work, life, and love, and for his support I am eternally grateful. My children, Teja and Simran, came into the world as I wrote this book. Teja often kept his little sister entertained so that I could get work done, and Simran has spent many hours at my desk with me. Their bright laughter and rich humor meant that I always had something to look forward to at the end of every day. It is through them that I have been lucky enough to know what pure joy feels like.

Portions of the book are reproduced with permission from three earlier essays: "Sites of 'Sedition', Sites of Liberation: Gurdwaras, the Ghadar Party, and Anticolonial Mobilization," *Sikh Formations* 10, no. 1 (2014): 5–22; "Repressing the 'Hindu Menace': Race, Anarchy, and Indian Anticolonialism," in *The Sun Never Sets: South Asian Migrants in an Age of U.S. Power*, Vivek Bald, Miabi Chatterji, Sujani Reddy, and Manu Vimalassery, eds., 50–74 (New York: New York University Press, 2013); "Race, Surveillance, and Indian Anticolonialism in the Transnational Western U.S.-Canadian Borderlands," *Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (2011): 420–36.

Echoes of Mutiny

Introduction

During the fall of 1908, Saint Nihal Sing, a twenty-four-year-old Indian journalist living in New York, traveled to the American South and interviewed dozens of African Americans in an attempt to understand what he described as the "evil effects of the colour-line operating in the United States."[1] After his return, Sing published an article in the Calcutta-based journal *Modern Review* in which he drew parallels between the Indian struggle against colonial subjugation under British rule and the African American struggle for racial justice and equality under Jim Crow. Although the previous generation of African Americans had grown up enslaved, Sing observed that African Americans in the early twentieth century were still "being forced to grow under the limitations and inequalities brought into existence by the white man's colour-consciousness."[2] Sing linked the 1858 Queen's Proclamation—an Act which announced the sovereignty of the British crown over India and which Indians commonly appealed to in order to demand equal rights as British subjects—to Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation delivered five years later. While racialized subjects across the globe frequently invoked both documents to demand equal rights irrespective of color or country, the unfulfilled promises of black emancipation and Indian equality necessitated, for Sing, a meditation on the global dimensions of racial hierarchy and domination.

For African Americans and Indians alike, Sing wrote, "equal rights merely exist on government documents" and, despite "professions to the contrary, the pall of slavery, of inferiority, still hangs over the coloured man."[3] Though colonial India was geographically distant from the American South, Sing believed these two regions were closely linked by the "crime of color," a

worldwide system of racial discrimination, colonial subjugation, and economic exploitation. These transnational racial analogies convinced Sing that it made "little difference whether the coloured man is an Indian, a Chinese, a Japanese, or an Afro-American," all were struggling beneath a global color line.[4]

For Sing, understanding the struggles of racialized minorities in the United States required understanding the broader global terrain of imperialism upon which racial hierarchies were forged. At the same time that the racial regime in the American South was being reorganized in the post-Emancipation era, a racial regime was coalescing in the North American West and across the white Pacific. Under this new regime, Asian exclusion was viewed as a necessary precondition for ensuring white domination.[5] While Sing's article suggested that the full potential of American democracy and its corresponding promises of equality, liberty, and justice would remain illusory as long as the color line continued to divide peoples along a white/nonwhite binary, he and his anticolonial contemporaries also understood that racism was not just a national issue, but a global problem. Like Sing, the Indian anticolonialists who are the subject of this book, those who organized a broad, innovative, and heterogeneous anticolonial movement from North America during the early twentieth century, understood the mutually reinforcing relationship between the global color line and Western imperial and capital expansion.

In 1914, nearly six years after the publication of Sing's article, the US Congress began focusing on the alleged dangers of Indian anticolonialism during hearings convened by the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization on two bills aimed at imposing severe restrictions on the entry of "Hindu laborers." While the hearings were initially framed around questions of the economic competition and labor threats posed by "Hindus," calls for Indian exclusion during the hearings soon became indistinguishable from the committee's anxieties over Indian anticolonialism. Committee chairman John Burnett of Alabama insisted that "a great many" of the Indians seeking entry to the United States were "anarchists teaching the principle of the overthrow of government." Representative John Raker of California, a vocal advocate for Indian exclusion, insisted that Indians were making the country a "hotbed of revolution" by using it as a base to organize radical political movements both domestically and abroad, prompting a number of representatives to insist that "Hindus" were dangerous agitators who had to be excluded.[6]

Further, Pacific Coast representatives and immigration authorities used the specter of the "Hindu" agitator freely crossing the US-Canadian border to advocate for greater border policing, surveillance, and enforcement. The 1914 hearings reveal the critical, and heretofore unacknowledged, role that

antiradicalism played in Indian exclusion from the United States. During the hearings, representatives linked their support for Indian exclusion to the need for greater measures to restrict political radicalism, thus illustrating the simultaneous production of antiradical and anti-Asian discourses that were instrumental in implementing restrictive immigration policies and politically repressive state practices during the early decades of the twentieth century.

Though Congress had been engaged in extending federal authority on immigration policy for decades, by the first decade of the twentieth century it had begun ramping up efforts to repress political radicalism as well, often linking such efforts to increasingly restrictive immigration laws. By the time Indians entered this debate, prohibiting their entry was both a "domestic" priority—they represented the "menace" posed by foreign radicals thought to be organizing subversive political movements on US soil—and a "foreign" anxiety that was symptomatic of a larger threat of worldwide anticolonial revolt and the frightening possibility of an impending global confrontation between those purporting to act in accordance with the "white man's burden" and those representing the rising tide of color across the colonized world.

Though the 1914 hearings did not result in the passage of a restrictive immigration law against Indians, Congress did pass a sweeping immigration act three years later. The 1917 Immigration Act increased to five years the statute of limitations for the deportation of immigrants deemed to have subversive political beliefs and associations. It also excluded Indians from the United States through its "Barred Zone" provision, a legislative policy that officially restricted the entry of all laborers who fell within a geographical "Barred Zone" that encompassed almost all of Asia. The antiradical and anti-Asian immigration provisions of the 1917 Immigration Act were not independent or parallel developments but were mutually constituted.

Highlighting the broader climate of antiradicalism in which the "Barred Zone" Act was formulated, *Echoes of Mutiny* demonstrates the convergence of anti-Asian racism and antiradicalism, in general, and how Asian American radicalism figured into the state's antiradical imagination and fomented anti-Asian racism, in particular. By this time, thousands of Indians in Canada and the United States—figures including the intellectual activists M. N. Roy, Lajpat Rai, Taraknath Das, Har Dayal, Sailendra Nath Ghose, and the "organic intellectuals" of the Ghadar Party, the most widespread anticolonial organization in North America, which called for the direct overthrow of British rule through armed revolution—comprised the ranks of an anticolonial movement that connected Indian struggles for self-determination with the battles waged by racialized and colonized peoples across the world fighting for racial equality and political independence.[7]

Convinced that Indian anticolonialists had come dangerously close to toppling the British Raj in India at the beginning of the First World War and had the potential to embolden colonized subjects and racialized minorities across the globe to overthrow the racial and imperial world order, US Immigration, Justice, and State Department officials routinely collaborated with British authorities by sharing intelligence, enacting deportation and criminal proceedings, and keeping a close eye on Indians. Ironically, nothing fueled Indian anticolonialism more than US and British state repression and the enforcement of immigration laws intended to restrict the entry of Indians to North America. As the United States tightened restrictions against radicals and immigrants, Indians developed a much more radical consciousness about their own status abroad. This dialectical relationship of repression and radicalism pushed Indians in North America toward a far more radical position on the meaning of Indian freedom than that being articulated by Indian nationalists in India and drove the US state to exclude migrants from India entirely.

Echoes of Mutiny explores how Indian anticolonial resistance was densely interwoven with anti-Asian exclusionary campaigns and state antiradical practices that extended from North America to India in the years leading up to and during the First World War. I argue that this transnational dialectic of anticolonial activism and state repression reflected the growth and global reach of US state power and reveals how anti-Asian racism and antiradicalism were mutually constituted and simultaneously developed into a discourse of national security.[8] It generated not only further anticolonial mobilization and immigrant exclusion but also broad inter-imperial collaboration with Britain in ways that enabled the British empire to survive the upheavals of the First World War and the United States to expand its influence around the world as it rose to global dominance in the twentieth century.

While there has been much written about the entangled transatlantic histories of the United States and Britain, none have examined how collaborative inter-imperial efforts to crush Indian anticolonialism furthered US and British state power and advanced antiradicalism around the globe.[9] In this period, the relationship between the British and US empires was marked by both competition and cooperation. When Indian migrants crossed in and out of these empires, particularly in the borderlands of the Pacific Coast, they were constantly watched by US, Canadian, and British officials as they navigated the surveillance apparatuses and border regimes that their own migrations helped to produce.[10] The transnational dimensions of Indian anticolonialism and of US and British surveillance and repression strengthened the "special relationship" between the United States and Britain and laid the foundation for their joint suppression of

what they deemed to be subversive political movements during the interwar period and beyond.

Demonstrating how Indian exclusion and state antiradicalism were shaped by broader global contexts, *Echoes of Mutiny* contributes to the study of the United States as part of a global history. The transnational dimensions of British and US efforts to repress anticolonialism have been eclipsed by histories of radicalism and antiradicalism framed within national borders.[11] Rather than viewing US history from a nation-bound perspective, this book uses empire to examine how race and state repression were central to the expansion and deployment of US state power in the early twentieth century. While *Echoes of Mutiny* details the solidarities and shared racial affinities between the US and British empires, it is not a comparative study of two empires, nor does it assess the differences between these imperial systems. Rather, it is a history of inter-imperial exchange and cooperation that traces the expanding power of the US state to exclude, deport, gather surveillance, and inflict violence on racialized colonial subjects and those deemed threats to national security and Anglo-American hegemony across Asia and the Pacific. When Indian anticolonialists came under US state scrutiny, the conflation of the revolutionary and racial enemy that had been used to suppress Filipino revolutionaries demanding independence and to justify the US-Philippine War only a decade earlier was transferred to the threat posed by Indian anticolonialists. The repression of Indian anticolonialism was accomplished through a transnational surveillance apparatus in which US and British officials exchanged information and simultaneously implemented anti-immigrant and antiradical laws designed to crush those who challenged their authority.[12]

In addition to this inter-imperial collaboration, the book charts the meaning and scope of "anticolonialism," particularly how Indian attacks on imperial rule aligned with radical critiques about the inherent limitations of Western liberal democracies as bastions of racial justice and freedom. Although a number of Indian scholars have examined Indian activists in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s, their studies largely interpreted the Indian anticolonial movement in the United States as only a minor episode in the broader history of Indian nationalism and paid little attention to its significant and often radical challenges to the antidemocratic practices of the United States.[13] From its inception, however, Indian anticolonialism in North America encompassed far more than establishing Indian national sovereignty. As a direct consequence of their experiences with racial discrimination, violence, and exclusion in Canada and the United States, Indian migrants linked racial discrimination abroad to colonial subjugation at home and came to understand their struggles against racial exclusion and political repression in North America as part of a broader movement

against colonialism and white supremacy—two forces of subjugation that they viewed as inseparable.

After the United States joined the Allied forces in the First World War, Indians at once praised President Woodrow Wilson's support of self-determination and criticized the United States for excluding, imprisoning, and threatening to deport those engaged in the actual pursuit of democracy. For Indian anticolonialists, US exclusion and repression demonstrated the inherent limits of the liberal nation-state. At a time when the United States went to war with grand claims of making the world safe for the spread of democracy, such promises began to appear at best unfulfilled and at worst hollow. While the United States cast itself as a "peace-maker" or global mediator, US state power was growing ever more expansive and was being deployed to crush the freedom struggles of those whose dreams of liberation were not characterized by a new international order based on a hegemonic American worldview.[14] The First World War set in motion the transfer of global financial power from London to New York and positioned the United States on the cusp of global hegemony. Events like the Bolshevik revolution, however, convinced people across the globe of the real possibility that capitalism and the global order could collapse, or, at least, be profoundly transformed in the war's aftermath.[15] Like many others across the colonized world, Indian anticolonialists grew to be critical of the American-led world order that Wilson envisioned and were unwilling to accept the secondary or inferior position that Wilsonian internationalism seemed to require.

Through a close study of race relations and immigration debates in the United States and the larger geopolitics of Western imperialism and capitalist development, North American–based Indian activists came to imagine alternative visions of emancipation that did not end with national liberation in India but went on to dismantle rigid racial hierarchies that equated progress and civilization with whiteness. As they saw it, the ushering in of true equality and justice to those sections of the world that had long suffered under the weight of colonial subjugation necessitated dismantling the racialized global order, which had been built upon imperial expansion and capitalist development that privileged the Western world at the expense of most of Asia and Africa. While there were ideological and strategic differences between the various Indian anticolonial leaders and organizations based in North America, they shared the belief that a free India would strike a blow to Western supremacy and corresponding theories of racial superiority.

As Indian anticolonialists came to see the racialized premises upon which liberalism was constructed, they grappled with what a "modern" India would look like and to what extent an independent India could or

should adopt principles of Western modernity without emulating the exploitative, imperialist, and unequal practices of the Western democracies that had colonized and excluded them. Ultimately, these anticolonialists did not simply disregard the universal values associated with the liberal and humanist traditions of the West, nor did they accept them uncritically. Rather they highlighted both the necessity and insufficiency of political modernity, appealing to its professed commitment to human freedom and equality while exposing the race-based exclusionary impulses embedded within modernity itself. Leading anticolonialists wrote and spoke about how modernity had produced racial hierarchies by depicting colonized peoples as perpetually inferior, backward, and uncivilized and using this as a basis for depriving them of personal liberties until they were deemed fit for self-rule. Further, these leaders decentered the West as the model of modernity and reform by exposing the unfulfilled promises of Western-style "democracies" and imagining emancipatory possibilities beyond the confines of the US nation-state and British empire.[16]

By advocating for the building of political structures that did not simply imitate the West, Indian anticolonialists in North America created insurgent notions of modernity that countered and exceeded Anglo-American racialized visions of historical progress and challenged the inevitability of Western domination.[17] They did not merely seek to situate an independent India within an already existing world order but rather contested the world order of the early twentieth century. As anticolonial leader Lajpat Rai once said, the trajectory of Western liberalism could not be described as "the road to progress," for this road was "blocked by the corpses of dead ideas and ideals and by the bodies of dying principles and beliefs."[18] Rai believed that imperialism and liberalism were not irreconcilable but were in fact linked through discourses of racial hierarchy. Castigating liberalism as a "hypocritical disguise for capitalistic Imperialism," Rai urged Indians not to place their faith in the "liberal or democratic professions" of Western imperial nations, who had "killed" democracy by their "Imperialism and Capitalism."[19] Because liberal assumptions about racial superiority worked to subjugate and exploit colonized peoples across the globe, Rai suggested that liberalism did not ensure greater justice and equality, but endorsed imperial and capital expansion, twin threats to social and economic justice. As such, Western liberal democracies were to be transformed, not imitated.

For the most part, Asian American historical narratives have explained Indian exclusion as a consequence of organized labor's insistence that Indians, like the Chinese and Japanese migrants who preceded them, were incapable of assimilation, were willing to work for cheaper wages, and were thus a threat to the American standard of living. In the eyes of the US state, however, Indian migrants embodied a threat far greater than

economic competition. Though anti-Asian racism was deeply embedded in American politics and culture at this time, the racialization of Indians as dangerous and subversive, and therefore excludable and deportable, constituted a new kind of racial formation, one in which antiradicalism was a vital ingredient.

During the early decades of the twentieth century, US Immigration, Justice, and State Department officials cast Indian anticolonialists as a "Hindu" menace—a distinctly antiradical racial formation that linked "aliens" and "radicals," and, US officials argued, necessitated Indian exclusion and deportation.[20] At this time, Indians were broadly referred to as "Hindus," despite the fact that the vast majority of them were Sikhs, a monotheistic religion that emerged over 500 years ago in the Punjab region of India. The "Hindu" menace was a consolidation of racial images that initially signified the threat of cheap labor and lack of assimilability and would later come to embody the threat of foreign radicalism. This racial formation emerged as events such as the rise of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in 1905 and the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917 aggravated US fears of revolutionary anti-imperial and anticapitalist movements erupting both domestically and around the globe. Such fears were used to invoke various perils and threats to the nation, prompting officials to demand stricter border enforcement and more restrictive immigration laws and antiradical policies. US officials deployed images of the "Hindu" menace to impress upon Americans the dangers of foreign radicals in their midst, in order to push for antiradical and exclusionary immigration laws domestically and the necessity for Western imperial expansion abroad to combat and contain the spread of anarchy.

Indians in North America, nearly 90 percent of whom were Sikhs from the state of Punjab, were also racialized through colonial gendered discourses. The British colonial project in India was shaped by new constructs of masculinity in late-Victorian Britain, which labeled women and colonized peoples as fragile, passive, and emotional. Contrary to these imperial representations of masculinity and femininity, British administrators characterized Sikhs as inherently martial, warrior-like, and in line with British ideals of masculinity. Sikhs had a long self-proclaimed history as warriors who were forced to defend their religious beliefs against a series of conquerors dating back to the Mughal empire. The British government tapped into this Sikh historical narrative as a recruiting strategy and considered Sikhs to be desirable recruits in military and police forces because, as the British saw it, they were the "most martial" of Indians.[21] British representations of Sikh masculinity were thus used for Britain's own imperial aims, namely to defend the empire's vast holdings across the globe. British administrators in India constructed a racial formation of Sikhs as hyper masculine and then

deployed Sikh soldiers across the empire as agents of British power whose service facilitated empire building and protection.

Nearly 50 percent of Sikhs who migrated to North America had served in the British Indian army or as police officers in colonial territories across East Asia and they believed that their military service guaranteed that their rights as British subjects would be protected abroad. When they arrived in British Columbia, however, they were deeply disillusioned to find that, rather than being rewarded for their service to the British empire, they were the targets of racial exclusion, discrimination, and violence. Anticolonial leaders in North America pointed to the discrepancy between British representations of Sikhs as the "crown jewel" of the British Indian army and the racial exclusion and discrimination Sikhs faced in British white settler countries as a means of mobilizing Sikhs to contest British rule in India. For British colonial administrators, the possibility that Sikh soldiers would turn their backs on the empire that was dependent upon their military service was a grave one indeed. British officials kept a close eye on Sikhs abroad, convinced that Sikh subversion in North America constituted a serious threat to British stability in India. Thus, outside of the confines of British military service, British officials racialized these same Sikhs as a dangerous threat requiring immediate repression.[22]

Americans demanding Indian exclusion thus did not simply apply anti-Asian racial formations drawn from campaigns to exclude the Chinese and Japanese, nor did they pull from an already existing colonial discourse. The racial formation of the "Hindu" menace was forged in the crucible of domestic anti-Asian and antiradical politics and British efforts to defend its empire against anticolonial mobilization abroad. The threat of Sikh anticolonial mobilization in North America became a central impetus behind British surveillance and repression abroad. British officials fueled racialized images of Indians in North America as treacherous, cunning, and deceitful agitators who posed a serious threat to US and British social, political, and economic stability. In constructing and then appealing to the racialized image of the "Hindu" menace, US and British officials justified not only Indian exclusion from the United States but also the need for British rule in India.

Although Indian anticolonialists played a critical role in the federal government's antiradical imagination, they have barely appeared in studies of political radicalism and repression in the years of the First World War and the "Red Scare."[23] *Echoes of Mutiny* seeks to illustrate how Indian anticolonialism provoked the expansion of, and provided a justification for, surveillance, political repression, and immigrant exclusion in the United States by tracing how state officials used the specter of Indian anticolonialism to generate support for immigration restriction and to arm state officials

with the power to crack down on political radicals. Indeed, US Bureau of Immigration, State, and Justice Department officials, and congressional representatives translated the threat of Indian anticolonialism into a racial difference that justified and reproduced antiradical and anti-Asian laws, demarcated and enforced racial and national borders against "foreign" threats and influences, and consolidated white supremacy in the name of national security.

The first four chapters of the book highlight the years immediately preceding the First World War as a critical moment for anticolonial organizing, immigrant exclusion, and antiradicalism in US history. As is detailed in Chapter 1, the experience of migration was instrumental to the politicization of Indian migrants as they became attuned to the international dimensions of racial and colonial subjugation. Many Indian anticolonial leaders understood that as Britain strengthened its hold on India, white settlers in British territories and in the western United States ramped up their own efforts to construct and protect "white men's countries" against Indian migrants and other racialized minorities. Once in North America, Indian migrants came to see their struggles against racial discrimination as inseparable from the imperative to establish self-government at home. In response to Indian political mobilization on the Pacific Coast against both racial discrimination and British rule, US, Canadian, and British officials increased their surveillance of Indians and their policing of the US-Canadian border, helping to transform what had once been a fluid borderlands region into a hardened national boundary, in part, as an antiradical strategy.

Through close readings of the radical publications of key Indian intellectuals and global labor migrants, Chapter 2 traces the ideological dimensions of Indian anticolonialism in North America, with a particular focus on the politics of the Ghadar Party and anticolonial intellectuals Lajpat Rai and Manabendra Nath (M. N.) Roy. Within merely a year of its formation in 1913, the Ghadar Party had attracted thousands of Indian migrant workers in North America to its cause and was fighting against British imperial rule from branches in the Philippines, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Siam, British Columbia, Mexico, and Panama, all of which were linked by the circulation of radical publications emanating from the party's headquarters in San Francisco. At the same time, a central component of the anticolonial politics of intellectual activists like Lajpat Rai and M. N. Roy, whose theories of the limitations of Western modernity and the revolutionary potential of communism took shape during their exile in North America, was to challenge US and British claims to "democracy" by pointing to the race-based exclusionary impulses of British and US liberalisms.

Chapter 3 details the collaborative efforts of US immigration officials and the preeminent Canadian- and British-employed spy in North

America, William C. Hopkinson, to deport the Indian radical and Ghadar Party leader Har Dayal in the spring of 1914 under the immigration law against anarchism and anarchists. With the emergence of the Ghadar Party in November 1913, the racial formation of the "Hindu" menace had taken on a far more pronounced antiradical aspect, as Indian anticolonialists were criminalized as subversive agitators. Just as the US and British empires deployed the specter of anarchy and anarchism to justify imperial expansion abroad, the alleged threat posed by the "Hindu" anarchist justified the expansion of US state power domestically. As this chapter demonstrates, the foundations for two important phenomena that have been situated in the exigencies of the First World War—the rise of the surveillance state and the implementation of increasingly restrictive immigration and antiradical law—were being laid in this prewar period, in part, through the monitoring of Indian anticolonialists and the joint efforts of US and British officials to repress them.

Chapter 4 examines a series of Indian challenges to US and British imperial immigration laws beginning in 1910, when Indians from the Philippines began sailing into Seattle and San Francisco and demanding entry by claiming that they had traveled from one part of the "United States" to another. A few years later, Indians in British Columbia mobilized around the case of 376 Indians who had been denied entry to Vancouver after chartering their own ship in Hong Kong to circumvent restrictive Canadian immigration laws. By seeking entry to the US mainland and Canada from imperial territories like the Philippines and Hong Kong, Indians exploited loopholes in US and British imperial immigration policies and argued that their admission to these imperial outposts meant that they were legally entitled to move freely within each empire. Indians organized transnational political campaigns in which they linked the fates of Indian passengers on these ships to the broader movement for self-government in India, prompting US and Canadian officials to warn that Indians were challenging and exploiting immigration policies to advance radical agendas. At the same time, these cases served as powerful reminders to Indians in Canada and the United States of their subjugated status and, immediately after the outbreak of the First World War, directly contributed to the return of hundreds of Indians in North America to India as revolutionaries determined to overthrow British rule.

The First World War both provided and repressed possibilities for anticolonial revolt and was a critical period of mobilization for Indians on the Pacific Coast. As Chapter 5 demonstrates, Ghadar Party leaders proclaimed that the need for British troops in Europe during the war presented an opportune moment to organize uprisings in India and British imperial outposts. Heeding the party's call to return to their native land and overthrow

British rule, thousands of Indians from across the world boarded ships bound for India to initiate a series of planned uprisings that were quickly and systematically repressed by British authorities. Warning that British rule in India was in danger of being overthrown, British colonial administrators used the return of Indians from North America between 1914 and 1915 to implement a series of politically repressive laws in India. As the lieutenant-governor of Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer later wrote, these laws were "our main safeguards against the returning Ghadr conspirators," for the return of thousands of Ghadarites from across the globe during the Great War made British officials across India feel that they "were living over a mine full of explosives."[24] The circulation of Indian migrants and their radical anticolonial politics across the Pacific before and during the First World War served as a pretext for strengthening and expanding the powers of both the US and British Indian states in the name of national security and, by 1917, both governments had enacted laws aimed to restrict the mobility and activism of Indians.

Inter-imperial efforts to stifle Indian political dissent continued well into the First World War, when the British and US governments prosecuted hundreds of Indian anticolonialists in interrelated conspiracy trials from Lahore and Singapore to Chicago and San Francisco. As Chapter 6 explains, during the spring of 1917, the US Justice Department, using evidence that US and British officials had jointly collected from monitoring Indian migrants in North America for more than a decade, indicted dozens of Indian anticolonialists for violating the nation's neutrality laws. The alleged dangers of Indian anticolonialism took on national significance with the opening of the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial in San Francisco in November 1917. The Justice Department's success in the trial resulted in expansive interpretations of existing laws in the United States, specifically the conspiracy statute and the military expedition law, and gave the federal government far greater discretion in using such laws to target political radicals. The trial, both a showcase for the federal government's antiradical victories and a precursor to the Red Scare, paved the way for a new wave of political repression in the United States.

The Indian anticolonial movement that erupted out of the work camps, residence halls, and agricultural valleys of North America symbolized both the emancipatory dreams of these Indian migrants and the fears of US and British officials about the global disorder these anticolonialists could portend. Perhaps the most significant innovation in their anticolonial politics was their demand for what Lajpat Rai once called "real democracy," a vision and critique that simultaneously laid bare the limitations of Western modernity and exhorted Indians not to emulate the West as they rebuilt their nation in the aftermath of British

colonialism.[25] Inherent in Rai's critiques was an unsettling question for colonial governments backed by the tenets of Western modernity and liberalism: What if the meaning of freedom for colonized peoples necessitated not simply national liberation but breaking free entirely from the notion that the West was inherently superior to the East? In contesting the construction and enforcement of racial hierarchies under the guise of modernity and reform, Indian anticolonialists confronted a world order in which colonized people continued to be subjugated in the name of liberal democracy. At a time when the United States had joined the Allied forces with the lofty claim of making the world safe for democracy, Indian anticolonialists challenged liberal assumptions of historical progress and insisted that their fight for a free India would play a critical role in the making of democracy during the age of empire.

CHAPTER 1

Labor and Political Migrations in the Age of Empire

> British Domination in India is another name for the disguised British exploitation of the soil, both of its wealth and intellect... the people have no opportunity or provisions to be trained in any useful and profitable art or industry. We do therefore stand in need of emigrating to far off lands.
>
> Gurdit Singh, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru, or India's Slavery Abroad* (1928)

In the summer of 1911, Dr. Sundar Singh, an Indian migrant living in Vancouver, published an article in his periodical, *The Aryan*, outlining the reasons behind Indian migration. Singh wrote that it was "not for the sake of pleasure that Hindus go to settle abroad," rather, because of "the sword of famine and plague hanging round his neck most of the time the Hindu emigrates to save himself from actual starvation."[1] Echoing Sundar Singh's understanding of the impetus behind Indian migration, Padmavati Chandra, the wife of the Indian revolutionary Ram Chandra explained, Indian migrants in the United States felt that "if it weren't for the British government, they wouldn't be... laborers doing this work. They'd be home in their own land."[2] From their earliest days of migration to the western regions of Canada and the United States, Indian migrants expressed their belief that they were forced to come to North America because of the destructive impact of British colonialism in their own country. US immigration officials across the Pacific Coast reported that migrants arriving from India would frequently "complain of British oppression in their native land."[3]

Exploitative economic policies and repressive political regimes in India led thousands of Indians to migrate to North America during the first two

decades of the twentieth century. They were part of a vast Indian labor diaspora that took shape in the mid-nineteenth century, when the end of the Atlantic slave trade prompted the creation of an indentured labor system in which hundreds of thousands of Indians labored in British colonies across the globe. This mass migration of colonial workers continued well into the twentieth century, as Indians journeyed abroad to sell their labor in spaces across the world, including Fiji, British East Africa, South Africa, the Philippines, the Caribbean, and North and South America. Beginning in 1906, a smaller group of Bengali and Punjabi intellectuals fleeing imprisonment and political repression in India for their anti-British political organizing came to the urban centers of Vancouver, Seattle, San Francisco, and New York. These radical intellectuals envisioned themselves not as immigrants, but as political refugees seeking asylum from British rule. Thus, the beginnings of Indian migration to North America were rooted within both the global movement of labor in colonial economies and the movement of radical intellectuals searching for places from which to organize against British rule.[4]

Indian migrants looking for labor opportunities in North America first set their sights on British Columbia (BC). Though they expected equal treatment as fellow British subjects, when they landed on Canadian soil they confronted the racism of white Canadians who had aligned their campaigns for immigration restriction with precedents set by other white settler countries across the Pacific. Meanwhile across the border, Indians faced the wrath of US immigration officials who rigorously enforced the public charge clause of immigration law against Indians while granting more lenience to non-Asian immigrant groups. Specifically, US immigration officials argued that racial prejudice against Indians on the Pacific Coast was so great that they would have difficulty gaining employment and were therefore "likely to become public charges." By 1909, frustrated that Congress was taking too long to pass legislation to exclude Indians, immigration officials began excluding 50 percent of Indians seeking entry to the United States by executive restriction.[5]

Calls for the implementation of anti-Asian immigration law in the United States and Canada were shaped by larger transnational debates about the perils Asian migration posed to "white men's countries." The politics of Asian exclusion in North America engendered deep ideological ties between white workers, immigration authorities, and elected officials on both sides of the US-Canadian border as well as across the Pacific region. During a series of congressional hearings during the early twentieth century, US immigration authorities pointed to anti-Asian immigration policies in British white settler countries as models for constructing restrictive immigration laws. At the same time that white settler countries

were consolidating and enforcing white supremacy across the Pacific by passing a series of anti-Asian laws, US, British, and Canadian authorities in Vancouver, San Francisco, Washington, DC, Ottawa, London, and across India began issuing warnings about the dangers of Indian radicals plotting on the Pacific Coast and demanded exclusionary and politically repressive laws as well as greater border enforcement.

Indians moved across the US-Canadian border in search of employment, in response to the passage of restrictive immigration laws and practices, and as activists seeking a refuge from which to organize against British rule. In response to Indian anticolonial activism in North America, US, Canadian, and British officials made the US-Canadian border a state apparatus of political repression that was strictly monitored and enforced as a bulwark against Indian migration and political radicalism. At the same time, Indian migrants exploited this borderlands space to advance their anticolonial aspirations, well aware that the transformation of the borderlands into a hardened national boundary was a means to repress political radicalism. Thus, even as the transnational circulation of anti-Asian politics, Indian anticolonialists, and state policies to repress them unfolded across the Pacific, so too did anti-immigrant and antiradical state policy work to demarcate and enforce national boundaries.[6]

The experiences of Indian workers, intellectuals, and students as they moved across the globe—their exposure to revolutionary movements erupting across Europe and the Pacific and their realization that they carried the weight of colonial and racial oppression wherever they traveled—in conjunction with their firsthand experiences with racial discrimination and violence in North America, played a vital role in their politicization. Indians came to see themselves not simply as migrants seeking economic opportunity, but as politicized workers who understood the transnational dimensions of racial subjugation. By linking their calls for racial equality in North America and other white settler countries to demands for independence in India, they suggested that the implementation of anti-Asian laws in the United States, Canada, and British white settler countries consolidated white supremacy and bolstered Western imperialism around the globe. For this, they became the targets of US, British, and Canadian surveillance in North America.

IMPERIAL OPPRESSION AND RESISTANCE IN INDIA

British imperial policies devastated the rural economy of India and created a population of workers who saw migration as crucial for supporting their families. Over 90 percent of Indians coming to the western regions of North

America during the first two decades of the twentieth century were Sikh agriculturalists from the state of Punjab. Punjab had come under British rule in the mid-nineteenth century and, over the next fifty years, had been slowly incorporated into the empire as an agricultural colony and military recruiting ground. Due to the commercialization of agriculture and new administrative policies under British rule, Punjabi farmers faced dispossession, high taxation, increasing indebtedness, displacement from their lands, famine, and epidemics, all of which encouraged recruitment into the Indian army and migration to imperial outposts overseas and the United States.[7]

Contrary to British contentions that environmental conditions and overpopulation perpetuated poverty in India, Indian anticolonialists pointed to economic dislocations and an underdeveloped colonial economy in India brought on by British colonialism as the root of India's problems. Citing British economic policies that transformed India into an agricultural colony of Britain, supplying raw materials and providing markets for Britain's industrial goods while being prohibited from exporting its own goods, anticolonialists admonished the British government for deliberately crushing national industries that could not be revived under colonial rule. Ghadar Party leader Ram Chandra attributed poverty and the underdevelopment of the Indian economy on Britain's forced decline of Indian handicrafts and the substitution of Indian manufactures with British goods. "Manchester allows no rivalry from Hindu weavers," Chandra wrote. Consequently, "the great industrial prosperity of England from the eighteenth century onward, owes its being to the stolen wealth and broken industries of India. England waxes fat on the flesh and blood of India, who stands today a skeleton, bereft of all her riches, a victim of plague and starvation." Indian anticolonialists also criticized Britain's refusal to reform economic and political policies that would increase literacy rates, improve sanitation systems, and combat the high number of fatalities due to famine and drought.[8]

British militarization also shaped the migration patterns of thousands of Punjabi migrants who passed through or settled in North America in the early twentieth century. The British Indian army was the single most important employer of Punjabis outside of their native area, and many Punjabis served as soldiers and police officers across East Asia and from there traveled to North America, where they easily found employment in the lumber mills of BC, Washington, and Oregon and the orchards, agricultural fields, and vineyards of California.[9] Punjab was the most fruitful recruiting ground of any Indian state for the Indian Army, and during the First World War Punjabi Sikhs comprised less than one-hundredth of the population but supplied nearly one-sixth of the fighting forces of the Indian Army.[10] Historically, the British valued Punjab for its loyalty and its large contribution of troops to the British Indian army and relied on Punjabi Sikh soldiers

both to fill the ranks of the British military abroad and to maintain security and stability at home. When the 1857 mutiny broke out, Sikhs helped repress the uprisings and stem the threat of insurrection. Sikhs reaped the benefits of their loyalty and protection of the British empire for decades to come and were compensated with honorary and prestigious titles in the Indian army as well as monetary and territorial rewards.[11]

British administrators saw Khalsa Sikhs in particular as in line with British ideals of masculinity and, perhaps more importantly, as beneficial to their own interests in fortifying imperial stability and rule in Punjab and throughout India. The British colonial administration's racialization of Sikhs as inherently martial served Britain's own imperial aims, namely the enforcement of British domination in India and across the globe. The British administration overtly nurtured the tenets of Khalsa Sikhism, inaugurated by the tenth and last guru, Guru Gobind Singh. British officials required that those soldiers enlisting in Sikh regiments follow the principles of Khalsa Sikhism—*kesh, kangha, kaccha, kara,* and *kirpan*—the uncut hair, comb, breeches, bangle, and sword worn by baptized Sikhs. While doing so allowed the British government to claim that they were protecting the Sikh faith, such actions were a strategic move by British administrators seeking to protect their rule in India. While the British had cultivated Sikh loyalty to the British Raj for decades, by the early twentieth century, frustration over economic hardships and government oppression was growing in Punjab.

Bengali nationalists had been organizing anti-British demonstrations since the partition of Bengal in October 1905, the same month in which they formed the New Nationalist Party. The partition of Bengal resulted in a national anti-British movement that involved nonviolent and violent protests and boycotts. To deal with growing political agitation, the British Indian government passed the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act in 1907, which gave British officials the authority to deport Indian agitators, prohibit any meetings they believed were likely to "promote sedition or disaffection," imprison anyone who delivered speeches on "any political subject," and close newspaper offices that printed "seditious articles and insulting tirades against [the] Government."[12] The British controlled the Indian press and, along with leading newspapers owned by influential natives, went after the authors of articles deemed disloyal to the British government. Many of those radicals who arrived in North America during the first decade of the twentieth century fled India in fear of being arrested under the newly enacted laws.[13]

During the spring of 1907, a branch of the Nationalist Party in Punjab, led by Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, came under British scrutiny. Rai and Singh were charismatic anticolonial figures in Punjab who organized dozens of protest meetings across the province that focused on agrarian grievances.

Arguing that it was futile to seek reform by sending petitions to the British Indian government, Rai advised Punjabis to instead withhold taxes and, if necessary, cease cultivating their heavily mortgaged land. In May 1907, British authorities deported and imprisoned both Rai and Singh in an unknown location. To intimidate others from joining the nationalist movement, British officials often kept the fate of prisoners unknown to the public. As William H. Michael, the American consul-general stationed in Calcutta, reported to the US secretary of state's office after Rai and Singh's arrest, "the mystery shrouding the disposition of such offenders is what scares the average Hindu more than anything else."[14]

In June 1907, *The Englishman*, a British newspaper published in India, lauded the Indian legal system as "a weapon of offence and . . . a means of oppression." The editors praised the swift prosecution of Lajpat Rai, Ajit Singh, and other agitators, and argued that a long trial would only have contributed to the growing political unrest across India and allowed the accused to occupy commanding positions from which they would further defy the government and "pave the way for the rebellion."[15] British administrators were confident that repressive measures like deportation and the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act would effectively repress those trying to initiate anti-British uprisings. Yet, as American diplomats in India reported to the secretary of state's office, Indian radicals soon began to circulate "more violent propaganda," much of which was published abroad and smuggled into India.[16] In 1908, American consul-general Michael warned officials in Washington, DC, about "false reports" appearing in papers in London and the United States that were written by Indians living outside of India, who, according to Michael, were publishing pamphlets "misrepresenting actual conditions in India" to garner support for their anticolonial movement. British authorities complained to US officials that Indian radicals abroad were sending seditious literature to India and encouraging its circulation among agitators. Michael warned the secretary of state's office to be alert to such publications and recommended that "special effort be made to detect anything of the kind and to put an end to it."[17]

While some Punjabis pushed for violent rebellion, others turned to the *Swadeshi* movement, which advocated the boycotting of foreign goods in favor of those made locally. In May 1905, Chinese nationalists had boycotted American goods to protest unjust US immigration policies, a move that stunned US business interests and lawmakers. Although American goods and immigration policies were the focus of the boycott, the British government feared that the activities of Chinese nationalists symbolized a broader opposition to Western domination that was developing across Asia during the early twentieth century. British officials worried that the growth of nationalism in China, in conjunction with growing anger about

Figure 1.1 Sikh mill workers at the Northern Pacific Lumber Company, Barnet, British Columbia, 1905. Courtesy of Vancouver Public Library Special Collections (VPL 7641).

the treatment of Chinese migrants abroad, would inflame nationalist fervor in India.[18]

According to Ghadar Party member Darisi Chenchiah, who migrated to the United States in 1911, the charged political atmosphere of Punjab in the first decade of the twentieth century was indeed influenced by national

and international events. According to Chenchiah, Japan's victory in the Russian-Japanese War had shattered "the myth of European supremacy and invincibility" and gave new hope and ambition to colonized people throughout Asia.[19] In addition, the *Swadeshi* movement, the partition of Bengal, and the growing repression of political organizing in India were contributing to a growing sense of Indian nationalism. While Bengali resistance was always of concern to the British, the growing opposition to British policies in Punjab, and the effects that such anti-British organizing might have on Sikh soldiers, was particularly alarming to British officials.

Alongside rising political agitation in India during the first decade of the twentieth century, labor recruiters from the developing railroad, lumber, and agricultural industries of the US and Canadian west, arrived in Punjab and other Indian ports to advertise employment opportunities along the Pacific Coast of North America. As Punjabi agriculturalists were struggling under imperial economic policies, capitalist development and the need for labor in North America facilitated the conditions for labor migration to the Pacific Coast. Indian migration to North America, which began in 1904 with the arrival of forty-five migrants in Canada and 258 migrants in the United States, quickly accelerated. By 1907, a year of growing tensions in Punjab, 2623 Indians migrated to Canada and 1072 to the United States. Both migrant workers and intellectuals arriving in North America during the early twentieth century left India at a time when political repression and economic exploitation were fueling anti-British hostilities. Though most migrant workers had not been involved in anticolonial struggles in India, they had certainly been exposed to anti-British sentiment and carried with them a sense of bitterness and frustration about their economic and political oppression back home.[20] These migrants would soon encounter anti-British organizing again, this time in the lumber mills and agricultural fields of the Pacific Coast.

THE SEARCH FOR SAFE HAVENS: INDIAN POLITICAL MIGRATIONS

Beginning in the early twentieth century, Indian students and intellectual activists began setting out for spaces across the globe seeking asylum and bases from which to establish organizations and periodicals advocating self-rule. Imperial metropoles in Tokyo, London, Paris, Berlin, and San Francisco quickly emerged as critical hubs of Indian anticolonialism. As Indian migrant workers traveled along the trans-Pacific routes carved out by Western imperialism, British authorities sought to foreclose any migratory routes that could lead to anticolonial politicization. Worried about the

potentially mobilizing effects of the Russian-Japanese War, George Curzon, the viceroy of India, insisted that Indian students should be discouraged from going to Japan, where they were being exposed to "sentiments tending towards discontent and even disloyalty."[21]

Indian anticolonialists criticized Britain for flexing its imperial muscle to pressure countries to prohibit the entry of Indians because of their political activism. Radical Indian intellectual Har Dayal insisted that the British government was intentionally abandoning Indians battling against racial discrimination in the United States as a means of discouraging migration to a country where they were sure to be exposed to "dangerous ideas of liberty."[22] Echoing Dayal's claims, Ghadar Party leader Ram Chandra later argued that the British Government had hoped to keep Indians "at home in order to prevent them from being contaminated with ideas of political liberty which they would be sure to acquire in the United States and the self-governing colonies of Great Britain."[23]

Many of the earliest students and intellectuals to come to the United States initially studied US political institutions as models upon which they might base reform in India. These activists viewed the principles of free speech, freedom of the press, and representative government as critical to the establishment of an independent India, and advised Indian migrants to take advantage of the free press to educate the West as well as fellow Indians about India's exploitation. They encouraged migrants to come to the United States, enroll in universities to learn trades, and use these skills to combat India's economic and social problems. In 1911, writing in the Calcutta-based *Modern Review*, Sarangadhar Das, a student at the University of California, Berkeley, advised Indians who had studied in the United States to use American universities as their model to build small universities in India. Das believed that the Progressive ideal of "service to society" coupled with the construction of more universities in India would help rehabilitate national industries and contribute to the broader cause of self-determination.[24]

Indian leaders in North America regularly criticized the deplorable state of education in India under British rule. Future Ghadar Party leader Har Dayal often rebuked the British government for deliberately making education inaccessible to the masses. Raised in an intellectual environment among a family of lawyers, Dayal had been a brilliant student in India. The Government of India had awarded him a scholarship in 1905 to attend Oxford University, and, like many Indians who traveled to colonial metropoles for higher education, he was expected to return to India and enter government service upon completion of his studies. Though he attended Oxford for more than two years, he resigned his scholarship just before finishing his program in protest against British rule in India. He then

returned to India and spent time writing and speaking "against the despotic and predatory" British government. He left India only six months later, in August 1908, claiming "repressive laws and spies were making further work impossible within the country."[25]

British authorities accused Dayal of becoming "imbued with an extraordinarily passionate and unreasoning race hatred" during his time in England.[26] In the late summer of 1908, he returned to London, but soon left for Paris, where he joined other Indian nationalists and helped edit *Bande Mataram*, a revolutionary periodical that advocated Indian independence. While working among these activists, Dayal met Egyptian nationalists and Russian revolutionaries and began articulating broader visions of anticolonial struggle, arguing that Indian anticolonialists should fight against social and economic injustice not just in India, but in all British colonies around the globe. A few years later, Dayal traveled to Martinique and Puerto Rico and eventually made his way to New York on February 9, 1911, at the age of twenty-six. He enrolled in Harvard and began studying Buddhism, history, economics, and political science. He soon met anticolonial leader Teja Singh, who called his attention to the Indian laborers on the Pacific Coast struggling against racial discrimination and violence.[27]

By the time Har Dayal arrived in Berkeley, California, in April 1911, Indian workers on the Pacific Coast were already organizing against racial violence and discriminatory immigration practices. Dayal believed he could channel Indian workers' disillusionment with the false promises of British imperialism into a movement that fought for Indian independence. He quickly emerged as a prominent leader in various radical circles in the San Francisco Bay Area and became secretary of the Socialist Radical Club, an organization that regularly held meetings to discuss socialism, feminism, and social change. In 1912, the *San Francisco Bulletin*, whose managing editor, Fremont Older, became a close friend of Dayal, began publishing a series of articles about British rule in India, based on interviews with Dayal conducted by John D. Barry, a well-known Irish journalist who had been involved in the Anti-Imperialist League. In these articles, Dayal criticized the British government for not building more universities, ignoring India's low literacy rates, and spending more money on its army than on education in India. Dayal emphasized that as India struggled to establish self-government, it was "looking outward, eastward and westward" to learn important lessons "from all countries in order to set her own old house in order."[28]

In January 1912, Dayal teamed up with Jawala Singh, a prosperous farmer from the San Joaquin valley of California known as the "Potato King," for his economic success in California's agricultural industry, to establish the Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Educational Scholarship.[29] In addition to

covering lodging and educational expenses for three years, Singh and Dayal hoped that recipients of the scholarship would return to India after earning their degrees and use both their practical training and their exposure to democratic governments abroad to contribute to the growing movement for political and economic independence. In these early days of Dayal's anticolonial organizing, he often described the United States as the perfect environment from which to organize for political and social reform in India.

Although Indian leaders extolled the promises of US democratic institutions, they remained critical of American and British discourses of uplift and civilization as well as Western imperial and capitalist expansion into Asia. Testifying before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization during congressional hearings in 1914, Tishi Bhutia Kyawgh Hla', secretary of the Hindustan Association of the United States, criticized the United States and other Western powers that purported to be "uplifting" Asian countries yet did not follow through with real political reforms. He argued that facilitating the spread of democracy in India would be "a greater salvation for us than the sending of missionaries."[30] Bhutia and other Indian leaders protested Western missionaries' perpetuation of stereotypes about India to justify colonial rule. Similarly, Ghadar Party leader Ram Chandra published various articles condemning missionary work in India for its "relentless and persistent vilification of India's character in the eyes of the world." Further, Chandra argued that, "because of them, India is known to other countries, as a land of heathen darkness, treachery, degradation, and immorality." According to Chandra, Western missionaries came to India not to implement economic and political reform, but "to persecute and degrade" and thus perpetuate and justify imperial domination.[31]

Indian anticolonial periodicals published in North America often asserted that Western expansion abroad did not bring development, modernization, or liberation, but dependence and exploitation. As Lajpat Rai once argued, rather than bringing "civilization" to Indians, Britain "used us to develop their colonies, cultivate their fields, operate their mines, man their industries, and increase their wealth . . . they maligned our religion, caricatured our culture, and painted us so black as to be considered unfit for being accepted as equals or even as men by the so-called civilized races of the world."[32] Leaders like Rai, Chandra, and Bhutia decried missionaries and social reformers who sought to promote their own visions of civilization abroad and advocated instead the application of social and economic reforms in India without Western tutelage. They did so against the backdrop of a virulent anti-Asian movement on the Pacific Coast that, in 1907, had erupted in acts of racial violence and rioting that swept across the Pacific Northwest.

DEMARCATING AND CONTESTING THE BOUNDARIES OF A WHITE PACIFIC

On the afternoon of September 5, 1907, dozens of Indian migrants slowly made their way north on foot, following the tracks of the Great Northern Railway line from Bellingham, Washington, to Vancouver, BC. The men were intent on making their way to Canadian territory after being attacked by a mob of about 200 white workers the night before, while they slept in the barracks of the Bellingham lumber mills where they were employed. Determined to drive the "Hindoos" out of the city, the mob dragged Indian mill workers from their beds, threw their belongings into the streets, beat them, and warned them to leave Bellingham at once. The Bellingham riot marked the first large-scale outbreak of violence against Indians in North America. Many Indian workers in Washington decided that because Canada, like India, was under the jurisdiction of the British empire, they could resettle there and gain protection under the British flag. According to an editorial in the *Vancouver Daily World* two days after the Bellingham riot, although the "Hindoos" in Bellingham may have "heard a great deal about the freedom to be enjoyed under the flag of Uncle Sam, at the present time they feel very much like singing God Save the King."[33] Indian migrants, however, would not be singing praises for the crown two days later, when the largest race riot in the history of Canada tore through Vancouver.

Though anti-Asian sentiment was already running high in BC, reports that a large number of Asians were due to arrive on the *Monteagle* on September 7, 1907, combined with exaggerated rumors that "hundreds" of Indians were on their way to Vancouver after the recent Bellingham riot, fueled hostilities. The Bellingham and Vancouver riots both began as rallies organized by various labor groups in conjunction with the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League. Established in San Francisco in 1906, the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League opened branches in cities along the Pacific Coast during the next year. As a British correspondent in Vancouver told *The Times* of London, after opening a branch in Washington, the Asiatic Exclusion League "crossed the border and was welcomed" in BC. After the riots, the League expanded the scope of its campaign to include Indians and changed its name to the Asiatic Exclusion League.[34]

League members in Seattle, Bellingham, and Vancouver worked closely together to plan the September labor rallies. A delegation of labor and exclusionary leaders from the Washington State Federation of Labor, the Seattle Central Labor Council, and the Seattle Japanese and Korean Exclusion League participated in the labor rally in Vancouver. Though the League publicly denounced the Bellingham and Vancouver riots, it also claimed that the "arousal of such public sentiment should be a warning to officials

in both Ottawa and Washington, D.C., about the extent of public hostility towards Asian immigration on the West Coast."[35] After the Vancouver riots, the Seattle Central Labor Council passed a resolution proclaiming its support for "our brothers across the international boundary in their laudable undertaking to eliminate the Asiatics from our shores."[36]

The outbreak of the riots clearly demonstrated the ideological connections between exclusionists on the Pacific Coast, who felt they had a shared identity and destiny that transcended national borders. An editorial in the *Vancouver Daily World* in the aftermath of the riots argued that the "yellow peril" was a menace to both the United States and Canada and that "in spite of political boundaries" the shared concern about Asian migration would make the residents of Canada and the Pacific Coast states "practically one people."[37] Just as demands for racial exclusion drove local politics in BC and the Pacific Coast states during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, national politicians aligned their calls for restrictive immigration policies against Asians with those of white settler countries including South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, all of which utilized literacy tests in the late nineteenth century "to prevent an influx of Hindus."[38] In his 1900 campaign as the Republican vice presidential candidate, Theodore Roosevelt connected US conquest of the American West to British settler colonialism across the Pacific and argued against the migration of Asians to "white" lands like Australia and the United States. Referring to the British administration of India as "one of the most notable and most admirable achievements of the white race during the past two centuries," Roosevelt framed his admiration for the British empire within a larger transnational discourse of white solidarity and supremacy.[39]

Exclusionists in BC had been pushing for legislation to bar the entry of Indians since 1906. In December of that year, BC officials attempted to initiate deportation proceedings against large numbers of Indians by alleging that they were public charges. The assistant superintendent of the Canadian Immigration Department, Blake Robertson, led an investigation into the allegations but quickly discovered that the dominion government had no case for deportation, as Indians "were all either employed or being looked after by their own people and had not become in any sense a burden on the public at large."[40] In April 1907, the BC legislature passed a bill requiring every immigrant to be literate in a European language before gaining entry to the province; however, at the insistence of British authorities, the dominion government annulled the law. The governor-general of Canada at the time, Sir Albert Grey, was irritated with exclusionists on the Pacific Coast. He saw BC as the most profitable province in Canada and believed that the absence of a cheap labor force would hinder its economic development. After the dominion government's rejection of the literacy test, exclusionists

in BC held a demonstration and burned the lieutenant-governor of Canada in effigy for his lack of action on behalf of British Columbians.[41]

After the 1907 riots, however, agitation against Indians in BC had reached such levels that dominion authorities began to agree on the necessity of barriers against their continued migration. The migration of peoples between different parts of the British empire, or between portions of the British empire and foreign countries, was not a new issue for British authorities. Indian migration to Canada raised the same questions and tensions that British authorities had faced in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. The riots were a problematic issue for British authorities who, on the one hand, sympathized with exclusionist desires to exclude Indians, but on the other, feared that agitators in India would exploit anger over the unfair treatment of Indians in Canada to inflame their own anti-British movement.[42] After the riots, the *New York Times* reported that attacks on Indians on the Pacific Coast had "aroused indignation" in India, where nationalists were demanding that the British Government "take effective measures for the protection of British Hindus both in the United States and Canada."[43] British authorities worried that what had happened in Bellingham and Vancouver had the potential to erupt into an imperial crisis. In January 1908, the colonial office in Calcutta wrote to Governor-General Grey that the passage of explicitly discriminatory legislation was "inadvisable" due to growing political unrest in India.[44]

In March 1908, the dominion government sent W. L. Mackenzie King, who was soon to be the Canadian deputy minister of labor, to England to meet with British authorities about prohibiting Indian migration to Canada. King and the British authorities agreed that Canada's desires to "remain a white man's country" and to restrict immigration from Asia were "natural."[45] Nonetheless, British officials warned the dominion government to tread carefully, for events in BC could destabilize British rule in India. Ultimately, Canada was allowed to enact restrictive legislation provided it did not explicitly discriminate against Indians.

In the spring of 1908, the dominion government passed a new immigration policy, known as the "orders-in-council," whose two provisions immediately impacted Indian migration to Canada. First, the legislation made it unlawful for any immigrant who did not arrive by "continuous journey" from his country of birth or citizenship to enter Canada. Because there were no steamship lines sailing directly from ports in India to the western Canadian provinces, the law ensured, in the words of one British official, that it was "practically impossible for the ordinary Indian labourer to enter Canada."[46] A second provision, passed the following week, required "all Asiatic immigrants other than those with whose countries the government of Canada has special arrangements" to be in possession of two hundred

dollars in order to enter the dominion.[47] The effect of the 1908 orders was swift and dramatic. In 1907, 2415 Indians legally entered the dominion; in 1909, this number dropped to five and, between 1910 and 1913, only 106 Indians officially entered Canada.

The 1908 orders also restricted the ability of Indians in the United States to cross the border into Canada, as they had not come from their country of birth or citizenship by continuous journey. Between 1904 and 1908, Canada had admitted about 5000 Indians, nearly half of whom had subsequently applied for admission to the United States. US immigration officials worried that, under the new legislation, Indians leaving BC for the United States would be unable to return to Canada and that the United States would soon face a new wave of Asian migration, and they pointed to restrictive immigration policies across the border, as well as in South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, to justify demands for exclusion at home.[48] Situating calls for Asiatic exclusion in a transnational context, US immigration authorities and congressional representatives frequently referred to anti-Asian laws in white settler countries to buttress their own espousal of Indian exclusion. Anti-Asiatic movements across British white settler countries shaped the implementation of exclusionary policies and practices in the Pacific Coast states. When it came to immigration and in particular the exclusion of Asian migrants, the United States was strikingly similar to white settler countries across the Pacific, and even used other countries' exclusionary laws as models for its own restrictive immigration policies.

By the summer of 1913, nearly a dozen immigration bills seeking to restrict Indian migration were pending before Congress. Although both the House and the Senate passed legislation imposing a literacy test in 1897, 1913, and 1915, a series of presidential vetoes prevented it from becoming law. Frustrated by the inability of Congress to pass restrictive legislation, immigration officials took matters into their own hands. Until a law to restrict Indian migration was passed, immigration officials agreed to exploit the "likely to become a public charge" clause in existing law to prevent Indians from gaining entry. Commissioner-general of immigration Daniel Keefe confidentially acknowledged that, beginning in 1909, it was "the general policy of the Immigration Service to exclude Hindus" and that "if such aliens were not found to belong to some of the definitely fixed excluded classes such as paupers, criminals, or contagiously diseased, grounds for exclusion was found either in the fact that they were persons of poor physique or that they were likely to become a public charge." In 1908, 1710 Indians entered the United States, more than in any previous year. In 1909, however, due to the Immigration Department's manipulation of the public charge clause, officials excluded 331 Indian migrants, allowing entry to only 377.[49] Over the next eight years, until the passage of the "Barred Zone" Act,

immigration officials utilized the public charge law to deny admission to more than half of Indians seeking entry to the Pacific Coast states.

Debates concerning Indian migration had widespread significance on the Pacific Coast, for it was there that, as one Northern Californian newspaper put it, "the Orient and the Occident meet." Citing the outcry of white residents in Yuba City—an agricultural town about forty miles north of Sacramento—who were reportedly "up in arms over the fact that Hindus are buying property in Sutter County," the writer of the article warned that the fight to preserve the standard of living of the state's white residents, "will be rendered doubly hard if we allow our greatest productive agency— our land—to be turned over to these people."[50] Thus, exclusionists conceptualized the Pacific Coast not simply as a contact zone, but as a battleground where white supremacy was under siege.

The borderland riots and the exclusion of Indians through both the "continuous journey" provision and the "public charge" clause politicized thousands of Indians on the Pacific Coast, who began drawing explicit links between racial discrimination in North America and colonial subjugation in India. In November 1907, immigration officials in Marcus, Washington, used the public charge clause to deny entry to twelve Indians who had been living in Canada for over a year. In a letter to the secretary of commerce and labor, the twelve migrants appealed that decision, citing the racism of immigration officials and stating that "white men going into the United States by the same train as that on which we were traveling and who were looking for work in the same way as ourselves, were permitted to pass." They argued that they were being "discriminated against because of our color and because of the fact that we are East Indians."[51] In private correspondence, US immigration officials on the West Coast acknowledged that "no aliens belonging to races other than the East Indian . . . have been excluded as 'likely to become public charges' if otherwise admissible." While immigration authorities worried about complaints of racial discrimination, they continued to confront such accusations by arguing that, "if immigrants of other races met with the same hostile reception as Indians, they too would be excluded under the public charge clause."[52]

Federal immigration authorities had strong personal ties to organized labor and were vocal advocates for anti-Asian legislation. Frank Sargent, the commissioner-general of immigration between 1902 and 1908, served as the president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen for seven years before being appointed to lead the Bureau of Immigration. Exclusionists welcomed Sargent, assured by his long service in the labor movement as well as his close relationship with American Federation of Labor leader Samuel Gompers. Daniel Keefe, who served as commissioner-general of immigration from 1909 to 1913, had been a longshoreman at the age of eighteen,

and in 1882 was elected president of the Lumber Unloaders' Association. From 1893 to 1908 he served as president of the National Longshoremen's Association, and in 1903 he became a member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.[53]

Anthony Caminetti took over the post as commissioner-general of immigration during the summer of 1913. Although he was the first commissioner in sixteen years not formally affiliated with the trade union movement, he was an outspoken critic of Asian migration. A native Californian with a long history of involvement in both the anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese movements, Caminetti had been active in the Native Sons of the Golden West, a civic organization in California that supported the total exclusion of all Asians.[54] Soon after assuming the position of commissioner-general, Caminetti testified before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization that, "like each of the colonies" dealing with Asian migration throughout the British empire, the United States needed to pass exclusionary immigration laws to protect itself from "an invasion" of "Hindus" to the Pacific Coast states.[55]

During his tenure as commissioner-general, Caminetti relentlessly pressured Congress to pass legislation barring the entry of Indian laborers, and he found a strong ally in secretary of labor William B. Wilson. Wilson was in frequent correspondence with various US representatives in Congress regarding the "Hindu emergency" and pushed for the immediate passage of legislation to prohibit Indian migration. Wilson complained frequently that the public charge clause was the only tool available to immigration inspectors and privately admitted that, in excluding 50 percent of Indians "as likely to become public charges, the Department sometimes felt that it was straining the existing immigration statue."[56] Although the number of Indian migrants to gain entry to the United States never exceeded 1800 in any given year, and the total number of Indians who officially entered the country between 1906 and 1917 numbered less than 8000, to Wilson and Caminetti even this number was too large. From the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 until the 1924 Immigration Act, immigration officials took it upon themselves to regulate the entry of those they considered a threat to the nation and made clear their desire to restrict Asian migration on a long-term, if not permanent, basis.

The efforts of US officials in Pacific Coast ports and Washington, DC, to prevent Indian migration operated in tandem with the work of the American consulate-general stationed in Calcutta, William H. Michael. In his weekly correspondence with the secretary of state's office, Michael often warned of the arrival of ships carrying Indians that were "undesirable and should be refused admission."[57] As early as 1908, Michael wrote to the secretary of state's office that since coming to Calcutta he had "discouraged natives

from going to the United States," and he spoke often about the need to pass legislation barring Indian entry.[58] US diplomats across Asia and the Middle East also took steps to discourage Indian migration to the United States. In a letter to the secretary of state in May 1912, Walter Schulz, the American consul in Aden, Arabia, reported that "a considerable number" of Indian soldiers were discussing migration to the Pacific Coast upon the expiration of their enlistment. Schulz assured the secretary of state that his office had "undertaken to discourage this immigration on the grounds of adverse customs and climatic conditions in the United States."[59] Meanwhile, most immigration inspectors along the Pacific Coast agreed to use "every effort to enforce the immigration law in its strictest sense to prevent [Indians] from entering."[60] Those inspectors who questioned the bureau's restrictive immigration procedures came under fire from organized exclusionist groups like the Asiatic Exclusion League and federal immigration authorities.

By the summer of 1910, disputes over the public charge clause, particularly the unwillingness of the San Francisco immigration commissioner Hart H. North to use the policy to exclude Indian migrants, were gaining public attention. North oversaw the construction of the immigration station on Angel Island and his famous utterance that there were "twelve jobs for every Hindu" earned him the wrath of exclusionists. Though North claimed to be no supporter of Indian migrants, he refused to use the public charge clause to prohibit their entry.

Despite accumulating evidence that demand was strong for Indian laborers in California, federal immigration officials continued to insist that Pacific Coast inspectors were to deny entry to Indian migrants under the public charge law. Tensions rose at the Angel Island station when two inspectors, D. J. Griffiths and T. M. Crawford, publicly sided with North and agreed that Indian migrants ought to be landed. This left only one inspector in San Francisco, Frank Ainsworth, who made no secret of his sympathies with the exclusionist cause, on the side of the Bureau of Immigration. Griffiths and Crawford wrote to Commissioner-General Keefe that the decrease of Chinese and Japanese migration due to existing immigration policies meant that there was a large demand for Indian labor in California. They quoted a 1910 report published by state labor commissioner John Mackenzie, which declared that there was "a great scarcity of help" in the state and that farmers were worried that they would lose thousands of dollars during harvest season because of their inability to secure necessary labor. Griffiths and Crawford concluded that there was "no legal ground for holding" most of the Indian migrants under the public charge provision at the San Francisco immigration station "while relatives and others are awaiting them in San Francisco to get them work."[61] Commissioner North echoed this admission even more forcefully when he argued that the condition of the labor market

in California was such that "there is a large demand for Hindus as well as other laborers, and that there is no likelihood of these aliens becoming a public charge."[62]

North's statements embarrassed the Bureau of Immigration by discrediting its grounds for exclusion over the previous two years. Despite the recommendations of the majority of immigration inspectors at Angel Island, however, Commissioner-General Keefe demanded that North scrutinize all incoming Indian migrants under the public charge law and base their decisions on the racial climate of the Pacific Coast rather than the availability of employment. The Asiatic Exclusion League, with the help of Inspector Ainsworth, soon launched a public campaign to remove North from the San Francisco immigration station "for his lenient attitude in allowing Hindus entry."[63] Exclusionists insisted that Angel Island was easier to get through than other immigration ports along the Pacific Coast. In 1910, the commissioner of immigration in Seattle reported that at his station during the past year, "*every* Hindu has been rejected by a special board of inquiry on the grounds of belief in polygamy, likely to become a public charge, doctor's certificate, or as an assisted immigrant."[64] Yet, League members complained that inspectors in San Francisco were admitting 50 percent of incoming Indians. They also accused North of not complying with the precedents set by immigration officials at other Pacific Coast ports. As League members argued, "it has been an open secret for some time that the denial of entrance to all Hindus regardless of physical condition or financial resources was the program adopted by the Department in answer to petitions from California for the enforcement of the exclusion laws," and North was not enforcing this program. Meanwhile, the League made repeated appeals to Commissioner-General Keefe and sent two petitions to President William H. Taft demanding North's removal.[65]

Commissioner-General Keefe grew increasingly concerned about North's public statements and urged Charles Nagel, the secretary of commerce and labor, to act. Keefe pressed Nagel to consider that the decisions made in the Indian cases in San Francisco would "determine the future policy of the Department with respect to Hindu immigration." He admitted that while the Bureau of Immigration believed that Indians could obtain employment immediately if landed, their presence on the West Coast had proven that they were "the frequent cause of racial disturbances" and that for this reason there was a likelihood that they could become public charges at some point in the future.[66]

Agitation by the League paid off in October 1910, when President Taft wrote to Secretary Nagel suggesting that the sooner he "get rid of Mr. North the better."[67] Within four months, the Department of Commerce and Labor suspended Commissioner North from his post, and six months later, he

resigned. League members congratulated themselves on the greater number of exclusions and scrutiny now given to all Indian migrants landing at the San Francisco port as well as the increased number of exclusions. After North's dismissal, officials in San Francisco liberally invoked the public charge provision. In 1911, 517 migrants gained entry, while 862 were excluded, and during the next five years, Pacific Coast immigration inspectors admitted fewer than 600 Indians. Federal immigration officials felt confident that local inspectors would continue to use the public charge clause to exclude most Indians until Congress passed an immigration law to prohibit their entry entirely.[68]

Faced with exclusion at West Coast ports, Indians began devising strategies to challenge the use of the public charge clause. They hired lawyers who in turn provided affidavits from various businesses and individuals promising immediate employment upon landing. Indians asserted that not a single Indian migrant had become a public charge in the United States and that Indian social and religious organizations that had emerged in the previous few years, including the Khalsa Diwan Society, the Hindu Students Association, and the Indo-Aryan Association, had promised to assume financial responsibility for all Indian migrants. In the spring of 1910, Frederick Clift, an attorney working on behalf of Indian migrants being detained at Angel Island, alleged that immigration inspectors, convinced that it was "their duty to make an excluding law against Hindoos," were taking extralegal measures to prohibit Indians from entering the country.[69]

By 1910, Indians already living in the United States had begun appearing regularly at the immigration hearings of detained migrants and submitting affidavits guaranteeing their employment. In March 1910, Osman Khan, who had lived in the United States for five years, told immigration inspectors in San Francisco that he could easily find work for Indian migrants on railroads, ranches, and mills across the state. Khan testified that although he did not know any of the migrants personally, he had heard of their detention and felt compelled to testify on their behalf. As he explained, "they are my countrymen, if I do not help them, who will?" In June 1910, Makhan Singh, who had lived in California for four years, testified before the Board of Special Inquiry at the San Francisco immigration station on behalf of his brother, promising him employment on the 200 acres of land that he rented and cultivated.[70] Many of the Indians who had already been admitted to the country grew increasingly frustrated that after traveling to immigration stations on behalf of cousins, friends, or brothers and presenting documentary evidence of hundreds of dollars saved in local banks and guarantees of employment, immigration officials continued to block entry.

Prominent leaders like Taraknath Das also began appearing on behalf of migrants facing exclusion. In 1905, Das, a university student immersed

in Bengal's antipartition movement, fled India for Japan to avoid imprisonment for his political organizing. After enrolling in the University of Tokyo, Das began organizing Indian students there against British rule. The British ambassador put pressure on Japanese officials to arrest him, and Das soon left for North America. Arriving in Seattle in July 1906 at the age of twenty-two, Das was the first Indian migrant to claim asylum in the United States as a political refugee escaping tyrannical British rule in India. Having little money, he worked as a laborer before making his way to Berkeley, where he helped establish the Indian Independence League to teach Indians American history and English in order to pass naturalization tests. By 1907, Das was working as an interpreter for the US immigration service in Vancouver, where he coached incoming migrants on the examination process, protested the discriminatory practices of immigration officials, and helped Indians initiate habeas corpus proceedings.[71]

In early 1908, Das published the first issue of his bi-monthly journal, *Free Hindusthan*, from Vancouver. He urged Indians to resist exclusion in Canada and warned the British government that continued injustice against Indians would lead to "an upheaval which will rend the Empire into pieces."[72] Realizing that the British government feared that the treatment of Indians in North America could shake imperial stability in India, Indian anticolonialists began linking racial discrimination in British colonial territories to potential revolution at home, in order to have their grievances addressed. Like Das, delegates from cross-border organizations, such as the United India League and the Khalsa Diwan Society, warned that Indian exclusion and deportation from Canada would "be a strong weapon in the hands of those preaching secession in India." In addition, Indian leaders in BC emphasized that outbreaks of racial violence in the borderlands were "not local, as being purely Canadian, they are in their very nature Empire question[s], and hence must be dealt with from this broad standpoint."[73] Just as white workers, labor leaders, and congressional representatives situated their calls for exclusion in transnational frameworks, Indian leaders began to articulate a transnational anticolonial politics in which they linked their struggles against racial discrimination and violence on the North American Pacific Coast to the struggle to establish self-government in India.

The anti-British rhetoric of *Free Hindusthan* alarmed British officials, who urged Canadian authorities to begin watching Indians in the dominion for sedition. Thomas McInnes, whom the dominion government had sent to BC to investigate the 1907 Vancouver riot, forwarded copies of *Free Hindusthan* to Ottawa and London and warned that its object "was to create the impression among Canadians that there will be serious danger to the Empire if Hindus are shut out of Canada as they are shut out of Australia."[74] In the spring of 1908, under pressure from British officials,

the US immigration office in Vancouver informed Das that he must cease either publishing his journal or working for the immigration service, and in April he resigned. Realizing "the difficulty of working freely in a British Dominion," Das moved his operation to Seattle in June 1908 and began traveling to labor camps along the Pacific Coast, where he delivered anti-British lectures to Indian migrants, called directly for the end of British rule, and insisted that "the government of India must be a government of the people of India, by the people of India, and for the people of India."[75]

By the end of 1908, Das had enrolled in Norwich University, a military college in Vermont, where he continued to denounce the oppressive policies of the British empire. Canadian and British surveillance followed Das across the country as officials became convinced that his intention was to study military engineering in order to make bombs that would aid his revolutionary movement in India. British ambassador James Bryce in Washington, DC, feared that Das would attract more Indians to Norwich and asked the university to prohibit "Hindu agitators" from enrolling. Insisting that British officials could rely upon the United States to protect imperial interests, British military attaché Lieutenant-Colonel B. R. James assured the India Office that US authorities would "always be in sympathy with us in matters of this kind, as they have an idea that the education which they are now giving to the Filipinos may tend to breed the same class of agitator there." Within less than a year, the university expelled Das for his anti-British speeches.[76] Appealing to a shared fear of and mutual opposition to the threat that anticolonial movements in the Asia-Pacific region posed to Anglo-American overseas interests, British officials pressed administrators to close the doors of Norwich University to Indian students.

After his expulsion, Das went to New York, where he continued printing *Free Hindusthan* on the press of the Irish nationalist publication *Gaelic American*. British authorities had been closely watching the newspaper's editor, George Freeman, since 1906. They grew particularly nervous about the arrival of a number of Indian students in New York in 1906 and 1907, who they believed gave Freeman "an opportunity of aiming another blow at England by dabbling in Indian sedition." According to J. C. Ker, the personal assistant to the director of the Department of Criminal Intelligence (DCI) in India, Freeman's *Gaelic American* "had already made a practice of condemning the Government of India." According to British intelligence, at the end of 1908, Freeman "was taking a very keen interest in the publication of the *Free Hindusthan*" and meeting twice a week with Indian radicals in New York in addition to helping Das print his anticolonial tract.[77]

By this time, Das's journal had appeared in Calcutta, from where C. R. Cleveland, the director of the DCI, forwarded copies to American consul-general W. H. Michael. Complaining of the "refuge" Indians were

finding in the United States to publish anti-British materials and circumvent India's sedition laws, Cleveland asked if it would be possible to have such radical publications suppressed by the US government. Michael immediately wrote to the State Department about Das, but he was told that no law prevented Indians from printing their revolutionary papers in the United States. In response, Michael began concentrating his efforts on interrogating US-bound Indian migrants before they left India. In the summer of 1910, Michael wrote to the secretary of state's office to report that he had begun questioning all Indians applying to go to the United States "to determine whether they were in sympathy with sedition in India or not."[78] Michael's questioning of Indians was seemingly aimed at intimidating any potential political activists from believing that they would find a safe haven in the United States from which to organize against British rule.

The collaborative efforts between US and Canadian officials and US diplomats and British officials across the Pacific to monitor Indians in North America are illustrative of the transnational dimensions of US surveillance, repression, and anti-Asian immigration laws. Since at least 1910, American consul-generals in India, who were in close contact with the DCI, were regularly transmitting information to the secretary of state's office, warning of the links between Indian anticolonialists on the Pacific Coast and the revolutionary movement in India. US consul-generals from Shanghai to Delhi closely monitored the circulation of Indian bodies and literature from the United States, repeatedly warning the secretary of state's office about the spread of Indian anticolonialism on the Pacific Coast. In addition to being kept apprised of the links between revolutionary activity in India and anticolonialists in the United States, the State Department regularly received messages from the British embassy in Washington, DC, asking for its cooperation in locating the whereabouts of particular Indians and appealing to US officials to aid Britain in repressing threats to its empire.

At the same time that American diplomats in India urged the State Department to keep a close watch over incoming Indian migrants, immigration examinations of Indians at Pacific Coast ports became an important tool to advance antiradicalism. Since 1908, US immigration officials had periodically questioned Indian migrants arriving at American ports about their stand on "organized government" and whether they had "heard of the plots in India to upset the present government."[79] Indians arriving at US immigration stations from the Philippines and Canada were also asked if they knew of or were associated with Indian radicals considered particularly "troublesome" by US officials.[80]

In August 1909, Das returned to the West Coast, where he enrolled as a graduate student at the University of Washington. There he undertook research on a project entitled "Employers Liability Law in the United

States." At this time, employers were not required to pay compensation to an injured employee and Das claimed his research was intended "to create a public consciousness against the tragic conditions imposed upon the masses of people by the absence of strong rules and regulations for the protection of employee interests."[81] In order to conduct his research, Das went to California to work as a vegetable picker among other Indians. During this time he made frequent visits to Berkeley to organize students to fight on behalf of Indian migrant workers.

In the summer of 1910, Das began appearing at the immigration hearings of migrants facing exclusion in order to attest "from personal knowledge that there is sufficient work offered for the Hindu laborers." As he told immigration inspectors, he had personally investigated the labor situation on the Pacific Coast and found that in Washington and Oregon, Indians were earning up to two and a half dollars per day working in the lumber mills and that there was "ample work" for them in the agricultural valleys of California.[82] Despite the affidavits promising employment and the protests of Das and other Indians at Pacific Coast immigration stations, however, inspectors continued to use the public charge law to prohibit thousands of Indians from entering the United States.

ANTIRADICALISM, SURVEILLANCE, AND BORDER ENFORCEMENT

British surveillance of Indians in the United States began in 1906 and was initially focused on Indians in New York City, where officials worried about "a strong colony of discontented Irish" who were "ready to take up any movement likely to embarrass the British Government" and with whom Indians could forge political alliances.[83] Within a few years, however, New York was of little concern to the DCI, as the Pacific Coast had emerged as the center of Indian anticolonialism in North America. The eclipse of New York by the Pacific Coast indicates a shift in the ideological dimensions of Indian anticolonialism as well. In New York, Indian nationalist politics were often led by intellectuals who expounded upon the plight of India with the aim of gaining sympathy and support from the American public. In the West, the movement largely comprised and was led by migrant workers who were motivated by their experiences with racial discrimination and violence on the Pacific Coast.

After the 1907 Bellingham and Vancouver riots, Indian migrants began forming cross-border social, religious, and political organizations, all of which were closely monitored from their inception by US, Canadian, and

British officials. Indian leaders in Vancouver, Seattle, and San Francisco had begun circulating a series of anticolonial periodicals and crossing the US-Canadian border frequently, delivering anti-British lectures and gathering financial support and members for their newly formed anticolonial organizations. These border crossings worried British, Canadian, and US authorities, who believed that the unhindered mobility of Indians was allowing them to build and sustain a transnational anticolonial movement. According to the DCI director C. J. Stevenson Moore, the editors of such tracts intentionally "sowed [their] seed on soil well prepared to receive" the message that racism against Indians abroad was inseparable from British rule in India. In October 1908, Moore wrote a report revealing that from the time Indians began migrating to the United States, British officials had worried about the threat they posed to British rule in India. As Moore wrote, "that this movement sprung into life on the Pacific Coast as a consequence of the harsh treatment to which Indian labour was subjected I have shown . . . it is in [the] process of being made an integral part of the whole political movement directed against our supremacy in India."[84]

By the fall of 1908, Indians in BC were actively fighting against the continuous journey law and Canadian efforts to remove them from the province and relocate them to British Honduras. Fearing that outright deportation was undesirable "from an imperial standpoint" due to the political unrest in India, J. B. Hankin, the private secretary to the minister of the interior and the leading proponent of the British Honduras plan, wrote to the superintendent of immigration in Canada to suggest a course of action to rid BC of those Indians who remained in the province.[85] Hankin informed the superintendent that each year the Colonial Office took "three or four ship loads of Coolies from India to work on plantations in the West Indies," where they were indentured for a term of three years.[86] He now suggested that England send one of these "coolie ships" to Canada to take "a load of Hindus to the West Indies." Canadian and British officials decided upon Honduras, described by British officials "as a growing country with a demand for labour, on a cheaper basis than that in British Columbia."[87] Canadian and British officials presented British Honduras to Indians in BC as a desirable environment, where there was a large Indian population and where they would be able to secure employment with little difficulty.

Indians in BC asked Teja Singh to come to Vancouver from New York to lead the British Honduras plan. Singh had taught at Khalsa College in Amritsar, Punjab, before arriving in New York in July 1908 from Cambridge University, where he was a graduate scholar in the Teacher's College. With his wife and family, Singh left New York for BC in the fall of 1908.[88] Within

a few weeks of his arrival in Vancouver, Singh had established the Guru Nanak Mining and Trust Company, an investment company that planned to use the capital of economically successful Indian migrants to fund commercial ventures in order to both legitimize the economic standing of Indians in North America and financially support migrants searching for employment. By 1909 the company had purchased 200 acres of land outside of Vancouver, which Singh planned to use to employ Indian migrants. Singh also advised Indian workers not to accept low-wage labor and to start businesses in real estate, mining, logging, and shipping. In addition to forming his investment company, Singh focused on organizing against the British Honduras plan. Prior to his arrival, Indians in BC had selected two delegates to visit and investigate conditions in British Honduras. On October 15, 1908, Nagar Singh and Sham Singh left the province with Canadian officials J. B. Hankin and William C. Hopkinson.[89]

The return of the delegation less than two months later was marked by controversy and hostility. Sham Singh described meeting Indians who had been in Honduras between twenty and ninety years and who were unable to save enough money to return to India. Nagar Singh reported that when he asked Indians about the working and living conditions in Honduras, one laborer there replied, "I am living from hand to mouth and can not get work." Nagar Singh reported that this worker's struggle was representative of many in the colony. He also claimed that Hopkinson had discouraged Sham Singh and him from meeting with the Indians who lived in British Honduras and accused Hopkinson of trying to conceal from Indians in Vancouver the true conditions in the colony. Upon returning to Vancouver, Nagar Singh charged Hopkinson with bribery and claimed that Hopkinson had asked him to submit a signed report praising the promising conditions in Honduras.[90]

On November 22, Nagar Singh and Sham Singh presented their unfavorable reports of British Honduras before a meeting organized by the Khalsa Diwan Society in the Vancouver *gurdwara*. Nagar Singh angrily admonished the Canadian government's attempts to lure Indians into the indentured system in British Honduras by "showing them glowing but false prospects of [the] prosperity that awaited them" there. The congregation unanimously decided that the Indians in BC would refuse to leave the province. The response of Indians in Canada to the appalling conditions in British Honduras also brought attention to the global exploitation of colonial workers. In addition to rejecting the Honduras plan, attendees expressed their intention to "organize themselves into a self-supporting community" and to help any Indians facing unemployment. Teja Singh challenged Canadian officials, who now threatened to use the public charge provision of the immigration law to deport Indians from BC, by sending a letter to

local newspapers and immigration officials in Vancouver in December 1908 guaranteeing that no Indian migrant would become a public charge.[91]

Both Hankin and Hopkinson accused Teja Singh of creating the bribe story and giving it to the press to discredit Canadian officials and to prevent any Indians from moving to British Honduras. By 1909, Teja Singh was advising Indians not to leave Vancouver under any circumstances and Canadian journalists were portraying him as "a rank seditionist engaged in undermining Britain's authority among the Indian immigrants."[92] Military intelligence officer Rowland Brittain, who attended the November 1908 meeting and reported that the Vancouver *gurdwara* was turning into a "hotbed of sedition," suggested that the Canadian government employ secret agents to watch "disloyal" Indians.[93] Thus began the surveillance of Indians on the Pacific Coast.

In January 1909, in response to the rise of Indian resistance to discriminatory immigration policies in Canada, the Canadian government hired William C. Hopkinson, who had traveled to British Honduras with Nager Singh and Sham Singh, to begin spying on Indians in BC. Born in Delhi in 1880, Hopkinson grew up in northern India and, in 1903, became an inspector of police in Calcutta. He remained there until 1907 or 1908 and was hired by the Canadian government in 1909 as an immigration inspector and interpreter, while continuing his work for the Indian police. According to rumors, he had a family and home in Vancouver but by day wore a turban and fake beard and posed as a laborer from Lahore named Narain Singh.[94]

While Hopkinson began his surveillance work in Vancouver, reports that "revolutionary agitation" in BC had "spread to Seattle" prompted him to also begin watching Indians in the Pacific Coast states.[95] While employed by the Canadian government, Hopkinson continued his work for the Indian police and reported intelligence matters to the deputy minister of the interior in Ottawa and to J. A. Wallinger, agent of the government of India, in London. He took on another role beginning in 1909, when the India Office formed a secret intelligence branch within its Public and Judicial Department in London to repress Indian revolutionary activity abroad, and assigned Hopkinson the task of monitoring Indians from BC to California.[96]

Hopkinson had strong allies in the justice and immigration departments with whom he arranged to monitor all mail moving between India and the Berkeley and San Francisco post offices. Fluent in Hindi and Punjabi, Hopkinson offered to translate for US immigration officials in exchange for free entry into the United States for himself and Indian informers employed by the Canadian government to keep "track of Hindu agitators residing in the United States." Hopkinson had access to criminal intelligence material from India and, later, connections to US commissioner-general of

immigration Anthony Caminetti, who facilitated his monitoring of Indians on the Pacific Coast by allowing Indian informants unrestricted entry to the United States from Canada as well as exchanging information about incoming Indian migrants.[97]

US and Canadian calls for stricter border enforcement went hand in hand with the repression of Indian anticolonialism. In January 1909, US and Canadian immigration inspectors in Vancouver warned John Clark, the US commissioner of immigration in Montreal, about Indians who "were proceeding from British Columbia to the United States for the purpose of promoting sedition against the British Government" and asked if federal officials in Washington, DC, could "have Secret Service officers make an investigation at Seattle and elsewhere regarding the movements of East Indians" across the border.[98] Canadian immigration authorities notified inspectors in BC that "all Indian arrivals seeking admission into Canada from the United States were to be detained for examination," as authorities "were particularly anxious to guard as far as possible, against Hindus crossing the border surreptitiously either into Canada or into the States." Border inspectors were instructed that "when any Hindu applies for permission to cross the border, he should be very closely interrogated as to his business, and any documents in his possession should be closely examined." In June 1916, dominion immigration inspector Malcolm Reid wrote to all border inspectors that "if any Hindu is discovered trying to sneak across in either direction, he should be arrested, and all papers, of whatsoever sort, that are found upon him or in his effects, should be sent to me. I will also arrange to have the man interrogated."[99]

Canadian and US immigration inspectors used the outbreak of the First World War to justify stronger border enforcement. As Reid insisted to W. D. Scott, the dominion superintendent of immigration, "we have ample justification for searching any individual who may be crossing the border in either direction during the duration of the war, on the ground that we are looking for prohibited literature, such as the *Ghadr*." Referring to the Ghadar Party's weekly publication, Reid warned that, "this paper is being circulated . . . on the Pacific Coast surreptitiously, and is being carried to and from the United States to Canada."[100] Although US, Canadian, and British states used the war as a pretext for greater surveillance and antiradical measures, officials had already been engaged in mutually reinforcing anti-Asian and antiradical campaigns on the Pacific Coast for years. Well aware that anticolonialists were using Indian exclusion to build support for the cause of Indian independence, US, British, and Canadian officials viewed the implementation of politically repressive measures and restrictive immigration policies in the United States, Canada, and India as a means of combatting the spread of anticolonial fervor.

THE RISE OF AN ANTICOLONIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

In the late summer and fall of 1909, Saint Nihal Sing, an Indian journalist living in the United States, published two articles in the *Modern Review* on the impact of discriminatory immigration laws on Indian migrants in North America. In the first, Sing wrote that for migrants in North America, "being an Indian is like standing between the devil and the deep sea." He described how Indians suffered from famine and poverty back home, while in North America they faced discrimination and exclusion. He also issued a warning: Indians around the globe were beginning to "resent the humiliating treatment accorded to their immigrants."[101]

Sing's second article, "A Message Gave Me for India," focused on the 1907 Bellingham riot. Although Sing was 3000 miles away at the time the riot occurred, he recalled that it had hurt his "national pride" to hear that 200 Indian migrants had been forcibly driven out of Bellingham. During and after the Bellingham and Vancouver riots, local police, federal governments in Ottawa and Washington, DC, and the British government did little to protect Indians from violence at the hands of white mobs. Instead, officials added insult to injury by enacting discriminatory immigration policies. Although Indians repeatedly appealed to the British consulate in San Francisco for aid, the lack of response from British officials left them dissatisfied and frustrated. As one migrant recalled after the riots, for the first time "it dawned upon the Indian immigrants that they were slaves . . . everywhere they were insulted and despised. In hotels and trains, parks and theatres, they were discriminated against."[102]

Evoking Rudyard Kipling's famous poem "White Man's Burden," Sing's "A Message Gave Me for India" called on Indian migrants to take up the "brown man's burden," an expression of self-determination directed at both liberating India from British rule and challenging racial exclusion in North America. Sing linked the US and British empires through their own claims of a shared "burden" and situated the borderland riots not as singular acts of injustice but as manifestations of a consistent, global practice of anti-Asian racism geared toward protecting and enforcing a global color line. Like other Indian anticolonialists, Sing cast the 1907 race riots and the American "race question" within a global imperial context. He oscillated between a celebratory, triumphant narrative of American exceptionalism and a much darker counternarrative highlighting the nation's racially restrictive immigration practices. By examining the imperial history of the United States through the lens of colonial discourses like the "white man's burden," Sing exposed US imperial practices abroad while subverting US and British imperialist discourse, which relied upon the notion that the white man had shouldered the burden of disciplining, uplifting,

and civilizing people of color. Contrasting Kipling's call for a transatlantic white imperial manhood, Sing's articulation of the "brown man's burden" deployed deeply gendered visions of the Indian independence struggle. Sing assured his countrymen that participating in the movement for Indian independence would recuperate the manhood that some may have felt stripped of as colonized subjects.[103]

That the histories of racial exclusion in the United States and white settler countries across the Pacific followed a similar trajectory was no coincidence. Indeed, the emergence of the United States as a formidable imperial power in the aftermath of the 1898 Spanish-American War strengthened the relationship between the British and American empires and fueled the production of shared racial discourses.[104] US and British imperialists viewed Kipling's rhetoric of racial "uplift" across the colonized world as applicable to the American West as it was to British white settler countries across the Pacific. Excluding Indians unified white workers across the globe under the banner of protecting and enforcing white supremacy, just as calls for the United States to shoulder its burden in the larger cause of Anglo-American imperialism across Asia and the Pacific forged a transatlantic imperial whiteness that enabled the British and American empires to extend and consolidate their imperial reach.

While the Pacific Coast emerged as a crucial front in Indian anticolonial struggles as well as global efforts to exclude Asians, consolidating white supremacy was both a transnational and a nationalist enterprise.[105] Even as white exclusionists on the Pacific Coast drew from and reproduced anti-Asian discourses across the white Pacific, they molded their rhetoric to fit local or national contexts. In the United States, this rhetoric was infused with antiradicalism, the fear that immigrants carried with them or were frighteningly susceptible to radical doctrines, and culminated in national policies to restrict "undesirable" immigration through the passage of racially restrictive immigration and politically repressive laws.

Indian migrations during the early twentieth century were rooted in the quest both for spaces in which to sell their labor and for spaces from which to organize for self-rule outside of British imperial reach. These imperatives for migration quickly coalesced on the North American Pacific Coast, where Indian struggles against racial discrimination and violence served to initiate and sustain a labor migrant anticolonial consciousness in which thousands of Indian migrant workers came to believe that their colonial and racial subjugation in India, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States was interconnected. As early as 1907, this conceptual convergence of colonial subjugation and racial exclusion gave birth to an anticolonial movement in which Indian migrant workers, students, and intellectuals became close

allies in the fight for self-government. Thus, while racially discriminatory immigration laws and antiradical policies were meant to exclude and silence Indians, they had the unintended effect of producing radical forms of anticolonialism.

CHAPTER 2

The Rise of Indian Anticolonial Politics in North America and the "Making of the New World"

If a serpent were to throw itself around your neck you would not lose much time by deciding whether you would get rid of it by constitutional means... you would crush it.

Har Dayal (1913)

Are we born only to follow and imitate the West, and always to remain at a distance from it even when so following and imitating? Are we quite sure that the West is after all on the right track and deserves the intellectual, the political, and the economic leadership of the world for all times to come? Are we quite sure that these people... are the right persons to lead us to the gates of the democratic harem?

Lajpat Rai, "ABC of Indian Politics" (1922)

In 1912, fifteen-year-old Kartar Singh Sarabha, a native of Ludhiana, Punjab, arrived in the United States and enrolled in chemistry classes at the University of California, Berkeley. Like many Punjabi students, Sarabha supported himself through the summer by finding work in the hot, dusty fields of California's agricultural valleys, where he encountered firsthand the exploitative practices of employers and the racism of white workers. At the same time that Sarabha was toiling in the fields, a group of mill workers in Portland and Astoria, Oregon, known as the Pacific Coast Hindi Association (PCHA), were meeting every Sunday to discuss their own experiences with economic exploitation, racial discrimination, and violence in the lumber

mills and work camps of the Pacific Northwest. What emerged out of these meetings between the spring of 1912 and the fall of 1913 was a revolutionary anticolonial politics that would coalesce into the Ghadar Party, the most revolutionary group of Indians to organize against the British empire outside of India during the early twentieth century.[1]

An ephemeral coalition of Punjabi Sikh migrant workers and Bengali and Punjabi intellectuals and students, the Ghadar Party—translated as "revolution" or "mutiny" party—theorized racial exclusion in the United States and British white settler countries as inextricably linked to India's colonial subjugation and argued that the only way Indians would gain equal standing in the world was to overthrow British rule. Within a year of its formation, the party had attracted thousands of Indians in North America to its cause and was fighting against British colonialism across a geographical front that extended from India and the Philippines to British East Africa and Panama. The various branches of the Ghadar Party were connected through radical publications issued from the party's headquarters in San Francisco, which were crucial to spreading the party's political ideologies and gaining new recruits. Kartar Singh Sarabha, who had joined the party soon after it was established, embodied the Ghadar ideal. Equally comfortable with farmers and intellectuals, he served as a crucial link between them. He was also a central figure at the Ghadar office, where he wrote articles and poems and ran the printing press that produced *Ghadar*, the party's weekly periodical, which was circulated across Indian migrant communities in North and South America, Asia, Africa, and Europe.[2]

This chapter tracks the global reach and influence of the Ghadar Party and other anticolonial leaders based in North America during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The first part of the chapter traces the formation of the earliest organizations and resistance campaigns of Indian migrants in the United States and Canada. Though British surveillance in North America focused at first on a handful of intellectuals in New York City, by 1908 officials had refocused their efforts on the Pacific Coast, where Indian migrants had begun forming religious and social service agencies that would prove to be of vital concern to British interests during the First World War. Initially, these early organizations worked to redress the harmful effects of racial discrimination and violence in North America by appealing to the British government to protect its subjects abroad and to comply with its promises of imperial justice and fair play. The British government's failure to adhere to its own promises of universality, however, made Indian migrants across the Pacific Coast receptive to a more revolutionary politics that rejected channels of constitutional reform and instead advocated the complete eradication of British rule through armed struggle.

The second part of the chapter provides an account of the formation and the ideological dimensions of the Ghadar Party. The propaganda of the Ghadar Party, specifically its theorization of the link between migration, anti-Asian racism, and colonial subjugation, was highly effective in politicizing and mobilizing Indian migrant workers on the Pacific Coast, who became acutely aware of the global convergence of racial and colonial oppression. Indian migrants in North America constituted the ranks of the Ghadar Party and served as the conduits for the dissemination of the party's revolutionary ideologies and practices. Although the Ghadar Party has often been characterized as a nationalist movement, its revolutionary aims were not limited to the territorially driven politics of an Indian nation-state. The racial violence and discriminatory immigration policy that Indian migrants fought against in North America shaped the trajectory of their emancipatory dreams in ways fundamentally different from nationalists in India. The party situated its revolutionary politics as part of a broader global, antiracist struggle aimed at contesting racially restrictive immigration policies in British white settler countries and the United States, and at crushing western dominance across Asia. Additionally, the party linked its calls for national liberation to the larger independence and democratic movements sweeping the globe during the early twentieth century, particularly in Ireland, China, Russia, and Egypt, and its members pledged kinship and solidarity with all peoples struggling against tyranny and oppression.

Although the Ghadar Party was the most widespread and closely monitored Indian anticolonial organization in North America from 1913 through the Second World War years, other activists, organizations, and intellectuals existed alongside it. The third part of the chapter focuses on two of the best-known figures of Indian anticolonialism in the early twentieth century: the intellectual activists Lajpat Rai and M. N. Roy. Though both Rai and Roy had come to the United States as committed anticolonial nationalists, during their exile in North America each developed anticolonial critiques that transcended nationalist frames and came to articulate far more transnational analyses of colonialism and race. While the anticolonial activists discussed in this chapter had ideological and strategic differences, they were all keenly aware of how modernity promoted universality while objectifying difference and reinforcing social inequality and domination, and shared a belief that a free India would clearly strike a blow to western supremacy and corresponding theories of racial superiority. A defining feature of their anticolonial politics was the refusal to accept the idea that colonial subjects must gradually prove their "progress" under Western tutelage before being granted self-government. The actions of the rank and file of the Ghadar Party as well as the theories of these intellectual leaders ruptured colonial time frames by replacing the "not yet" of colonial time with

the "now" of anticolonial liberation movements.[3] Even though the question of how India's independence would be accomplished was a contested one, none of these anticolonialists appealed to essentialized notions of precolonial identity in envisioning a free India, nor did they advocate an uncritical assimilation of Western political and economic structures. Instead, they were seeking to play their part, as Lajpat Rai once said, in "the making of the new world."[4]

EARLY ORGANIZING AND RESISTANCE

Radical intellectuals evading arrest in India for their political activities started arriving in North America via England, France, and Japan in 1906. Many of those radicals who fled India during the first decade of the twentieth century rejected the moderate and gradualist politics of the Indian National Congress (INC), which advocated cooperation with the British Indian government and sought to protect and expand the rights of Indians as British subjects through constitutional channels. Established in 1885 with Britain's approval by a small group of Western-educated lawyers and professionals, the INC reaffirmed India's loyalty to the empire and concentrated on channeling dissent into reforms that would give Indians a greater voice in the formation of economic, social, and political policies. Fearing that the INC would never bring self-rule to India and believing that it would not be possible to organize effectively while within reach of British officials, Indian radicals began establishing bases outside India from which to challenge the legitimacy of British rule.[5]

In 1905, Shyamaji Krishnavarma, an Oxford-educated Indian revolutionary, founded the India Home Rule Society in London, and a year later he opened the India House, which became a hub of political activism for Indian nationalists in Britain and one of the most vital centers for revolutionary nationalism outside India. Alarmed by the emergence of this "centre of sedition," British authorities kept a close eye on Krishnavarma and his associates.[6] In addition to running the India House, Krishnavarma published *The Indian Sociologist*, a periodical that was circulated among Indian migrants across the globe and routinely smuggled into India. This provocative journal related details about the suffering of Indians globally and urged Indians abroad to establish a "permanent court of international law" for political refugees who were increasingly being excluded from countries where they were seeking asylum from repressive governments. Anticipating that London would soon be an inhospitable environment for Indian radicals, Krishnavarma moved to Paris in the summer of 1907. Indians in London came under severe scrutiny two years later when Madan

Lal Dhingra, who had spent time in the India House, assassinated the political aide to India's secretary of state, Sir William Curzon Wyllie.[7]

Meanwhile Krishnavarma contacted other Indian revolutionaries in Paris working under the leadership of Bhikaiji Rustom Cama, also known as Madame Cama. Her newspaper, *Bande Mataram*, was an international forum for Indian revolution. Cama took Britain to task not only for its exploitation of India, but also for its brutality across the world. She urged Indian anticolonialists to address the injustices of British rule everywhere, citing the British government's massacre of Egyptian soldiers, "the butchery" of the Tibetans, the "hanging and imprisonment of Hindu patriots in India," and the "latest shooting down of Indian coolies in British Guiana whose poverty, engendered by British imperialist oppression in India, had driven them to work in exile for British exploiters in a foreign land."[8] Like Krishnavarma, Cama was very influential among those anticolonialists who passed through Europe on their way to North America, including Har Dayal, who edited *Bande Mataram* from 1909 to 1911. In Paris, Indian revolutionaries collaborated with political exiles from around the world and, according to Indian historian T. R. Sareen, learned "the technique of revolutionary propaganda and method."[9] Though many Indian radicals sought refuge from British surveillance in Paris, the eyes of the imperial government followed them there, prompting some to begin traveling to the United States and Canada. By 1906, New York City had emerged as a fulcrum in the global Indian anticolonial network that extended from East Asia to Europe to North America.

In 1906, Indian intellectuals in New York began establishing organizations modeled after Krishnavarma's India House, including the Pan-Aryan Association, the Indo-American National Association in New York, and the Society for the Advancement of India. Indian anticolonialists in New York forged close alliances with the Irish independence movement that stoked the anxieties of British officials that Irish-Indo solidarity would spread across North America, Europe, and India. In 1908, the Department of Criminal Intelligence (DCI) in India reported that it had received information that Myron Phelps, a wealthy lawyer of Irish descent, had provided the funds for Indian nationalists engaged in anti-British agitation to lease a house in New York, clearly modeled after Krishnavarma's India House. The relationship between the anticolonial leader Taraknath Das and Irish nationalist George Freeman was also cited in the 1908 report. DCI officials expressed concern that the first two issues of Das's anticolonial tract *Free Hindusthan*, had arrived in India enclosed in a copy of Freeman's New York–based publication *Gaelic American*. In both issues, Das expressed gratitude to the *Gaelic American* for its service in the cause of an independent India.[10]

In New York, Phelps and Freeman were also associates of Muhammed Barakatullah, a native of Bhopal, who had arrived in Japan in 1909 and become a professor of Hindi-Urdu languages at the University of Tokyo. From Tokyo, Barakatullah edited *Islamic Fraternity*, a monthly paper banned in India that often discussed the formation of a pan-Islamic Union in Europe, Asia, and Africa. In the aftermath of the Russian-Japanese War, Tokyo became a center for pan-Asianist and pan-Islamic thought and a destination for students, revolutionaries, and intellectuals from across Asia. In 1911 Barakatullah visited Cairo, Constantinople, and St. Petersburg, and when he returned to Japan, the anti-British tone of his writings persuaded the Japanese government to suppress *Islamic Fraternity* in 1912. Barakatullah eventually lost his teaching position and left Japan with Bhagwan Singh Gyanee in 1913. He attended the Oregon meetings that would lead to the formation of the party in the summer of 1913 and moved to San Francisco to join the Ghadar Party. British authorities viewed Barakatullah as a "connecting link" between the pan-Islamic movement and Indian sedition and kept a close watch on him once he appeared on the Pacific Coast.[11]

Although British officials had begun monitoring Indian intellectuals in New York in 1906, they were, in the words of one British official, "not regarded very seriously" as a threat to the government of India. However, the transfer of Indian organizing from the East to the West Coast was certainly alarming, for it was in California that Indian organizing against British rule "acquired a more violent and dangerous complexion."[12] Writing in the spring of 1914, DCI director C. R. Cleveland worried that the nearly 5000 Indians on the Pacific Coast surely offered "a promising field for seditious propaganda."[13] After anti-Asian riots swept through the Pacific Northwest in 1907, culminating with the expulsion of Indians from Bellingham, the Pacific Coast eclipsed New York as the "centre of Indian agitation" in North America.[14] Whereas in New York Indian anticolonial organizing had been the work of a handful of intellectuals, on the Pacific Coast thousands of migrant workers proved to be receptive to a revolutionary anticolonial politics as a consequence of the British government's refusal to protect them against racial violence and discriminatory immigration policy. Thus, it was on the Pacific Coast that an Indian "race consciousness has been awakened" and Indians came to conceptualize their anticolonial struggle in explicitly antiracist terms.[15]

By late 1907, Vancouver, British Columbia (BC), and its surrounding areas were a key node in the global Indian anticolonial network. Initially, Indians in BC established religious and social organizations devoted to protecting Indians from racial discrimination and securing housing and employment. The Khalsa Diwan Society, founded in Vancouver in 1907, was a social service agency for Indian migrants that focused on developing

Figure 2.1 Stockton *gurdwara,* 1920. Courtesy of Holt-Atherton Special Collections, University of Pacific Library.

Sikh religious institutions. The society opened branches across BC, including in Victoria, Abbotsford, and New Westminster, as well as in cities and agricultural and mill towns in Washington, Oregon, and California. In January 1908, it constructed the first Sikh temple (or *gurdwara*) in North America in Vancouver, and in 1912, it opened *gurdwaras* in Victoria, BC, and Stockton, California. Like *gurdwaras* in India and across the diaspora, the Vancouver, Victoria, and Stockton *gurdwaras* operated as houses of worship, hostels, educational facilities, and meeting spaces for Indians seeking to assemble, make speeches, and draft petitions.

While Indian religious leaders on the Pacific Coast were building *gurdwaras* and social service agencies for migrant workers, Indian activists started publishing periodicals that began to give voice to the grievances of migrants. A series of newspapers proliferated on the Pacific Coast beginning in 1907 that covered nationalist and anti-British themes along with the local concerns of Indian workers and students. One of the first such anticolonial periodicals was Ram Nath Puri's Urdu weekly journal *Circular-i-Azadi* (Circular of Freedom), which was printed in San Francisco and Oakland. Puri, who had arrived in the United States in 1906, had first drawn the attention of British authorities by publishing anti-British pamphlets in Lahore in

1905. According to British authorities, the "obvious intention" of *Circular-i-Azadi*, which appeared only in June, July, and August 1907, was to "creat[e] feelings of hatred and contempt for the British Raj in India."[16] In 1908, C. J. Stevenson Moore, director of the DCI, warned the British government that Puri's paper, which by this time had appeared across India, had a tone that was "frankly revolutionary." Further, Moore warned, because the paper was designed to appeal to the Indian laborers on the Pacific Coast, "a large number of who are Sikhs," it was "capable of working a good deal of mischief."[17]

By May 1908, British officials reported that they had good reason to believe that a seditious movement in India was being directed from the Pacific Northwest and that Indian anticolonialists had established a "school" at Millside, New Westminster (BC) that was being "used as a centre from which to spread revolutionary ideas among the Sikhs" on the Pacific Coast and across the globe. Shortly after the appearance of Puri's paper, periodicals such as Taraknath Das's *Free Hindusthan*, Dr. Sundar Singh's *The Aryan*, and Guru Dutt Kumar's *Swadesh Sewak*, emerged in Vancouver and Seattle and were also distributed in India. British authorities viewed Taraknath Das as "the ringleader" of Indian anticolonialism in North America and were particularly fearful that Das's paper was designed to promote "disaffection among the Sikhs of whom considerable numbers were settled in Canada and in the western states, who were already much irritated by the Canadian immigration restrictions." *Free Hindusthan* was succeeded in 1910 and 1911 by the *The Aryan* and *Swadesh Sewak*, both of which British officials viewed as "equally revolutionary" and worrisome because they were "addressed to Sikhs, in particular."[18]

While the British government presumed that Sikh veterans would remain loyal to the empire, anticolonial leaders told them that Britain's unwillingness to address their grievances and to formally protest anti-Indian racism in North America revealed that "British fair play and justice" were, in the words of Indian radical Husain Rahim, "trite expressions which carried no sincerity behind them." Editor of the Vancouver-based journal *The Hindustanee*, Rahim tapped into British fears of Sikh subversion to warn Britain that although it may have felt it was entitled to the allegiance of its subjects, if it allowed Indians' "fundamental rights as human beings to be taken away by subordinate legislatures," Indians would come to view the British empire as "a by-word for tyranny, instead of a bulwark of liberty."[19]

Sundar Singh's *The Aryan* issued similar warnings about Sikh disillusionment with their treatment in North America. Twenty-seven-year-old Sundar Singh had landed in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in February 1909, after a four-year stint in England, where he had studied medicine. He immediately made his way to BC, where he gained prominence as the editor of *The Aryan* and a leader of Indians organizing against restrictive immigration laws. In

December 1912, J. C. Ker, personal assistant to the director of the DCI, warned that one of the objectives of *The Aryan* was "to communicate to the Sikhs in India the harsh and unsympathetic treatment that their fellow countrymen had been subjected to in Canada." Copies of *The Aryan* had been sent to Sikh students at Khalsa College in Amritsar, a historically Sikh institute of higher education, and, as Ker warned, "the depth of ill-feeling which such writing is likely to cause is obvious."[20]

In the same report, Ker issued similar warnings about another periodical, Guru Dutt Kumar's *Swadesh Sewak*, which was being circulated in North America and India. Kumar landed in Victoria, BC, on October 31, 1907, and shortly thereafter opened a grocery store. In the next few years he established the United India League in Seattle and Vancouver with Taraknath Das, whom he had first met in Calcutta, and opened the Swadesh Sewak Home in Vancouver in 1910 as a shelter for Indians in need of assistance.[21] It soon became a meeting place for Indian activists and the location from which Kumar published his monthly paper, the *Swadesh Sewak* (Servant of the Country). The *Swadesh Sewak* initially focused on challenging Canada's restrictive immigration laws, but the tone of the paper became increasingly "objectionable" to British authorities when Kumar shifted from merely presenting the grievances of his countrymen in BC to recommending that revolutionaries in India purchase arms to defend themselves and, as J. C. Ker reported, "unite and rise up from their slumber." According to Ker, the *Swadesh Sewak* "was undoubtedly intended to reach the Sikh sepoys and ex-sepoys of the Indian army. It was written in their own language by one of their countrymen, and dwelt on the unjust treatment suffered in Canada by ex-sepoys, and copies were sent out to India to men in the regiments." The *Swadesh Sewak* was banned in India in March 1911 under the Sea Customs Act and Kumar discontinued publication three months later.[22] Nonetheless, British and Canadian officials continued to watch Kumar closely and were particularly concerned about his frequent movement between the United States and Canada, as they believed he was helping Indian migrants cross the border illegally. Kumar disappeared from Vancouver in June 1911 and was later traced to Seattle, where, according to British intelligence, he corresponded with Krishnavarma and Madame Cama in Paris and other prominent Indian agitators across the world.[23]

When J. C. Ker circulated a report among British officials in December 1912 about the state of anti-British politics in North America, he concluded that while there were "undoubtedly a number of dangerous characters, some of whom have seized on the discontent among the Sikhs in connection with the immigration restrictions to work up a considerable amount of ill-feeling against both the Colonial and the British Governments," as of yet no "actively seditious or revolutionary association on the Pacific

Coast" had emerged.[24] Ker's words reveal the extent to which British authorities were ill prepared for the emergence of the Ghadar Party less than a year later.

THE RISE OF THE GHADAR PARTY

By the spring of 1913, there were three main Indian organizations in the United States: the Hindustan Association of the United States, the Khalsa Diwan Society, and the PCHA in Oregon, all of which would eventually channel their support to the Ghadar Party.[25] The Hindustan Association of the United States comprised about 250 Indian students and "educated men." In a 1914 DCI report, British intelligence officials warned that the association was recruiting Indian students to the United States to instruct them "in nationalist, revolutionary, and even anarchical doctrines."[26] The DCI's monitoring of the Hindustan Association demonstrates that, in the eyes of British authorities, all Indian students groups, associations, and religious organizations were assumed to be revolutionary regardless of their proclaimed mission. For example, British authorities perceived the religious objectives of the Stockton-based Khalsa Diwan Society as a ruse to mask its revolutionary intentions.

By the end of January 1913, the PCHA had seventy members and its leaders included some of the most influential Indians on the Pacific Coast, such as president Sohan Singh Bhakna and secretary Guru Dutt Kumar. Under Bhakna's leadership, the PCHA focused on recruiting young men from India to America for an education that would, in part, cultivate a nationalist consciousness. Born near Amritsar, Punjab, in January 1870, Bhakna arrived in Seattle on April 4, 1909, and immediately found work in a lumber mill near Portland.[27] He had a history of political organizing in India, where he participated in the Namadhari Movement, which urged Indians not to send their children to government schools and to boycott foreign goods. In Oregon he became a member of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and spoke regularly about the exploitation of migrant workers and the formation of race- and class-based hierarchies along the Pacific Coast. Bhakna was drawn to socialist theories and the IWW as a way to understand the conditions of the Punjabi migratory labor force in the Pacific Northwest.[28] He came to see labor exploitation, racial discrimination, and colonial subjugation as inseparable, and later attributed the rise of the Ghadar Party to these conditions and the British government's unwillingness to protect Indians in the face of legislative and extralegal forms of racial exclusion and violence. According to Bhakna, Britain's ambivalence about Indian suffering abroad contributed to the politicization of Indian

laborers, who came to believe that they would not be treated with equality and dignity "unless [they] became free as people."[29]

In the spring of 1913, the PCHA invited the radical intellectual Har Dayal to join them in Oregon. At that time, Dayal was working as a lecturer at Stanford University and had a wide circle of radical affiliates in the San Francisco Bay Area. According to British intelligence, while there was already "a certain amount of inflammatory material in the Pacific Coast states," it was this material that Dayal "proceeded to start to fan into a blaze."[30] Alongside Dayal was his friend Bhai Parmanand, who had traveled extensively across the Indian diaspora before arriving in Oregon in 1913. Before making his way to the United States, Parmanand had visited the most important figures of Indian anticolonialism at the time, including Mohandas Gandhi in South Africa, Shyamaji Krishnavarma in London, and Har Dayal in Martinique, and also spent time with Indian laborers in Guyana and Hawaii. While in London, Parmanand undertook an independent study at the British Library of what he described as the "true history of India." His work there may have inspired and influenced Dayal's later articulations on the importance of writing a national history of India to develop a revolutionary consciousness. For the next year and a half, Parmanand spent each day at the British Library assiduously gathering information on his native country's history. The fruit of his research was a glaring revelation: official accounts of Indian history had focused only on "the victorious invaders of India and of their achievements," while casting Indians as "inferior" and uncivilized. Using the materials he had gathered, Parmanand wrote a master's thesis titled, "The Rise of British Power in India," which immediately attracted British scrutiny.[31]

Parmanand left England and traveled through several European colonies in the Caribbean and South America before making his way to San Francisco, where he enrolled in the College of Pharmacy. After completing his degree, he decided to return to India. Dayal, however, convinced Parmanand to accompany him to Oregon in the spring of 1913. Parmanand stayed in Oregon for only a few days, citing his differences with Dayal as to what the Ghadar Party's function and purpose should be. While Dayal favored the idea of setting up a press to disseminate political propaganda, Parmanand believed that the party should focus on collecting funds to open free boarding houses for Indian students at two or three American universities and to support their education. Unable to reconcile their differences, Parmanand decided to return to India in December 1913.[32]

Meanwhile, Dayal remained on the Pacific Coast, where he was confident he could channel the frustrations of Indian agricultural and mill workers into a revolutionary anticolonial movement. To disillusioned Indian workers who complained of being "pushed around in foreign lands," Dayal's

message was clear: the British empire was the cause of their suffering. As he explained to the hundreds of Indians across Oregon who came to hear him speak in St. John, Astoria, Bridal Veil, and Portland during the summer of 1913, "people may pity us, but they can't respect us." Further, not until India was a free and sovereign nation could it "protect its citizens and speak for them in Washington."[33] Demonstrating how the Ghadar Party would come to be the revolutionary foil of the INC, when Dayal lectured at the Finnish Socialist Hall in Astoria on June 4, 1913, he distinguished the revolutionary role of the emerging Ghadar Party from that of the INC, emphatically stating that the object of Indian nationalists should not be "to reform the Government *but to reform it away*, leaving, if necessary, only nominal traces of its existence." Thus, unlike the INC, Dayal refused to promote loyalty to the British Raj and urged Indians instead to rise up and overthrow the colonial state through armed revolution. In Dayal's words, the time had come to "lay the axe at the root of the tree."[34]

Although Har Dayal has been credited with founding the Ghadar Party, Indian workers in the Pacific Northwest, including Sohan Singh Bhakna and Guru Dutt Kumar, were central to the party's formation and had been meeting under the auspices of the PCHA for over a year under Bhakna's leadership before Dayal arrived in Oregon. Still, Dayal played a fateful role in steering the Oregon-based Indian migrants' anti-British fervor towards more revolutionary aims. He was invaluable for his ability to persuade Indian migrants that continued appeals to the British government were futile and for creating and editing the party's weekly newspaper, *Ghadar*. Further, he bestowed the party with its name and its vision.

Dayal identified Ghadar Party members with expatriated Indian revolutionaries in Europe, including Shyamaji Krishnavarma and Madame Cama, and wrote that "a band from the same army has arrived in America also. It has, after fleeing from the Punjab of slavery, founded another free Punjab in California, where brothers are free to talk, to deliver lectures, [and] to publish newspapers . . . from here they must now carry on war against the enemy."[35] In the fall of 1913, the Ghadar Party elected Sohan Singh Bhakna as president, Har Dayal as secretary, and Jawala Singh and Kesar Singh as vice-presidents, and it appointed traveling emissaries to move through areas with large numbers of Indian migrants to form local branches. Dozens of meetings were held in Vancouver, Seattle, Portland, Astoria, St. John, Sacramento, Stockton, Oxnard, and Fresno over the next year. Ghadar leaders stood before congregations of Indian workers and students to deliver the following message: the wealth of Britain had been built on the labor and exploitation of its colonized territories, the most profitable being India, and it was time for the British to be expelled. Moreover, despite professions to the contrary, the British government had only one aim: "to keep the

Hindustanees subjugated."[36] Unlike moderate political groups that sought a system of home-rule similar to Canada and Australia or who advocated Indian independence through nonviolence, the Ghadar Party sought "total autonomy and absolute freedom through revolution" and had "no hope that anything can be achieved by begging from the Government, or [by] passive resistance."[37]

British officials later wrote that it was at these meetings, which inspired hundreds of Indians on the Pacific Coast to return to India as revolutionaries determined to overthrow the British Raj, that "the seeds of sedition were sown."[38] The mobilizing effect of the Ghadar Party is demonstrated by Indian migrants such as Kesar Singh Dillon, who had come to the United States in April 1910 after the repressive police regime in Punjab had compelled him to leave his home near Amritsar. Dhillon later recalled that when he came to the United States he was deeply disillusioned by his encounters with the same kind of contempt he dealt with in India. According to his accounts, racial oppression in India and abroad "aroused in me a keen desire to fight for Indian Independence. I joined other people with similar ideas and in 1913 the Hindustan Gadar Party with the object of fighting for India's Independence."[39] Ghadar Party member Sohan Singh Josh later reflected that the party's vision had a profound impact on Indian migrants because it redirected and refocused their struggles against Canadian and US immigration restrictions and racial prejudice toward the "thinking, yearning, dreaming and planning of a revolution in India."[40]

Though the party was formed in Oregon, Dayal established its headquarters in San Francisco, a city he described as a capital of the revolutionary movements of the world and the meeting ground for political radicals from Ireland, China, and Russia.[41] In San Francisco, Ghadarites could participate in "the strenuous struggle which is going in *all countries*, between the oppressors and the oppressed, the rich and the poor, the powerful and the weak" and see how India's struggle to be free from colonial subjugation was connected to "a common fate with the oppressed people of other countries." San Francisco was also situated less than 100 miles from the agricultural valleys of central California, and migrant workers could easily move between the city and the farms and orchards where they worked.[42]

In November 1913, Ghadar Party members raised a tricolored national flag at their new headquarters on a San Francisco hilltop. The red, yellow, and green flag represented the goals of the party: freedom, brotherhood, and equality. Bestowing the headquarters with the name Yugantar Ashram, or "New Era," Dayal described the ashram as "a fort where bombardment of English rule will be started." It was here that party members lived, held meetings, worked on Ghadar publications, and taught migrants how to read and write English, Gurmukhi, and Urdu to counter charges by

some members of the US Congress and the Immigration Department that Indians were illiterate and should therefore be excluded.[43]

In addition to the Yugantar Ashram, Ghadar Party members established living and working spaces across the San Francisco Bay Area that quickly became centers of political activity. In San Francisco, the party rented an office at 1324 Valencia Street, where it set up a press and printed *Ghadar* each week. Berkeley students who joined the Ghadar Party lived in the Nalanda Hostel, which operated as both a living and a meeting space near the campus, and on weekends they crossed the Bay to meet and work at the Ghadar offices. In June 1914, the DCI fretted over the Indian students at Berkeley, who officials believed were "almost universally tainted with Ghadr ideas."[44] The DCI reported that Indian students in Berkeley had purchased sixteen rifles and twenty revolvers using the names of Japanese friends who accompanied them and "who gave their names for the purpose of registration, thus enabling the Indians to withhold their own names" and avoid detection by British officials.[45]

Just as the party's membership spanned the globe, so did its political alliances and influences, which included Irish and Egyptian nationalists as well as socialist contacts in Europe and the Americas.[46] J. N. Lahiri, who had graduated from Calcutta University with a degree in chemistry and had worked with the Terrorist Party of Bengal to help manufacture bombs before studying at Berkeley, used to bring Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Turkish, and Irish nationalists to Ghadar Party offices to deliver lectures about their own experiences. According to Ghadarite Darisi Chenchiah, from these revolutionaries, Ghadar Party members "learnt many lessons not only about printing, publishing, and distributing secret revolutionary literature, but also the method of recruiting, training and organizing youths."[47] Lahiri encouraged Ghadarites to read the biographies of notable revolutionaries and provided military training to Ghadar recruits that included rifle and revolver shooting in the hills behind the Berkeley campus.

The structure and organization of the Yugantar Ashram mirrored the Ghadar Party's philosophical goals, which emphasized secularism and unity. Party leaders pointed out that Britain had justified its rule in India by claiming that India was not one nation but many distinct peoples separated by religious, linguistic, and regional differences. As such, the party insisted that there would be no place for religious discussions in the party, as religion was a personal matter rather than a political one. Highlighting the party's democratic and egalitarian outlook and philosophy, Ghadarites identified themselves as the "sons of Bharat" (India), thus emphasizing their collective national identity irrespective of religious, caste, or regional difference. Ninety percent of the party's membership comprised Punjabi Sikh men from five agricultural districts in central Punjab—Jullundur,

Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, and Ludhiana—and the party's leaders included Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims from Bengal, Punjab, and Bhopal. Thus, at a time when religious nationalism dominated political organizing in India, the Ghadar movement implored Indians abroad to join the organization not as Sikhs, Hindus, or Muslims, but as "Indians."[48]

Migrant workers, students, agriculturalists, and intellectuals filled the ranks of the party's membership, and except for some of the intellectual leaders, a majority of Ghadar Party members had little background in anticolonial politics when they left India. In fact, almost half of the party comprised veterans of the Indian army who had a history of loyalty and service to the empire. Ghadar Party leaders tapped into their disillusionment, anger, and humiliation to develop and nurture a political consciousness in which Indian migrants connected their struggles against racial violence and discrimination from BC to Southern California to their economic exploitation and political subjugation in India. Within a few months of the party's creation, membership surpassed 5000, with seventy-two North American branches in cities including Berkeley, Portland, Astoria, St. John, Sacramento, and Stockton.[49]

On November 1, 1913, the first issue of *Ghadar* was printed from the Ghadar Party's San Francisco headquarters. The paper was rapidly distributed along the Pacific Coast and across the diaspora, spreading the party's message and unifying its adherents. In its inaugural issue, Dayal described *Ghadar* as a "harbinger of freedom," the "enemy of the British Government," and "a cannon the aim of which will spare no tyrant."[50] To Dayal, the paper signified that a "new epoch in the history of India" was beginning and he declared that, "today there begins in foreign lands, but in our country's language, a war against the English Raj . . . What is our name? Ghadar (Mutiny). What is our work? Ghadar (Mutiny). Our name and our work are identical." According to the paper, mutiny would erupt in India within a few years, for the Indian people could "no longer bear the oppression and tyranny practiced under British rule, and are ready to fight and die for freedom." Finally, *Ghadar* stated its intention to help "bring on the day when the whole nation shall rise up to overturn the existing political system in British India," warning that the time would soon come "when rifle and blood will take the place of pen and ink."[51]

To reach as many Indians as possible, the party sent copies of the periodical "anywhere they knew that the Indian was," as Padmavati Chandra, the wife of Ram Chandra explained.[52] By 1914, the Ghadar Party was circulating nearly 5000 copies of *Ghadar* in Gurmukhi and Urdu each week. Because the paper was free, its circulation depended upon funds donated by local Indians. Within six months readers were informed that the paper had reached China, Japan, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Sumatra, Fiji, Java,

Singapore, Egypt, Paris, British East Africa, South Africa, South America, Panama, and Trinidad. By January 1915, British intelligence reported that *Ghadar* was also being circulated in Sudan, Aden, Morocco, Madagascar, Reunion, Australia, and Jamaica.[53]

In the spring of 1914, the Ghadar Press released 12,000 copies of *Ghadar-di-Gunj* (Echoes of Mutiny), a volume of Urdu and Punjabi poetry composed and written by Indian migrant workers. Filled with calls for collective action to drive out the British regime and build an independent nation, the poems and protest songs from *Ghadar-di-Gunj* were often recited at formal and informal Ghadar gatherings.[54] Unlike the proselytizing of party leaders in the pages of *Ghadar, Ghadar-di-Gunj* was composed of the heartfelt poetry of Indian workers, who constituted the heart of the movement and who provided the manpower for the party's calls for direct action.

Global readers of *Ghadar* took seriously the exhortation that it was their "patriotic duty" to circulate copies of the paper "among as many readers as possible."[55] When the first issue of *Ghadar* arrived in India on December 7, 1913, it was immediately banned, and officials in India routinely searched luggage from the United States and seized any Ghadar publications. Indians across the diaspora who received copies of the paper were asked to send them on to friends in India after reading them in order to help disseminate the party's message. Thus, in spite of British efforts to prohibit such literature, *Ghadar* continued to reach India from the Pacific Coast of North America via Shanghai, Hong Kong, Nairobi, Johannesburg, Singapore, Manila, Bangkok, Hankow, Tientsin, and Moji.[56]

In March 1914, British authorities in Nairobi intercepted seven packets of *Ghadar* in the mail from Europe, two of which were addressed to the local *gurdwara*. Demonstrating the global reach and influence of *Ghadar*, a 1916 British intelligence report titled, "Sedition among the Indians in British East Africa" warned that *Ghadar* was circulating freely in the protectorate and being sent to India from British East Africa.[57] Though authorities in British East Africa were fearful of "the influx and activity of the *Ghadar* emissaries," they were relieved that revolutionary fervor did not appear to be spreading there as it was on the Pacific Coast of North America.[58] Though migrant laborers in British East Africa were receptive to Ghadar literature, in communication with Ghadar revolutionaries in America, and characterized by British authorities as "violently anti-British," the party's message did not appeal to those Indians who had been born and raised in Africa and enjoyed a measure of prosperity as middlemen between the British colonial rulers and the native colonized Africans.[58]

In January 1914 postmaster generals across India, particularly in Punjab and Bombay, began intercepting what appeared to be private letters in

ordinary envelopes containing complete issues of *Ghadar*. On February 7, 1914, 104 letters and packets were intercepted in Punjab, eighty-six of which were found to contain copies of *Ghadar* addressed to residents in Punjab or soldiers in the Indian Army. Less than a week later, a consignment of 387 letters and four packets was intercepted at Bombay, with 331 containing copies of *Ghadar*, fifteen of which were intended for soldiers. In spite of all precautions taken to intercept *Ghadar*, however, the contents of the paper still made their way into India. Once Indians became aware that authorities were on the lookout for the weekly periodical, they began hiding small cuttings of the paper or sending handwritten excerpts from the paper in private letters.[59]

To highlight the dangers posed by the circulation of *Ghadar*, particularly if it reached the hands of soldiers, a 1919 report prepared by two police officers in Punjab, F. C. Isemonger and James Slattery, titled *An Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy (1913–1915)*, reprinted a letter from "a Sikh in California" to an Indian soldier in the 82nd Punjabi Regiment in Nowshera. Though the California-based Sikh wished to send a complete copy of *Ghadar*, because its entry into India was prohibited he wrote its contents in a letter, focusing on how British economic policies were draining the wealth of India to Britain. Demonstrating the politicizing and mobilizing effects of *Ghadar*, the Sikh migrant wrote that "all of these facts . . . have been copied from a paper called *Ghadr*" and "all Indians living in America and Canada are prepared to kill and die" on behalf of the movement to free India. Finally, the letter spoke to the militantly revolutionist theories and practices of the party, which was always opposed to constitutional methods or any compromise with the existing system, by concluding, "the English take no notice of our begging; we shall have to bite."[60]

Ghadar and *Ghadar-di-Gunj* connected, politicized, and mobilized Indian migrants dispersed across the globe. The party's message was applicable to Indians everywhere who felt that, as colonized subjects, they had "no stature in the world" and thus was critical to creating an "imagined community" in which intellectuals, migrant workers, and students began to think of themselves as Indians working to free India.[61] In addition to being an instrument of mobilization, *Ghadar* was a project of historical revisionism. One of its key aims was to counter British assertions that India was loyal to the empire. *Ghadar* exposed the exploitation and brutality of British imperialism and insisted that India "was seething with anti-British revolutionary ferment." In regularly featured articles and publications such as "A Few Facts about British Rule," *Angrezi Raj Ka Kacha Chitah* (The British Rule Laid Bare), and *Ankon Ki Gawalri* (Evidence of the Statistics), readers of *Ghadar* became aware of the destructive nature of British rule, including the high rates of taxation, the British Indian government's neglect of

education and public health, and the loss of lives through famines and epidemics generated by British rule.[62] According to Ghadarite Gobind Behari Lal, these kinds of statistics generated in Indian migrants "a revelation that shook them to their very depths."[63]

Evoking what Har Dayal referred to as the "British Vampire," *Ghadar* emphasized that Britain's economic policies drained India's wealth out of the subcontinent, thus enriching Britain at the expense of India.[64] Worse yet, high taxation in India and the willingness of Indians to serve in the British Indian Army facilitated British exploitation and imperial expansion. As one issue of *Ghadar* explained, Britain used taxes collected in India to finance its "ceaseless bloody wars of aggression and conquest." Arguing that Britain's power was sustained by Indian blood, *Ghadar* mourned that "India's men and treasure have paid for all of England's wars in the Far East, in China, Burma, Egypt and Africa, in whatever corner of the globe British greed sees a chance to oppress a weaker people."[65] The party's unsparing criticism of Indian military service in the British Indian Army, what the party referred to as an "instrument of oppression," was often linked to a broader concern that Indian soldiers were keeping not just India but major portions of the rest of the world under the tyranny of British rule.[66] As one issue of *Ghadar* lamented, "the English by means of the wealth of India and its troops have made Burma, Egypt, Sudan, and Africa their slaves and have looted the wealth of our fatherland and with it have made warships in England, with which they are now attacking the Turks. On the one hand, we wretched people are slaves ourselves and on the other hand our own wealth makes other people slaves of England."[67]

The Ghadar Party urged Indian soldiers to cease sacrificing their lives to maintain the supremacy of Britain, which then used that supremacy to dominate and rule Indians and other colonized subjects. Party members sought to persuade soldiers that their service to the British Indian Army would not earn them the respect of their fellow British subjects nor would it guarantee the protection of the empire. Pointing to the racial discrimination and violence that Indian veterans in BC faced, one issue of *Ghadar* asked Indian soldiers how they could fight for the British in Afghanistan, China, and Sudan, while "the Hindus in Canada are considered less than dogs."[68]

In addition to reporting the injustices and exploitative nature of British imperialism, Ghadar leaders intermittently suggested what a free India might look like. The party favored a republic, or federation of Indian states, described by Ram Chandra, who led the party between 1914 and 1917, as "the free Republic of the United States of India."[69] This reference to the United States should not, however, be interpreted as an uncritical acceptance of the unequal and racially stratified practice of American democracy.

Rather, the party grasped that the United States was full of contradictions. On the one hand, the party often attributed racial discrimination and violence on the Pacific Coast to British colonialism in India, a framework that at times was far too forgiving of anti-Asian racist practices in the United States. Yet, from its inception, the Ghadar Party's fight for an independent India was inseparable from its fight against racial inequality, particularly in the United States. Although Ghadar literature was smuggled into India to incite Indians to prepare for revolution, its greatest influence was on Indians abroad. This was because it convincingly linked economic exploitation and racial discrimination in North America to the economics and geopolitics of empire, specifically by connecting the grievances of a racialized migratory labor force to the colonized status of India. In its second incarnation as a communist movement in the period after the First World War, the Ghadar Party developed a more clearly articulated political vision for India based on an anticapitalist ethos. Following the success of the Bolshevik revolution, Ghadarites turned to Moscow for guidance, training, and support, and sent batches of trainees there during the 1920s.[70]

An underlying theme of Ghadar literature is the theorization of the link between the racialization of Indians across the globe and the production of British historical narratives to justify imperial rule. Explicit in the Ghadar Party's historical revisionism is a counternarrative of colonial temporality. Rather than describing "progress" as the colonized subject's movement toward "civilization" and modernity through gradualist means dictated by colonial rulers, Ghadar literature casts violent revolutionary acts as signifiers of the Indian people's "progress." Thus, to combat the humiliating treatment Indian migrants faced both within and outside India, the Ghadar Party advocated armed revolution as a means to attain national liberation. Anticipating the ideas of later theorists like Frantz Fanon, the party advocated the violent eradication of colonial rule as a "cleansing force" that would restore self-respect to the colonized subject and free him from his inferiority complex vis-à-vis his colonial rulers.[71]

A key component of the Ghadar Party's training of revolutionaries was the teaching of India's past from a revolutionary perspective. Believing that "government schools circulate the poison of slavery in the veins and arteries of the Nation's body," Ghadar Party leader J. N. Lahiri encouraged Ghadar Party members to "read about the glorious achievements of our History," to cultivate "pride in our civilization." According to Ghadarite Darisi Chenchiah, "those studies helped us philosophically and intellectually to become revolutionaries."[71] In other words, the Ghadar Party wrote the history of India by reconstructing the past in light of its revolutionary potential in the current moment. For example, the Ghadar Party wrote frequently about the 1857 mutiny, which the party referred to as "a shining

light in the dark history of India" and India's "first war of independence." The 1857 mutiny would serve as a template for the party's future uprising, which would center on convincing Indian soldiers to strike against British officials first, thereby inspiring the masses to rise up and overthrow British rule. Indian patriots commemorated the 1857 mutiny as a historical marker of India's revolutionary past, of which the Ghadar Party was the latest manifestation.[72] By celebrating the anniversary of events like the 1857 mutiny, the Ghadar Party rewrote the narrative of Indian national history from the perspective of oppressed Indians yearning for freedom, rather than the British government, which was committed to perpetuating oppression. In contrast to Britain's perspective, from the Ghadar Party's point of view, the 1857 mutiny was not an incident to be feared for the instability it might have created but a moment of national pride and revolutionary possibility.

In addition to commemorating events critical to the formation of a revolutionary consciousness, the Ghadar Party honored its own martyrs and memorialized figures in Indian national history who resisted British rule, including Mangal Pandy for his role in starting the 1857 mutiny. Indian migrants across the globe were encouraged to follow in the footsteps of heroic and self-sacrificing figures like Pandy by joining the Ghadar movement. The party also invoked a sense of British injustice by frequently referencing contemporary political activists who had been incarcerated, exiled, or executed.[73]

The Ghadar Press circulated numerous pamphlets and leaflets in English, Gurmukhi, and Urdu, including *Zulm! Zulm! Gore Shahi Zulm!* (Tyranny! Tyranny! The Tyranny of White Rule), in response to the Canadian government's deportation of anticolonial leader Bhagwan Singh in 1913; William Jennings Bryan's *British Rule in India*, an indictment of British colonialism in India written in 1906; and *Ilan-i-Jang* (Declaration of War), which, according to Isemonger and Slattery, painted "India as downtrodden and trampled on by foreigners" who drained the country's wealth and relied upon its soldiers as indispensable in the defense of the empire. Finally, the Ghadar Press published two well-known anticolonial tracts written by Har Dayal: *Shabash* and "Social Conquest of the Hindu Race and the Meaning of Equality."[74]

Shabash, a term used to commend an achievement, in this case referred to the 1912 bombing in Delhi by an Indian nationalist who had targeted British officials. In memory of the 1912 Delhi bombing, Dayal called for the establishment of an annual commemoration that would "convey a message of encouragement and hope to all our Indian brethren." Dayal celebrated the bombing as an event that had "rekindled the fire of national activity" and declared to the world that "the Indians had woken up from their slumbers of slavery." He invoked the bombing to warn the British government

that the subjugation of Indians and the humiliation they felt as colonized subjects was persuading them to abandon constitutional reform in favor of "the assassin's dagger," which Dayal perceived as "an essential weapon of advancement."[75]

Subverting colonial timelines mandating that colonized subjects gradually progress towards self-determination under western tutelage, the Ghadar Party countered British racial visions of progress and modernity by calling for an armed insurrection. Instead of waiting for the British to grant sovereignty to India, the Ghadar Party urged Indian migrants to "*take* your freedom now."[76] In doing so, the party rejected the hollow promise of self-determination in some undetermined future in favor of the revolutionary present. When Dayal rejected gradualist and moderate constitutional channels of reform as the marker of the Indian people's historical progress, he exposed as false the promises and alleged universality of Western modernity. Arguing that "progress" would not come to India by following the lead of Indian moderates who sought to be incorporated into the British political system through petitions and delegations, Dayal advocated the use of "*Ghadar* and guns," to combat India's economic and political subjugation.[77] As Dayal saw it, the very act of appealing for justice through constitutional channels reinforced British claims that the Indian people's capacity for self-government was to be determined by those who ruled over them.

In his 1913 essay "Social Conquest of the Hindu Race and the Meaning of Equality," Dayal argued that one of the primary means through which Britain had accomplished its "social conquest" of the Indian people was by taking control of India's fundamental institutions, its schools and universities in particular, and by burying its national literature and history. Dayal argued further that the British government's control of India's national institutions had created a "common platform for social intercourse on terms of inequality" upon which British colonizers had asserted their supremacy. Dayal and other Ghadar Party members vilified any Indian who worked for the British and thus "voluntarily assist[ed] in the social conquest of his race" while "degrad[ing] himself and his nation in the eyes of the world by offering himself as a 'servant' of the Government." Simply having government positions in legislative councils, courts, municipalities, and district boards under the British Raj did not signify equality, for Indians remained "*under* the leadership of the English officer, who is their superior."[78]

Dayal demanded that Indians look beyond these narrow and politically expedient forms of inclusion, which only reinforced the stability of British colonialism. To Dayal—who had forfeited his scholarship at Oxford University only months before completing his studies as an act of protest

against British rule—the creation and support of the "English educated" classes had contributed to the British social conquest of India and had helped assure the supremacy of British rule. As he wrote, "the 'educated' Indians are a class of persons thoroughly denationalized and demoralized; the majority of them are engaged in the hateful task of undermining the foundations of their nationality for filthy lucre." Rather than encouraging migration for economic gain, Dayal advised Indians to go to foreign countries to study radicalism, revolution, and "the manufacture of bombs" and then to return to India to overthrow British rule.[79] Migration may have emerged out of economic necessity, but Dayal believed it was tied to India's political fate as it would mobilize migrants with a newly forged anticolonial consciousness to return home, take government institutions out of the hands of the British, and join the struggle to establish an independent India.

The historical events outside of India that the Ghadar Party frequently referenced included the American Revolution, Japan's victory in the Russian-Japanese War, the Chinese revolutionary struggle led by Sun Yat-sen, and the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. By appealing to America's self-image as the product of a revolutionary war against the British empire, the party implied that the United States had a moral obligation to assist Indian freedom fighters against Britain, for "the injustice and tyranny inflicted by the British upon the Americans in 1776 is far exceeded by the indescribable things" the British had done to Indians.[80] Ghadarites would learn, however, that the racial solidarities of whites across the Atlantic were more powerful than shared anticolonial histories or aspirations of freedom from British rule. Once President Woodrow Wilson had offered US support to the Allied war effort, Indian anticolonialists across the United States seized upon his promises of self-determination and democracy, congratulating him for his "lofty sentiments," which were "bound to thrill the millions of the world's 'subject races.'" At the same time, Ghadar Party leaders made clear that they intended to hold Wilson accountable for his promises not only in relation to the small nations of Europe but to colonized countries across Asia and Africa as well.[81]

Although Wilson loomed large in the Indian anticolonial imagination, he was not the only figure of hope. The party also looked to the emerging revolutionary movement in Russia and nationalist movements in China, Egypt, and Ireland as signaling the emergence of a phase of global history in which the world's subject peoples were rising up against imperialism and economic exploitation. *Ghadar* drew parallels between present-day India and nineteenth-century Russia, emphasizing the corruption of government officials, the exploitation of peasants, the ruthless power of the *zamindars* (landlords), and the despotic rule of the Czar.[82]

The Ghadar Party also derived inspiration and guidance from China's revolutionary struggle, led by Sun Yat-sen, in the early twentieth century. Ghadar Party member Darisi Chenchiah recalled once meeting Sun Yat-sen, an experience that confirmed for him "the sacred and historic duty of the Indians to help humanity by liberating India." According to Chenchiah, Yat-sen had told him that "British imperialism was the greatest enemy of freedom" in the world and that, as long as "the British were ruling in India, they would continue to remain a menace to the freedom of weaker nations."[83] Ghadar Party members often situated their struggle for self-determination as part of a global revolt against imperialism and white supremacy and believed that they would lead India's effort to be the next Asian country to rise up against political subjugation. As one issue of *Ghadar* declared, "the eyes of the world are turned on India. The fate of Asia is in your hands."[84]

Anticolonial leader Lajpat Rai also situated Asia as on the brink of emancipation from western dominance. In his 1916 book *Young India: An Interpretation and a History of the Nationalist Movement from Within,* Rai wrote that while "American literature and American events" influenced Indian anticolonialists, Asia was "playing a greater part in moulding and influencing Indian nationalism." Both Rai and the Ghadar Party wanted the struggle for Indian independence to stake its claim as one of the great emancipation movements in history, at once establishing freedom in their native country, countering imperial claims that Indians were unfit for self-government, and serving as a model and inspiration for the rest of the colonized world.[85]

Significantly, the geohistorical origin of the Ghadar Party was not India, but the imperial territories and the North American continent through which Indian migrants traveled. Members of the Ghadar Party cared little about asserting their rights as British citizens. Rather, they advocated overthrowing the very empire from which they were forced to beg these rights. By demanding what many of their countrymen in India considered to be impossible at the time—the overthrow of British rule in India and the establishment of an independent Indian nation-state—the Ghadar Party articulated a radical vision of time, history, and political subjectivity. In contrast, Lajpat Rai's call for home rule in India similar to that of British white settler countries like Canada, Australia, and South Africa seemed more moderate and, to some, attainable. Yet, Rai was vilified by the Ghadar Party for not demanding the complete eradication of British rule in India.[86] A closer look at the political articulations of Ghadar Party leaders and Rai reveals that while they clearly differed on strategy and in their immediate goals, they were united in contesting the colonial temporality and claims of racial superiority that the British empire used to justify and perpetuate its supremacy in India.

LAJPAT RAI AND DECOLONIZING LIBERALISM

Born in Punjab in 1865, Rai was a brilliant student who had studied law at the Government College in Lahore, where he had joined the Hindu revivalist movement Arya Samaj. Rai led the Punjabi branch of the Nationalist Party with fellow Indian nationalist Ajit Singh, and, during the spring of 1907, had organized protests against British economic policies across Punjab. When Rai left India in April 1914, he had only intended to make a six-month trip to England and continental Europe. But, with the outbreak of the First World War, fearing arrest if he returned to India, he decided to leave for the United States in November 1914.[87]

Presenting himself as an Indian nationalist ambassador whose duty was to inform the American public about the plight of India, Rai undertook a study of social and political conditions in the United States to understand why Americans harbored strong prejudice against Indian immigration. He soon began working on a book that assessed the opportunities available in the United States to train young Indian men in the cause of Indian home rule. Rai spent the next eight months, from November 1914 to July 1915, on speaking tours across the country about the cause of Indian self-rule, addressing colleges, labor unions, and women's groups in Boston, Washington, DC, Atlanta, New Orleans, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. He met with Indian students at universities including Harvard, Chicago, the universities of Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and Cornell. In October 1917, he founded the India Home Rule League in New York and a monthly journal, *Young India*, to counter colonial representations of India as insular, backward, and in need of uplift and civilization. Like other anticolonial periodicals published in North America, *Young India* highlighted India's involvement in, rather than isolation from, world affairs, and argued that Britain had destroyed what had once been a land of prosperity and internationalism. According to the pages of *Young India*, India's darkest age was the contemporary moment, when British colonialism severely hindered the country's progress.[88]

Rai's political work convinced several US senators to voice their support for Indian home rule, including Joseph France of Maryland, Asle Gronna of North Dakota, George Norris of Nebraska, and Joseph McCormick of Illinois. Senator McCormick was the first senator to openly condemn British rule in India, and Senator France proved to be a strident supporter of Rai, publicly thanking him for "rendering a valuable service in acquainting the people of America with the grave problems which confronted the people of India."[89]

Rai remained in the United States for five years, with the exception of a six-month interlude in Japan from July to December of 1915, where he

developed contacts with Japanese intellectuals and other Asian leaders, including the Chinese revolutionary leader Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and delivered a number of well-attended lectures. Ultimately, however, he did not feel safe from British surveillance and worried that the Japanese government might succumb to British pressure to arrest or deport him. He remained reluctant to return to India during the war and decided to come back to the United States in December 1915. Rai considered this time of exile in the United States to be the most prolific period of his life. He published numerous books including *Young India* (1916), *England's Debt to India* (1917), and *The Political Future of India* (1919), and several short biographies, including one of the Italian revolutionary Giuseppe Mazzini, as well as numerous articles in American papers such as *The Nation* and the *New Republic*. His writings focused on building a "modern" India and he often emphasized the need for educational reform, specifically in the areas of science and foreign languages, the education of women, and the teaching of Indian, rather than British, history.[90]

Rai met many of his fellow Indian anticolonialists during his exile. Though he had tense if not outright hostile relationships with much of the Ghadar Party leadership, he once referred to those Indians working on behalf of Indian freedom in the United States as "the most advanced wing of the Indian Nationalist party." As such, he believed that the British government was doing all it could "to discourage the coming of Indians to this country in large numbers or any at all." Rai forged closer friendships with a number of white and black American radicals, intellectuals, and reformers, including Walter Lippman, Professor Arthur Pope of the University of California, Berkeley, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Booker T. Washington. While Rai respected Washington's work on behalf of black Americans, he had much stronger ties to Du Bois and reprinted in the pages of *Young India*, his New York-based periodical, many articles from *The Crisis*, the official publication of the National Association of the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP) of which Du Bois was the editor.[91]

Rai took a keen interest in the historical and contemporary conditions of African Americans and in 1916, he published *The United States of America: A Hindu's Impressions and a Study*, which drew parallels between the struggles of African Americans and Indians in both US and global contexts. *The United States of America* provides a brief history of the country and an examination of some of its most pressing contemporary issues, including education, women's suffrage, and the social and economic position of African Americans. Rai's narrative of American history addressed the county's imperial expansion directly, beginning with the genocide of the Native Americans. He described the arrival of Europeans not as a celebratory narrative of "discovery," but as a land grab, in which European

powers "whipped up rivalry and hatred between the different tribes for the sole purpose of having them fight and exterminate each other to make the work of advance easier for the white man," while never considering "the possible right of the native Indians to the land of his birth."[92] From the genocide of Native Americans, Rai moved to a discussion of the history of American slavery. Focusing on the year 1619, when "the first ship-load of Negro slaves arrived in the colony and the first representative assembly convened on American soil," he noted the simultaneous establishment of "the foundation of slavery and of democratic government."[93]

The long history of US imperialism runs through Rai's narrative as he highlights the imperial nature of continental expansion. Rai then discusses the end of the Civil War as the beginning of the era of America's overseas expansion as evidenced by its occupation and annexation of the Samoan Islands, Hawaii, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. He pointed to the hypocrisies of the Spanish-American War, when the United States "converted a war which began for the liberation of the Cubans, into a despicable struggle for the enslavement of the Filipino," and detailed the "unspeakably cruel and sickening" Filipino-American War that followed, during which entire "villages of natives were butchered, including women and children."[94] Rai devoted an entire chapter of his book to the Philippine islands, in which he criticized America's colonization of the Phillipines and argued that "the very idea of democracy excludes the idea of empires including dependencies and possessions."[95]

Rai was, however, curiously forgiving of US colonialism, citing the "wonderful progress politically and educationally" that had been made in the Philippines as a way of highlighting the inequities of British rule in India.[96] Perhaps because he hoped to gain American support for Indian home rule, his acknowledgment of US imperial aggressions was clouded by his praise of US governance of the Philippines islands. Like Rai, the Ghadar Party often deemed US imperialism in the Philippines as less destructive and exploitative than British rule in India. Though Har Dayal once said that US imperialist claims of "benevolent assimilation" obscured the truths of colonial subjugation, both Dayal and Rai participated in the construction of a hierarchy of western imperialism in which Britain was cast as the most vicious of the imperialists, while the United States was often forgiven for its imperial transgressions.[97]

Writing that that "the history of the emancipation of the American Negro is of abiding interest to my countrymen," Rai's *The United States of America* explored African American life under Jim Crow. He described attending a showing of *Birth of a Nation*, focusing particularly on the reaction of white audiences to the film, which "at times reaches the highest pitch of race hatred." Linking D. W. Griffith's white supremacist film to Western

imperial expansion under the aegis of Christian "civilizing" missions, Rai opined that the film's incredible box-office success and critical acclaim revealed "a better and surer index of Christian feeling in this country than any number of books written by Christian missionaries."[98] Notably, the first page of Rai's book has a full-page photograph of W. E. B. Du Bois. A significant portion of the book is devoted to two chapters titled, "The Education of the Negro" and "The Negro in American Politics." Rai's examination of African American life relied upon Du Bois, as lengthy excerpts from *The Crisis* and *Souls of Black Folk* were reprinted in Rai's book.

Rai's and Du Bois's mutual admiration caught the attention of US intelligence officials. On September 25, 1917, after a public appearance the two men made together before the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, an officer in the US War Department wrote to Du Bois to request information about Rai. Rai had proclaimed in his speech there that "the problem of the Hindu and of the negro and cognate problems are not local, but world problems," prompting the US official to worry that Rai might be "inclined to make trouble here as well as in the world generally."[99] In this speech as in his political writings, Rai argued that the cause of Indian independence was not a domestic problem of the British empire but an international problem, upon which hinged the future peace of the world. Though Rai initially received exposure in the mainstream American press, after the United States entered the First World War, media outlets like the *New York Times* ceased giving Rai any press coverage. In spite of Rai's claims that the work of the India Home Rule League and *Young India* was purely educational, perfectly constitutional, and not motivated by "pro-German sympathies," British officials complained that Rai's propaganda was seditious and requested that US authorities curtail press coverage of his political activities. In late 1917, the US Justice Department warned Rai not to circulate an anti-British pamphlet he had written.[100]

Perhaps Rai's critiques about the exploitative nature of imperialism and capitalism alarmed US officials. In a chapter of *The United States of America* titled "Charity and Social Service," Rai called for a global restructuring of wealth and a more equitable distribution of resources, arguing that "the world would be richer and nobler if society could be so constituted and organized as to make charity unnecessary." Contesting America's self-laudatory claims of meritocracy, Rai wrote that in a society "in which so much depends on opportunities, which some get and some do not get; in which the rich grow richer and the poor poorer; in which the rich have numerous opportunities, organised and legalized, of exploiting the poor...in which merit, ability, hard work and high character sometimes fail even to bring competence to the possessors of these virtues; it is really adding insult to injury for people possessed of wealth acquired under such

conditions to pose as dispensers of charity." Rai's contention that American charity was "only a shade different from the conduct of a robber who robs and then gives" alludes to the operating logic of colonialism, in which the colonizers stripped the colonized of their wealth and personal liberties and were then viewed as benevolent when granting concessions to those they had subjugated and exploited.[101]

Pointing to the extreme disparity between the masses of humanity, Rai expressed an uneasiness about the true nature of modern civilization. On what basis, Rai asked, could one confirm the alleged superiority of Western civilization? If civilization consists "in giving equal opportunities to mankind in general; or in establishing a reign of universal brotherhood, universal justice and universal love all over the world (not the European world only); then the modern civilization has ignominiously failed." As Rai wrote, "I have listened to many a sermon and many a lecture on universal brotherhood, on the philosophy of equality, liberty and fraternity. I have heard of 'the rights of man.' But so far I have failed to see them in life, in practice, either in the East or in the West."[102]

Underscoring the white supremacist assumptions of Western imperialism and modernity, Rai focused on the "success" of Japan in adopting the principles of modernity. As Rai wrote, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Japanese were forced to open their doors to the West, and subsequently, they successfully learned the lessons of modern civilization. Indeed, they had followed the example of the West "so well that today they are a source of embarrassment and anxiety and trouble to their former masters and teachers." Yet Rai feared that at the end of the path to modernity, the world's colored peoples would be forced to make a choice "between extinction and Europeanisation." Rai did not call for a Gandhian return to a precolonial identity, nor did he advocate an emulation of the West. Rather, he contested modernity's "progress" and called for retaining the best elements of the West and East in order to create "a new and a more humane civilization."[103]

In the aftermath of the First World War, Rai was forced to grapple with a deep sense of betrayal and disappointment. While the Ghadar Party worked closely with the German foreign office during the war and focused its efforts on recruiting soldiers away from the army and into the cause of revolution, Rai lent his support to the British war effort and encouraged Indians to fight on behalf of the empire as a way to secure greater rights and equality at home. Rai was deeply opposed to the Ghadar Party's alliance with Germany and believed that rather than seeking support from Great Britain's enemies, India should take its place in the larger global movement of resistance to colonialism. Rai urged Indians abroad to meet and converse with political radicals from other countries to internationalize the Indian

nationalist struggle and "bring it into the arena of world forces," without the aid of a European power with its own imperial ambitions.[104] Rai's position, however, did not equate to unquestioning loyalty to the British empire. In the face of criticism from his fellow Indian anticolonialists in exile, Rai insisted that his work "unsparingly exposed the injustice and the harm" the British "have done to my country by their occupation and exploitation of it."[105] Rai always stipulated that, in fighting on behalf of the empire, Indians were fighting for their own freedom. He expected that Indian military service would ensure that their interests could not be ignored once the war was over.

As the fighting continued, however, Rai's hopes of what India's service to the Allied war effort might yield began to dissipate. While traveling from the United States to India in late 1919 he penned an article reassessing his view of Indian military service. Instead of envisioning Indian soldiers as the agents of hope and possibility, he now saw them as "mere pawns in a game, to be used by foreign masters as 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' in an Empire that not only crushed out our liberty, but, at its will, even conscripts us as its soldiers to fight the battles of imperialism and conquest to crush out the liberties of other peoples."[106]

During Rai's final days in the United States, he began to contest more forcefully the West's claims to political and racial superiority and the assumed inevitability of Western domination. Like many Indian anticolonialists who wrote about the US role in global affairs, Rai vacillated between appealing to America's exceptionalist claims and denouncing the discrepancy between America's professed ideals and its racially discriminatory practices. He launched more pointed critiques of Western-style democracies, focusing particularly on the Allied powers, who, rather than making the world safe for the spread of democracy, had solidified their colonial holdings and paved the way for imperial and capital expansion. By war's end, Rai was fully cognizant of the tension between liberalism's universal applicability and its unacknowledged racism. While European colonizers preached about the promises of modernity—citizenship, human rights, equality before the law, social justice, and democracy—they denied it in practice by using theories of "progress" to divide the world into "advanced" and "primitive" cultures to justify imperialism.[107]

In contrast to American Progressivism, which sought to use state power to regulate the capitalist economy and improve living conditions without abolishing private property or revolutionizing political institutions, Rai urged Indians not to "be a party to any scheme which shall add to the powers of the capitalist and the landlord and will introduce and accentuate the evils of the expiring industrial civilization into our beloved country." Arguing that the existing social and economic order of Western countries

was "vicious and immoral" and "based on injustice, tyranny, oppression, and class rule," Rai believed that those working to build a "modern" India must not "implant *in full force* and *in full vigour the expiring* European system, but... keep out its further development."[108]

Rai's interrogations of western democracies illustrated how the tenets of political modernity reinforced racial hierarchies. As he saw it, the political values and ideals of the liberal Western democracies that had colonized much of Asia and Africa, while seemingly universal, were deeply rooted in the belief that the colonized were racially inferior to those who ruled over them. For Rai, the greatest enemies of democracy were those who propagated the "great lie of race superiority and race inferiority" and preached to others that the nation to which they belonged was "chosen by the gods to rule the earth, to dominate the earth, and to grind other people into dust, and misuse them, and humiliate them." As he once proclaimed before an audience of liberals in New York, "God has not given you a charter, because you are white people, to go and exploit the people of Asia and Africa." For Rai a necessary precondition for "a real movement toward world democracy" must begin with "burn[ing] up the textbooks of history which are being taught in the schools all the world over; they are full of lies and lies—talking of race distinctions and color distinctions, proclaiming the right of one people to govern others, magnifying their own victories, and underestimating the character of others."[109]

Rai worked tirelessly to gain the support of the American public for the cause of Indian independence, but he found pity to be condescending. As he once stated, while Indians welcomed discussion and debate, they resented their supporters speaking to them in patronizing tones, presuming "that they alone can save India, and that if India was left to herself she would destroy everything that she possesses."[110] Exposing the racial chauvinism of such attitudes, Rai once told an audience of white supporters in New York that "the world does not want your pity and sympathy." Instead, Rai suggested that what the colonized world wanted was for liberals to come to terms with their own racist assumptions. As Rai implored his audience in New York, "the only way to establish democracy is to create in all men everywhere, the sense that they are all morally responsible for oppression and justice... if that sense of duty awakens you, then you will have freed the world and you will have freed yourselves."[111] Thus, Rai called for not only the end of Indian subjugation under British rule, but for white liberals, who he may have counted among his supporters, to decolonize their own understandings of modernity, liberalism, and humanity.

In the aftermath of the First World War, Rai surveyed the global landscape and concluded that "real democracy does not exist." In February of 1918 he delivered a speech in New York organized by the People's

Council of America and the Conference of Radical, Socialist, and Labor Organizations meditating on the meaning and practice of "democracy" at a moment in which the two most powerful nations in the world had gone to war promising to protect the democratic aspirations of those seeking self-determination. Pointing to the exploitative conditions that British "democracy" had yielded in India, Africa, and other colonies, Rai interrogated the ways in which Western nations were practicing imperialism in the name of democracy.[112] Backed by "bayonets," "the greatest discoveries of science in modern times," the principles of liberalism and modernity, and their belief in their own racial superiority, these Western democracies had "taken possession of the rights of other nations" and justified their sovereignty over them. As Rai saw it, "the kind of democracy the English people enjoy," indeed the conditions of so-called "democratic" countries everywhere, was "a caricature of democracy—a democracy established to loot and exploit other peoples of the world." Rai did not locate "the final step in the evolution of democracy" in France, the United States, or Great Britain, and he believed that the closest the world had come thus far to "real democracy" was achieved by the 1917 Bolshevik revolution in Russia. In Rai's view, the fall of autocracy in Russia had given "birth to a new order of society aglow with the spirit of a new and elevated kind of internationalism" based on justice and self-determination for all peoples, regardless of race, religion, creed, or color.[113]

Although Rai saw Russia as standing at the forefront of global democracy, he nonetheless continued to appeal to Wilsonianism. Rai's support of Wilson, like his support of the British war effort, was premised on his belief that an Allied victory would further the cause of Indian freedom. On the day the armistice was signed he sent a telegram to President Wilson asking if the United States would lead the effort to establish real democracy across the world by supporting the immediate granting of autonomy to India and other countries under the rule of the Allies. In other words, Rai asked, would the United States make a stand for worldwide democracy or would it allow Britain to continue to rule over its vast empire?[114] President Wilson never answered the letter; the United States ultimately answered by standing with Britain during the years that followed.

In late 1919, Rai's five-year exile in the United States came to an end. He spent his final weeks in New York attending farewell dinners organized by radical, socialist, and reformist groups. On November 28, 1919, he delivered a speech before the League of Oppressed Peoples in New York, reflecting on his time in the United States. When Rai's exile began, he devoted his political work to a study of how India might assimilate "American ideas and ideals" into its own "aspirations towards freedom."[115] Yet, as Rai prepared to depart, his rhetoric of American exceptionalism had vanished. Addressing

both the audience members at his farewell dinner and the American public more broadly, Rai urged white Americans to consider the cost of their "freedom" in relation to those struggling against racial oppression and colonial subjugation both at home and across the globe. "I am under no delusion, my friends, as to the kind of liberty and equality you, 'the freest people on earth,' are at present enjoying," he said. Insisting that "there can be no equality and liberty in any place on this globe so long as anywhere in the world there are masters and slaves, employers and employed, oppressors and oppressed, capitalists and proletariat, or so long as there are empires and imperialists," Rai suggested that the "freedom" Americans professed to enjoy was nothing more than the freedom to exploit and consume the world's peoples and resources.[116] Rai's contention that American "freedom" was built on the backs of the world's subjugated peoples, forced American liberals to consider the ways that their position and privilege was interconnected to the subordination and exploitation of racialized minorities across the world.

The symbolic significance of the United States was a central trope of Indian anticolonial politics in North America. Both the Ghadar Party and Rai appropriated American exceptionalist claims to promote Indian self-rule. After President Wilson delivered his famous Fourteen Points before Congress, Indian anticolonialists quickly applied Wilsonianism to their cause, rendering Wilson's rhetoric more radical than he ever intended.[117] Their contemporary, M. N. Roy, however, always approached Wilson critically. Unlike his anticolonial counterparts, Roy did not appeal to Wilson, nor did he invest his hopes in a League of Nations, which he saw as yet another means through which Western nations would continue to dominate the world. For Roy, the problem was not that liberalism had failed to fulfill its promises. Rather, liberalism never intended to ensure racial and economic equality.[118] Employing a Marx-based analysis, Roy neither praised nor attacked the United States but articulated thoughtful and textual criticisms of American history, its founding documents, and its lofty rhetoric as he developed his anticolonial communist theories and charted his radical vision for freedom in India.

M. N. ROY: BEYOND NATIONALISM

By Manabendra Nath Roy's own account, he journeyed to the United States in 1916 as an emissary of "revolutionary nationalism."[119] Though Roy's early activism focused on the national liberation of India through armed revolution, during his time in the United States he began looking

for emancipatory possibilities beyond nationalism. Born in Bengal in 1887 as Narendra Bhattacharya, Roy left India for East Asia in 1915 as an active member of the Calcutta revolutionary underground, hoping to organize a delivery of weapons from German consuls into Calcutta. After traveling through Burma, Indonesia, China, Japan, and the Philippines without achieving his objective, Roy reached San Francisco, still attempting to acquire arms and hoping "to make the acquaintance of the famous Indian revolutionary exiles in America, of whom we had heard so much at home."[120] Roy gained entry to the country posing as a Catholic priest by the name of Father Martin. He later recalled that he had little interest in the country and "escaped at the earliest opportunity."[121] Upon landing in San Francisco he immediately made his way to Palo Alto, where he met his future wife, a young Stanford graduate named Evelyn Trent. After a couple of months, the pair left for New York.

Just as New York had served as the meeting ground for earlier anticolonialists, it is also where the paths of Lajpat Rai and M. N. Roy first intersected in 1916. They bonded as "frustrated, disappointed men"—Rai longing to return home and work on behalf of Indian self-rule and Roy hoping to go to Germany to help raise an army to liberate India. They consoled one another as fellow travelers in exile, often over home-cooked Indian dinners of *rasgollas* and *chhana*. While in New York, Rai and Roy exchanged ideas with intellectuals, activists, and reformers from around the world that enabled them to see India's problems in a global context.[122]

In his memoirs, Roy recalled a turning point in his political thinking soon after arriving in New York, as he sat at a meeting at which Lajpat Rai was speaking. Addressing an audience of activists, many of whom were socialists, Rai argued that the applicability of Marxist theory in India was secondary to national liberation. When an audience member asked Rai how Indian nationalists proposed to end the poverty and exploitation of the Indian masses, Rai responded that Indians must "first be masters of our house." Though Rai tried to evade any further discussion of the topic, the questioner pressed on, asking, "what difference would it make to the Indian masses if they were exploited by native capitalists instead of foreign imperialists?" As Roy tells it, Rai retorted, "it does make a great difference whether one is kicked by his brother or by a foreign robber." At the time, Roy was still a self-described nationalist who had yet to formulate his thesis of social revolution, but he recalled feeling deeply "uncomfortable" by Rai's response. As he sat listening to the sharp words being exchanged before him, he recalled that "a light flashed through my mind; it was a new light." He left the meeting "vaguely visualizing a different picture of freedom." For Roy, the cause of Indian freedom now had to have an impetus and significance beyond national liberation.[123]

Roy began avoiding the network of Indian anticolonialists in New York and instead spent most of his time at the New York Public Library, where he started reading the works of Karl Marx. He had been working on an essay proposing that the overthrow of British rule was the condition for peace, but he soon revised this to suggest that Indian liberation had to be accompanied by an economic and social philosophy that ensured that the exploitative and divisive aspects of British colonialism would not reemerge in a different guise under the native elite. Rather than seeking a return to precolonial India or to the establishment of an independent Indian nation-state that recreated the same structures of domination that had existed under the British regime, Roy urged Indians to make a clean break from the economic and political structures of their colonial rulers. As US officials began to round up Indian anticolonialists from New York to California with the outbreak of war, Roy quickly fled New York on a train bound for San Antonio and crossed the border into Mexico. For Roy, Mexico, in "a state of permanent of revolution appeared to be the land of promise," and in his memoirs he recalled the politically charged atmosphere of the country, especially after news of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia bolstered the hopes of Mexican revolutionaries.[124]

Roy's break with militant nationalism and his conversion to Marxism were completed in Mexico. Roy became immersed in socialist politics and was even elected a representative of the Socialist Party of Mexico. He founded the Communist Party of Mexico, the first Communist Party outside the Soviet Union, and published his "first socialist" essay, in the form of an open letter to President Wilson, titled "El Camino Para la Paz Duradera del Mundo" (The Way to Durable World Peace).[125] Since the rhetoric that had inspired such hope across the colonized world had ultimately rung hollow, Roy did not invest his hope in Wilsonian promises of self-determination. Moreover, unlike many of his Indian anticolonial counterparts, Roy did not believe that Wilson's actions contradicted his rhetoric; in fact, Wilson's own blueprint for peace in his Fourteen Points ensured that the claims of colonies would "have *equal weight* with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined." In other words, Wilson's Fourteen Points assured imperial governments that their interests would not be subsumed by the rising demands of self-determination across the colonized world.[126]

During his exile in Mexico, Roy increasingly recognized that the "new ideal of freedom was not to be attained within national or geographical boundaries." He later described Mexico as the land of his "rebirth," for it was there that he had begun to think about what the liberation of India meant in Marxist terms and to argue that political freedom would make little difference to the masses without economic liberation.[127] Thus, the formation of an independent Indian nation-state ceased to be Roy's sole preoccupation.

As he saw it, the liberation of the Indian masses "required not only the overthrow of British imperialism but subversion of the feudal-patriarchal order which constituted the social foundation of the foreign political rule." The corollary, Rai continued, was that India needed a social revolution, "not mere national independence."[128] Thus, Roy began seeking to develop in the minds of the Indian masses a consciousness of their own power.

In *India: Her Past, Present and Future*, published from Mexico in 1918, Roy directly challenged the notion that the colonized must wait for their freedom to be given to them. As Roy saw it, even the pursuit of such recognition was demeaning, and he warned that "India will be free sooner or later, not through the kindness of the English rulers, but through her own energy." Like Lajpat Rai, Roy urged Indians not to follow Europe's lead but to focus instead on the absolute destruction of Europe's exploitative relationship to the world, or, as he put it, "putting an end to Europe's superiority complex."[129]

Roy was extremely fond of Mexico and the revolutionary milieu there. He frequented a café popular with American radicals and anarchists on the fashionable Avenida de Madero in Mexico City, the social center of the Anglo-American colony. He recalled once seeing the famous black American boxer Jack Johnson, who had fled the United States with his wife to avoid being arrested for marrying a white woman. After the café's staff had ignored the couple, Johnson's wife confronted a server. They exchanged tense words, and Roy recalled that Johnson's wife was "quivering" with anger as Johnson calmly took her by the arm and walked out. Not knowing that this was the world-famous pugilist, Roy was indignant at the way in which the couple was treated and vowed never to return to the establishment. Suddenly a large number of police officers rushed in and demanded that the manager personally serve Johnson himself "to make amends for the insult done to him." As Roy tells it, the manger hesitated and thereupon was reminded that "he was in Mexico where the black man was as good as the whitest of the white." He was then given a stern warning that if he wanted to do business in Mexico, he must obey the laws of the land, for in Mexico, "all were equal before the law, irrespective of the color of their skin."[130] After being served, Johnson stood up and "with a broad, frank smile that must have shamed the insolent white man, shook his hand and said: 'Pardon me for all the trouble, Mr. Sanborn,'" at which point he exited the café and stepped onto a street where "a riotously cheering crowd" hoisted Johnson atop its shoulders. Roy thus celebrated Mexico, where he believed the color line that was so sternly and violently enforced against racialized peoples across most of the world dissolved. Johnson's treatment represented, for Roy, a vindication of "human rights and human dignity."[131]

Roy left Mexico with Evelyn Trent in the winter of 1920 and made his way to Moscow for the Second Congress of the Communist International in June. In Moscow, Roy began drafting a radical revision of Vladimir Lenin's twelve-point "Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Question." Roy's "Supplementary Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," presented alongside Lenin's at the congress of 1920, represented his attempt to launch an anticolonial campaign from within the canon of Marxism. It also established Roy as a leading intellectual who theorized the relationship between Asian anticolonialism and communism and whom Lenin described as "the symbol of revolution in the East." In his "Supplementary Theses," Roy famously critiqued Marx's failure to see Asia as important to his larger political and philosophical ideas as well as his mistaken belief that commerce and social reform had come to the East *through* colonialism. Similarly, Lenin advocated a relationship of tutelage between European communists and Asian anticolonial movements. Whereas Lenin had focused on the indigenous elites who, because of their access to Western education, had become nationalists and thus had to be co-opted by European communists in order to bring about socialist revolution, Roy's contention that the Indian peasants were the force that would bring about revolution in India constituted a refusal to imitate the example of Europe. Roy's political activism moved the Comintern's positioning from a Eurocentric one based on colonial assumptions to an international force that allied itself with anticolonialism.[132]

Nonetheless, Roy was a great admirer of Lenin. Compared to Lenin, Roy found Gandhi's politics to be narrow and territorially driven. Roy wrote that while Bolshevism "forged ahead, breaking one link after another of the mighty chain of time-honoured servitude," Gandhism "gropes in the dark, spinning out ethical and religious dogmas." In contrast to Gandhi's local and territorializing politics based on village imaginaries and *swadeshi* goods, Roy called for the building of a modern India "on the ruins of the old," rather than a recuperation of a precolonial identity and economy.[133]

Roy's anticolonial politics challenged the narrowness of nationalism, the destructiveness of capitalism, and the temporality of colonialism. Unlike his counterparts in North America, Roy adopted a critical view of American history and its most celebrated political documents. In 1925 he penned an article titled "The Foundation of Democracy: The American Experience," cautioning Indian nationalists against a movement that would result in the same outcomes as the American Revolution. For Roy, the American Revolution had failed to establish a true democracy and had instead created a government that ultimately served the interests of the moneyed class via a "capitalist dictatorship." Roy interpreted the American Constitution not as a noble document that protected freedom and equality but rather

"an instrument of bourgeois domination" that consolidated and protected private property and the interests of the moneyed minority in the name of democracy.[134]

Even though Roy expressed admiration for the Declaration of Independence he felt that the Constitution had crushed the declaration's ideals of equality, rights, and liberty for the masses. Indeed, those who were chosen as delegates to the Philadelphia Convention to draft the constitution were not selected from "the toiling majority" but "the monied minority," who framed it "as a weapon to secure the[ir] ruling position." While the workers' revolt against their exploitation had constituted the real revolutionary character of the war, they had not reaped the fruits of victory of the war they had fought—a grim warning to Indians seeking to overthrow the same imperial government. As Roy put it, "Indian revolutionaries would do well to learn the lesson of history" for the independence of India from British rule would be of little consequence to those who fought and sacrificed for it if all that it accomplished was to enrich the native ruling class. Thus, Roy warned Indians to look at the fate of those who revolted in the United States as a cautionary tale. Contesting historical depictions of the American War of Independence as the global heralding of modernity's promises and potential, Roy maintained that the world was still waiting for a truly emancipatory revolution.[135]

At a time when Western representations of Asia were steeped in Orientalist notions of the West as properly modern and the East as perpetually lacking, Indian anticolonialists contested such assumptions of racial superiority and celebrations of Western imperial nations as agents of progress and civilization.[136] Their anticolonial critiques captured the attention not only of British authorities but of US immigration officials as well. Less than five months after the release of the Ghadar Party's first publication, US immigration inspectors began building a case for the arrest of Har Dayal, hoping that the deportation of the party's vocal and public leader would effectively crush revolutionary Indian anticolonialism in North America. The Ghadar Party's call to arms both contested colonial rule and questioned who was able to legitimately deploy violence. As such, the Ghadar movement raised a frightening question for US, Canadian, and British officials alike: What happens when colonial subjects take up arms against the state that governs them and begin to challenge its very authority? Contrary to the Ghadar Party's belief that it would have the support of the United States in light of its history of revolution against British rule, the US state went after Indian anticolonialists as anarchists in order to deport them. To justify calls for Indian exclusion and deportation and to expand state antiradical policies, US immigration authorities pointed to the "menace" of Indian anticolonialists plotting on US soil.

CHAPTER 3

Anarchy, Surveillance, and Repressing the "Hindu" Menace

We are not anarchists, but republicans. That is why the British Government is in such fear of our purely ethical and educational work. Had we been "anarchists" we would have openly said so.... We aim at nothing less than the establishment in India of a republic, a government of the people, by the people, for the people in India.

Ram Chandra, *India against Britain* (1916)

When immigration inspectors in San Francisco arrested the Indian radical Har Dayal on March 25, 1914, as an "undesirable alien" whose alleged adherence to anarchist doctrines meant that he was in the United States in violation of immigration laws, Dayal promptly complained that his arrest was not an "immigration case" but a "political question." Dayal believed that US officials, whom he accused of complying with the requests of British authorities, had targeted him because of his role "as one of the most active and determined leaders of the revolutionary movement in northern India."[1] In addition to being a prominent figure in radical politics in the San Francisco Bay Area and throughout the Pacific Coast, where he regularly delivered lectures about an India free of British rule and expressed his vision of working-class solidarity before audiences including the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), Dayal was a founding member and leader of the Ghadar Party.

While Dayal's arrest certainly appeased British officials, the Bureau of Immigration had its own reasons for going after him. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, in addition to formulating exclusionary

practices through racially discriminatory immigration laws, the US state had targeted "foreign agitators" who officials believed were using the country as a base to organize radical political movements both domestically and abroad. The British government's efforts to pressure the United States to refuse asylum to Indian revolutionaries converged with US state fears about the influence of radical political movements within the country. The densely intertwined relationship between anticolonialism, antiradicalism, and calls for Indian exclusion is evident in early twentieth-century Bureau of Immigration files, surveillance reports, and congressional hearings pertaining to Indian migrants, which attest to the activism of Indian anticolonialists and the vigilance and scrutiny of the US and British officials who monitored them.[2]

The British surveillance apparatus that emerged in India beginning in 1906 followed Indian radicals as they moved across the globe, settling intermittently in cities including Paris and Tokyo in search of safe havens to organize outside imperial reach. After being watched by the British secret service in these cities many Indian radicals moved to the United States, where they mistakenly believed that they could continue their anticolonial organizing in a more congenial space. However, by 1908, the British government's surveillance apparatus had extended its reach to North America with the cooperation of US and Canadian immigration officials. British authorities immediately began searching for ways to deport Indian anticolonialists in the United States to India, where they would be subject to imperial sedition laws.[3] Working closely with the San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland immigration offices, British officials closely monitored Indian migrants and their most vocal and public leaders and decided that the most effective way to have Indian anticolonialists deported was to find ways they had violated US immigration laws. Pointing to Har Dayal's affiliations with various radical labor and political groups on the Pacific Coast, British and US officials began invoking national fears about anarchism to push for the deportation of Indian anticolonialists, thus forging a tactic of using immigration law to exclude and expel political radicals that would be a cornerstone of US antiradical policy during the First World War years and beyond.

The cooperation of US immigration officials with British imperial interests spurred a series of critical writings and public statements by Indian anticolonialists in North America, who insisted that the efforts of Western imperial nations to frame anticolonial movements as "anarchistic" denied nationalist aspirations to subjugated peoples. Indian anticolonialists in the United States routinely emphasized their own commitments to a political movement that would free India from economic and political subjugation and establish a democratic government. By arguing that "the yearnings of the oppressed for a measure of political freedom always appear 'anarchistic'

to the oppressor," Indian anticolonialists challenged officials' invocation of anarchy both to target political radicals domestically and to suppress independence struggles across the world.[4]

As this chapter argues, antiradicalism became an essential ingredient in pursuing restrictive immigration policy against Indians and, at the same time, was deeply implicated in the development and deployment of American constructions of racial difference. Believing that Indian challenges to imperial rule and racial inequality amounted to the espousal of "alien" doctrines that sought extreme changes in the geopolitical landscape, US immigration officials and congressional representatives racialized and criminalized Indians as either already or likely to become a captive audience for radical doctrines and thus a "Hindu" menace. US and British officials alike cast Indians as a dangerous and deceitful "race" who had come to the United States not for the legitimate pursuit of economic opportunity, but to take advantage of American hospitality for their own subversive political purposes. In a US context, the "Hindu" menace was a consolidation of racial images that embodied the threat allegedly posed to the nation's security by "foreign agitators," whose subversive politics justified the federal government's antiradical measures. Thus, the racialization of the Indian anticolonialist as a "Hindu" menace enabled the US and British states to defend their imperial presence in Asia, while advocating more far-reaching US antiradical and exclusionary immigration laws, all of which worked to justify and reproduce anti-Asian racism and antiradicalism in the United States.

INTER-IMPERIAL EXCHANGES AND SURVEILLANCE IN NORTH AMERICA

In the spring of 1908, immediately following the passage of the "continuous journey" law that effectively barred Indians from entering Canada, British officials circulated reports that "the seditious movement in India [was] being directed from the Pacific Coast."[5] Prompted by British concerns that Indian anticolonialists were making "strenuous efforts" to turn the resentment of Indian migrants "against the Canadian immigration laws into active hostility to the British Government," the Canadian government hired William C. Hopkinson to begin monitoring Indian migrants in British Columbia (BC) in January 1909.[6]

While there was little Hopkinson could do to repress Indian anticolonialists under Canadian law, he passed the intelligence he gathered to the Indian government and provided the Department of Criminal Intelligence (DCI) in India with vast amounts of information to build

up their files on Indians in North America. He had strong allies in US immigration offices, particularly in San Francisco and Washington, DC, to whom he offered his translating services and information on Indian suspects in exchange for free entry into the United States for himself and Indian informants, whom he paid to report the activities of Indian migrants he suspected of sedition.[7]

The same month Hopkinson was hired, US immigration officials in Vancouver began warning the US commissioner of immigration in Montreal, John Clark, of Indian revolutionaries who they believed were traveling from BC to the United States to manufacture "bombs and other explosives to be used by their countrymen against the British Government." The US inspector in charge in Vancouver urged both Inspector Clark and the commissioner-general of immigration Daniel Keefe to have US secret service officers in Seattle investigate the movements of Indians along the Pacific Coast, who he believed were applying for "admission to the United States for the purpose of promoting rebellion against the British Empire."[8]

In the summer of 1910, Canadian officials initiated deportation proceedings against "troublesome" Indian leaders using the continuous journey provision. Immigration authorities in BC first focused on Indian leader Husain Rahim, whose real name was Chagan Khairaj Varma and who had arrived in Vancouver from Honolulu on a tourist visa in January 1910. At his immigration examination, he falsely claimed to be a Muslim and a native of Delhi. Rahim then assumed management of the Canada-India Supply and Trust Company, a real estate company in Vancouver through which local Sikhs could invest their earnings. When he became involved in anticolonial organizing Canadian authorities began investigating him and determined that Rahim was not legally in Canada and thus was liable to deportation. As the DCI reported, the local Indian community sent "a strongly worded protest against his 'threatened illegal deportation' " to British and Canadian authorities. In spite of their efforts, Rahim was arrested and searched on October 27, 1910. Canadian authorities discovered letters to Rahim from Taraknath Das, as well as a notebook containing "the addresses of a number of Hindu agitators in different parts of the U.S.A., South Africa, Switzerland, Egypt, [and] France," and, according to British authorities, "notes on the manufacture of nitro-glycerine." Expressing great indignation during his arrest, Rahim told Canadian authorities, if "you drive us Hindus out of Canada we will drive every white man out of India." Rahim promptly hired two lawyers who filed for habeas corpus proceedings. Although Canadian immigration officials argued that Rahim had not come to BC directly from his country of birth or citizenship, the judge presiding over his deportation case ruled in Rahim's favor, claiming that his rights as a British subject transcended the continuous journey law and allowing Rahim to remain in Canada.[9]

Buoyed by his success, Rahim began working to secure admission to Canada for other Indians and became, according to one British report, "a source of great annoyance to the Immigration Department" for his role as "a leader of the agitation against the immigration laws" and the "prominent part" he took "in stirring up discontent in the Hindu community." Additionally, British authorities warned that Rahim was "acting as scrutineer for the Socialist party at one of the polling stations in an election in Vancouver."[10] In October 1911, W. D. Scott, the Canadian superintendent of immigration, wrote to W. W. Cory, the Canadian deputy minister of the interior, that Rahim was "one of the most troublesome Hindoos we have had anything to do with" and had consistently defeated "efforts to remove him from the country." Though unsuccessful in the Rahim case, Canadian officials continued their attempts to deport prominent Indian leaders under the continuous journey law. In the spring of 1912, W. D. Scott asked Hopkinson to find something on the Indian leader Teja Singh that would "relieve us of his presence in Canada."[11]

In October 1913, Hopkinson sent a surveillance report to Ottawa warning that nearly 800 Indians had recently attended a meeting of the Khalsa Diwan Society and United India League of Vancouver to draft a petition to the minister of the interior protesting the Canadian government's attempts to deport the prominent Indian leader Bhagwan Singh. Singh had fled Punjab in 1908 to escape arrest for his involvement in anticolonial organizing. For three years he was the *granthi* of the *gurdwara* in Hong Kong where he was arrested twice for preaching sedition to Sikh troops. He left the colony in May 1913 due to personal disputes with local Sikhs and fled to Canada via San Francisco under the false name of Natha Singh. Soon he was preaching against British rule to Indian workers in BC. According to John Zurbrick, the US immigration inspector in Vancouver, Indian informants allowed to move freely between Canada and the United States reported to US and Canadian immigration inspectors that Bhagwan Singh had secured entry into the United States through the port of San Francisco under an assumed name. According to British officials, he was in touch with Indian leaders in San Francisco, whom he expected to visit at the end of the year. Before he could do so, however, the Canadian government deported him to India on November 19, 1913. Bhagwan jumped ship in Yokohama, Japan, and made his way back to San Francisco the following year, where he became a prominent leader in the Ghadar Party.[12] British authorities later reported that Bhagwan's deportation had roused "considerable sympathy" among Indians on the Pacific Coast and served to "accentuate the feeling of irritation against the immigration laws and supplied fresh material for those engaged in fomenting discontent."[13]

Figure 3.1 Photo of Bhagwan Singh Gyanee in January 1914 after being deported from Canada and jumping ship in Yokohama, Japan. Here Bhagwan Singh poses with a sword and gun as an expression of his firm belief that freedom for India could only be achieved through armed revolution. Courtesy of S. P. Singh.

Canada's threat to deport Indian agitators prompted many Indian anticolonialists to move to the United States, where they believed they would find a safe haven to organize against British rule. Though the United States had deported Indian laborers for entering the country illegally across the Mexican and Canadian borders for years, deporting radicals for their political activities was more difficult. When Indians began arriving in the United States during the first decade of the twentieth century, political surveillance was still a relatively new government method for monitoring and controlling political dissent domestically. The first migrants monitored by the US government were *revoltosos*, Mexican revolutionaries, who, beginning in 1906, had been watched by an internal security network of private

detectives and federal and state officials.[14] While US and Mexican officials constructed a binational espionage system for monitoring and policing *revoltosos*, the surveillance and repression of Indian anticolonialists contributed to the development of a transnational surveillance apparatus in which US, British, and Canadian officials monitored Indians not only across the US-Mexico and US-Canadian borders, but across the US and British empires as well. US efforts to track the movements and activities of Indians in the United States were shaped in large part by Hopkinson, who, by 1911, was working closely with US immigration officials to monitor and build deportation cases against US-based Indian leaders through the country's 1903 anti-anarchy immigration law.

According to the 1903 Immigration Act, "anarchists, or persons who believe in, or advocate, the overthrow by force or violence the government of the United States, or of all government" were to be excluded from the United States. National hysteria about anarchism had begun after the 1901 assassination of President William McKinley by the anarchist Leon Czolgosz. Although Czolgosz had been an American citizen, US officials had used his Polish descent to add anarchists to the list of excludable immigrants, effectively fusing images of the "alien" and the "radical" in the American consciousness. The specter of bomb-throwing radicals assassinating officials across Europe and the United States captured the attention of the US Congress. For twenty-five years, beginning with the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1891, officials and public figures in France, Italy, Austria, Portugal, Spain, the United States, Greece, Serbia, Russia, and Britain had been targeted by anarchists and, later, nationalists, who saw themselves performing on a global stage and challenging the foundations of the imperial-capitalist world.[15]

McKinley's assassination handed the presidency to Theodore Roosevelt, who defined anarchism as a global threat and declared that the United States should target not only anarchists, but also "all active and passive sympathizers with anarchists," and proposed the exclusion of all believers in anarchism or members of anarchistic societies. Congress reacted to McKinley's assassination by passing an immigration law that legitimized the exclusion and deportation of all immigrant anarchists, while simultaneously casting all foreigners as the potential bearers of anarchist and revolutionary ideologies.[16] The 1903 Act provided a crucial foundation for the antiradical and exclusionary immigration laws that would follow over the next two decades by giving federal officials the authority to exclude, deport, and deny naturalization to immigrants based on political beliefs and associations.

The first US-based Indian anticolonialist Hopkinson targeted for deportation under the anti-anarchist law was Taraknath Das. In June 1911, Hopkinson's informants reported that Das was applying to become a US

citizen. Hopkinson worried that if Das became a citizen it would be impossible to deport him for violating US immigration laws as an anarchist; further, it might encourage other Indians to become naturalized and incite revolution in India with the protection of American citizenship. Hopkinson was determined to use the Das case to set a precedent. When W. W. Cory informed the British ambassador in Washington, DC, James Bryce, of Das's political activities, Bryce promptly reported his findings to the State Department, which responded that it did not have sufficient proof that Das was an anarchist. Bryce then advised Hopkinson to abandon the anarchist charge and to concentrate instead on convincing US officials to bar Das from citizenship using the racially restrictive Naturalization Law of 1790. Though the 1790 law allowed naturalization to only "free white persons," Indians were successfully becoming naturalized US citizens by claiming that, scientifically, they were of the Caucasian race. Das's political activities did not legally bar him from attaining US citizenship and on June 6, 1914, much to the frustration of the British government, he became an American citizen.[17]

Although Hopkinson was unable to prove that Das was an anarchist, he continued to believe that the nation's anti-anarchism law would be the most effective way to repress Indian anticolonialism in the United States. Hopkinson first traveled to San Francisco in the fall of 1911 to meet with immigration officials at Angel Island about Das and other Indian radicals. He returned the following year, alarmed by reports of a "Nation Day" celebration at the University of California, Berkeley, in October 1912, during which Indian students and their supporters delivered speeches demanding Indian independence. Har Dayal first came to Hopkinson's attention at this time, and though he had been the target of British surveillance in England, India, and France, he had been undetected by British officials since arriving in the United States.

By January 1913, Hopkinson was regularly traveling to San Francisco and meeting with British consul-general Andrew Carnegie Ross, who warned him about the growing sedition movement among Indian students and gave him the names of Indian students at Berkeley who had either already informed authorities about Dayal's activities or were willing to do so. Hopkinson also met with Don S. Rathbun, a special agent of the Department of Justice in San Francisco, who arranged to monitor all mail to and from India that was moving through the Berkeley and San Francisco post offices. Finally, Hopkinson conferred once again with immigration officials at Angel Island, who assured him they would be happy to deport "Hindu agitators" if sufficient evidence was produced that they had violated the nation's immigration laws. In the spring of 1913, Hopkinson sent a confidential memo to the India Office in London reporting that he

had "received assurance" from immigration inspectors in San Francisco that they would "undertake to remove [Dayal] from the United States." He also wrote that Vancouver was no longer an advantageous point from which to monitor Indian anticolonialists as the movement was now "centered more or less in Berkeley." Insisting that his visits, typically lasting three to four weeks, did not allow adequate time to investigate the activities of Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area, Hopkinson requested that someone be permanently appointed to San Francisco to monitor the Indians there or that he be transferred to San Francisco for the winter months to do so himself.[18]

In response to Hopkinson's report, India's secretary of state promptly wrote to the viceroy that, based on the information provided by Hopkinson, "Indian extremists in California" needed to "be specially investigated." The secretary of state acknowledged that the "centre of activity is now on the Pacific coast" and that New York was no longer their primary concern. He directly took up the matter of Dayal and asked if it was "possible to frame a charge against him, issue a warrant and deport him to British territory with a view to his certain arrest and with a good prospect of obtaining a conviction" or if they should leave the matter to the US Immigration Department to avoid having the British government "intervene openly."[19] Ultimately the British government's response was a combination of the secretary of state's two suggestions: British officials exploited the anti-anarchist law to frame a charge against Dayal and then provided the evidence that they hoped would enable US immigration officials to deport him and thus deal a severe blow to the growing Indian anticolonial movement on the Pacific Coast.

Officials in London decided that Hopkinson would visit San Francisco regularly and began sending him requests for investigations of individual Indians considered dangerous to imperial interests. By this point, Hopkinson classified his official positions as "Inspector of the Canadian Immigration Department, Indian interpreter, Dominion Police Officer, (when in foreign territory) Special Agent of the Canadian Government, and Hindu Interpreter of the U.S. Immigration Department."[20] Hopkinson's semi-official connection to the US Immigration Department was based solely on efforts to repress Indian anticolonialism, and he regularly shared the intelligence he gathered with US officials. Thus, British intelligence, particularly the secret workings of the Indian Political Intelligence Office, shaped the US state's surveillance, deportation, and exclusion of Indian migrants.

By the summer of 1913, Hopkinson was regularly attending Dayal's public addresses, which he described as full of ideas espousing "socialism, anarchism, and all matters pertaining to political agitation."[21] In June 1913, Hopkinson wrote to Montreal-based US immigration commissioner John Clark about a series of lectures that Dayal, whom he regularly referred to

as a "notorious Hindu revolutionist and anarchist," planned to deliver in the Pacific Northwest that summer. Hopkinson requested that Clark send US immigration inspectors to these lectures in order to gather intelligence with which to build their own deportation case against Dayal. While he had collected plenty of his own evidence, he wanted the US Immigration Department to "secure material independent of me so that conjointly you will have a good case" and so that Dayal could not accuse the US Bureau of Immigration of arresting him at the behest of the British government.[22] Per Hopkinson's request, Clark sent word to commissioner-general of immigration Anthony Caminetti, who asked immigration inspectors in Seattle, Portland, and San Francisco to attend a series of lectures Dayal was scheduled to deliver that summer to determine if he was in the United States in violation of immigration laws. These inspectors later reported that Dayal spoke about revolutionaries in France and Russia as well as the IWW in the United States. To Hopkinson and US immigration officials, Dayal's statements and the venues in which he delivered them were proof of his anarchist beliefs, and authorities in the Bureau of Immigration worked closely with Hopkinson to build a deportation case against him.

Meanwhile, Hopkinson continued gathering evidence to build deportation cases against Indian anticolonialists on the Pacific Coast. In August 1913, Hopkinson reported that he had received information from Indian informant Henry Edward Pandion about anarchist activity among Indian migrants from BC to California. A winner of the Guru Gobind Scholarship before he had turned informant, Pandion reported that Bhikaiji Rustom Cama, better known as Madame Cama, "in company with several anarchists is coming to the United States, in a short time . . . to join a Hindu anarchist named Har Dayal."[23] Madame Cama was a leader of Indian nationalists in Europe and editor of the Paris-based revolutionary newspaper *Bande Mataram*, which Har Dayal had edited during his stay in Paris from 1909 to late 1910. Hopkinson had been monitoring the connection between Cama and Indians in North America since the summer of 1911, when he began intercepting "seditious literature from France addressed to many of the Hindus" in Vancouver.[24] While Cama's paper was unapologetically anticolonial, Hopkinson's allegations that Cama was an "anarchist" illustrate that British and US officials were using the term to refer to the dangers Indian anticolonialists posed to the stability of the British government, rather than to government as such.

In September 1913, over six months before Dayal's arrest, Hopkinson had reported to US immigration inspector John Clark that he had gathered a "voluminous record" to "bring about [Dayal's] deportation" and was awaiting instructions from the Canadian Government as to when he could give this information to the US Department of Immigration. In addition,

Hopkinson had provided Clark with a list of Indian names, which suggested that officials would subsequently enact deportation proceedings against other Indian anticolonialists working from the Pacific Coast. At this time, San Francisco immigration inspectors Frank Ainsworth and Samuel Backus began attending meetings where Dayal was scheduled to speak and sending regular reports to Commissioner-General Caminetti. Backus also informed Caminetti of the activities of other Indians on the Pacific Coast and the dangerous influence he believed Dayal was having on Indian students.[25]

Backus had been criminalizing Indians since assuming his post as immigration commissioner at Angel Island. According to Backus, having "been for a long while subjected to a very careful supervision and rigid Government" under British rule, those "Hindus" that were able to gain entry to the United States were "apt to mistake liberty for license" and become "undesirable if not positively criminal."[26] In his regular correspondence with Commissioner-General Caminetti during the winter of 1914, Backus complained that Indian migrants were giving the San Francisco immigration office "more and more concern as circumstances disclose to us the possible purposes for which at least a large number of them are in the United States." Backus believed Indians were coming to the Pacific Coast "to foment and foster a revolutionary movement in India, to prepare and distribute circulars and pamphlets inciting their countrymen to such a revolution, to prepare and train leaders for the uprising, and to collect funds for the promotion of their plans." Backus insisted that even seemingly nonpolitical Indian organizations like the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society were "actively engaged in furnishing funds for Hindus to come to the United States in order that they may be educated and return to India for the purpose of engaging in [the] revolutionary movement against the British Government."[27] British authorities kept a close eye on the Khalsa Diwan Society and leading members of Pacific Coast gurdwaras, who were considered to be extremely dangerous because of their support of the Ghadar Party and their alleged deployment of religious preachers whose primary function, British officials believed, was to "disseminate revolutionary ideas."[28]

Significantly, Hopkinson had built his case against Dayal two months before the official formation of the Ghadar Party in November 1913. Yet, it was the Ghadar Party's emergence in Oregon and the party's decision to establish its headquarters in San Francisco that seem to have alarmed immigration officials at the Angel Island station. By January 1914, Backus was connecting Dayal and his "highly revolutionary" and "inflammatory" paper, *Ghadar*, to the anarchist movement in the United States. That month he sent Caminetti the names of 112 Indian anticolonialists who were living in the United States and warned that while many of the Indians migrating

to the United States claimed to be students, a large number of them were "notorious agitators" who had no intention "of pursuing courses of study." He included a photograph of a group of Indian students who were "active supporters" of *Ghadar* and who, while enrolled as students at Berkeley, were "engaged in rifle and revolver practice in the hills of Berkeley, looking to the time when such practice may stand them in good stead on behalf of the movement they are fostering." He warned that Dayal was "making periodical addresses at various points on the Pacific Coast under the same auspices wherefrom such agitators as Emma Goldman secure their support" and sent Caminetti a transcript of Dayal's famous October 31, 1913, speech at Jefferson Square Hall in San Francisco, which would be the central piece of evidence in the government's case to deport Dayal. Backus wrote further that Har Dayal had been connected to radical political movements in the San Francisco Bay Area for some time and thus "he may be considered as anarchistic."[29]

In an effort to combat Indian anticolonialism, Backus assured Caminetti that the San Francisco immigration office would "scrutinize with the greatest care all Hindu applications for admission in order that we may bring the fullest strength of the immigration laws against those who may be coming to join in the movement referred to."[30] For Backus, Indian exclusion and expulsion operated hand-in-hand with radical repression and, in early February 1914, he submitted an application for a warrant to arrest Har Dayal. A week later, Caminetti wrote to John L. Burnett, the chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. Knowing that the committee was preparing to convene hearings the following week to discuss the restriction of "Hindu laborers," Caminetti believed it was essential that he inform the committee that a key Indian leader was under allegation as an anarchist. Additionally, Caminetti forwarded Burnett large portions of Dayal's speech, excerpts of which were read by the Committee of Immigration and Naturalization during the congressional hearings.[31]

Meanwhile, Pacific Coast immigration inspectors exploited Dayal's and Oregon-based mill workers' minor affiliations with the IWW to push for Indian exclusion. Astoria immigration inspector Charles H. Reily insisted that "*most* of the members of the Hindu nationalist party were also I.W.W.'s," which to him "was evidence of their proficiency in the art of blowing people up." Reily went on to report that to Indian migrants in Oregon, "the work of Har Dyal [*sic*], and the interests of the Hindu Nationalist party were of such importance that rather than permit any interference with their plans they would cheerfully dispose of me in some manner." While some Indian migrants—particularly those who worked in the lumber mills of Oregon—were members of the IWW, immigration inspectors on the Pacific Coast exploited what little connection the two groups may have had to go after

Indian anticolonialists. Public fears and hysteria about the dangers of the IWW were easily transferred to "Hindu agitators." According to Reily, Indian migrants were extremely critical of cooperation between British officials and US immigration authorities and were particularly hostile toward Hopkinson, who was often vilified at Indian political meetings as a symbol of the close interactions between the two states and their manipulations of US immigration and antiradical laws to repress Indian anticolonialism.[32]

American diplomats in India also actively tried to restrict Indian migration to the United States, insisting that Indians were taking advantage of American hospitality to organize against British rule. The appearance of Taraknath Das's *Free Hindusthan* in India in the summer of 1910 caught the attention of American diplomats there, who expressed sympathy with British anxieties over Indian anticolonial agitation and informed the State Department of Indian political activities in the United States. In June 1910, for example, William H. Michael, the American consul-general in Calcutta, wrote to the assistant secretary of state to discuss his correspondence with C. R. Cleveland, the inspector general of the Criminal Investigation Department of India. Cleveland had forwarded to Michael copies of what he described as Taraknath Das's "revolutionary and anarchical paper" and asked Michael if it would be possible to have such radical publications "suppressed by the friendly Governments which have been made places of refuge for such men as those publishing the 'Hindusthan.'" In his letter to the State Department, Michael emphasized that if such a paper "was published in India it would be suppressed at once and its editors and publishers either put on trial for their liberty or deported summarily."[33] That Das was not publishing in India, but rather in the United States, where he was not doing anything illegal, seemed irrelevant to Michael.

In response to Michael's letter, Alvey Adee, the acting secretary of state, wrote to the governor of New York to request that he investigate *Free Hindusthan*, which Das was publishing from New York City at the time, and to inform the State Department if Das was "guilty of any offense under the laws of New York."[34] While Michael's inquiry did not lead to the newspaper's suppression, American diplomats in India continued to keep the State Department informed about Indian anticolonialists in the United States. Their actions demonstrate the growing reach of US state power as American diplomats in India and across Asia shaped surveillance, immigration restriction, and political repression back home.

In the spring of 1914, Henry D. Baker of the American consulate in Bombay expressed concern to L. Robertson, the political secretary to the government of India, that the Ghadar Party was "training" Indian revolutionaries "to wage war against the English and dream of mutiny."[35] Baker referred to a report in the *Pioneer*, of Allahabad, India, which claimed that

a "flood of literature from California" published by Indian revolutionaries was regularly arriving in Bombay. In June 1914, he received a letter from the Bombay police commissioner, who wrote that Baker "would be conferring a great benefit upon the Criminal Intelligence Department" and the British Indian government if he would convince officials in Washington "to look closely into this matter, which forms a source of continual anxiety to the Government of India." Just two months later, Cleveland, who now was the director of the DCI in Simla, wrote to Baker to stress that the British government had "been put to a good deal of inconvenience by the transmission through the post of a great quantity of anarchistic literature emanating from San Francisco, where it is manufactured by a group of seditious Indians, who seem to [have] become intoxicated by the freedom of restraint which they are allowed to enjoy in the United States."[36]

Baker felt he had an important duty as the consul at Bombay, "to promptly report to the Government concerning any individuals who may leave this port for the United States, and are known to be anarchists." He stressed that US immigration laws should exclude "any anarchists or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or of all government." He went on to argue that "by the term 'all government' is apparently meant, the government not merely of the United States, but *of any country in the world*," thus framing Indian opposition to British rule as anarchistic. Baker requested that the British Secret Service Department send him "due notice of any persons who may be leaving here for the United States at any time, and who may be suspected or known to be anarchists." Baker would then transmit this information to the government of the United States with the hope that it would "enforce its immigration laws accordingly."[37] American diplomats across India expressed sympathy with British colonial administrators about the threat that Indian anticolonialists in the United States posed to the British Raj. In April 1915, the American consul-general in Madras, Jose Olivares, gave the State Department the names of various "seditious" publications being issued by Indian radicals from San Francisco, including *Ghadar* and *Ghadar-di-Gunj*, and warned that "anti-British propaganda [was] being continually carried on by Indian students attending various American universities and colleges."[38]

The correspondence of American diplomats across India with both State Department officials in Washington, DC, and British officials in India illustrates that US officials across the globe were aiding British efforts to repress Indian anticolonialism abroad. By seeking to forbid any Indian with anti-British leanings from leaving India and then encouraging immigration officials to use the anti-anarchist law to prevent their landings at US immigration stations, State Department officials facilitated Indian exclusion and

repression in the United States. Although US, British, and Canadian officials kept their cooperative efforts to repress Indian anticolonialists confidential, Indian migrants began to declare with increasing vehemence that US officials were repressing Indian anticolonialists to appease the British government. Such accusations garnered more attention after US immigration officials arrested Dayal. Although immigration authorities insisted that there was no connection between Dayal's role in anti-British organizing and his arrest as an anarchist, the evidence reveals that British officials were deeply involved in Dayal's case.[39] Yet, it was not simply Anglo-American relations that motivated US officials to go after the anticolonial leader. US immigration officials, who had been looking for ways to exclude "Hindus" for years, felt that they had found the perfect target in the case of Har Dayal.

"LICKING THE BOOTS OF ENGLAND": INDIAN CRITIQUES OF US AND BRITISH RELATIONS

In his April 1911 issue of the *Indian Sociologist*, the Indian radical Shyamaji Krishnavarma published an open letter to President William H. Taft, admonishing him against entering into any alliances with England. Arguing that England only sought to make common cause with the United States to continue "its policy of aggression, imperialism, [and] oppression" and to abolish the "sacred right of asylum" that Indians sought throughout the globe, Krishnavarma warned that the cooperation of the United States with British interests would lead Indians to forge alliances "with the Irish, the Egyptians, the Africans, and others to put an end to the peace of slavery."[40] Krishnavarma's warnings about US and British cooperation became especially prescient after Dayal's arrest, which Indian anticolonialists pointed to as evidence of the joint efforts of the two states to repress Indian anticolonialism in North America.

On March 25, 1914, at the conclusion of a socialist meeting in San Francisco, US immigration officials served Dayal an arrest warrant. Dayal knew the arrest was coming and over the next few days he publicized the cause of Indian anticolonialism through San Francisco newspapers, which were captivated by his radical politics and the deportation case. The *San Francisco Chronicle* and *San Francisco Bulletin* gave Dayal front-page coverage, contending that his arrest was "inspired by agents of the British government" and the outcome of a "nation-wide investigation into the actions of Hindoos" who "preach sedition" against the British government.[41] The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that the British government had complained to the US Bureau of Immigration that Dayal was "a dangerous agitator" who had "been attempting to stir up a revolution in British India" and that

the British embassy in San Francisco had requested that Dayal be taken into custody as an undesirable alien.[42] While some newspapers expressed sympathy with Dayal, others sided with immigration officials, insisting that Dayal was an anarchist wearing "the mask of martyrdom" and using the nation as a base to advocate "the doctrines of destruction of property, society, government, and religion."[43] One California newspaper identified Dayal as a leader of "an international anarchist society" known as the Fraternity of the Red Flag, which stood "in cooperation with the Industrial Workers of the World for the promotion of industrial organization and the General Strike, the abolition of patriotism and race feeling, the economic, intellectual and sexual freedom of women, and the 'movements of progress and revolt' in Asia and Africa."[44]

Rumors quickly spread that Dayal's arrest would be the precedent upon which immigration officials would pursue all Indian anticolonialists in the United States. Though Dayal had connections with anarchist and socialist networks across Europe and the United States, he repeatedly insisted that the Ghadar Party had "no connection with any school of anarchism."[45] Indeed, many of the Punjabi workers and Sikh veterans who filled the ranks of the Ghadar Party had little involvement with the radical political circles that Dayal moved in. Regardless, the Ghadar Party, having emerged at an apex of political radicalism in the United States, captured the attention of US officials.

After Dayal was arrested, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that over 200 Indian migrants "greatly excited over the news of their leader's arrest" accompanied Dayal to the pier where he boarded a steamer for Angel Island. There immigration inspector Frank Ainsworth interrogated Dayal for over three hours.[46] Various individuals and organizations, including Fremont Older, the managing editor of the *San Francisco Bulletin*, and the social reformer Jane Addams, sent letters and resolutions to the Bureau of Immigration demanding Dayal's release. His arrest sparked numerous protests; taken together they reveal the complex and varied issues that his case and political activism raised. Labor groups that supported Dayal argued that immigration officials had arrested him to repress both his anticolonial aspirations and his efforts on behalf of the working class. The socialists of Vallejo, California, passed a resolution condemning the US Immigration Service for being "the cats-paws for the British Government" by trying to deport Dayal, who they argued was "known throughout this continent as the bitter opponent of everything that is detrimental to the working class, either in America or India." Dayal had strong connections to socialist branches of the Pacific Coast labor movement, who believed that the Indian nationalist struggle was critical to the success of an international labor movement.[47]

During his interrogation of Dayal, Inspector Ainsworth focused on Dayal's ruminations on the American labor movement, his admiration of Russian revolutionaries, his praise of Japan's victory in the Russian-Japanese war, and his attacks on British rule. Dayal candidly expressed his criticism of the American Federation of Labor's (AFL) commitment to the existing economic order and stated his belief that workers who sought any kind of substantive change in economic and social conditions were better off joining the ranks of the IWW. In his numerous speeches before the IWW, Dayal had connected the struggles of Indians to the exploitation of workers around the globe. In contrast to the AFL's inability to locate race and labor relations within an international economic and colonial structure, Dayal and other Indian anticolonialists highlighted the international dimensions of economic exploitation. Linking capital and imperial expansion, Dayal argued for the global solidarity of workers across national and racial lines and encouraged workers to employ "revolutionary tactics" to fight "against the capitalist class." His anticolonial and anticapitalist articulations fueled the assumptions of officials in the Justice and Immigration Departments that radical labor organizing would be weakened with the deportation of "alien" agitators. US officials were convinced that the ranks of the IWW and other radical groups were filled with foreign agitators whose deportation would restore harmonious labor relations.[48]

Dayal's consistent praise of Russian revolutionaries, from whom he claimed to have derived "inspiration" and whose political writings he was translating for distribution in India, was also alarming to US officials. While comparing the corrupt and despotic rule of government officials, the exploitation of peasants, and the ruthless power of the *zamindars* (landlords) in both countries, Dayal emphasized that the "people of Russia have given birth to new principles, new manners, new ideas, new aspirations, and new enterprises for mankind." Immigration authorities cited Dayal's criticism of the AFL, in conjunction with his exhortation to the American working class to look to Russia rather than to the conservative labor movement in North America, as proof of his subversive radical politics.[49]

Ainsworth also highlighted Dayal's praise of Japan's victory in the Russian-Japanese war in his October 31, 1913, speech in San Francisco, in which Dayal claimed that this victory signaled that the "color barrier is being thrown down everywhere" and thus "opened a new era for the Asiatic races by giving them self-confidence and respect."[50] While it was certainly paradoxical that Asian and African anticolonialists across the globe celebrated a war in which Japan had battled for its own imperial ambitions, the Russian-Japanese war invalidated the discourse of white racial superiority and invincibility. The Immigration Department's file on Dayal contained his *Ghadar* articles and speeches that US officials interpreted as a threat

to white domination. One such example was an issue of *Ghadar* in which Dayal responded to the recent comments of a British official who had publicly declared, "I do not like black and yellow men." Whereas Indian newspapers were appalled at the statement, Dayal suggested that such words served as a clear example that British rule was rooted in theories of racial superiority. Rather than seeking to have British officials mask such sentiments, Dayal believed that they should be highlighted as constitutive of British imperialism and liberalism. Thus, Dayal addressed the British official in the next issue of *Ghadar*: "our thought with regards to you is the same. You do not like us and we do not like you; therefore, it would be proper for you to go to a distance from before our eyes. Take your white carcass to your cold and barren country, and leave our land for us." Such claims of racial self-determination alarmed US officials, who interpreted Indian anticolonial critiques not just as a threat to the British empire, but to white supremacy itself.[51]

During Dayal's interrogation, Ainsworth showed him a pamphlet entitled *Mother Earth* and asked if he was acquainted with the publisher, Emma Goldman, and the editor, Alexander Berkman. Dayal replied that he had heard Emma Goldman lecture in San Francisco, but was "not personally acquainted with her" and that he had never seen Alexander Berkman. Ainsworth countered that he had been present at a lecture given in July 1913, during which Goldman had stated that she was an anarchist who opposed all forms of government. Ainsworth reportedly saw Dayal at this lecture, and although Dayal did not speak at the meeting, he "was greeted by and greeted several persons there," thus proving, in Ainsworth's eyes, that he had anarchist affiliations.[52] Goldman had allegedly delivered a lecture before Indian migrants in BC in 1908 and shared many of the same social and political circles as Dayal. However, even though both Goldman and Dayal viewed the passage of politically repressive laws and the targeting of political radicalism in the United States as an omen that the country's reputation as a haven for the politically repressed was in peril, there is scant evidence that Goldman had strong political ties with the Indian anticolonial movement.[53]

Apart from questioning Dayal about his connections to prominent anarchists in the United States and his critiques of American capitalism, Ainsworth focused on Dayal's attitude towards the British Empire and organized labor, rather than his stand on the American government or government in general. Dayal's attorney, Charles Sferlazzo, insisted that the US government had not produced sufficient evidence to support its charge that Dayal was an anarchist and that its reliance upon *Ghadar* in proving its case was irrelevant, since the publication's contents "bear solely upon British politics and rule in India."[54] Nonetheless, in the eyes of US officials, Dayal's radical politics marked him as an anarchist and justified his expulsion.

In the days following his arrest, Dayal articulated a scathing critique of US immigration policy and US immigration officials' cooperation with the British government in securing his arrest. Dayal insisted that immigration officials had arrested him because the British government was eager to stop the "growing republican nationalist movement" in the United States and wanted him deported to British soil, where he could be tried for sedition.[55] He blamed his arrest on "British secret service operatives" who had been spying on him for months and "acting through the Democratic administration" in its attempts to "stamp out all revolutionary movements to overthrow the British government" in India. Accusing US immigration officials of "licking the boots of England," Dayal insisted that his arrest called "public attention to the despicable pro-British subservience of the U.S. Government." Finally, Dayal argued that the "sole aim" of *Ghadar* was to spread anti-British revolutionary propaganda in India and that it was "simply ridiculous" that he was "being prosecuted in the United States and in the twentieth century" because of his ideas. As he insisted, "I have broken no laws, and I have not advocated [the] breaking of any laws. The only overt act I have committed is advocating the overthrow of the British in India by an armed revolt."[56] However, with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1903, Congress had given immigration officials the authority to exclude and deport immigrants precisely because of such political beliefs and associations.

After charging Dayal with being within the excludable class of anarchists, Ainsworth released him on $1000 bail. Within a month, Dayal had fled the United States for Switzerland.[57] In May 1914, Caminetti acknowledged that the government had falsely arrested Dayal, as the statute of limitations for violations of immigration laws was three years from the date of last entry into the United States. In Dayal's case, he had arrived in New York on February 9, 1911, and the warrant of arrest was not issued until February 10, 1914.[58] In the coming years, immigration and congressional officials argued that the time constraints of existing immigration policy were hindering their ability to go after "foreign agitators" and pushed for the removal of time limits in deportation cases. In 1917 the statute of limitations for deportation was increased to five years after entry, and in 1918 Congress eliminated all time limits on deportation in cases involving political radicalism.

After Dayal's arrest, twenty-five-year-old Ram Chandra took charge of the Ghadar Party. Like other Indian anticolonialists in North America, Chandra had a background of political organizing in India, including editing two nationalist newspapers in Delhi. Seeking to escape the watchful eyes of the British Indian government, Chandra and his wife left India in 1911 and under several aliases, arrived in San Francisco via Hong Kong and Japan in March 1913. They soon went to Portland, where they began attending night classes at a local high school. Dayal and Chandra met when

Dayal briefly returned to India in 1908, and, in the summer of 1913, the two traveled across Oregon together addressing Indian migrants on the injustices of British rule in India. Dayal invited Chandra to join him in San Francisco shortly after the establishment of the Ghadar Party.[59]

US immigration authorities had been monitoring Chandra since at least September 1913 when the Seattle immigration office asked Portland immigration inspector R. P. Benham to investigate Chandra's activities. Inspector Benham later reported that Chandra "displayed no anarchistic beliefs and advocated none but educational and peaceable methods as the means through which India should eventually acquire national independence."[60] Chandra insisted that the Ghadar Party was an "uncompromising advocate of complete political independence and liberty for India" with a legitimate "political goal that sought a democratic government," thereby contesting imperial and national missions that posited anarchy as the prime cause of imperial intervention abroad and domestic political repression. Meanwhile, San Francisco immigration inspector Samuel Backus reported that immediately upon arriving on the Pacific Coast, Chandra had joined other Indian agitators at the Hammond Lumber Company at St. Johns, Oregon, the site where Indian mill workers had established the Ghadar Party, and urged immigration authorities to continue watching Chandra closely.[61]

After Dayal fled the country, the British foreign secretary requested that British ambassador Cecil Spring-Rice file a formal complaint with the Wilson administration about the political work of Indian students at Berkeley. Wilson drew critical distinctions between revolutionary anti-imperialism, which he saw as anarchistic, and aspirations for self-government through gradual reform under Western tutelage. Believing that global economic and political stability depended on the spread of democracy according to US democratic principles and practices, Wilson considered anticolonial movements abroad that did not conform to his own liberal-capitalist visions as dangerous and subversive. Indian calls for a revolutionary anticolonial movement thus conflicted with Wilsonian visions of an "American-inspired world order" that contained the world's anti-imperialist forces within the confines of orderly and gradual liberal reform. Wilson envisioned non-European peoples achieving self-determination through an evolutionary process under Western tutelage. He greatly admired the British colonial administration in India and when speaking of the role of the United States in the Philippines and Puerto Rico, expressed his belief that the US should follow in British reformist tradition and instruct the "less civilized" in law, order, and self-control. While Russian leader Vladimir Lenin sought to use the principle of self-determination to destroy European empires, Wilson's hope was that self-determination would serve as a bulwark against revolutionary challenges to the existing world order.[62]

Spring-Rice felt confident that Wilson's opposition to anticolonial revolutionary movements and anarchism made him sympathetic to the British government's desire to repress Indian anticolonialism. Nevertheless, he asserted that the time was not right for an official protest to the US government and instead advocated exploiting national anti-Asian and anti-anarchy hysteria to serve the British imperial government's own ends. Spring-Rice believed that the Wilson administration was less likely to respond to British pressure than to charges that Indians were spreading anarchistic propaganda, incapable of assimilation, or possibly connected with the IWW. For the time being, Spring-Rice advised officials in India to investigate and provide notes on all applicants seeking admission to the United States in order to allow US immigration officials to exclude them as anarchists if deemed potentially subversive.[63]

As Hopkinson prepared to return to BC in May 1914, he thanked the officials of the US government for their courtesy and assistance. He specifically acknowledged Don S. Rathbun of the Justice Department in San Francisco, through whom he "was able to keep a watch on the Post Office at Berkeley and San Francisco," and immigration inspectors Samuel Backus and Thomas Edsell.[64] Meanwhile, US immigration inspector John Zurbrick of the Vancouver immigration station wrote to John Clark of the US immigration office in Montreal regarding a letter he had received from Hopkinson "requesting information as to whether or not this office will admit to the United States Hindus employed by the Canadian Government in a confidential capacity, for the purpose of keeping track of Hindu agitators residing in the United States." Clark forwarded the inquiry to the Immigration Department in Washington, DC, and acting commissioner-general F. H. Larned responded that the bureau saw "no objection" to having the inspector in charge at Vancouver admit the Indian migrants and that he should "grant them the courtesy usually extended [to] government officials."[65] Commissioner-General Caminetti promised to provide Hopkinson with information concerning Indian migrants landing at the port of New York, and "in reciprocation" of this courtesy, Hopkinson agreed to share with him any information he collected about Indian migrants. However, Caminetti stipulated that, "the fact that this reciprocal arrangement exists shall not become public."[66]

Immigration commissioner John Clark continued to facilitate the exchange of information collected through US, Canadian, and British surveillance of Indians, especially once the First World War had begun. Writing to Commissioner-General Anthony Caminetti in the spring of 1916, he expressed his belief that it was "of utmost importance that the Canadian Service and our own should secure all the information possible concerning Hindus." Clark asked Caminetti to instruct the immigration commissioners

in San Francisco, Seattle, and "other Pacific Coast ports from which Hindus may depart, to send a copy of their outgoing manifests showing departure of Hindus" to W. D. Scott, the Canadian superintendent of immigration. Emphasizing the benefits of such an arrangement, Clark assured Caminetti that, in exchange, the Canadian service would be willing to reciprocate by providing information for "any request that our Bureau might make."[67]

In response, the commissioner-general's office wrote to the commissioner of immigration at Angel Island instructing him to forward each week to the inspector in charge in Vancouver, BC, "abstracts from the outward bound manifests showing the available data as to all Hindus sailing from ports in your district to the Orient."[68] In June 1916, Clark again wrote to the commissioner-general's office, referring to a letter he had received from Superintendent Scott requesting that he be provided with "a list of the arrival of all Hindus" at US Pacific and Atlantic Coast ports and "a list of Hindus applying for entry to the United States," specifying whether the department had excluded or admitted the migrants and, if admitted, to provide the names of friends or relatives listed to the US immigration agent in Vancouver.[69] Hopkinson helped build a network between himself and US immigration inspectors along the Pacific Coast and authorities in Washington, DC, all of whom were exchanging information with one another that was focused on closely monitoring Indian migrants and determining their links to anticolonial politics.

Although Indian migrants insisted that the British government was behind Dayal's arrest, the Bureau of Immigration repeatedly asserted that the British government "had no part in the matter nor has it either directly or indirectly requested either the arrest or the deportation" of Dayal. Rather, as Commissioner-General Caminetti wrote in response to a letter of protest from the Friends of Russian Freedom, "the charge against the alien is that he is an anarchist." Caminetti insisted that Har Dayal had first come to the bureau's attention after a report from immigration officers in the Pacific Northwest that Dayal was delivering lectures in Oregon and Washington "in which he was advocating anarchism." Yet it was Hopkinson who had requested that US immigration officials attend these very lectures to gather the material necessary to deport Dayal.[70]

After Dayal's arrest, many Indian migrants began to question America's exceptionalist claims as a haven for those suffering under political persecution. Dayal argued that if Indian migrants could not engage in anticolonial organizing and publish their "literature of freedom" in the United States, they would go "to some other country" where their compatriots were publishing anticolonial tracts without fear of deportation.[71] Dayal insisted that if the United States did "not offer asylum to Hindoo nationalists" at the behest of England, "such a course would mark great moral weakness in the

American people." Dayal's critiques of US subservience to England were at once perceptive and limited. By invoking images of the United States "as a haven of refuge" and "the land of freedom and opportunity," Dayal moved between implicitly reproducing the logic of American exceptionalism and turning the nation's exceptionalist rhetoric against itself.[72] Still, his critiques of US and British relations stopped short of condemning the racially restrictive and antiradical practices of the US state or of critiquing how the moral panic around anarchism in the United States was being used to advocate for the exclusion and deportation of racially and politically "undesirable" migrants. Congressional hearings on the issue of "Hindu" migration that took place as Dayal's case was pending revealed that, for immigration and congressional officials, political repression and calls for Indian exclusion were deeply intertwined.

CONSTRUCTING AND COMBATTING THE "HINDU" MENACE

In February 1914, the House of Representatives Committee on Immigration and Naturalization convened to discuss two pending bills introduced by Representatives John Raker and Denver S. Church of California, both of which sought to impose severe restrictions on "Hindu laborers." While initially framed around economic competition and labor threats posed by "Hindus," by the end of the hearings calls for Indian exclusion had become indistinguishable from the committee's concerns over Indian anticolonialism. Representative Church warned that "the Hindus down in my country, in the interior of California, are . . . acquiring all the knowledge they can so as to be in a position in the future to rebel against the form of government under which they are at the time living." Meanwhile representative Raker claimed that he had a "whole bundle of papers" that contained "inflammatory articles and statements that the Hindus in this country and other countries are working for the purpose of gathering all the strength they can with the hope eventually of overthrowing the English Government in India."[73]

Immigration authorities also used the hearings to emphasize the need for a longer statute of limitations in which "aliens" could be deported. Special immigration inspector Roger O'Donnell testified that the existing three-year time limit was hindering the department's ability to pursue undesirable aliens and pushed for more funding, employees, and power for the Bureau of Immigration to combat the "Hindu" menace. As the hearings proceeded, the "menace" that "Hindus" allegedly posed was transferred seamlessly from threats to public health, labor, and the American standard of living to the dangerous and subversive nature of Indian migrants'

political activism. Representatives cast Indian migrants as fertile ground for the spread of radical doctrine and linked their calls for Indian exclusion to the need for greater measures to restrict political radicalism.[74]

During the final days of the hearings, the congressional committee aggressively questioned Tishi Bhutia Kyawgh Hla', secretary of the Hindustan Association of the United States, about the activities of Dayal, as well as the Indian anticolonial movement more broadly. Representative Johnson accused Bhutia of belonging to "one of the many organizations in various parts of the world which are interested in fomenting a movement for the overthrow of the British authority in India" and interrogated him about his organization's links to Dayal.[75] Bhutia argued that Indian desires to overthrow the British government in India did not translate into a desire to overthrow the American government. Further, he insisted that he, like many other Indians organizing against British rule from the United States, were "democrats" who were seeking to overthrow the British government and replace it with a democratic form of governance, what Ram Chandra often called the "United States of India."[76]

Although Bhutia advocated passive resistance to achieve his political goals, when pushed by Raker, who insisted that Indians would seek to bring about independence through violence if necessary, Bhutia's pointed response, "you did it in this country," employed a strategy frequently used by Indian anticolonialists.[77] Seeking to draw parallels between the Indian struggle for freedom and the American Revolution, Ram Chandra also had asked the American people to recall "that the founders of this great republic, who accomplished exactly what we hope today for India" were also "stigmatized by the British as 'plotters and seditionists.'" Chandra emphasized the British government's long history of characterizing independence movements as anarchistic, writing that "when the American colonists dumped the British tea overboard in Boston harbor rather than pay an unjust tax thereon, King George III wrathfully exclaimed that such anarchy in America must be suppressed." Yet, as the hearings and the bureau's targeting of Indian anticolonialists made clear, in the eyes of the US state there were few, if any, commonalities between Indian and American revolutionaries. In labeling Indian anticolonialists as a "Hindu" menace, US officials refused to acknowledge Indian social, political, and economic subjugation under British colonial rule or to support their calls for the establishment of a democratic government in India. Rather, US and British officials framed the Indian anticolonial movement as an anarchistic rebellion in need of imperial discipline.[78]

Ultimately immigration officials were unsuccessful in establishing a precedent for the deportation of Indian anticolonialists as anarchists. Nonetheless, Indian anticolonialists were now under the scrutiny of

CHAPTER 4

Imperial Immigration Policy, Citizenship, and Ships of Revolution

I came from American territory [Manila, Philippine Islands] to American territory [Seattle, Washington], and it was with the understanding, on my part, that I had a perfect right to come over here.

Mohamed Khan (1911)

What is done with this shipload of my people will determine whether we shall have peace in all parts of the British Empire.

Gurdit Singh (1914)

On December 2, 1910, the SS *Minnesota* sailed into the Seattle harbor carrying nineteen Indian migrants from the Philippine islands who insisted that, because they had traveled from one part of the "United States" to another, they had a right to be admitted to the US mainland. Immigration inspectors, increasingly anxious that Asian migrants would begin using the Philippines as a "back door" entrance through which to gain entry to the US mainland, immediately issued deportation orders to the incoming migrants, claiming that because the labor market on the Pacific Coast was overcrowded and unfavorable to Asian laborers, they were likely to become public charges. Inspectors would quickly learn, however, that prohibiting entry to Indian migrants arriving from the Philippines would not be so simple. These migrants had not come from a foreign port, but from a US territory in which they had already gained legal entry. Theirs were the first of a series of immigration challenges over the next three years in which Indian migrants sought to circumvent discriminatory immigration policies and

practices at mainland ports by taking alternate routes across the American empire.[1]

Throughout the mid-to-late nineteenth century, the United States was engaged in military, diplomatic, and commercial actions across the Pacific in pursuit of "free" trade, often backed by US military power. While US president William McKinley may have couched the colonization of the Philippines in benevolent terms, his language of uplift and civilization obscured the practices of state violence and imperial conquest.[2] When Indian migrants began arriving in the United States, it had been only a few years since the country had officially declared victory against Filipino revolutionaries, though unofficially the war against them was still being waged a decade later. As the United States acquired territorial possessions and "stepping stones" to the markets of the Far East, migrants from across Asia retraced these routes as they traveled to the West. Between 1910 and 1913, Indians exploited the expanding borders of the United States to argue that their admittance to the Philippines meant that they were legally entitled to move freely within US borders.[3] In June 1913, however, immigration authorities used their executive powers to amend existing immigration policy without congressional approval, making it nearly impossible for Indian migrants to gain entry to the US mainland from the Philippines.

The following summer, 376 Indians aboard the *Komagata Maru* sailed into the waters of British Columbia (BC) determined to test the legality of the continuous journey law. Indians began challenging the law as soon as it was implemented in 1908 by arguing that in coming to Canada from Hong Kong, where the majority of Indian migrants stopped en route to British Columbia, they had never left the jurisdiction of the British empire and thus had traveled by continuous journey from their "country" of citizenship. Under the leadership of Gurdit Singh, a wealthy Sikh businessman who had spent the last twenty-five years in Malaya, Singapore, and Hong Kong, the *Komagata Maru* set sail for Canada from Hong Kong in April 1914, making stops along the way to pick up Indian passengers in Shanghai as well as the Japanese ports of Moji and Yokohama.

When the *Komagata Maru* sailed into Vancouver harbor on May 23, 1914, Canadian officials ordered the ship to anchor offshore. Immigration inspectors went on board to examine the passengers, admitting twenty who substantiated their claims of Canadian domicile and issuing deportation orders to the remainder.[4] While Canadian officials had hoped that their refusal to land the passengers would end the matter, the *Komagata Maru* remained in Vancouver harbor for a total of eight weeks, resulting in a highly publicized affair that captured the attention of Indians across North America, Africa, Europe, and India. The eyes of Indian anticolonialists across the world were focused on British Columbia, where Indians in

CHAPTER 4

Imperial Immigration Policy, Citizenship, and Ships of Revolution

I came from American territory [Manila, Philippine Islands] to American territory [Seattle, Washington], and it was with the understanding, on my part, that I had a perfect right to come over here.

Mohamed Khan (1911)

What is done with this shipload of my people will determine whether we shall have peace in all parts of the British Empire.

Gurdit Singh (1914)

On December 2, 1910, the SS *Minnesota* sailed into the Seattle harbor carrying nineteen Indian migrants from the Philippine islands who insisted that, because they had traveled from one part of the "United States" to another, they had a right to be admitted to the US mainland. Immigration inspectors, increasingly anxious that Asian migrants would begin using the Philippines as a "back door" entrance through which to gain entry to the US mainland, immediately issued deportation orders to the incoming migrants, claiming that because the labor market on the Pacific Coast was overcrowded and unfavorable to Asian laborers, they were likely to become public charges. Inspectors would quickly learn, however, that prohibiting entry to Indian migrants arriving from the Philippines would not be so simple. These migrants had not come from a foreign port, but from a US territory in which they had already gained legal entry. Theirs were the first of a series of immigration challenges over the next three years in which Indian migrants sought to circumvent discriminatory immigration policies and

practices at mainland ports by taking alternate routes across the American empire.[1]

Throughout the mid-to-late nineteenth century, the United States was engaged in military, diplomatic, and commercial actions across the Pacific in pursuit of "free" trade, often backed by US military power. While US president William McKinley may have couched the colonization of the Philippines in benevolent terms, his language of uplift and civilization obscured the practices of state violence and imperial conquest.[2] When Indian migrants began arriving in the United States, it had been only a few years since the country had officially declared victory against Filipino revolutionaries, though unofficially the war against them was still being waged a decade later. As the United States acquired territorial possessions and "stepping stones" to the markets of the Far East, migrants from across Asia retraced these routes as they traveled to the West. Between 1910 and 1913, Indians exploited the expanding borders of the United States to argue that their admittance to the Philippines meant that they were legally entitled to move freely within US borders.[3] In June 1913, however, immigration authorities used their executive powers to amend existing immigration policy without congressional approval, making it nearly impossible for Indian migrants to gain entry to the US mainland from the Philippines.

The following summer, 376 Indians aboard the *Komagata Maru* sailed into the waters of British Columbia (BC) determined to test the legality of the continuous journey law. Indians began challenging the law as soon as it was implemented in 1908 by arguing that in coming to Canada from Hong Kong, where the majority of Indian migrants stopped en route to British Columbia, they had never left the jurisdiction of the British empire and thus had traveled by continuous journey from their "country" of citizenship. Under the leadership of Gurdit Singh, a wealthy Sikh businessman who had spent the last twenty-five years in Malaya, Singapore, and Hong Kong, the *Komagata Maru* set sail for Canada from Hong Kong in April 1914, making stops along the way to pick up Indian passengers in Shanghai as well as the Japanese ports of Moji and Yokohama.

When the *Komagata Maru* sailed into Vancouver harbor on May 23, 1914, Canadian officials ordered the ship to anchor offshore. Immigration inspectors went on board to examine the passengers, admitting twenty who substantiated their claims of Canadian domicile and issuing deportation orders to the remainder.[4] While Canadian officials had hoped that their refusal to land the passengers would end the matter, the *Komagata Maru* remained in Vancouver harbor for a total of eight weeks, resulting in a highly publicized affair that captured the attention of Indians across North America, Africa, Europe, and India. The eyes of Indian anticolonialists across the world were focused on British Columbia, where Indians in

Vancouver and on board the *Komagata Maru* challenged racial discrimination by demanding that, as fellow subjects of the British empire, they were entitled to the same rights and protections as the white Canadians who excluded them.

This chapter traces the transpacific journeys of Indian migrants as they moved across the US and British empires from 1910 to 1914, contesting discriminatory immigration policies. The Philippines and *Komagata Maru* cases were the most publicized Indian challenges to restrictive immigration laws in North America in the early twentieth century and became the platform upon which Indians demanded the right of mobility across the Pacific as British subjects, even as they questioned the very meanings, practices, and limits of imperial citizenship. For Indians, migration across the American and British empires revealed that certain portions of the British and American empires were racially demarcated for white settlers and others for colonized subjects. Indians' resistance to imperial immigration policies and their efforts to make visible the racial separation of imperial spaces simultaneously marked them, in the eyes of British and US officials, as deviant subjects and subversive agitators. Officials linked Indian organizing against restrictive immigration laws to their earlier warnings that the Pacific Coast was becoming a center of sedition, where Indians were challenging and exploiting restrictive immigration policies to advance radical agendas. In these defiant acts, Indian migrants dramatized anticolonial struggle by linking the fate of Indian passengers on board ships bound for Canada and the US mainland to the broader movement for self-rule in India. It was through the suppression of multiple, persistent Indian challenges to US and Canadian immigration policies that white exclusionists, Pacific Coast immigration officials, and British authorities demarcated and enforced racial, national, and imperial borders against the "Hindu" menace.

INTRA-IMPERIAL MIGRATION, RACE, AND CITIZENSHIP

In December 1911, Teja Singh, Raja Singh, and Dr. Sundar Singh, delegates of the United India League and Khalsa Diwan Society in Vancouver, BC, sent a notice to the heart of the dominion government in Ottawa demanding that it "recognize the solemn promise made by their Majesties... that all their subjects shall be treated alike." Responding to the frustration and disillusionment of Indian migrants, who expected that their legal status as British subjects would be recognized across the British dominions and in the United States, the delegates maintained that it was wrong to classify Indians in Canada as "aliens."[5] In conclusion, the delegates

warned that India was "looking to Canada most anxiously as to her own present and future status," and that Canada's treatment of Indians would make clear if there was "one standard, or two, within the Empire of British subjects, interests, and privileges."[6] During the early decades of the twentieth century, Indians crossed national and imperial boundaries claiming that it was their "birth-right" to travel "from one part of the British Empire to the other." Contrary to expectations that they would be welcomed as British subjects, they discovered that neither the US government nor British white settler countries recognized them as equal subjects of the British crown, nor did they have an independent national government that would protect them from racial exclusion and violence abroad. Many Indian leaders came to see that their ambiguous political and legal status left them without rights and reinforced their economic, political, and social subjugation around the globe.[7]

The United India League's and Khalsa Diwan Society's communiqué to the dominion government in the winter of 1911 came on the heels of the most recent British imperial conference. While leaders from the self-governing dominions of the British empire had gathered in London to discuss intra-imperial concerns, colonies had been excluded from participation. In August 1911, Sundar Singh had published an angry response to the imperial conference in his Vancouver-based publication *The Aryan*, stating that it had left the status of Indians in British colonies untouched and had proven that to England, equal protection within the empire "begins and ends with Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa." Contrasting imperial policies that rarely interfered in the internal affairs of self-governing dominions with economic policies that treated India as nothing more than "a field of exploitation," Singh argued that while India "pays heavily for her place in the Empire...she is ignored when the affairs of the Empire come to be considered." Singh went on to criticize conference delegates who had "reaffirmed once more" that while Indians may be called British subjects, when they migrated to other parts of the empire they were treated as nothing more than "undesirable alien[s]."[8]

South Africa was an important site of Indian resistance in the early twentieth century and figured prominently in the anticolonial politics of Indians in North America. Between 1911 and 1913, Indian newspapers in British Columbia regularly reported on Indians in Natal and Transvaal who were challenging discriminatory immigration laws. By the end of the nineteenth century, more than 100,000 Indians were residing in South Africa, with over 50,000 in Natal. Whites in South Africa perceived the growing number of Indians as a threat to their own political and economic interests—particularly because Indians were beginning to buy property and were eligible to vote under Natal law—and felt constrained in their ability

to curb the economic rights of Indians or to disenfranchise them because of their status as subjects of the British crown. They were able, nonetheless, to adopt a series of measures to contain Indian economic prosperity and political influence, including enforcing vagrancy laws and strict sanitation codes against Indians. In September 1913, the Indo-Canadian publication *Sansar* reported on the Indian campaign to demand the removal of discriminatory immigration laws in South Africa, highlighting British fears that tens of thousands of Indians in the Transvaal and Natal had recently announced that unless their grievances were addressed they would organize a movement of passive resistance across South Africa.[9]

Amidst this campaign, Mohandas K. Gandhi first rose to prominence. In November 1913, the same month that the Ghadar Party was established, Gandhi gained worldwide publicity after leading striking Indian mine workers across the Natal border into the Transvaal to protest discriminatory legislation and to launch his program of *satyagraha* (nonviolent resistance). After officials arrested the workers and forced them back into the mines as prisoners, the outraged viceroy of India, Charles Hardinge, demanded an investigation, prompting Gandhi to write that had it not been for *satyagraha*, the South African government would have forced Indians out of the country. Indian leaders in Vancouver, Seattle, and San Francisco publicized events in Africa to contend that Indians in North America, as well as in "every colony of the British Empire," were struggling with the same questions of racial discrimination and injustice.[10]

Indians from South Africa to British Columbia used the queen's proclamation of 1858—which announced the sovereignty of the British crown over India and declared that all British subjects would "enjoy the equal and impartial protection" of British law—as a platform upon which to demand equal rights. They deployed the proclamation in ways that its authors never intended, namely to frame themselves as British citizens by appealing to universal notions of equality.[11] While the category of citizen did not formally appear in British nationality law then, the idea of a common and equal status across the empire had gained currency by the end of the nineteenth century. White settler countries, however, fought against any implication that this equality translated into equal citizenship rights for nonwhite subjects entering their respective countries.[12] While Indians appealed to a common identity with their fellow British subjects across the empire, white settler colonists consistently disavowed such a shared identity and demanded the right to determine their own racially exclusive immigration policies. Intra-imperial migration and Indian demands that Britain and the United States recognize their rights under the British crown exposed the link between "whiteness" and entitlement to such rights and protections. At the same time, the concept of imperial citizenship provided Indians with

a political vocabulary with which to challenge racial discrimination across the British empire and within the United States.[13]

In the summer of 1911, Indians in Canada launched a vigorous campaign against restrictive Canadian immigration laws by using the issue of family reunification. Both American and Canadian exclusionists who decried the "tide of turbans" on the Pacific Coast worried about the possibility of women's migration from India.[14] In May 1910, the *San Francisco Call* warned that Indian women would be the next group of "invaders" to "swarm to California," despite there being only four Indian women in California at the time. Meanwhile, Indians in British Columbia argued that Canadian officials were unjustly applying the continuous journey provision to prohibit the reunification of Indian families and they used the migration of Indian women and children to attack the continuous journey provision on two fronts. First, they argued that by boarding ships for Canada in Hong Kong, these families had not left British territory and therefore had traveled by continuous journey from their country of citizenship. Second, Indian leaders used the family reunification struggle to gain the attention of and forge alliances with sympathetic church and missionary organizations across Canada, who opposed efforts to separate families.[15]

The first family to test the continuous journey policy was that of Hira Singh, whose wife and three-year-old daughter arrived in Vancouver on July 21, 1911. Although inspectors admitted Hira Singh as a returning migrant, his wife and daughter were issued deportation orders for violating the continuous journey provision. Indians in Vancouver mobilized around the case and warned British officials to consider the ramifications that the treatment of Indians abroad would have on nationalists in India, adding that it was no surprise that "our fellow-subjects in India agitate against the government they suppose [is] doing this."[16] The following month, Ottawa intervened, allowing Hira Singh's family to land as a "matter of grace." Spy William C. Hopkinson promptly complained that Indians would use the case of Hira Singh's family to establish a precedent in their favor.[17]

The second test case would come a year later when Bhag Singh and Balwant Singh returned to Canada with their wives and daughters. Bhag Singh had served in the British India cavalry and had worked for the police force in Hankow, China, before coming to Vancouver in 1905. He became secretary of the Guru Nanak Mining and Trust Company and, in May 1910, returned to India for a visit. When he came back to Canada on January 21, 1912, he brought his wife and infant daughter with him. Immigration officials immediately rejected both as being in violation of the continuous journey provision, while Bhag Singh was granted entry as a returning migrant. On the same day, immigration officials denied entry to Balwant Singh's wife, Kartar Kaur, and their young daughters for violating the continuous

journey law, while Balwant was allowed entry as a returning migrant. Balwant Singh had served as a soldier in the British Indian army for ten years before arriving in Vancouver via Hong Kong in June 1906. He was a *granthi* (priest) at the Vancouver *gurdwara* and had taken a prominent role in negotiations regarding Canadian and British efforts to relocate Indians in BC to British Honduras in 1908.[18]

The cases of Bhag Singh and Balwant Singh's wives, Harnam Kaur and Kartar Kaur, attracted the attention of Canadian social reformers who believed that the "uncivilized" customs of Indian men could be resolved through the reunification of families. The editors of the *Toronto Star* wrote that the enforced separation of families was "unjust and immoral" and criticized the dominion government's stand on the issue as "openly racial" and contrary to "the whole theory of our civilization."[19] Social reformers saw family life and its proscribed gender roles as crucial to citizenship and central to their mission of "uplifting" certain races. As the Parkdale Presbyterian Church in Toronto insisted, the separation of families created "serious hindrances" for Indians who seek to become "satisfied and useful citizens of Canada."[20] By incorporating progressive reformers' gendered discourses of civilization into their own political struggles, Indian migrants both exploited and reinforced the racialized and gendered boundaries of citizenship. Indians suggested that the arguments of those who claimed that they were undesirable citizens were being legitimated by their inability to bring their wives and children into the dominion and thus to build communities based on nuclear families. Anti-Asian rhetoric in the early twentieth century often denigrated the "bachelor communities" that Indians and other Asians lived in, casting these spaces as sites of immorality and vice.[21] Yet immigration policies made it extremely difficult for men to bring their wives and children to North America and thus created the very bachelor communities that officials then used to justify their calls for exclusion.

Although the Canadian government ultimately conceded to the demands of Indian leaders and admitted Kartar Kaur and Harnam Kaur, officials later stated that "this act of grace did little towards modifying the antagonistic attitude of these men towards the Canadian or British Governments."[22] While British and Canadian officials initially believed that allowing entry to the wives of two prominent Indian leaders would appease migrants, they later speculated that doing so only exacerbated their political agitation, for it encouraged Indians to push forward in their demands that the continuous journey provision was discriminatory, unjust, and should be repealed. In their own correspondence, Canadian officials admitted that if Indian migrants confronted them with the question of British citizenship, their reliance upon the continuous journey provision could not stand. In September 1913, W. D. Scott, the Canadian superintendent

of immigration, acknowledged that "British citizenship in all British Crown colonies is exactly the same as British citizenship in the United Kingdom, and, therefore, a British citizen of India would also be a British citizen of any other British Crown colony." Scott confidentially acknowledged that Indians who purchased one ticket from any Indian port to Hong Kong and another ticket from Hong Kong to Vancouver were indeed "coming from the country of their citizenship."[23] Yet, despite their organizing efforts, Indians were unable to force Canadian officials to repeal the continuous journey provision and allow their families to join them in Canada.

During the winter of 1913, the Vancouver branch of the Khalsa Diwan Society sent a letter of protest to Ottawa to both outline its grievances and inform dominion officials that, because Indian requests to repeal the continuous journey provision had been repeatedly ignored, the society was sending a delegation to Ottawa, London, and India to press its case. The delegates were Balwant Singh, who had just been involved in the family reunification campaign; Nand Singh Sihra, a recipient of the Guru Gobind Singh Sahib educational scholarship at University of California, Berkeley, in 1912; and Narain Singh, who was unknown to British and Canadian authorities when he was selected as part of the delegation but later "made himself conspicuous by urging Indians to return to India and to take part in a revolution." According to British police authorities, the delegates "were dangerous men" determined to "stir up mischief in India."[24] When the delegation reached England they requested an interview with the colonial secretary, Lewis Harcourt, who refused to see them. As Ghadar Party leader Sohan Singh Bhakna later explained, Harcourt's unwillingness to meet with the delegation was interpreted as a clear insult and "an expression of a conceited and arrogant policy of British imperialism towards Indians and their demands." It was also proof that the imperial government supported Canada's policy of exclusion against Indians and the dominion's efforts to keep "Canada a purely white country."[25]

After imperial authorities refused to recognize the delegation in Ottawa and London, the men proceeded to Punjab in the summer of 1913, where they described to fellow Punjabis the widespread exclusion and discrimination that they were experiencing on the North American Pacific Coast. According to British police officials F. C. Isemonger and James Slattery, "at the time the exact importance of the visit of these delegates to India was not fully realised, but it is now apparent that it formed a distinct step in the development of the revolutionary movement and was intended to establish a link of sympathy between Indians at home and emigrants abroad."[26] The lieutenant-governor of Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, later claimed that the delegates were "advance agents" of the Ghadar Party, whose "object was to arouse public opinion in India to the hardships of the Canadian

immigration laws." According to O'Dwyer, while the meetings held by the delegates in Punjab were initially based on "reasonable criticisms of the immigration laws," their messages became increasingly "menacing and inflammatory." O'Dwyer warned the delegates in person that if their seditious speeches continued, he "would be compelled to take serious action." O'Dwyer later claimed that a year after the delegates returned to Canada "the Ghadr storm had burst over the Province" and he was convinced that the leaders of the delegation had actively been spreading sedition in Punjab during their visit.[27]

Members of the delegation presented their grievances before the viceroy and the Indian National Congress (INC) with little consequence and in October 1913 they returned to British Columbia on the SS *Panama Maru* with forty-three Indians, thirty-nine of whom had never been to Canada. Canadian immigration inspectors used the continuous journey provision to deny them entry to the dominion, and the migrants hired attorney J. Edward Bird to appeal their cases. Bird enacted habeas corpus proceedings and successfully took their case to the British Columbia Supreme Court, where, much to the alarm of Canadian officials, Chief Justice Gordon Hunter released the migrants on a technicality, ruling that the orders in council were "faulty," in that the language of the legislation was inconsistent with the statutes.[28]

The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* reported that the court's decision was the culmination of a three-year fight "in which the Hindus have carried their petitions not only through the Canadian courts but to the foot of the Empire's throne in London."[29] The *Vancouver Province*, meanwhile, wrote that the "Hindu problem" had now assumed "a most serious and menacing aspect."[30] In response to the ruling, Canadian officials immediately enacted a temporary measure that prohibited the admission of all laborers from December 8, 1913, to March 31, 1914. Canadian immigration inspector Malcolm Reid later admitted to US commissioner-general of immigration Anthony Caminetti that while the legislation was not discriminatory on its face, it was "directed against the Hindus."[31] The ruling alarmed US immigration authorities and Pacific Coast congressmen, who worried that if Canada relaxed its immigration laws, it would "be possible for thousands of Hindus" to gain entry to the dominion and then cross the border into the United States, resulting in, according to Washington congressman Albert Johnson, "an invasion that may occur in numbers positively startling."[32]

Following the implementation of the newly enacted immigration restrictions in Canada, Indians in British Columbia began realizing that it was useless for them to appeal to the Canadian government for equitable treatment. Some furiously declared their intention to return to India "with flames in their hearts," prompting Canadian officials to warn that Indian migration

was taking on a dangerous political dimension in which Indians were challenging and exploiting Canadian immigration policies to fuel their radical anticolonial movement. In January 1914, the Canadian superintendent of immigration warned that "the Hindu question" was being "kept before the colonial office by a coterie of professional agitators whose agitation would be more likely to continue if any concessions are made than it would be if the Government decides to stand firm in the enforcement of existing regulations."[33] Conflating Indian resistance to discriminatory immigration laws with the threat of Indian radicalism, Canadian officials insisted that Indian agitation necessitated the implementation of even harsher immigration restrictions.

News of the thirty-nine migrants who had successfully, if only temporarily, challenged Canadian immigration laws in the late fall of 1913 reached Indians in Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Japan who were looking for a way to get to North America. Many had left Punjab hoping to enter the United States through the Philippines, but US immigration officials had closed this route to the US mainland during the summer of 1913. In response, Indians enacted legal proceedings in Seattle and San Francisco and a broad political campaign along the Pacific Coast to challenge US imperial immigration policy.[34]

"STEPPING STONES" TO THE UNITED STATES: THE PHILIPPINES QUESTION

The movement of Indians from the Philippines to the US mainland first came to the Bureau of Immigration's attention a decade after US colonization of the Philippine islands, when nineteen Indians from Manila arrived in Seattle in December 1910. Due to the stringency with which immigration officials were enforcing the public charge clause at Pacific Coast immigration stations, many Indian migrants began traveling to the Philippines first, where it was much easier to gain entry and where they found work as merchants, businessmen, watchmen, farmers, and laborers. Indians admitted to the Philippines soon began arriving in Seattle and San Francisco citing US immigration laws that stated that any immigrant admitted to the Philippines was eligible to enter the mainland without additional examination.[35]

In the summer of 1910, immigration officials worried that Indians were finding "back door" entries to circumvent restrictive immigration policies on the US mainland by landing in Honolulu and thus evading the strict examinations in San Francisco. By gaining entry to Hawaii, where plantation owners welcomed their labor, Indians had the right to enter a US mainland

port without having to undergo further inspection. On September 27, 1910, San Francisco immigration officials were forced to admit twenty-five Indians from Honolulu, prompting the *San Francisco Examiner* to warn that "the success of this party in reaching the mainland with so little difficulty is expected to result in the swarming of Hindus to this city over the same route, unless the Honolulu authorities pattern after the immigration officials of San Francisco and Puget Sound cities and make such strict examination that those of the East India[n] men who are physically unfit or 'likely to become public charges' will be turned back." In the fall of 1910, federal immigration authorities revised immigration policy to require that all immigrants undergo a second examination before obtaining certificates to leave Hawaii. Immigration officials in Hawaii thereafter began denying certificates to large numbers of Indians seeking to proceed to Seattle and San Francisco, based on the claim that they were likely to become public charges if they proceeded to the US mainland.[36]

In early December 1910, the nineteen detained Indians who had traveled aboard the SS *Minnesota* from the Philippines hired Herbert W. Myers, a well-known Seattle attorney, to appeal their cases. Myers argued that because officials in the Philippines had examined the migrants upon their arrival they had been lawfully admitted to the United States and could not be subjected to a second examination under existing immigration law. He went on to assert that in coming to the US mainland from the US territory of the Philippine islands, the migrants in question were simply traveling "from one section of our country to another" and were therefore "subject to different disposition than those who have come from a foreign port." Finally, Myers disputed the validity of the public charge accusations by highlighting the property that many of these migrants held in the agricultural regions of Punjab, their familial and kinship networks along the Pacific Coast, and the demand for labor in the lumber mills of the Pacific Northwest. Myers concluded that immigration officials were going "out of [their] way to exclude men who have *once been rightfully admitted* in the country and who, under the law," could not be rejected.[37]

The efforts of US immigration authorities to deport Indians seeking entry from the Philippines convinced Indians on the Pacific Coast of the need to organize an extensive campaign to test the legality of the immigration department's actions, particularly its reliance upon the public charge law. They began appearing regularly at the Seattle and San Francisco immigration stations to testify that they had easily found work upon their arrival on the Pacific Coast and had been employed ever since. On December 30, 1910, Balla Singh testified before immigration inspectors on behalf of his nephew, Bakshi Singh, and his brother Bub Singh, both of whom were being detained in the Seattle immigration station. Presenting a deed as

proof that he owned property in Vancouver, British Columbia, worth over $3000, Balla Singh offered to put up money as a guarantee to the government that his relatives would not become public charges. Additionally, he told the immigration inspectors that he knew "of many places where these nineteen Hindoos who are being held could get employment at this time." Bier Singh of Tacoma also traveled to the Seattle immigration station to testify that he could give fifteen of the migrants work immediately in the St. Paul Mill where he was employed.[38]

As part of his appeal for a rehearing, Myers called upon Indian leaders Taraknath Das and Suren M. Bose to offer testimony on the migrants' behalf. Citing the research he had collected for his graduate work at the University of Washington, for which he had conducted an extensive survey of labor conditions on the Pacific Coast and found that Indian labor was "in great demand in the United States," Das insisted that he could "easily get work" for the detained migrants. Additionally, he testified that most Indians in the Seattle region were employed and had substantial savings in local banks. Finally, Das stated his intention to deposit with the US government a deed for the fifteen acres of property that he owned in order "to guarantee that these men will not become public charges." Meanwhile, Suren M. Bose, a Stanford graduate who was visiting Seattle on a lecture tour, challenged immigration authorities "to find a single case" of an Indian in the United States who had become a public charge.[39]

Alarmed by the prospect of a regular migration route from Manila to the US mainland, Commissioner-General Daniel Keefe and Seattle immigration inspector Ellis De Bruler began devising strategies to deport the nineteen detained migrants and to prohibit future migration from the Philippines. In late January 1911, Keefe wrote to the acting secretary of commerce and labor to impress upon him the concerns that the case raised, particularly addressing the different standards of admission in territories under US jurisdiction. Keefe worried that the assumption "that aliens admitted to so distant a part of the 'United States' as the Philippines" intended to remain there had led "to less exacting standards of examination" in Manila. He argued that had it been known that the Indians admitted to the Philippines would go on to Seattle, "they doubtless would have been excluded (and properly) as 'likely to become a public charge.'" To address the different standards of admission applied to immigrants across the American empire, Keefe insisted that the status of Indians who had been in the Philippines for less than three years was "probationary" and that immigration authorities could arrest and deport them under the public charge law. Referring to Indian migration from the Philippines as an immigration matter that had "given the Bureau considerable trouble," Keefe urged the Immigration Bureau to implement his outlined policy for deporting the

Indian migrants, insisting that they were not entitled to enter the US mainland simply because they had gained entry in Manila.[40]

Secretary of commerce and labor Charles Nagel, however, had reservations about Keefe's recommendations. For Secretary Nagel, the question was not one of admission, because immigration officials in the Philippines had already admitted Indian migrants to the United States, but rather of deportation. Meanwhile, the legal counsel to the Department of Commerce and Labor warned the department that it was dangerously close to acting outside the law in the Philippines cases. In January 1911, M. Smith, an attorney in Washington, DC, advised the Bureau of Immigration that after examining the records of the nineteen migrants who had arrived in Seattle the previous month he had concluded that, in being admitted to the Philippines, the "Hindoos in question have been admitted into the United States" and thus the department was without jurisdiction in reviewing the case.[41] According to Smith, if a migrant had been admitted into any part of the United States, including the Philippine islands, the department could no longer consider him an "alien immigrant," nor could it "without doing violence to the law, now take jurisdiction of their cases, and hold either that they are at some other place in the United States 'alien immigrants,' or that the Philippine authorities had no right to admit them to this country."[42]

In a March 1911 memorandum responding to Keefe's proposed deportation of the nineteen detained Indians, Secretary Nagel stated, "I can not bring myself to believe that such a course would be a fair enforcement of the law."[43] Nagel decided that migrants already admitted to the Philippines "cannot be subjected to a second examination when applying at a mainland port because they have already been examined and landed by authorized officials at a Philippine port [and] are therefore *within the 'United States.'*" Concluding that, under current immigration policy, those who had legally entered US insular possessions had the right to proceed to any part of the US mainland, Nagel dismissed the warrants and admitted the nineteen migrants to Seattle.[44]

Nagel's decision not to deport the detained migrants stemmed from his concern that, in doing so, immigration officials would be acting outside the law. Instead, he called upon Congress to pass legislation that authorized immigration inspectors on the US mainland to reexamine migrants coming from the Philippines. In early February 1911, Nagel wrote to the chairmen of the Senate and House Committees on Immigration and Naturalization to discuss the importance of finding an effective remedy to the question of Indian migration from the Philippines. He suggested that both chairmen convince their respective committees of the need to secure immigration legislation that distinguished between the mainland of the United States and its insular possessions in order to prohibit Indian migrants from taking

advantage of current immigration policy, which did not prohibit them from proceeding to the mainland.[45] In addition to agreeing with Indian migrants that they had in fact been legally admitted to the United States when they gained entry to the Philippines, Nagel suggested something even more alarming to his colleagues in immigration offices around the country: existing immigration law did not distinguish between the domestic space of the US mainland and the colonial space of the Philippines.

In the summer of 1912, Commissioner-General Keefe wrote to the secretary of commerce and labor's office about a new case involving thirty-three Indians who had landed in Seattle on May 30, 1912. That same month, the office of the solicitor in the Department of Commerce and Labor had prepared a memorandum stating that any person "who may lawfully enter the Philippines may lawfully enter the mainland of the United States." While acknowledging that many Indians who would be denied admission at a US mainland port were "enabled to enter the mainland by first securing admission to the Philippines and then coming here," the solicitor's office advised the department that in order to prevent the entry of Indians to the US mainland it should adopt two measures. First, the department should ask US officials in the Philippines to inspect immigrants according to the same standards used on the mainland. Second, the department should press Congress to pass additional legislation authorizing immigration inspectors on the US mainland to reexamine the migrants upon their arrival at Pacific Coast ports.[46]

Commissioner-General Keefe urged the secretary of commerce and labor to write to the War Department in Manila, who had jurisdiction over immigration matters in the Philippines, "to ascertain what, if anything, that Department is willing to do in the direction of discouraging the immigration of Hindus or other undesirable aliens from the Philippines to the mainland."[47] The following week, the acting secretary of commerce and labor wrote to the War Department to express his concern that immigration officials in the Philippines were using a different set of standards from the Bureau of Immigration when inspecting incoming migrants. Emphasizing that the policy of the immigration service on the mainland was to refuse admission to as many Indians as possible, he suggested that immigration officials in the Philippines "take every possible step to prevent or at least to discourage the embarkation of Hindus at Manila for the mainland of the United States."[48] Immigration authorities on the Pacific Coast began to recognize the importance of coordinating their efforts to exclude Indians with officials across the American empire. While different standards and practices of inspection and entry could be followed in different parts of the empire, policies had to be put in place that ensured that those gaining entry to territories like Hawaii and the Philippines would not be guaranteed entry

to the US mainland. Thus, US immigration officials across the Pacific were asked to make every effort to ensure that Indians legally gaining entry to imperial territories were prohibited from proceeding to the US mainland.

The secretary of war's office responded that it would be happy to cooperate with the Department of Commerce and Labor and that insular officials would extend to the islands the same rules for admission applied at the mainland ports. However, Indian migrants who were already in the Philippines posed another problem, and immigration authorities on the US mainland worried that Indians in Manila would continue to gain entry at Pacific Coast ports. In April 1913, Commissioner-General Keefe emphasized to the secretary's office that the bureau had considered "the matter serious and is calling for prompt and vigorous action."[49] Even though the number of Indians arriving from the Philippines between December 1910 and the summer of 1913 did not exceed 500, immigration officials in Pacific Coast ports warned that, unless immediate measures were taken, "a horde of East Indians will invade our shores."[50]

While Secretary Nagel was unwilling to take extralegal measures to deport Indian migrants from the Philippines, his successor, William B. Wilson, asserted his executive power to prohibit further migration from the islands without congressional approval. In a memorandum sent to the newly appointed secretary of labor in April 1913, Commissioner-General Keefe outlined a proposal that led to a critical amendment of existing immigration policy that summer. Highlighting sections 20 and 21 of the Immigration Act of February 1907, Keefe contended that the secretary of labor had the authority to arrest and deport any migrant who entered the United States in violation of the law within three years after entry. Therefore, if the secretary of labor determined at any time within three years that a migrant belonged to an excludable class at the time of entry into the country, he could arrest and deport the migrant. According to Keefe, it had "already been shown [that] the general conditions which confront Hindus admitted to the mainland are such as to make them quite likely to become public charges." Keefe urged the secretary of labor to deport any migrant who arrived at a US mainland port who had been in the Philippines for less than three years for being "likely to become a public charge" at the time of their entry if they continued their migration to the mainland. He was confident that the department would not have to engage in lengthy deportation battles after the implementation of this new policy, "for as soon as the Hindus in the Philippines learned that it was very difficult to enter the mainland they would doubtless cease their efforts to come."[51]

During the summer of 1913, Indian migrants from the Philippines and Hong Kong continued to arrive in Seattle and San Francisco. That summer Anthony Caminetti took over the post as commissioner-general

Figure 4.1 Two Sikh passengers on the deck of the SS *Minnesota* in Seattle, June 1913. Courtesy of Washington State Historical Society.

Figure 4.2 Indian migrants in the Seattle harbor in June 1913. Courtesy of Washington State Historical Society.

of immigration, and like Keefe, he urged the department to conduct a second inspection of Indian migrants from the Philippines upon landing at mainland ports. On June 16, 1913, Secretary of Labor Wilson and Commissioner-General Caminetti made a "far-reaching amendment" to Rule 14 of the immigration regulations that authorized immigration officials at mainland ports "to reject aliens coming from insular possessions unless it should appear that at the time of entry they were not members of the excluded classes or persons 'likely to become a public charge.'" The amendment, in effect, required all migrants reaching continental ports via Puerto Rico, Hawaii, or the Philippines to be reexamined upon landing on the US mainland. Migrants arriving at continental ports would be permitted to land provided they were not members of the excluded classes or likely to become public charges at the time they were admitted to the insular possessions if they proceeded to the mainland. If immigration officials believed that the incoming migrants were likely to become public charges, they were to arrest and deport them for entering the United States in violation of the law. Additionally, immigration authorities approached at least two steamship companies requesting that they cease transportation of Indians to the US mainland from the Philippine Islands pending the passage of a comprehensive exclusion law by Congress.[52]

While the amendment to Rule 14 effectively halted further Indian migration from the Philippines, over the next few years the department would engage in a legal battle regarding several hundred Indians who arrived in Seattle and San Francisco soon after the Bureau of Immigration had implemented the amendment. In September 1913, 200 migrants landed in Seattle from Manila, seventy-seven of whom were issued deportation orders for being in the United States in violation of the public charge law. Claiming that immigration inspectors were unlawfully seeking to deport them, the detained migrants hired Herbert W. Myers to appeal the deportation orders. As part of his appeal, Myers argued that the Indians' admission to the Philippines before the passage of the June amendment meant that they could not be subjected to the provisions of the amendment. On September 10, 1913, however, a federal judge in Seattle denied their petition for habeas corpus, claiming that the final determination of decisions regarding entry into or deportation from the country rested not with the courts but with the secretary of the Department of Labor, whose decisions were not subject to judicial review.[53]

In response, Indians in Seattle and Vancouver organized an extensive campaign to test the legality of the Immigration Department's actions. Some of their protests were based on appeals to their status as British subjects. As one writer in the *Indian Emigrant* stated, "we, as loyal subjects of H.M. King George V, do not want to be insulted in the way as we

are being treated by the Immigration Departments of the U.S.A. and the Philippine islands."[54] On September 29, 1913, the Vancouver branch of the Khalsa Diwan Society and the United India League organized a meeting in Vancouver at which nearly 200 Indians gathered to discuss the Philippines cases. One speaker implored Indian residents of British Columbia to aid the migrants by showing that immigration officials had no basis for their claims that these migrants would become public charges. He urged, "you have made a lot of money in this country and now is the time to spend some to assist your brothers in Seattle." Migrants raised nearly $25,000 at the September meeting to use for both legal funds and to prove to the Bureau of Immigration that Indian organizations were committed to protecting migrants from becoming public charges. Representatives at the meeting also forwarded their resolution to the British ambassador in Washington, DC, demanding that he protect their right to enter and settle in the United States as British subjects.[55]

Various speakers at the meeting attacked Commissioner-General Caminetti and Secretary of Labor Wilson's extralegal measures, insisting that the Immigration Department had exceeded its jurisdiction by forcing migrants to endure a second examination, thereby treating them as if they had never set foot on American soil. Additionally, they expressed their frustrations with immigration policies that concentrated so much power in the hands of the secretary of labor, whose rulings were nearly impossible to appeal. Accusing the secretary of labor of being "biased from the start," speakers described the racial prejudice that Pacific Coast immigration inspectors had directed against them since their earliest days of migration.[56]

The following day, William C. Hopkinson, who had attended the meeting, sent a detailed surveillance report to John Zurbrick, the US immigration inspector in Vancouver. Hopkinson was particularly alarmed by Husain Rahim's fiery speech during which he had "condemned the high handed action of the U.S. immigration officials as being somewhat similar to that handed out to him in his case by the Canadian Immigration authorities," when they had unsuccessfully tried to deport him earlier that year. Rahim emphasized, however, that he had successfully challenged the case in the Canadian courts and thus advised Indians to assist in "every way possible monetarily or otherwise in fighting the case on behalf of their brothers now detained at Seattle." He stressed the importance of getting the case into the courts, where Indians hoped to secure entry for the detained migrants and test the legality of the amendment to Rule 14.[57]

Hopkinson had become actively involved in the Philippines issue in February 1912, when he warned US immigration officials of "a concerted movement" on the part of Indians on the Pacific Coast to "induce Hindu immigration to Manila" and then to Seattle and San Francisco. By 1912,

very few Indians arrived directly from India to the US mainland, as they had received word that immigration inspectors were manipulating the public charge law to exclude them. As Hopkinson wrote, "the only easy method of entry now left to them appears to be the Philippine Islands."[58] In early September 1913, Hopkinson wrote to John Clark, the US commissioner of immigration in Montreal, about a letter he had intercepted from the Indian radical Guru Dutt Kumar to Taraknath Das. Kumar had left Vancouver for Manila in May 1913 hoping to establish a base for revolutionary work in East Asia. According to Hopkinson, Kumar also intended to "encourage Hindu immigration into the United States," prompting Commissioner-General Caminetti to express deep concern about the "systematized emigration and immigration of Hindus" to the US mainland.[59] Within two years Manila would be a critical node in the Indian anticolonial movement. In May 1915, the British consul-general in Manila wrote to the viceroy of India to report that Ghadar Party leader Bhagwan Singh was reportedly engaged in disseminating revolutionary propaganda to Indians, addressing small meetings, and collecting money for the Ghadar cause in Manila. Indians in Manila were also receiving copies of *Ghadar* and sending the banned paper on to India wrapped inside local papers and "addressed not to the intended recipients, whose correspondence might be examined, but to unsuspected and inactive sympathizers, who would arrange for the transmission" of the revolutionary periodical across India.[60]

In December 1913, the *Washington Post* ran an article on Commissioner-General Caminetti's recent trip to British Columbia to confer with Canadian officials about the problem of Indian migration and the threat of Indian revolutionaries in the Philippines. The article celebrated US immigration officials for protecting the nation by "endeavoring to prevent a secret organization, with headquarters at Manila, from flooding the Pacific Coast States with Hindu laborers."[61] During congressional hearings in the spring of 1914 to discuss the restriction of "Hindu Laborers" to the United States, Caminetti again expressed concern that "Hindus coming to America…do not come direct from India; they leave India and seek entrance into the Philippines for the purpose of making that a stepping-stone to admission to the United States."[62] While the efforts of immigration authorities to restrict Indian migration from the Philippines were consistent with the Bureau of Immigration's long-standing practices of anti-Asian racism and efforts to extralegally exclude the majority of incoming Indians since 1909, Caminetti's warnings about this migration route illustrate that officials were also concerned about the possible links between Indian migration from the Philippines and Indian political agitation.

One of the few cases in which the British embassy intervened in the Philippines cases was that of Inder Singh, a Sikh priest coming from

Manila to serve in the Stockton *gurdwara*. Singh arrived in San Francisco in October 1913 and was ordered deported under the public charge law. The British embassy contacted the secretary of labor's office asking that Inder Singh be landed, as the object of his mission was said to be purely religious and educational. The secretary of labor responded that as long as the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society, which had already submitted an affidavit claiming that Inder Singh would be supported financially by its members, could offer proof of Inder Singh's employment, the warrant for arrest would be canceled. San Francisco-based immigration inspector Samuel Backus, however, was convinced that the Khalsa Diwan Society was not solely a religious or social organization, but was "actively engaged in furnishing funds for Hindus to come to the United States in order that they may be educated and return to India for the purpose of engaging in a revolutionary movement against the British Government."[63] Backus warned the bureau not to take its eyes off of this subversive group that, Backus believed, was primarily focused on propagating anti-British agitation.

At the same time that Indian leaders in Vancouver and Seattle were organizing on behalf of the seventy-three Indians detained in the Seattle immigration office, Indians in California were undertaking a similar legal battle regarding twenty-two migrants from the Philippines who were being detained in San Francisco. The cases of detained migrants in California would be the platform upon which Indian leaders would challenge both the vast power of the secretary of labor and the department's larger policy of excluding Indian migrants under the public charge clause. They hired attorney Henry Marshall, who initially focused his case on disputing the department's claim that the detained migrants were likely to become public charges if landed. He offered substantial evidence to dispute the public charge accusations, including the affidavits of white employers who insisted that they were in desperate need of labor. Marshall also presented numerous affidavits of Indians living and working in California, many of whom cited their economic success in California as agriculturalists and insisted that there were ample jobs for Indian workers in the state. Additionally, he used the affidavits of various Indian leaders and the relatives of detained migrants, all of whom promised to assume financial responsibility for the migrants.

One such example was Tara Singh, secretary of the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society, who insisted that he and other Indian migrants had organized religious and benevolent societies "for the purpose of assisting the members of our race." Hari Singh, a student at the Agricultural College of Oregon in Corvallis who had previously worked as an interpreter for the US government at Angel Island, claimed that he had traveled extensively in California studying the working and living conditions of Indian migrants and was confident that "all of these men can immediately secure profitable

and continuous employment in this state." He cited the successes of various Indian migrants who had purchased real estate in Sacramento and Point Richmond, where they had invested nearly $40,000 in property, as proof that racial prejudice had not prevented Indians in California from gaining profitable employment.[64]

Like Tara and Hari, Rur Singh traveled to Angel Island to testify that he, like many Indians who had begun appearing at the Seattle and San Francisco immigration stations on behalf of the detained migrants, had the means to financially support friends and relatives. Rur Singh had been in the United States for over six years and before that had lived in England, New Zealand, and Australia, and was fluent in English, Persian, Maori, Malay, and some French. As the proprietor of the Khalsa Hotel in Stockton, California, he claimed to earn between $125 and $200 per month. He was also engaged in the wholesale grocery business and traded with Indian work camps in the San Joaquin Valley. In addition to his investments, he had about $4000 deposited in the Stockton Savings & Loan Society Bank and the First Federal Trust Company of San Francisco.[65]

In spite of these testimonials and affidavits, Indian migrants arriving from the Philippines continued to be detained and were growing increasingly angry. Narain Singh, who was arrested by immigration inspectors at Angel Island upon landing from Manila, told immigration inspectors, "I am not at all sure that I shall desire to stay in this country, if my imprisonment by the immigration authorities is a fair sample of the treatment I may expect."[66] Some migrants strategically countered the department's basis for excluding them by insisting that they were not laborers. At his examination, Dhian Singh stated that he had come to the United States to purchase property and farm on his own land. As he claimed, "I do not desire to work as a mere laborer or coolie. I have laborers working for me at home on my own land, so why should I, who have been a private officer for the Vivian Company in Shanghai, become a coolie here in America."[67]

In the summer of 1913, inspector Samuel Backus wrote to the Bureau of Immigration in Washington, DC, asking to be involved in the cases of the detained Indians at Angel Island. Although Marshall presented extensive evidence of a demand for Indian labor on the Pacific Coast, Backus insisted that he could provide evidence to the contrary. However, Backus claimed that he needed time to secure such evidence and proceeded to gather materials for the department's case after the Board of Special Inquiry had concluded the initial hearings, prompting attorneys working on behalf of the twenty-two detained Indians to argue that their clients had not received a fair hearing.[68]

With the Immigration Bureau's approval, Backus sent an immigration inspector out to the agricultural towns where the large majority of Indians

in California were employed. The inspector collected affidavits from city officials, mayors, police chiefs, and labor representatives to prove the bureau's claim that Indian migrants were likely to become public charges. Backus provided an extensive file of affidavits and newspaper clippings that highlighted the racial prejudice of California residents who were "decidedly against the Hindus."[69] Those affidavits that addressed the question of Indian labor, however, largely undermined the department's own case. For example, the inspector included an affidavit from E. C. Hamilton, the manager of the Sacramento Valley Sugar Company, who said that without "the Hindu during the last two or three years I believe it would have been impossible for us to have gotten our work done." The immigration inspector also reported that Indian workers in Marysville and Sacramento had recently sent two money orders to India in the amount of $21,940 and $66,000.[70] Ultimately, Backus's evidence lent little credibility to the bureau's assertion that Indians were likely to become public charges and instead highlighted the extent to which the agricultural industry in California relied upon the labor of Indian migrants, as well as the economic successes of many Indian agriculturalists.

Though Marshall's initial request for a rehearing in the cases of the twenty-two detained migrants was denied, in the fall of 1913, appellant attorneys John McNab and Timothy Healy appealed the cases, requesting that the US District Court of Northern California review the actions of the Department of Commerce and Labor on three grounds. First, the department's procedure in reopening the record to produce additional evidence on behalf of its own case meant that the detained migrants had not received a fair hearing. The attorneys insisted that the department had inserted into the record a vast amount of irrelevant evidence that was "purely the expression of biased individuals and organizations bitterly opposed to all forms of Oriental labor." Second, the department had not proven that the migrants were likely to become public charges. McNab and Healy countered Backus's evidence by producing additional affidavits of both white and Indian employers guaranteeing immediate employment to those being detained. Carson Cook, the general manager of a company that owned over 20,000 acres of farming land in California, testified that he could employ up to thirty Indians immediately. He complained that the bureau's "policy of shutting out Chinese, Japanese, and Hindoos, is working a great hardship on the owners of these lands," who were "now facing a shortage of labor." Other Indians who farmed leased agricultural land also submitted affidavits promising employment and disputing the bureau's claims that the migrants would become public charges.[71]

The attorneys argued that, though the department had the burden of showing conclusively that Indians would become public charges, no such

evidence had been produced. On the contrary, the department's evidence revealed that the State Labor Bureau of California had "been unable to secure the name of a single Hindoo who has ever been a public charge." Thus, McNab and Healy argued that immigration officials were excluding Indians not based on the evidence, but by "departmental declaration." Finally, the attorneys argued that because US officials had landed the migrants in Manila, they had a right to enter the US mainland without further examination.[71]

On December 5, 1913, however, Judge Maurice T. Dooling of the Federal District Court of Northern California denied the Indians' appeal for a writ of habeas corpus. Judge Dooling was satisfied that the department had shown that there was "a prejudice against the Hindoo," and that Indians had a likelihood of become public charges. While acknowledging that the migrants' attorneys had made a strong counter argument, Judge Dooling concluded that there was sufficient evidence to support the department's findings, and thus the court could not review the merits of the case or the secretary of labor's actions. Judge Dooling did, however, express concerns about the secretary of labor's discretion to exclude laborers of any race as a "vast power and one which, upon the argument of this case, I was very unwilling to believe was lodged in any executive Department of the Government." Nonetheless, Judge Dooling cited judicial precedent over the previous two decades in which the courts had ruled that, according to the Immigration Act of 1891, federal administrators had sole power to regulate immigration laws. This meant that if there was any testimony to support the department's rulings, the conclusions of the Department of Commerce and Labor were not open to judicial review.[72]

Finally, Judge Dooling ruled that if a migrant gained entry in Manila he was admitted to the Philippines only, not to the United States at large, and that aliens arriving at continental ports from other parts of the United States might be excluded from the mainland as though coming directly from foreign territory. Agreeing with the Bureau of Immigration that "there may be reasons for rejecting an alien at Continental ports which would not exist if he were applying to enter the Philippines," Judge Dooling sided with federal immigration authorities, who were rewriting immigration law to position the Philippines as separate and distinct from the US mainland. Immediately after Judge Dooling's ruling, Caminetti wrote to Canadian immigration inspector Malcolm Reid in Vancouver to say that the "effect of the decision ... has been to allay a great deal of fear that was formerly entertained by our Bureau," thus illustrating how closely US and Canadian officials were following the rulings to these immigration tests across the border.[73]

In February 1915, attorney Henry Marshall appealed the case to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. He insisted that, in being admitted to enter

the United States by officials in Manila, the migrants were allowed to travel freely within the jurisdiction of the United States, which included any portion of the US mainland. Marshall cited section 33 of the Immigration Act of February 1907, which stated that the term "United States" was "construed to mean the United States and any waters, territory, or other places subject to the jurisdiction thereof, except the Isthmian Canal Zone." According to Marshall, the fact that section 33 specifically made an exception for the Canal Zone strengthened the migrants' claims that they could legally enter the mainland from other territories under US jurisdiction. Marshall focused extensively on the extralegal measures taken by immigration authorities, arguing that the secretary of labor had no jurisdiction to review the decision of immigration officers in the Philippines. Citing section 6 of the Immigration Act of February 6, 1905, Marshall insisted that Congress had entrusted the administration of immigration laws in the Philippines to the War Department, just as it had given the Bureau of Immigration the authority to administer immigration law in all other portions of the United States. As such, in their respective geographical entities, the jurisdiction of each set of officials was complete and exclusive, "there being no provision of law whereby the acts of one are rendered reviewable by the other."[74]

Marshall acknowledged that while the Immigration Act granted the commissioner-general vast discretion over the establishment of immigration policy, it did not empower him to implement amendments that were inconsistent with law. The amendment to Rule 14, therefore, was beyond the authority of the Bureau of Immigration and was "an attempt by the department officials to read into the law a construction that is not there, and to arrogate to themselves a jurisdiction and to exercise an authority, which has not been conferred by Congress." Marshall warned that the finality of the secretary's power to rule in such cases meant that the destiny of thousands of immigrants depended upon the arbitrary action of one official, which Marshall contended was a centralization of power inconsistent with the principles of democratic government.[75]

Though the court concluded that there was no material distinction between the exclusion of a migrant applying for original admission and the expulsion of a migrant who had been landed in the Philippines, Marshall insisted that there was a substantial difference between exclusion and deportation that was clearly recognized by immigration law. In exclusion cases, the migrant traveled to the United States directly from a foreign territory and was seeking original admission, whereas deportation cases dealt with "persons already within the country, and involve the right to remain and not the right to enter." Thus, the causes for which an immigrant could be excluded and the grounds for which one could be expelled were "separate, distinct, and not interchangeable." Finally, Marshall contended that

the amendment was an attempt to shift the burden of proof in deportation cases, in that it required the immigrant to prove that he was not likely to become a public charge, rather than the government to prove the contrary.[76]

Indian efforts to take their cases before state and federal courts were part of a broader attempt to overturn judicial precedent that, in the previous two decades, had given federal immigration authorities vast power to decide upon immigration cases free from judicial review. Ultimately, however, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the actions of the secretary of labor, citing similar cases in which the courts had sided with the Bureau of Immigration. In 1912, the Supreme Court had ruled in *Tang Tun v. Edsell* that if it did "not affirmatively appear that the executive officers have acted in some unlawful or improper way and abused their discretion," their findings were conclusive and were not subject to review by the courts. In the same year, the Supreme Court ruled in *Low Wah Suey v. Backus* that in order to challenge the immigration authorities through judicial proceedings, migrants must prove that the proceedings were "manifestly unfair." According to historian Lucy Salyer, the *Low Wah Suey* opinion raised "the threshold for judicial review by requiring a showing of 'manifest unfairness' " in a context in which "fairness meant only that Congress and the Bureau of Immigration had to follow the administrative laws they created."[77]

In the summer of 1916, attorneys filed a petition with the Supreme Court on behalf of the twenty-two Indian migrants on Angel Island. They argued that the Immigration Department's attempt to deport Indian migrants violated existing treaties between the United States and Great Britain, treaties that "assured to these immigrants absolute immunity from discrimination of any nature whatsoever on account of race, color, or religion." Attorneys also contended that Indians were entitled to rights, privileges, and immunities within the territory of the United States as British subjects and that their deportation would be a violation of the "most favored nation" clause of the treaty of the United States with Great Britain. As they argued, the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit had discriminated between Indian migrants seeking to enter the United States from the Philippines and other subjects of Great Britain whose cases were not determined by racial prejudice. Additionally, attorneys maintained that Indians seeking both entry to the United States and the right to apply for US citizenship should be evaluated according to their nationality as British citizens, rather than their racial status.[78]

Finally, they relied extensively on a case decided in November 1915, *Gegiow v. Uhl*, in which the Supreme Court had reversed the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals. In the case, immigration inspectors at Ellis Island had used the public charge law to exclude several Russian men destined

for Portland, Oregon, citing the poor labor market there. Arguing that the immigration inspectors' "reliance on opinion and hearsay rather than on solid evidence constituted a denial of due process," attorneys on behalf of the Russian men had focused on the bureau's failure to provide evidence regarding labor market conditions in Portland that supported the department's contention that the men would have difficulty finding work. The Supreme Court held that the bureau could not assume the "amazing claim of power" to determine admissions based on labor market conditions in which an immigrant's personal qualifications were considered immaterial. Attorneys on behalf of the Indian migrants seeking entry to the US mainland from the Philippines used *Gegiow v. Uhl* to argue that immigration inspectors could no longer cite labor conditions in a particular region to exclude migrants.[79] Thus, racial prejudice on the Pacific Coast, the department's rationale for excluding half of incoming Indian migrants over the previous seven years, was no longer a sufficient reason to exclude Indians under the public charge law.

Ultimately, the detained Indians were deported regardless of their status as British subjects. Less than a year later, in February 1917, the US Department of Justice filed with the Supreme Court a "confession of error in its stand that twenty-two Hindus ordered deported four years ago when they arrived here from Manila had no right to enter the United States." The Justice Department's confession, however, was inconsequential, for that same month Congress passed the Barred Zone Act, effectively excluding Indians from entering the country. While the 1917 "Barred Zone" Act is generally recognized as the first piece of discriminatory legislation directed against Indians in the United States, immigration authorities had been interpreting and amending existing immigration laws in order to exclude the majority of Indian migrants through extralegal measures since 1909. By using its executive power to limit immigration by broadening the application of the public charge clause, the Bureau of Immigration took a leading role in prohibiting Indian migration.[80]

Indian migrants arriving on the US mainland tapped into national anxieties over both the growth of executive power, as illustrated by the unchecked discretion of the secretary of labor in deciding immigration cases, and the question of whether the Philippine islands constituted a foreign or domestic space. Like other imperial powers, the United States asserted sovereignty over imperial territories while treating them as neither foreign nor part of the nation. As the United States developed into an increasingly powerful empire in the aftermath of the 1898 Spanish-American War, it invented ambiguous categories of subjecthood. While citizens peopled some geographical configurations—states on the US mainland—other geographical spaces were colonies, inhabited by subjects who were not, and could never

be, citizens. Ultimately immigration authorities were working to enforce white supremacy on the US mainland and to close a migration route that illuminated the expanding borders of the American empire and raised the uncomfortable specter of peoples from such colonized spaces arriving in the metropole.[81]

Coming on the heels of Indian challenges to discriminatory immigration policies in the United States, 376 Indians aboard the *Komagata Maru* sailed into Vancouver, British Columbia on May 23, 1914, determined to test the British government's promises to protect their rights as British subjects. The *Komagata Maru* passengers gained worldwide attention in their ensuing two-month standoff with immigration authorities. The ship's arrival dramatized the struggles of Indian migrants for equality as British subjects more than any previous political campaign undertaken by anticolonialists in North America and attracted hundreds of Indians along the Pacific Coast to the ranks of the Ghadar Party.

KOMAGATA MARU

In 1885, twenty-six-year-old Gurdit Singh left his home in the Amritsar district of Punjab for Malaya, where he hoped to establish a contracting business. While accruing considerable wealth in the lumber industry over the next three decades, Gurdit witnessed at firsthand the economic and political struggles of Indian migrants across East Asia, many of whom had heard of the economic opportunities in British Columbia but were stuck in cities including Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Yokohama after the implementation of the continuous journey law. As Gurdit stated, "when I came to Hong Kong in January 1914 I could not bear the trouble of those who were in the *gurdwara* waiting to go to Vancouver. They were waiting there for years and living at their own expense…I resolved to take them to Vancouver under any circumstances."[82] On March 24, 1914, Singh paid a Japanese company in Hong Kong $60,000 to charter the *Komagata Maru* and declared that he was going to bring hundreds of Indians to Canada. While Gurdit maintained that the object of the *Komagata Maru* was "purely commercial and economic and [in] no way political," and that he had chartered the ship in order to ascertain if he could commence a regular steamship line from Calcutta to Canada and from Bombay to Brazil, he also framed the ship's journey as one with which he intended to force the British government to protect the rights of Indian migrants abroad. As he prepared to leave Hong Kong he warned British officials that if the ship's passengers were not landed in Canada he would report the "full details of these proceedings to the people of India."[83]

On April 4, 1914, with 160 passengers on board, including Gurdit Singh's seven-year-old son, the *Komagata Maru* sailed out of Hong Kong, making stops in Shanghai, Moji, and Yokohama to pick up additional passengers, totaling 376, before making its way across the Pacific. Ghadar Party leaders boarded the ship when it docked at these various ports to speak with the passengers. In Moji, Balwant Singh, the *granthi* of the Vancouver *gurdwara* who had been involved in the family reunification issue in Vancouver in 1912 and was part of the Indian delegation from BC that traveled to England to lay their grievances before the imperial government, came aboard to discuss these grievances with the passengers. In Yokohama, the last stop the *Komagata Maru* made in Asia, Ghadarites Bhagwan Singh and Muhammed Barakatullah met with the passengers to prepare them for the anticipated confrontation they would have with Canadian authorities.[84] They distributed the most recent copies of *Ghadar* and delivered a rousing speech to the passengers, instigating them to rise up against the British Government in India. British officials later pointed to this meeting as proof that Gurdit Singh "had considerable sympathy with the American revolutionary movement."[85]

On May 21, the *Komagata Maru* sailed into the Victoria harbour. When asked by Canadian reporters why he had chartered the ship Gurdit Singh responded that the Indian passengers on board were British citizens who considered it their right to travel to any part of the empire. Singh boldly warned Canadian officials that the passengers were determined to make the *Komagata Maru* a test case and that if they were denied entry to Canada, "other boats will be chartered and my people will continue to cross the Pacific until we secure what we consider to be our just rights." The next day, Bhagwan Singh and Barakatullah arrived in San Francisco and immediately went to the Ghadar Party headquarters. The timing of their arrival convinced Canadian and British officials that there was a link between the *Komagata Maru* and the Ghadar Party.[86]

After spending two days being examined by the medical superintendent in the Victoria harbour, who deemed all the passengers medically eligible to land, the *Komagata Maru* proceeded to Vancouver, where immigration officials refused to allow the ship to dock. Hundreds of white and Indian residents of Vancouver lined the waterfront the morning the *Komagata Maru* arrived. White exclusionists demanded that the government refuse to land the passengers and argued that if Canadian officials allowed entry to the *Komagata Maru* passengers, "a million coolies will follow."[87] While leading Indian anticolonialists on the Pacific Coast viewed the fate of the ship through a political lens—declaring that the ship's intention was to "meet the law full in the face and test it to the limit" and warning that the Canadian government's exclusion of Indians would result in the "collapse"

Figure 4.3 Gurdit Singh, the leader of the *Komagata Maru*, on board the ship in Vancouver harbor. Courtesy of Vancouver Public Library Special Collections.

of the British empire—many local Indians linked their support of the ship's passengers to their own efforts to bring their families to Canada. While the plight of the *Komagata Maru* would ultimately politicize many Indians on the Pacific Coast, initially their support of the ship's passengers was motivated by their own hopes that Gurdit Singh's venture would provide a route for their wives, children, and other relatives to travel to Canada.[88]

Newspapers along the Pacific Coast also closely watched the unfolding developments in Vancouver harbor. On the day the ship arrived in Vancouver, the *Fresno Republican* reported that for Canadians, like the "South Africanders, the Hindu race problem is even more vital than would be the break up of the British empire. It may take not only 'orders in council,' but even British grenadiers to compel Canadians to accept a turbaned influx from Asia." The *Fresno Republican* went on to write that both the Sikh passengers on board the ship and the Indian activists already on the Pacific Coast were "anxious to secure self-government for Hindustan and, like I.W.W.'s . . . are ready to take any steps to secure their end."[89] Pacific Coast newspapers and US immigration authorities cast the passengers as dangerous agitators, thus evoking broader concerns about Indian radicals organizing on the Pacific Coast at this time.

US officials, alerted to the *Komagata Maru* voyage over a month before its arrival in Canadian waters, were also concerned about the ship's implications on US and Canadian restrictive immigration policies. During

congressional hearings in April 1914 to discuss the exclusion of "Hindu laborers," Congressman Albert Johnson of Washington questioned Tishi Bhutia Kyawgh Hla', secretary of the Hindustan Association of the United States, about the *Komagata Maru*. Bhutia pointedly responded that the passengers aboard the ship intended to test the legality of Canadian laws.[90] Less than three weeks after the arrival of the *Komagata Maru*, Commissioner-General Caminetti sent Secretary of Labor Wilson numerous newspaper clippings and reports about the ship's journey. Caminetti expressed alarm that if the agitation over the *Komagata Maru* resulted in a modification of Canadian immigration laws, the US government would "at once be confronted with the necessity for additional safeguards to prevent Hindus who enter Canada from promptly drifting into the United States." Further, Caminetti warned that if the *Komagata Maru* passengers successfully contested the logic of imperial immigration policy, "the Hindus will, of course, again turn their attention to the possibility of entering [the] continental United States either directly or through the Philippine Islands."[91]

While US immigration officials had asked several steamship companies to refrain from accepting Indian passengers seeking to travel from the Philippines to the Pacific Coast, the *Komagata Maru* illustrated that there was nothing to prevent Indians from chartering their own ships and traveling to US ports. Caminetti linked his concern about the implications of the *Komagata Maru* to the lack of progress that Congress had made in passing comprehensive legislation to exclude Indians. His letter prompted Secretary of Labor Wilson to write John L. Burnett, chairman of the Congressional Committee of Immigration and Naturalization, warning him that Indians were "determined to gain entry into Canada notwithstanding the legal barriers confronting them" were "precipitating a crisis" by chartering their own vessel to test Canadian immigration policy. He then warned the chairman "that the leaders who have organized that movement, are contemplating the chartering of another vessel for the purpose of bring[ing] others to the United States."[92]

Immediately after the *Komagata Maru* arrived in Vancouver, Indians in British Columbia began sending urgent cables to India's viceroy and secretary of state as well as the Canadian government. Protests also began pouring into imperial offices in London, India, and Ottawa from Indians all over the world who threatened the British empire "with disruption should Canada and other self-governing dependencies be permitted to exclude Hindus." In June 1914, a British official in London wrote to the Canadian governor-general about the *Komagata Maru* and asked him "to avoid [the] use of force," which he worried "would have extremely bad effects in Punjab."[93] Exploiting such fears, Gurdit Singh sent a telegraph to the governor-general warning that the return of the passengers would create a

"bad impression" among Indian soldiers stationed across the empire as well as within India.[94] While the British government warned Canadian officials to exercise caution in dealing with the *Komagata Maru*, white exclusionists demanded that Ottawa force the passengers to leave at once and halt all further immigration from Asia.[95]

Two days after the ship's arrival, Indians met in the Vancouver *gurdwara* and raised $3000 to use for legal funds should the *Komagata Maru* passengers be refused entry. Once it became clear that Canadian officials did not intend to allow the ship to dock, Indian leaders demanded that they be allowed on board to meet with the passengers. Ghadar Party members Husain Rahim and Bhag Singh also formed a committee of fifteen local Indians, alternatively referred to as the "shore" or "temple" committee. The committee's intention was to raise enough money to take over the charter of the *Komagata Maru* from Gurdit Singh, as they believed this would facilitate legal action and allow the ship to dock in Vancouver. In late May, the Khalsa Diwan Society quickly mobilized local Indians and organized a meeting of over 700 in Vancouver to raise funds to take over the ship's charter. Bhag Singh and Husain Rahim encouraged Vancouver Indians to donate money in order to send a message to the British and Canadian governments that the *Komagata Maru* was not only "about 376 Hindustanis on the ship but the fate of 330 million Indians."[96]

At the meeting, Balwant Singh gave an address in which he warned that if the Canadian government continued to exclude Indians, the British empire would "collapse in the near future, as India would not tolerate such an ignominious position in the partnership of the Empire." Attendees of the meeting also sent a resolution to Nawah Syed Mahomed, the general secretary of the Indian National Congress, demanding that he move the "government of India to get 376 Hindustanees on board [the] *Komagata Maru* landed at Vancouver on constitutional rights."[97] Other speakers attacked the immigration department and accused officials of purposely engaging in lengthy medical examinations for migrants who should have easily gained entry. Immigration inspectors in Vancouver were reviewing each passenger separately and not stating their decision at the end of each case. As a result, the passengers were not being notified of the immigration inspector's decision, leaving their cases in limbo, and thereby preventing them from appealing the decisions in court. Additionally, immigration authorities rejected Gurdit Singh's appeal to have the passengers apply directly for a writ of habeas corpus, worried about the judicial outcome of such a request given that the British Columbia Supreme Court had declared the orders in council invalid and had allowed entry to thirty-nine Indians the previous winter.

Within two weeks of the *Komagata Maru*'s arrival, the shore committee had raised over $22,000, and Rahim and Bhag Singh informed Canadian authorities that the committee was prepared to take over the ship's charter. While the shore committee insisted that they were engaged in a legitimate commercial transaction to obtain possession of and sell the coal on board the ship, Canadian officials accused Rahim and Bhag Singh of subversive political motives and insisted that they were taking over the charter in order to dock the ship and allow passengers to escape.[98] As the *Komagata Maru* sat in the waters of Vancouver harbor, British spies, Canadian immigration officials, and Indian informants closely monitored Indians in Washington and British Columbia. Informants reported that Indians were organizing seditious political meetings, in which they were linking immigration cases to plans for revolution, prompting Canadian and British officials to warn that the *Komagata Maru* voyage was from the outset politically motivated. On June 26, 1914, Thomas Erskire of the British consulate in Portland, Oregon, wrote to the British embassy in Washington, DC, to report that Indians in Astoria, whom he referred to as part of the "Indian revolutionary society" known as the Khalsa Diwan Society, had held several meetings to discuss the *Komagata* affair.[99] W. C. Hopkinson warned Canadian and British officials that Indian agitators were under the impression that such disaffection and anger would "lead to the consummation of their plans, namely a mutiny in India to which end they have for some years been at work."[100]

Indian leaders alternatively used the *Komagata Maru* case to demand an equal place in the empire and to insist upon the necessity of breaking free of imperial rule altogether. Writing from England that summer, anticolonial leader Lajpat Rai focused his appeals on the loyalty of the Sikh passengers—who comprised 351 out of the 376 passengers on board—to the empire as soldiers in the British Indian Army, who should be rewarded for their military service. Rai wondered "if Englishmen at home realize the full significance of the attempt of the Hindus aboard the *Komagata Maru* to enter [Canada] in exercise of their rights of British citizenship." Rai went on to write that many of the Sikh passengers were "the descendants, compatriots and co-religionists of those who saved His Majesty's Eastern Empire in the time of England's greatest peril in India, in 1857," and that without their service the British would have lost many of its colonies. As Rai wrote, "the Sikhs have shed their blood for the Empire in Egypt, in the Soudan [*sic*], in China, in Abyssinia, and in Burmah [*sic*], and it is from their ranks that a considerable part of His Majesty's Indian Army is recruited."[101]

The threat posed to the British Indian Army by Indians organizing around the *Komagata Maru* caused considerable anxiety to British officials. As British statesman Austen Chamberlain later wrote to Canadian prime

minister Robert Borden, British authorities worried about the *Komagata Maru*'s effect on the Sikhs, "from whom many of our best soldiers are drawn and on whom, from the Mutiny onwards, we have been accustomed to rely with confidence for whole-hearted support of the British Raj." Chamberlain went on to say that, as a consequence of the Canadian government's treatment of the Sikh passengers aboard the *Komagata Maru*, "for the first time in their history, there has now been serious discontent among them and this has been largely due to, or at least made possible by, the exploitation of their grievances" in immigration matters.[102] Many Sikhs believed their history of loyalty to the British crown should have guaranteed them the right to settle in any part of the empire and the treatment of the passengers on board the *Komagata Maru* signaled a failure or unwillingness of the British Indian government to protect its most loyal subjects. Husain Rahim warned officials that the Canadian government's refusal to allow the passengers to land would not "be considered a legitimate course of law, but a farce, and the institutions of justice will be looked upon with ridicule and contempt."[103]

Over the weeks that followed, Canadian immigration authorities not only refused to allow Indian leaders in Vancouver on board the ship, but they barred all communication between the passengers and the Indians on shore, convinced that Indians in Vancouver might attempt to smuggle arms and ammunition on board. Authorities also continued to ignore the passengers' repeated appeals to allow their attorney, J. Edward Bird, to meet with his clients. On June 19, Bird asked the governor-general to intervene on behalf of the migrants, who had come to Canada "as good citizens, making only what they believed was their right, and not in defiance of law and order" and whose legal proceedings were being delayed and obstructed.[104]

The passengers on the *Komagata Maru* were growing increasingly angry and restless. Many had staked everything they owned on the venture and had boarded the ship believing that they would gain entry to Canada as British subjects. Passengers sent telegrams to the governor-general pleading for water and food, as provisions on the ship were quickly running out. As the weeks wore on, communication from the passengers of the *Komagata Maru* grew more distressed. Rats and flies were on the deck, the toilets were overflowing, and passengers were getting sick due to insufficient food, water, and exercise. They began making desperate appeals to be landed, claiming they did not "have enough physical strength to cross the Pacific again" and warning that the Canadian government would be held responsible for allowing them to die a "miserable death" off the Vancouver shore.[105] Bhagwan Singh's and Barakatullah's warnings about how the ship's passengers were going to be treated in British Columbia were ringing true,

Figure 4.4 Passengers on board the *Komagata Maru* in the summer of 1914 after waiting for weeks in Vancouver harbor to be landed. Courtesy of Vancouver Public Library Special Collections.

and the ship was becoming a fertile ground for the spread of revolutionary doctrine.

Meanwhile, superintendent of immigration W. D. Scott warned Vancouver immigration inspector Malcolm Reid that his actions were bordering on violation of immigration law, which required an immediate decision on an immigrant's fate once the board of enquiry had completed its examination. In early July, after the ship had been in Vancouver harbor for over a month, the government's lawyers told Reid he had to bring two men ashore so that Bird could choose one and proceed with a test case in the courts. Bird chose Munshi Singh, a farmer from the Hoshiarpur district of Punjab. After hearing Bird's argument, the British Columbia Supreme Court unanimously decided that they could not interfere with the decisions of the Immigration Department and upheld Munshi Singh's deportation order. Immigration inspectors then quickly processed the remaining cases and issued deportation orders for all of the passengers. Yet the *Komagata Maru* remained in Vancouver harbor.[106]

Reid and Hopkinson continued to believe that Ghadar Party leaders in Seattle and San Francisco were involved in the *Komagata Maru* case. Their suspicions were confirmed when, in mid-July, US immigration authorities at the Washington–British Columbia border picked up four

Sikhs from Vancouver—Mewa Singh, Balwant Singh, Bhag Singh, and Harnam Singh—bearing pistols and ammunition. The men had traveled to Washington to meet with Taraknath Das. The following afternoon, while Mewa Singh was attempting to cross the border at Sumas, immigration officials arrested him and charged him with smuggling arms into Canada. At the time of his arrest, he allegedly had one revolver concealed under his left armpit, another in a sling alongside his leg, and two boxes of ammunition in his boots. Upon hearing of Mewa's arrest, US authorities arrested the other three men who were carrying automatic pistols and ammunition. Reid and Hopkinson were convinced that Das had provided the arms and ammunition for these men to smuggle on board the *Komagata Maru*.[107]

After having been relatively quiet over the previous two years, Das had taken on an active role in the *Komagata Maru* affair and was publicizing the rights of the ship's passengers and emphasizing the global significance of the incident. As Das argued, the ship's plight illustrated "that a desperate fight is going on between the Canadian officials and the negligent attitude of the British Indian and imperial authorities on one side, and the party of 376 Hindusthanees on board the *Komagata Maru* aided by a handful of Hindusthanees of the Pacific Coast of North America." He implored Indian migrants in North America not to "leave any stone unturned to give the Hindusthanees on the *Komagata Maru* a chance to present their case before the courts of justice." Das explicitly linked the *Komagata Maru* to the stability of British rule in India, warning that "to deny the right of justice will lead to the destruction of the British Empire," for the Canadian government's unwillingness to let the *Komagata Maru* land would clearly indicate "that in Canada, if not in the British Empire, laws are framed not to preserve the interest of all classes of people but to oppress the weak and satisfy the whims of the privileged."[108] Hopkinson, who had been investigating and trying to deport Das for his political activities since 1911, seized upon the arrests in Sumas to push the US government to investigate Indian revolutionaries in the United States. While E. Blake Robertson, the assistant superintendent of immigration in Canada, authorized Hopkinson to continue investigating Indians, he replied that at the present time, it was inadvisable to ask the US government to make an official investigation.[109]

Tensions continued to build in Vancouver harbor. On July 18, the ship's captain told harbor officials that the passengers had taken control of the ship. The dominion government in Ottawa instructed the superintendent of immigration Malcolm Reid "to take firm steps at once, to bring the Hindus on the *Komagata Maru* to subjection, and send the steamer on her return passage to the Asiatic coast." At 1:00 a.m. on July 19, the Vancouver police chief, along with 120 Canadian police officers and forty special immigration officials, boarded the *Sea Lion*, the largest tugboat on hand in

Vancouver harbor, and set out for the *Komagata Maru*. Officers planned to board the ship, restrain the passengers, and protect the crew until they could get up enough steam to take the ship out to sea and begin its voyage back to Hong Kong.[110]

When the *Sea Lion* pulled up alongside the *Komagata Maru*, however, the passengers attacked the police officers and immigration officials with coal, bricks, scrap metal, chairs, and whatever other materials they could find. They allegedly fired three shots, one of which narrowly passed between Reid and Hopkinson. An hour later, the *Sea Lion* retreated.[111] According to Gurdit Singh, news of the passengers' defense of the ship against Canadian authorities "spread like wild fire . . . all over the world." Vancouver harbor had become a stage upon which the colonized subjects of India had challenged the British empire.[112] Indeed, the longer the ship waited in the waters off Vancouver, the more revolutionary the passengers became. The *Komagata Maru* reflected the interplay of the transnational dimensions of Indian anticolonialism, local manifestations of racism, symbolized by Malcolm Reid, and the global protection of empire, exemplified by Hopkinson.

Vancouver officials appealed to Ottawa for assistance. H. H. Stevens, the local Conservative member of parliament, who had been working closely with Reid to prevent the *Komagata Maru* passengers from gaining entry, wired Canadian prime minister Richard Borden that the "Hindus" on board the ship were "desperately revolutionary and determined to defy law." He urged Borden to send the *Rainbow*, a 3600-ton Canadian naval cruiser that constituted the entire Canadian navy at the time. On the morning of July 21, the *Rainbow* anchored near the *Komagata Maru* bearing twelve heavy-caliber guns and a number of machine guns aimed at the ship.[113] Thousands gathered at Vancouver harbor to witness the events. Writing about the confrontation years later, Gurdit Singh recalled that "the warships were preparing for action and . . . we were preparing for death. It was a grand scene on a blue stage with thousands of spectators. On behalf of the government the commander sent the message 'Leave our shores; you uninvited Indians or we fire.' Our reply to this command was that if Canada will allow us to provision the ship we will go, otherwise, 'Fire away. We prefer death here than on the high seas.'"[114]

Martin Burrell, the Canadian minister of agriculture, whom dominion officials had instructed to take charge of the *Komagata Maru* affair, arrived in Vancouver from Ottawa that morning. Convinced that that the escalating tension in Vancouver was being instigated from Indians on shore as much as those on board, Burrell immediately contacted J. Edward Bird, the temple committee's attorney. Burrell and the leaders of the committee ultimately agreed that if the government provided adequate provisions for the passengers, the *Komagata Maru* would leave Vancouver. The government

agreed to the terms and loaded provisions, including flour, curry powder, and tea. In the early morning hours of July 23, thousands of Vancouver residents gathered on the shore and the rooftops of the city, while Canadian police officers lined the wharf, to view the ship's departure after two months in Vancouver harbor. Escorted by the *Rainbow*, whose first mission as a Canadian navy ship was to prevent British subjects from landing on British soil, the *Komagata Maru* lifted anchor and began its journey back across the Pacific.[115]

As the *Komagata Maru* made its way back to Hong Kong, the First World War began. British officials grew extremely concerned by surveillance reports that Indian revolutionaries may have managed to get on board and were leading the "ship of revolution" back to India.[116] In late July, the secretary of state for the colonies wrote to the Canadian governor-general asking if any Indians in addition to the original passengers had left on board the *Komagata Maru* and "whether any importance is attached to the press reports that the Hindus intend to initiate agitation against the Government on their return to India." The governor-general's office replied that, while no additional passengers had boarded, the ship's voyage appeared to be "financed by political agitators or secret revolutionary societies with the object of being able to use the refusal to land in Canada as the ground for agitation against British rule in India."[117]

As the *Komagata Maru* traversed the Pacific Ocean its significance grew ever greater. To Canadian exclusionists, the dominion government's refusal to land the ship's passengers was a victory for Canadian sovereignty and an act to protect white supremacy. To British officials, the *Komagata Maru* proved once again that the Pacific Coast had become a prominent space for Indian revolutionaries to organize "dangerous conspiracies" that "were gaining momentum" in Vancouver, Seattle, and San Francisco.[118] To Indians across the globe, the plight of the ship's passengers made clear that, in the words of Gurdit Singh, "we are insulted, we are dishonoured and we are disgraced in all parts of the wo[r]ld because we have no government that will feel for indignities inflicted on us."[119]

On August 16, the *Komagata Maru* arrived in Yokohama and, for the first time in months, the passengers were free to step on land. Waiting onshore was Sohan Singh Bhakna, one of the founding members and the first president of the Ghadar Party. He had come to Yokohama from San Francisco to intercept the *Komagata Maru*, carrying 200 automatic pistols and 2000 rounds of ammunition for the ship's passengers. Bhakna boarded the ship the day after it arrived and gave a speech in which he implored the passengers to strike against British rule now that war had broken out in Europe. When the *Komagata Maru* reached Hong Kong, officials refused to allow the ship to dock due to British fears that passengers "might cause

mutiny among the Sikh regiments stationed" there. The ship then sailed to Singapore, where again officials prohibited the passengers from landing. For the next three days, the ship was forced to stay three miles offshore even though some passengers wished to change ships and proceed to Bombay or Shanghai, from where they had started their journeys. British authorities, however, did not want Indians in Singapore to be influenced by the passengers' stories of their mistreatment in Canada. Singapore was an important stop on the way to India for "seditionists passing to and from the Far East and America" and was known, according to British authorities, "to harbor many rank seditionists of Indian nationality among its residents."[120] It soon became clear to the passengers, who by now had been on board the ship for five months, that they were being forced to land in India.[121]

On September 26, the *Komagata Maru* arrived at the mouth of the Hughli River near Calcutta, where it was met by authorities from the Department of Criminal Intelligence (DCI) and a number or Punjabi police officers who searched the cabins, steerage, and the passengers' luggage, looking for arms, ammunition, and copies of *Ghadar*. They found nothing and the ship was allowed to proceed up the Hughli toward Calcutta. Fearing that stories of their treatment in Canada would inflame rising anger against British rule in India, British officials instructed the ship to dock at the industrial town Budge Budge, fourteen miles outside of Calcutta. Utilizing the Ingress into India Ordinance, which the British Indian government had passed on September 5, 1914, to empower officials to detain returning emigrants and to restrict the liberty of any person entering India if such action was deemed necessary for the protection of the state, officials ordered the passengers to board a special train guarded by police officers that would take them directly to Punjab. The British government wanted the ship's passengers to be kept under the watchful eyes of officials to ensure that they were kept isolated from the public and would not spread word of their mistreatment in British Columbia.[122]

While sixty-two of the passengers complied and boarded the train, the remainder began to march toward Calcutta under Gurdit Singh's leadership. According to a 1918 report of the committee appointed to investigate revolutionary conspiracies in India during the First World War, the passengers were "full of the seditious doctrines which they had been taught on the journey, and had been led by Gurdit Singh to believe that their ends could only be gained by force." On their way to Calcutta, the passengers, who intended to deposit the *Guru Granth Sahib*, the Sikh holy book that they had with them on board, at the local *gurdwara*, as well as to lay their grievances before British officials, were stopped by troops and ordered to march back in the direction of the ship. Along the way, they were subjected

to the abuse of police officers, who repeatedly kicked them and, according to British and Indian officials who later investigated the case, "used more force than was necessary in preventing attempts to stray." They were then ordered to board the *Komagata Maru* again and told that they would be sent on the train to Punjab in the morning.[123]

The passengers refused to set foot on a ship that had come to symbolize their imprisonment and subjugation under British rule and instead sat down on the ground and began reciting *rehras*, the Sikh evening prayer. Gurdit Singh later claimed that as they prayed, police forces attacked them, prompting the passengers to forcefully resist and culminating in a massacre that left twenty Sikh passengers, two local Indian residents of Budge Budge, two British, and two Indian policemen dead.[124] Hundreds of passengers fled the scene, including Gurdit Singh, and authorities organized a massive search of the vicinity. Local villagers told authorities that they had seen Sikhs hiding in paddy fields, lying in water up to their necks, and crouching in the high grass and vegetation. Some were able to cross the Hughli River by boat. The following day authorities found the only woman from the *Komagata Maru*, Kishen Kaur, hiding with her husband, Sundar Singh, and their two children, one of whom was only an infant. She was sent with her children to Punjab while her husband was arrested and jailed. By the end of the week, eighty-five passengers remained at large. Over the next week, police continued to pick up passengers on the outskirts of Calcutta. On October 8, five were arrested 100 kilometers west of Calcutta and four days later, nineteen were found at Bankura, even further to the northwest. By late October, about forty passengers were still unaccounted for and the remainder had been sent to Punjab.[125] Gurdit Singh spent seven years in hiding, living in remote parts of the Central and South Indian states and eventually surrendering in November 1921.

The departure of the *Komagata Maru* set off a wave of violence in Vancouver, where Indians directed their anger and hostility toward Hopkinson and his Indian informants. Two weeks after the *Komagata Maru* was forced out of Vancouver, Hopkinson had traveled to Portland and Astoria to meet with Indian informants, who reported to him that Indians were leaving Oregon by the hundreds and making their way to San Francisco, where they planned to sail for India and begin a revolution to overthrow the British Raj. Indians in British Columbia were also planning their return to India. Malcolm Reid was now as anxious to prohibit them from leaving as he had been to keep them from entering.[126] Hopkinson sent Bela Singh, his chief informant, to the docks at Victoria and Vancouver and Bela reported back that forty-five Sikhs had boarded ships in late August bound for India. Hopkinson immediately notified British authorities in London and India which incoming Sikhs he considered seditious.

When Harnam Singh, an Indian informant who was one of Bela Singh's associates, was found dead in the fall of 1914, officials believed he had been murdered, though it later transpired that he had taken his own life. Three days later another informant, Arjan Singh, accidentally shot himself while showing a newly purchased gun to a friend. Convinced that his two associates were murdered, Bela Singh grew paranoid that his own life was in danger. While attending funeral services for Arjan Singh on September 5, 1914, in the Vancouver *gurdwara*, Bela Singh shot and killed two Sikhs, including the Sikh *granthi* and anticolonial leader Bhag Singh, who had worked closely with Husain Rahim in taking over the charter of the *Komagata Maru* and whom US immigration officials had arrested in Sumas the previous summer.[127]

Bela Singh's trial was scheduled for October 21, 1914, and his self-defense plea was expected to rest largely on Hopkinson, who would testify that Bela Singh's life had been constantly endangered. On the day of the trial, Hopkinson was waiting by the courtroom door when Mewa Singh, the thirty-four-year-old Sikh whom US authorities had also arrested in Sumas in July 1914 for attempting to smuggle weapons into Canada, fired five bullets into Hopkinson's body, killing him instantly.[128] Bela Singh's case was set aside while Canadian officials rushed Mewa Singh to trial. His hearing lasted less than three hours and, nine days after the shooting, he was sentenced to hang.

Indians living on the Pacific Coast despised Hopkinson and held him partially responsible for the *Komagata Maru* affair as well as for sowing distrust and dissension among Indians.[129] According to the *Vancouver World*, Canadian and British officials believed that Hopkinson's death was "the result of the splendid work done by the late Inspector in unearthing dangerous conspiracies hatched by the revolutionary society of East Indians, which has ramifications in Victoria, Vancouver, Seattle, San Francisco, and European cities." The paper went on to write that the murder of Hopkinson further justified the demands of "the people of British Columbia in their determination to end the immigration of these people to this country."[130] After Hopkinson was killed, Canadian officials organized one of the greatest funeral processions in Vancouver's history, with over 2000 in attendance, including officials from the US immigration service. Plain-clothes officers closely watched every Indian along the route, as police believed that Malcolm Reid and the Vancouver police chief were targets. Less than three months later, 500 Indians gathered outside the New Westminster prison as the Canadian government executed Mewa Singh, instantly making him a martyr to the cause of Indian anticolonialism in North America.[131]

As British police authorities later reported, the treatment of the *Komagata Maru* passengers both in Vancouver and Budge Budge "had

caused considerable indignation throughout India." In the aftermath of the Budge Budge massacre, allegations were made in the Indian press that the passengers had been unjustly treated by the government and shot down by the troops without provocation. The government of India, therefore, appointed a commission of enquiry to investigate the circumstances of the voyage and the outbreak of violence in Budge Budge. When its report was issued, the commission, not surprisingly, offered full support for the British Indian government and the Canadian authorities.[132] Additionally, it minimized the revolutionary aspects of the *Komagata Maru* story and vilified Gurdit Singh, describing him as nothing more than a shrewd businessman solely interested in making money by providing a transportation line for thousands of Indians seeking to cross the Pacific. The report accused Singh of defrauding the *Komagata Maru* passengers by promising them entry to Vancouver and then stirring up antigovernment feelings so that the passengers did not direct their frustrations at him.[133] Though the committee exonerated the government, Indians across the diaspora did not. Rather, the *Komagata Maru* impelled thousands of Indians from across North America and East Asia to return to India determined to overthrow the very government that would commit such a series of unjust acts.

Though Singh may initially have been motivated by what he saw as a lucrative financial opportunity, the months he spent at sea and the Budge Budge massacre radicalized him. Seeking to defend himself and to challenge the British Indian government's official version of events, Singh published his own account of the *Komagata Maru* affair in 1928, titled *Voyage of Komagata Maru, or, India's Slavery Abroad*. By this time, Sikh leaders in India had disassociated themselves from the *Komagata Maru* and were advising Sikhs against any political or antigovernment activity. The only way for Indians to find an alternative account to the official story of the *Komagata Maru* was through radical anticolonial publications being smuggled into India from North America.[134]

Singh used his account to provide both a counternarrative to the events of the fateful summer of 1914 and a broader historical understanding of the impetus behind Indian labor migration, which he rooted in imperialism, economic exploitation, and racial subjugation. Linking the migration of Indian laborers to colonies and dominions across the British empire to the end of the African slave trade, Singh wrote that with the end of the African slave trade, English companies "turned their attention upon Hindusthan and the helpless laborers of India henceforth became victims in the place of the Negroes."[135] Additionally, Singh took the British government to task for implementing economic and agricultural policies that caused poverty and famine in India, thus forcing Indians to seek employment abroad.

In the late summer of 1914, Ghadar Party leaders Ram Chandra, Bhagwan Singh, and Muhammed Barakatullah traveled from the Canadian to the Mexican border framing the *Komagata Maru* as a symbol of the powerlessness of a colonized people and using Indian resentment over the treatment of the passengers to implore the Indians "of America, Canada, Africa, and other foreign parts" to "return to India to mutiny."[136] The Ghadar Party used the incident to mobilize Indians on the Pacific Coast, and its ranks grew in response to the ship's plight. As Ghadarite Darisi Chenchiah later wrote, "although the passengers of the *Komagata Maru* were simple peasants who had left their hearths and home in search of a living, the insults that were heaped upon them, the atrocities that they had to face, the inspiring sympathetic touch they received from the toilers of the world has given them a new outlook of life. A deep hatred against the Britishers was created."[137] According to Sohan Singh Bhakna, the British government's refusal to protect the rights of the *Komagata Maru* passengers inspired thousands of Indians to join the movement to end British imperialism and work for Indian freedom. As Bhakna explained, Indians on the Pacific Coast had done all they could to aid the passengers of the *Komagata Maru*, "but this inhuman and insulting treatment of their fellow countrymen put an end to their endurance," and many came to believe that "a government which made the *Komagata* incident possible had no moral right to exist."[138]

While British liberalism promised Indians equal status as British subjects in theory while denying it in practice, the *Komagata Maru* affair was a critical turning point during which many Indians in North America ceased viewing imperial citizenship as emancipatory. The Ghadar Party highlighted the unsuccessful attempts of Indians to assert their rights as British subjects abroad as proof that Indians did not, and never would, have equal rights and protections as subjects of the British crown. Indian anticolonialists began to argue with greater urgency that without their own independent nation—and a national government that would protect their rights abroad—they would continue to be subjugated.

British and Canadian officials acknowledged that the *Komagata Maru* affair, followed almost immediately by the outbreak of war in Europe, had greatly assisted "the campaign of sedition and revolution which was being actively conducted at this time on the Pacific Coast by the 'Ghadr' party." During official investigations of the "war-time conspiracies" that would erupt in India during the next year, British officials emphasized that revolutionary activity in Punjab "could be traced directly to dissatisfaction roused over the *Komagata Maru* affair in British Columbia."[139] Further, officials reported that the anger of Indians on the Pacific Coast "strengthened the hands of the Ghadr revolutionaries who were urging Sikhs abroad to return to India and join the mutiny which, they asserted, was about to begin."[140] As

such, the *Komagata Maru* and the Budge Budge massacre "clearly showed," according to British authorities, "the necessity for strong action in dealing with revolutionary suspects from America and the Far East."[141]

If British imperialists hailed British law as a legal and just apparatus that proved the universality of the empire, then the exclusion of Indian migrants from white settler countries, exemplified most vividly by the *Komagata Maru*, became a site from which to challenge British claims to liberalism and universality.[142] Though British liberals could claim that imperial citizenship was determined by civilization and not race, Indians knew all too well that racial assumptions dictated the extent to which one was deemed "civilized." Even as Indians sought formal equivalence with white British subjects, their exclusion from white settler countries and the measures put into place to disenfranchise them and curb their economic prosperity unveiled the cracks in the unifying logic of imperial citizenship. The British and Canadian governments' refusal to recognize the rights of Indians as equal British subjects highlighted the salience of race in determining who was entitled to equal citizenship and personal liberties and who was excluded from making such demands for recognition and rights upon the empire.

Contrary to imperial claims of the blessings of British subjecthood, Indians understood that the British government's unwillingness to protect them from racial exclusion in Canada and the United States reinscribed the racial hierarchies that kept them subjugated around the globe. As Gurdit Singh later wrote, the "ugly manifestations" of racism in the British dominions "proved the utter hollowness of the equality-cult of the Western democracies." Pointing to the "colour-prejudice, and the badge of inferiority imposed upon all coloured races" in British colonies, Singh warned that discriminatory immigration laws from Australia to British Columbia would bind the "coloured races" together "with a tie of common indignation" and "make a common cause against the arrogant affront of the Whites."[143] Indians in North America accused the British government of supporting white settler countries' determination to create societies based on white supremacy, backed by racially restrictive immigration policies, at the expense of protecting the rights of Indians subjects.[144]

Indian anticolonialists in North America pointed to the refusal of Canadian and US officials to allow entry to Indians on board ships from the Philippines and the *Komagata Maru*, in conjunction with the British government's unwillingness to intervene on their behalf, as proof that Britain, Canada, and the United States were determined to enforce white supremacy through racially restrictive immigration policies. As Sohan Singh Bhakna saw it, the refusal to recognize the petitions and appeals for justice had clearly exposed the hypocrisy of British imperialism, as well as the racially discriminatory practices of the US and

Canadian governments. Persistent acts of discrimination against Indians had convinced Indian migrants that reformist methods were ineffective and should be abandoned in favor of an active struggle for Indian independence.[145] Ghadar Party leaders capitalized on widespread Indian frustration and bitterness at the extralegal and unjust actions of US and Canadian immigration authorities to mobilize Indians across the Pacific Coast. Ram Chandra connected the return of the *Komagata Maru* passengers to similar injustices that Indians were facing in Fiji, British Guiana, and South Africa, and framed every outpost of the British empire as unjust and tyrannical. As Chandra wrote, these struggles were making Indians everywhere realize "that there is only one cause for India's degradation and humiliation in the world and that is British rule."[146] With the outbreak of the First World War, the Ghadar Party quickly shifted its organizing efforts from challenges to discriminatory immigration policies and the unfulfilled promises of British citizenship to the complete eradication of British imperialism in India through armed revolution.

CHAPTER 5

Revolutionary Uprisings and Repressions during the First World War

It is evident that the Ghadr movement in the Punjab came within an ace of causing widespread bloodshed....Few persons, reviewing the history which we have summarized, will not be disposed to endorse the considered opinion of the Punjab authorities that had not Government been armed with extensive powers under the Defence of India Act and the Ingress Ordinance, the Ghadr movement could not have been suppressed so rapidly; and delay of preventive action and retribution in such a case would have increased yet more the amount of disorder to be coped with.

East Indian Sedition Committee, *Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India* (1918)

In the summer of 1914, Indians across the Pacific Coast watched as events in the case of the *Komagata Maru* unfolded in the Vancouver harbor. One observer was Jawala Singh, a prosperous agricultural entrepreneur in California's San Joaquin Valley known among Indian migrants on the Pacific Coast as the "Potato King," whose farm was one of the centers of revolutionary anticolonial organizing in North America. Singh had an active history of anticolonialism in the United States and had contributed significant amounts of his profits to the Indian independence struggle, including helping to establish and fund the Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Educational Scholarship program. He was also a key figure in the formation of the Ghadar Party and served as the party's first vice-president.

For Indians in North America who had grown increasingly angry and disillusioned by their experiences with racial discrimination, exclusion, and political repression on the Pacific Coast, the summer of 1914 was a critical

time of mobilization. Though the Ghadar Party had focused mainly on publishing and distributing radical publications in its first year, the outbreak of war launched the party into revolutionary action. Heeding the call of their leaders, who boldly proclaimed that the need for British troops in Europe presented an opportune moment to organize uprisings in both India and British imperial outposts, at least 1000 Indians from British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, and California joined 7000 Indians from Panama, the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Shanghai and boarded ships bound for India fired up with the goal of overthrowing British rule. As *Ghadar* declared, "now [was] the time for establishing independent rule in India and of bringing the Indians into the rank of the living nations."[1]

One of the Ghadar Party's primary strategies was to enlist Indian soldiers to revolt against the empire. Although 1.2 million Indian men fought for the British empire during the war, Ghadar Party leaders focused on recruiting military soldiers away from the British army and into the ranks of the Ghadar Party. The party accurately predicted that the British government's promises that Indian service in the war would ensure greater equality and rights at home were insincere, and it insisted that Indian military service perpetuated the status of Indians as slaves to the empire and pawns used to slaughter the world's colonized peoples and reinforce the brutality of British rule. While Indian moderates still sought to prove India's loyalty and to establish a dominion status for India similar to that of Canada or Australia, the Ghadar Party challenged the very legitimacy of the British empire itself.

A few weeks after the *Komagata Maru* was forced to leave the Vancouver harbor, Jawala Singh donated his property to the Ghadar Party and, on August 29, 1914, led about seventy of his countrymen, including fellow Ghadar Party leader Kartar Singh Sarabha, on board the SS *Korea* bound for India.[2] The *Korea* was the first ship to carry Indian revolutionaries from North America to India after the outbreak of the First World War. As they boarded the ship in San Francisco, Ghadar Party leader Ram Chandra addressed the group: "Your duty is clear. Go to India. Stir up rebellion in every corner of the country. Rob the wealthy and show mercy to the poor. In this way gain universal sympathy. Arms will be provided you on arrival in India. Failing this, you must ransack the police stations for rifles."[3] Attuned to and seeking to exploit the contemporary geopolitical conflicts, the Ghadar Party extended its activities across the world. Party leaders tapped into global currents of radicalism and exhorted Indians to follow the example of the revolutionary movements in Russia, China, and Mexico.[4] As migrant workers left the Pacific Coast for India by the hundreds, a group of intellectuals, many of whom had been engaged in anticolonial political work in Europe and the United States for the past decade, gathered in Germany

and, with the aid of German officials eager to exploit the Indian anticolonial cause for their own wartime gains, formed the Berlin India Committee. The committee's primary aim was to use German funds to purchase arms and ammunition to implement revolutionary uprisings in India. The uprisings these intellectuals envisioned reflected the global scale of their efforts, which extended to Siam, Burma, Singapore, and India.

In the same month that Jawala Singh led his countrymen aboard the *Korea*, the India Office in London instructed William C. Hopkinson to proceed to San Francisco and to provide the names of any suspicious Indians sailing from the city to the British secretary of state for the colonies and the Canadian governor-general. Earlier in the summer, Hopkinson had reported to his Canadian superiors from Oregon about the exodus of Indians from the Pacific Coast at the outbreak of the war and had warned British authorities that "very serious consequence will ensue if British troops [are] taken out of India now."[5] In response to imperial anxiety about the movement of Indians across the Pacific, the British Indian government passed the Foreigners Ordinance on August 29, 1914, which restricted the entry of "foreigners" into India and applied to all Indians who had been living abroad, now deemed "suspect" by the British Indian government. In other words, the Ordinance authorized the British Indian government to arrest and intern, "as though he were a Foreigner"—in the words of the under-secretary of state for India Sir Thomas Holderness—any "Indian who returns to India during the War."[6] The Ingress into India Ordinance, passed a week later, allowed the government to restrict the movements of those Indians who managed to regain entry by indefinitely detaining them or confining them to their native villages. According to a report later filed by the East Indian Sedition Committee, because it was "abundantly" clear that there were "bodies outside India conspiring to promote seditious violence within it," it was necessary to give the government increased power and authority under special war legislation that would allow it to protect the state's "safety, interests or tranquility."[7] British officials thus used the return of Indians from the United States, Canada, and East Asia with newfound political ideals and aspirations to implement legislation that gave the British Indian government special powers to deal with revolutionary threats and paved the way for a new wave of repressive laws in India.

While US state surveillance and inter-imperial collaboration repressed the activities of Indian anticolonialists, Indian anticolonialism also impacted the growth of state power to repress political radicalism in the United States. The outbreak of the First World War and the circulation of Indian migrants and their radical anticolonial politics across the Pacific during the war served as pretexts for strengthening and expanding the powers of both the US and British Indian states in the name of national security. By

1917, with the passage of the Foreigners and Ingress Ordinances in India and the "Barred Zone" Act in the United States, laws aimed at restricting the mobility of Indian migrants were mutually reinforcing on both sides of the Pacific, thus suggesting that US and British inter-imperial collaboration and exchange and the rhetoric of national security were closely intertwined with the logic of imperial defense.

THE FEBRUARY 1915 UPRISING

On August 7, 1914, newspapers in both Portland and Astoria reported that "every train and boat" leaving Oregon was carrying "large numbers of Hindus," and that "if the exodus keeps up much longer, Astoria will be entirely deserted by the East Indians."[8] There were also reports that the majority of the Indians employed at the Hammond Mills, where Indian intellectuals and mill workers had founded the Ghadar Party less than a year before, had already gone or were preparing to depart for San Francisco "to aid in a revolution which is expected to break out in India." According to the *Fresno Republican*, 350 "Hindus" gathered in a mass meeting a month later, where they collected nearly $2000 and, for six hours, listened to speeches "urging them to return to their native land and take up arms against England."[9] A report issued from the director of the Department of Criminal Intelligence (DCI) in India in November 1914 relayed an anecdote in which a Sikh in Victoria, BC, was selling two lots of property at half their value. As the DCI director wrote, "the Sikh said that he wanted the money to send Indians home" and that "in two months time there would hardly be an Indian left in America." He went on to refer to another report that the Khalsa Diwan Society of Stockton had "received numerous requests from settlers to effect the sale of their lands" and that all Indians intending to sell their land were advised to communicate with the Khalsa Diwan Society to make the necessary arrangements. "The object is no doubt," the DCI director warned, "to facilitate the return of Indians to take part in the coming rebellion in India."[10]

During the summer of 1914, the Ghadar Party organized meetings in Seattle, Portland, Astoria, Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno, Oxnard, and Los Angeles, all of which implored Indians to hasten back to India to overthrow the existing government and establish a republic. At these meetings, Ghadar Party leaders collected money and compiled lists of hundreds of Indians from British Columbia to Mexico who had committed to go to India at the earliest opportunity. That summer and fall, hundreds of Ghadarites in Oregon and Washington traveled by train to San Francisco. The group of Ghadarites from the Pacific Northwest who would join Jawala Singh

aboard the *Korea* stopped in Sacramento on their way to San Francisco, where Ghadar Party leaders Mohammed Barakatullah, Ram Chandra, and Bhagwan Singh allegedly addressed thousands of Indians and collected between $5000 and $6000 to raise funds for passage to India. As British authorities later reported, "meetings were held and lectures were delivered in every village and town in America where Indians were living, inciting them to go to India without delay."[11]

As the *Korea* made its way across the Pacific, additional passengers, or "recruits," boarded at various ports, including Honolulu, Yokohama, and Manila, before the ship landed in Hong Kong. En route the passengers gave political speeches, recited revolutionary poems from *Ghadar-di-Gunj*, spoke openly of their plans to start a revolution in India, and tried to convince Indian soldiers stationed in imperial outposts to organize an armed insurrection. Knowing that they would be thoroughly searched upon arriving in Hong Kong, they threw their radical publications into the ocean.[12]

As expected, police inspectors immediately searched the ship and the passengers aboard the *Korea* when it landed, asking them their names, where they had come from, and where they were going. Many gave false names to avoid arrest and, once released, they went to the local *gurdwara* where they met several Indians who had come from Canada. British authorities later identified the Hong Kong *gurdwara*, which had opened its doors in 1902, as an organizing center and meeting zone for Ghadarites traversing the Pacific.[13] There, the passengers learned that in response to the arrival of the *Komagata Maru* and the subsequent massacre at Budge Budge, British officials in India were on high alert. As an illustration of the transnational implications of the *Komagata Maru*'s voyage, one Ghadarite later claimed that those returning emigrants who were not excluded or jailed upon arriving in India were told by British and Indian officials "to go straight to our homes, live peacefully and commit no mischief. We were told we had been treated in this way so that the *Komagata Maru* incident might not be repeated."[14]

A few weeks after the *Korea* landed in Hong Kong, the passengers boarded the *Tosa Maru*, landing in Calcutta on October 29, 1914, along with over 100 Indians from Manila, Shanghai, and Hong Kong. On the voyage to India, the passengers divided themselves into sections, each of which was to work under a leader in a particular area of Punjab. Upon arrival, British officials divided the 173 passengers in groups of fifteen to twenty before taking them to an examination area. Lieutenant-governor of Punjab Michael O'Dwyer later wrote that he "was particularly concerned about this shipload, as the Ghadr outrages had already started in the Punjab, and we were still in the dark as to the extent and the resources of the hidden enemy." Of the original 173 passengers, 100 were immediately interned, two became

government witnesses, six were subsequently arrested and interned, six were convicted in various conspiracy cases, and six were hanged. According to the East Indian Sedition Committee, of all the shiploads of returning emigrants between October and December 1914, "the *Tosa Maru* was the most dangerous."[15] Indeed, the ship was met with a military force when it docked in Calcutta, as well as a body of police charged with maintaining order and transferring the passengers to a special train that stood waiting to whisk them away to Punjab, where those who had been identified as dangerous were imprisoned.[16] The internment of the majority of the passengers under the newly implemented ordinances dealt a severe blow to the Ghadar Party's plans.

Armed with the Foreigners and Ingress into India Ordinances, the British Indian government detained dozens of returning emigrants on every subsequent ship that arrived in India carrying passengers from North America, often arresting key leaders before they even disembarked. According to Lieutenant-Governor O'Dwyer, from October 1914 onward, "thousands of Sikhs from abroad were pouring into the Province." Returning Punjabi emigrants who were not taken into custody upon arrival were served with orders under the Ingress Ordinance to report themselves to a central enquiry office in Ludhiana, where DCI officers would examine them. As British police authorities later reported, "the rule was that those from Canada, the United States, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Manila were restricted in all cases." Once they were identified, police officers created a file on each emigrant that included investigations of his family members, information about his movements abroad, his character, and "his general attitude." Officials then determined whether the emigrant should be interned in jail, restricted to his native village, or, if believed to be comparatively free from Ghadar views, discharged with a warning. If the returning emigrant was able to avoid internment or restriction, the local authorities were told to keep a close watch on the emigrant in question. British police authorities later reported that these actions "undoubtedly prevented" many emigrants from taking part in the revolutionary movement.[17]

Under the Ingress into India Ordinance, out of the 8000 emigrants who returned to India between October 1914 and December 1917, 331 were interned and 2576 were restricted to their villages.[18] Nonetheless, according to O'Dwyer, "some of the worst men slipped in through the ports unobserved or failed to report themselves," while others who were not regarded as particularly dangerous when initially investigated, later gave British officials considerable trouble. As O'Dwyer later recalled, "our anxieties were increased by the knowledge, immediately after the War began, that thousands of the Sikh emigrants, some of whom we had even then reason to believe disaffected, were on their way back from America and the Far East."

O'Dwyer insisted that "it would have been courting disaster to allow these men to spread over the Province."[19]

Meanwhile, US and Canadian immigration officials continued to closely monitor Indians on the Pacific Coast. Late in the summer of 1914, immigration authorities in British Columbia used an Indian informant, Bela Singh, to obtain the names of "any known seditionists who [were] about to depart" the province.[20] Hopkinson then used this information to compile lists of suspects boarding ships in Victoria and Vancouver bound for ports across the Pacific, which he forwarded to Viceroy Charles Hardinge. He cautioned the viceroy to be alert to the "movements of seditious Hindus" aboard the *Empress of India*, which left Vancouver on August 22 with twenty-six revolutionaries, and the *Shidzukoa Maru*, which left Victoria on August 25 with nineteen, and warned that the passengers would "probably assume fictitious names and deny identity."[21] Thanks to Hopkinson, Viceroy Hardinge knew that hundreds of revolutionaries were on their way back to India and thousands more were being mobilized on the Pacific Coast. Additionally, Hopkinson provided Canadian and US immigration officials with copies of manifests of outgoing Indians sailing from San Francisco, Seattle, and other Pacific Coast ports.[22]

By early December 1914, officials estimated that nearly 1000 Ghadarites had returned to India from the United States, Canada, and parts of East and Southeast Asia.[23] One such migrant was Jawanda Singh. An outspoken and likeable young man, Jawanda and his older brother had traveled from their village of Nangal Kalan, in the Hushiarpur district of Punjab, to Vancouver in July 1907. For the next seven years they worked as migrant laborers in British Columbia. In the summer of 1914, Jawanda had a revolutionary awakening when he witnessed the fate of the *Komagata Maru*. At a meeting organized by Indian leaders in Vancouver to discuss the affair, Jawanda implored his countrymen to break free from the shackles of British rule for, as he said, "it is better to die than to live this life." He decided from that day on that he would devote his life and his wealth to the cause of Indian independence. He left Canada for the United States, joined the ranks of the Ghadar Party, and returned to India to play his part in overthrowing British rule.[24]

Though imbued with hope about the revolutionary possibility of the moment, thousands of returning migrants like Jawanda were either arrested or restricted to their villages once they arrived in India. Those emigrants who were not detained upon landing quickly made contact with Indian revolutionaries across the country. Rash Behari Bose was one of the leading revolutionaries in India, best known for trying to assassinate Viceroy Charles Hardinge in the famous 1912 Delhi bombing. In January 1915, Bose arrived in Punjab from Benares to organize and lead

the revolutionaries assembling there in increasing numbers. In Amritsar, he procured a house for revolutionaries and dispatched many of the returning emigrants to different military cantonments in Punjab. Bose and Ghadar Party leaders hoped that Indian troops would first rebel in Punjab, precipitating similar uprisings in military cantonments that would spread across India; therefore, they focused on promoting the defection of Indian garrisons in Lahore, Ferozepur, and Rawalpindi.[25] Kartar Singh Sarabha, who had left his studies at University of California, Berkeley, to become a leading activist of the movement in India at the age of eighteen, began visiting dozens of cantonments in Punjab to try to persuade soldiers not to fight for the British. As he argued, "if you must die, why not die under the revolutionary flag in your own country's cause?" Believing that the uprisings of soldiers across India would inspire the Indian masses to begin resisting British rule, Ghadarites held firm in their conviction that, in the words of Ghadar Party leader Sohan Singh Bhakna, "all that was necessary was to open" the soldiers' "eyes to the disgrace of slavery."[26]

After intercepting the *Komagata Maru* in Yokohama, Sohan Singh Bhakna traveled to Shanghai, where there was an active branch of the party. From Shanghai, Bhakna, along with about thirty Ghadarites, traveled to Hong Kong, where nearly one hundred revolutionaries boarded the *Namsang*, stopping in Singapore and Penang on the way to India. British agents were tracking Indian revolutionaries through these radical circuits across Asia as they made their way back to India. When the *Namsang* reached Calcutta, DCI officers and British soldiers used rope-ladders to board the ship, which they immediately searched.[27]

Bhakna was arrested on the ship and taken under military escort to Calcutta, where he was confined in the Calcutta Kotwali police station for two days and then taken to Ludhiana, Punjab. British authorities tried to enlist Bhakna as a prosecution witness who would provide details of the whereabouts of specific Ghadarites as well as information about the Ghadar Party's plans. Authorities brought his mother to the jail in an attempt to force a confession. Explaining that his confession might save him from execution but condemn countless other revolutionaries to death, Bhakna bowed down at his mother's feet and asked that she bestow him her blessings that he should remain firm in the face of interrogation.[28]

According to British authorities, the passengers on all these vessels formed "the first contingent of the revolutionary army that came to India in 1914–1915." Though their "capacity for creating mischief in India" was unknown at the time, the government of India did know "that an apparently powerful organization had been established in America to incite a feeling among Indians abroad against the British Government in India and that an abnormal number of Indian emigrants were returning" to India.

In December 1914, the DCI reported that "the campaign of the Ghadar Party has been pushed on with great energy among the Indians in America, and there is reason to believe that but few of the Indians, and especially the Sikhs in America, have escaped contamination by it." In addition to the Pacific Coast of North America, the DCI reported that across the Far East, in Hong Kong and the Philippines, *Ghadar* "is extensively circulated and its doctrines have been energetically preached and are believed to have been accepted as commonly as in America." As such, the DCI cautioned that "every Indian returning from America or Canada, whether labourer, artisan or student, must be regarded with the greatest suspicion as a probable active revolutionary, or at any rate as a sympathizer with the revolutionary party."[29]

In order to gather money and supplies, Ghadarites in India looted progovernment treasuries and used the funds to purchase arms. They organized about a dozen attacks, including a raid on the treasury in the Ferozepur district in which two Ghadarites were killed and seven arrested.[30] According to Nawab Khan, a Ghadarite who later became a government witness, after procuring arms the revolutionaries "were to cause the Government as much trouble as possible." Railway lines, bridges, and telegraphic communications were to be paralyzed in the eastern and northern parts of the country, which would hamper the movement of British troops and thereby prevent them from suppressing the revolt. Jails were to be broken open and their inmates were to be released and induced to join the Ghadar Party. As Khan confessed, Ghadarites were to inculcate Indian soldiers with ideas of revolution.[31]

Rumors quickly spread that the revolutionaries who had recently returned from the Far East and the United States were spreading across Punjab shooting British and Indian officials and attempting to tamper with military and police forces in India and British imperial outposts in Burma, Singapore, and Siam by distributing copies of *Ghadar* and sending out Ghadar Party representatives to try and convince Indian soldiers to revolt.[32] The Ghadar Party's efforts to recruit Indian soldiers caused great anxiety in British offices from London to Amritsar, as the British empire relied on Punjab for military recruitment. Although Punjab would supply the largest number of soldiers of any province in India, in 1914, the British government was gravely concerned that if Punjabi soldiers turned against Britain and the revolutionary fervor of the returning emigrants "infected the rural population with antipathy to the Government or with disbelief in its power," there would be serious danger to the empire. During and immediately after the war, the repression in Punjab was particularly brutal, and repressive laws were enforced more vigorously there than in any other province.[33]

The British had been monitoring Indian appeals to Sikh soldiers in North America since 1909, after an alarming article in Taraknath Das's *Free Hindusthan* stated that the Sikhs in North America were "awakening to the sense that they are nothing better than slaves and are serving the British Government to put our mother country in perpetual slavery." Das described an incident in the Vancouver *gurdwara* on October 3, 1909, when Sikh leader Natha Singh stood before the assembly and presented a resolution that "no member of the Executive Committee of the Sikh Temple should wear any medals or insignia" which might signify that he was "a slave" to "British supremacy." The audience unanimously accepted the proposal, and many Sikhs in Vancouver discarded their medals, certificates, and any other evidence that they had fought on behalf of the empire.[34]

British officials also warned that G. D. Kumar's *Swadesh Sewak*, a Vancouver-based publication, posed a danger to British military recruitment efforts. According to the DCI director, Kumar's publication "was undoubtedly intended to reach the Sikh sepoys and ex-sepoys of the Indian army. It was written in their own language by one of their countrymen, and dwelt on the unjust treatment suffered in Canada by ex-sepoys, and copies were sent out to India to men in the regiments." Although the importation of *Swadesh Sewak* into India was prohibited, British officials remained gravely concerned that Indian leaders in North America were recruiting Sikhs to their revolutionary movement by convincing them that the discriminatory treatment they endured abroad was particularly unjust given their service to the empire.[35]

In August 1914, San Francisco–based Ghadarite Sohan Lal Pathak arrived in Maymyo, Burma, where he lectured Indian military men on the folly of serving the British government, and attempted to convince them to join the Ghadar movement. Though the men at Maymyo were not persuaded to change their allegiance, British officials warned that this was not an isolated case of Ghadar attempts "to introduce mutiny and rebellion" from into imperial outposts across the Far East. Ghadar Party publications were distributed "in every place where the revolutionaries hoped to gain adherents, and particularly among troops." Ghadar literature seized in June 1914 at Myawaddy, Burma, close to the border of Siam, contained a leaflet reproduced locally by a Chinese press entitled "A Message of Love to Military Brethren," in which the "native officers of the Military Police were invited not to be tempted by medals and badges of slavery but to throw them away, wash out the old stains of servitude, and adorn their breasts with the insignia of freedom."[36]

In December 1914, the Punjab government sent the government of India a draft ordinance with recommendations for dealing with the prosecution and suppression of the thousands of returning emigrants then in

Punjab. By this time Punjab was the province with which the British government was most concerned.[37] Describing the violent crimes being committed by returned emigrants and their local adherents over the past few months, with a particular emphasis on emigrant efforts "to seduce troops from their allegiance," Lieutenant-Governor O'Dwyer warned that it was "most undesirable at the present time to allow trials of any of these revolutionaries or other sedition mongers." Further, he warned that the "war has created a situation which the enemies of Government consider favourable for the propagation of lawlessness and defiance of constituted authority." Revolutionaries across India believed that the British Indian government, distracted by the war in Europe, would be too weak to defend itself against revolution in India. O'Dwyer recommended that the British Indian government revise the standard "procedures in the case of offences of a political or quasi-political nature" by eliminating defendants' rights to appeal in such cases. No action was taken on O'Dwyer's suggestions, however, as British authorities felt they had to tread carefully, and that the implementation of harsh measures in Punjab might fuel the revolutionary movement sweeping across the province.[38]

Meanwhile, Ghadar revolutionaries, led by Rash Behari Bose, were planning an outbreak of simultaneous uprisings across India on February 21, 1915. Bose established the revolutionary party's headquarters in Lahore, from which he sent emissaries to cantonments in Northern India to procure military aid. He also tried to organize Punjabi villagers to take part in the uprisings. According to British authorities, revolutionaries prepared bombs and planned to target British military and civil officials, release political prisoners, loot treasuries, cut telegraph lines, destroy railways, and distribute arms and ammunitions.

However, events in Singapore on the afternoon of February 15, 1915, alerted British officials to the preparations in India. Ghadarites returning from North America had made contact with the Rajput Infantry in Singapore, comprising mainly Punjabi Muslims, and convinced them to rebel. The unit was due to leave for Hong Kong the following day and rumors began to circulate that they were being sent to fight against Muslims in Turkey. On February 15, the infantry, estimated to consist of 700 to 800 men, overpowered the local reservists who were on guard at the military prison, released German sailors, took possession of the fort for one week, and killed more than forty British officers and civilians. The uprising was suppressed only when additional British troops and Allied forces from Japan, France, and Russia arrived in Singapore. In the end, thirty-nine Indian soldiers were executed, forty-one transported for life, and an additional twelve imprisoned. An estimated 15,000 people witnessed the public executions of the condemned men at a prison in Singapore in March 1915.[39]

Though public execution had been terminated in Singapore in the 1890s, it was revived in this case as British authorities feared that the mutiny would inspire Indians or, at the very least, that there would be an outpouring of support and sympathy for the soldiers.[40] The mutiny shook the foundation of British rule in Singapore, whose geographical location had long made it an important link between India and North America.

Due to suspicions that a spy had entered their ranks and warned the British police about the plan for February 21, revolutionaries in Punjab advanced their uprising to the night of February 19. Their efforts proved futile as Indian informer Kirpal Singh had already reported to British authorities on the details of the plan. On the night of February 18, truck-loads of British soldiers poured into the cities of Punjab and patrolled the streets in a show of imperial force, while officials increased their watch in the cantonments. Over the next few days, British troops with arms drawn filled the towns where treasuries were located. According to Ghadar Party chronicler Randhir Singh, when Kartar Singh Sarabha and his band of fifty revolutionaries reached Ferozepur, "not all his eloquence could rouse the soldiers out of the torpor of disappointment and despair into which they had sunk. They merely pointed at the white soldiers stiffly parading in the distance—others only wept. All seemed lost." Over the next few weeks, British officials arrested over 200 suspects, including Sarabha and many of the Ghadar Party leaders who had returned to India from abroad and had managed to evade arrest upon landing.[41] The unexpected appearance of British soldiers in revolutionary centers across Punjab made it nearly impossible for Ghadarites to inspire the troops and villagers to follow through with their plans.[42]

British officials raided Rash Behari Bose's headquarters on February 19 and found seven returned emigrants in possession of a revolver, bomb-making materials, and four revolutionary flags. In the following days, officials and police officers searched houses and discovered arms, bomb manuals, and revolutionary literature, and it became clear that the revolutionaries had intended to instigate simultaneous outbreaks during which Indian soldiers and revolutionaries were to storm and capture towns and cantonments across Punjab. The British rounded up as many leaders as they could but Rash Behari Bose managed to escape to Japan, where he spent the rest of his life.[43]

On February 25, officials of the Punjab government again addressed the government of India, detailing the recent revolutionary activities in Punjab that had been organized by the returned emigrants and their adherents and asked once more, as they had done in December 1914, for special legislation to counter the growing revolutionary threat. Warning that "the situation in Punjab could not be allowed to drift any further," they described

the rapid development of the revolutionary uprisings, the effects revolutionary agitations were having on the rural population, which "had been adversely affected by the campaign of violence and sedition waged by the Ghadr party and supported increasingly by the lawless section of the people," the alleged terrorizing of rural notables and village officials by revolutionaries, and attempts by the revolutionaries "to tamper with the loyalty of" Indian troops. They demanded that additional power be given to the Punjab government to deal with the violence and political trouble in the province. Additionally, they warned that "every precaution must be taken to ensure that the poisonous teaching of open rebellion was kept both from the army and from the people from which the army was recruited." Insisting that "the resources of ordinary law" were inadequate to deal with the "serious disorder" threatening Punjab, they asked once more for "extraordinary legislation."[44]

One month after the planned February uprising, in March 1915, the British Indian government passed the Defense of India Act, which put all of India under martial law and gave the government of British India special powers to deal with revolutionary threats during the war, especially in Punjab. According to the Sedition Committee, the attempted February 1915 uprising had convinced the British Indian government that the revolutionary plans of the returning emigrants constituted an "emergency" that necessitated that the government be given extraordinary powers to defend the country. Considering it necessary "to ensure that offences against the public safety and peace should be tried speedily without the long delays" of ordinary judicial procedure, the Defense of India Act empowered any civil or military authority "to restrict the movements of suspicious characters" and included a critical provision that allowed for the appointment of special tribunals for trying revolutionary crimes, from which there could be no judicial appeals.[45] According to Viceroy Charles Hardinge, the powers authorized by the Defense of India Act were necessary for the public safety, for "there existed on the Pacific Coast of America a revolutionary organization which had endeavored to create trouble in India."[46]

The Defense of India Act was quickly passed through the Imperial Legislative Council, and the Punjab government reported that because of the Act, "a highly dangerous situation rapidly improved." The Sedition Committee reported that the tribunals dealt effectively "with a volume of crime which it would have been beyond the capacity of the ordinary courts to handle within any reasonable period," and that "in the absence of such measures," the threats to the British Raj posed by the returning emigrants "would have been grave indeed."[47] O'Dwyer later referred to the Ghadar movement as "by far the most serious attempt to subvert British rule in India" during the war. "What the state of the Province would have been,"

O'Dwyer later wrote, if the Ghadarites "had remained at large one shudders to imagine."[48]

THE BERLIN INDIA COMMITTEE AND THE OTHER ZIMMERMAN TELEGRAMS

Though Ghadar organizing in India was dealt a severe blow, by 1915 other forces of revolutionary activity were gathering outside of the subcontinent. In Berlin, beginning in the fall of 1914, Indian revolutionaries from the United States and Europe and officials of the German Foreign Office formed an alliance known as the Berlin India Committee. Believing, as Har Dayal had once stated, that the arm of the British empire could "not reach them in that haven of refuge," M. N. Roy, Champakraman Pillai, Viren Chattopadhyaya, Mohammed Barakatullah, Chandra Kanta Chakravarty, Heramba Lal (H. L.) Gupta, Har Dayal, Bhupendranath Dutta, Taraknath Das, and others began holding regular meetings with German officials of the Foreign Office.[49]

It is not clear when the relationship between the German government and Indian intellectuals began. Dayal first mentioned Germany in a December 1913 issue of *Ghadar* when he wrote, "Germany and other European nations are determined to break the British Empire into pieces and will not rest till they have accomplished their object. We shall not be surprised if a telegram is suddenly received one day that ruinous war has broken out between Germany and England. Shall we let that opportunity slip out of our hands? No, never."[50] Ram Chandra had been in contact with the German government since at least the summer of 1914, when he began making plans to ship arms to India with German funding. Chandra regularly met with William von Brincken from the German consulate in San Francisco and one night in the late fall of 1914, von Brincken allegedly went to the Ghadar Party press office and, after meeting with Ram Chandra, drove away with bundles of *Ghadar* newspapers, carrying the headline, "Don't fight with the Germans, because they are our Friends." Von Brincken's plan was to have German planes drop these papers among Indian troops fighting on the European front.[51] About half of the members of the Berlin Indian Committee came to Germany from the United States and maintained close ties with Ghadar Party members in San Francisco.

After the failed February 1915 uprising, Berlin became an important organizing space, replacing London and Paris as a hub of anticolonial activity and intellectual leadership in Europe. M. N. Roy later wrote that "Indian revolutionaries in exile looked towards Germany as the land of hope and rushed there full of great expectations."[52] The Berlin India Committee

persuaded the German foreign minister, Alfred Zimmerman, to send instructions to his ambassador in the United States to provide arms and funds to the Ghadar Party. German consuls in San Francisco, Shanghai, and Bangkok were also instructed to assist the revolutionaries.[53] Though the committee in Berlin played a key role in devising a series of revolutionary plans in 1915, the success of its plans depended on the response of Ghadar Party members in the United States and their willingness to return to India and British imperial outposts based on promises of receiving German arms and monetary aid.[54]

Like the Ghadar Party, the primary focus of the Berlin India Committee was to infiltrate the ranks of the British army and convince Indian troops to rebel against British rule. The committee also printed and distributed anti-British literature and preached revolution to Indian prisoners of war in Germany. Each member of the committee had different duties. Barakatullah was to direct a campaign to win the allegiance of Indian prisoners of war captured by the Germans from the British ranks; Pillai was to set up an anti-British press in Southeast Asia to publish war news and propaganda that could be smuggled over the Siam-Burma border; and H. L. Gupta, who was assigned as Germany's contact in the United States, was to help organize, alongside German agents in Chicago, a mission to Siam where he would oversee efforts to recruit and train Indians. Committee members were deployed to cities around the globe, including New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Bangkok, Shanghai, and Manila, where they were to organize Indians and keep in touch with the German consulates. Others were to go to Siam to train Indian recruits to launch attacks against British officers in Burma.[55]

The Germans had two strategic reasons for supporting the Ghadar Party. First, they wanted to build anti-British sentiment among the Indian soldiers on the Western front, thereby weakening British military operations. Second, they wanted armed rebellion in India so that the British would be forced to send the troops back to India, reducing its strength in Europe.[56] According to Franz von Papen of the German embassy in Washington, DC, "we did not go so far as to suppose that there was any hope of India achieving her independence through our assistance, but if there was any chance of fomenting local disorders we felt it might limit the number of Indian troops who could be sent to France and other theatres of war."[57]

The German-Indian alliance was fragile and riddled with tension from its inception. Indian radicals, who often expressed distrust of Germany, tried to maintain independence from the German Foreign Office by insisting that the money and materials they received were loans to be paid back after India had gained independence.[58] There were, of course, inherent contradictions in Indian anticolonialists aligning themselves with imperial Germany

and some Indian leaders, particularly Lajpat Rai, publicly denounced the committee. Warning against the perils of working for self-government in India through foreign military aid, Rai insisted that "what we want is self-government and not the change of masters."[59]

Despite these apprehensions, the Ghadar Party and Berlin India Committee formulated plans in 1915 to send arms to India and Siam on ships chartered with German funds. In January 1915, the Germans financed the purchase of two ships, the *Annie Larsen* and the *Maverick*, in California. The *Annie Larsen* was to leave San Diego in March carrying over 8000 rifles, four million cartridges, and hundreds of revolvers destined for the Socorro Islands, about 300 miles south of California, where it was to transfer arms and ammunitions into empty oil tanks on the *Maverick*.[60] From there, the *Maverick* was to proceed to Karachi, India, where native fishing boats would help unload the cargo and two of the Ghadarites would go ashore to notify the Indian revolutionaries of the arrival of arms and ammunition. Meanwhile, the *Annie Larsen* would return to the United States, unless it was intercepted by enemy warships, in which case it was to be sunk.

On April 23, 1915, five Ghadar Party members and a young American, John B. Starr-Hunt, boarded the *Maverick* and sailed from San Pedro, California. But the Annie Larsen, which had arrived at Socorro a month earlier, had already left the Islands after the Maverick failed to arrive. The Annie Larsen left for Acapulco on April 17 and tried to return to Socorro again on April 27, but strong winds forced it to give up its destination. Eventually it arrived at the port of Hoquiam, Washington, in June 1915, where it was seized by guards.[61] The *Maverick* arrived at Socorro Island on April 30 and after waiting for four weeks, proceeded to Hilo, Hawaii. From there the *Maverick* was instructed by the German consulate of San Francisco to proceed to Johnston Island in the mid-Pacific and await the arrival of the *Annie Larsen*. Since there was no sign of the *Annie Larsen*, the *Maverick* proceeded under instruction to Anjer in Batavia, where Dutch authorities seized the ship. The passengers were taken to Singapore, where Starr-Hunt confessed to British authorities.[62]

The Berlin India Committee's second major strategy, known as the Siam-Burma plan, was formulated during the spring of 1915. Organized mainly by Chicago-based German officials and H. L. Gupta, the goal of the Siam-Burma plan was to convert the Indians in Siam to the cause of freedom, train them in military warfare, and then have them invade India from Burma. The plan called for the training of 10,000 Indians who lived in Siam by Germans who had expertise in military warfare. Additionally, Indians in the Burma military police would be won over to the cause and would then help liberate Burma from British rule. With help from the German consulate in Chicago, Gupta persuaded three German-American military

experts—George Boehm, Albert Wehde, and Henry Schultz, commonly referred to by his alias, Sterneck—to train Indian recruits in Siam.[63]

In the spring of 1915, three Indian anticolonialists—Darisi Chenchiah, Sukumar Chatterjee, and Jodh Singh—left San Francisco for the Philippines to initiate the Siam-Burma plan. Ghadar Party member Darisi Chenchiah, who had been taking military training courses at the College of Agriculture in Logan, Utah, received a letter from Ram Chandra notifying him that he was being sent on a revolutionary mission to Asia. Chenchiah returned to the Ghadar Party's headquarters in San Francisco and was told to board a steamer leaving for the Philippines that day with Sukumar Chatterjee and Jodh Singh.[64]

Born in Fatehgarh, Punjab, in 1884, Jodh Singh had migrated to Vancouver in 1907. After only a few days he left for Portland, where he stayed for thirteen months working as a laborer. He tried to secure employment at the General Electric Company, but claimed that he could not get a job because of racial prejudice. He left Portland "thoroughly disgusted" and traveled to London in 1908, where he visited India House and met Har Dayal for the first time. He spent the next three years in Berlin, where he used to receive letters from Madame Cama asking him to join the *Bande Mataram* staff in Paris. While Cama's letters shaped Jodh's visions of the possibilities of self-government in India beyond the confines of home rule, he stated that "he had not the time" to become an anticolonial revolutionary.[65] In October 1910, Singh left Berlin for Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. As he later claimed, his motivation for migrating to Brazil was not political but solely economic. However, during his four-and-a-half-year residence there, he came into contact with a large number of Indian migrants and began working to make Indian immigration into Brazil more lenient, as well as teaching the migrants there how to read and write so that they would not be reproached for "being ignorant and uneducated." By this time he spoke at least four languages, including Portuguese and German.[66]

In December 1913, Jodh came across a copy of *Ghadar*. He found the revolutionary tract so compelling that he wrote to the Ghadar Party headquarters in San Francisco and asked to be put down as a subscriber and to have the paper sent to him regularly. He also began collecting money from his friends in Rio to send to the party as a show of support. Jodh Singh's fate took a decisive turn when he met the Indian revolutionary Ajit Singh, who brought him into the ranks of the Berlin India Committee. In February 1915, Jodh resigned from his job in Rio and spent the next few months traveling the world on behalf of the Berlin India Committee under the alias Mirza Hassan Khan. He eventually made his way to New York, where he met H. L. Gupta in the spring of 1915 and became involved in the Siam-Burma plan. He left San Francisco on May 22, 1915, with Chenchiah

and Chatterjee and after brief stops in Honolulu, Yokohama, and Nagasaki, landed in Manila on June 12, 1915.[67] Jodh immediately visited the *gurdwara* hoping to locate the revolutionary Bhagwan Singh, to whom he was directed to deliver a letter from German agents.

When Chenchiah, Chatterjee, and Singh arrived in Manila, they separated and each met with the German consul-general individually. They were told they were to go to Bangkok, receive the Indian recruits coming from various parts of the world, and send them over the Siamese mountains to Burma. Meanwhile German agents Wehde and Boehm were to load a two-ton schooner in Manila, the *Henry S.*, with 5000 rifles and 500 revolvers before sending it off to Siam. The ship was expected to unload the arms and munitions in forests on the coast of Siam, which were to be concealed in a tunnel dug by Indian recruits in Pakoh on the Siam-Burma border north of Bangkok. The recruits were then to march from Siam to Burma and, after successfully liberating Burma from British rule and training thousands of Indians there in military warfare, they would be sent to India to help with revolutionary efforts there. If these events did not produce a general uprising in India, then Burma would be used as a base for military operations against India.[68]

Two weeks after landing in Manila, Jodh, Chenchiah, and Chatterjee, under instructions from Gupta, left for Bangkok.[69] After a brief stay at the local *gurdwara*, Jodh Singh immediately went underground, while Chenchiah and Chatterjee made contacts with local Indians. They soon met up with two fellow Ghadarites who had recently arrived in Bangkok: Balwant Singh from Vancouver and Thakur Singh from Shanghai. Later, Ghadarite Shiv Dayal Gupta reported that he had made contact with the Punjabi military police and the Punjabi regiments in Burma and that "they promised to rebel and join our expeditionary forces when the proper opportunity occurred." The Ghadarites gathered in Bangkok soon began to formulate more detailed plans. All except Chenchiah would march to the mountains on the border of Burma and prepare military camps. Chenchiah would remain in Bangkok, secure a job, and work as the liaison officer between Indians who arrived in Bangkok and the military camp in the mountains.[70]

Before they had a chance to put their plans into action, however, Jodh Singh became intoxicated while being entertained by an Indian spy one evening and revealed the details of the entire plan. Officials seized his diary and accounts and discovered the names and addresses of persons he had contacted in South and North America, in addition to the leaders in Germany. According to Chenchiah, "Jodh Singh supplied enough material to incriminate hundreds of us." Meanwhile the *Henry S.* was seized before it left Manila and British authorities pointed to the ship as evidence that the "Hindu" conspiracy was intensifying in the Philippines as well.[71] Jodh

Singh, Chenchiah, Chatterjee, and a handful of other Ghadarites were arrested and detained in the international jail at Bangkok, then secretly deported to Singapore and handed over to British officials. They were jailed, interrogated, tortured, and held in solitary confinement for the next six months, and Jodh Singh later became a state witness.

Meanwhile, German officials were growing increasingly frustrated with H. L. Gupta and Ram Chandra's leadership in Chicago and San Francisco. Believing that new management in the United States might rejuvenate the Berlin India Committee's revolutionary plans, the German Foreign Office sent thirty-one-year-old Dr. Chandra K. Chakravarty to the United States to take charge. On February 4, 1916, Alfred Zimmerman sent a telegram to Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador in Washington, DC, notifying him that he was replacing Gupta with Chakravarty as the US representative of the Berlin India Committee and directing the ambassador to give tens of thousands of dollars to Chakravarty to carry out his revolutionary plans.[71] This would be only one of a series of telegrams that Zimmerman sent to the German ambassador between January and December 1916.

When German officials called upon Chakravarty to be the US representative of the Berlin India Committee, the Ghadar Party had suffered several setbacks. In addition to the failed *Annie Larsen* and *Maverick* mission, the British Indian government had executed or jailed dozens of the Ghadar Party's leaders upon their return to India. From the outset, tensions existed between Chakravarty and Chandra. Chakravarty had to be on good terms with Ram Chandra and the Ghadar Party in San Francisco, while simultaneously satisfying the expectations of the Berlin India Committee and German financiers. At the request of the Berlin Foreign Office, Chakravarty tried to convince Chandra to "call off" the Ghadar Party's "violent publications." When Chandra refused, Chakravarty responded by "part[ing] company with him and his methods of aiding our countrymen."[72] Many Ghadar Party members resented Chakravarty, whom they accused of using $40,000 he had received from the German government for the purchase of personal property in New York.[73] Chakravarty had also made numerous plans that he never implemented, including organizing Indians living in the West Indies, British Guiana, Java, and Sumatra, and creating a Pan-Asiatic League and Oriental Society, through which Indian revolutionaries would forge alliances with the Japanese and Chinese governments, thereby allowing them to purchase and smuggle arms through those countries.[74] Ghadarites accused Chakravarty of not fulfilling his leadership role—he never followed through on these plans—and were frustrated with his minimal effort to continue preparations for an active revolution.[75]

Chakravarty's, and, more broadly, the German government's, involvement in the Indian anticolonial movement created factions in the Ghadar

Party as well. Sikh workers and farmers increasingly felt that they had no spokesman and that the party was moving away from the rank and file toward the intellectual elite.[76] By January 1917, there were internal tensions and feuds within the party as well as distrust and suspicion, if not outright hostility, between its leaders. That month, Ghadarite Bhagwan Singh and his supporters accused Chandra of creating a secret fund with German money into which he had deposited nearly $13,000, which they believed he had kept for his own use. In January 1917, Bhagwan Singh forced Ram Chandra to resign, took possession of the press at Valencia Street, and continued issuing *Ghadar*. Backed by a portion of his former staff, Chandra established a new press from which he published a rival *Ghadar* newspaper. Thus, the Ghadar Party split into two factions, one led by Ram Chandra and the other by Bhagwan Singh, each claiming that its journals were the true descendants of the original *Ghadar* established in 1913.[77] Meanwhile, as the United States grew closer to entering the Great War, US surveillance and efforts to repress Indian anticolonialism intensified.

GHADAR'S GLOBAL REACH

Indian historians have interpreted the Ghadar Party's inability to successfully launch a revolution in India as due to the lack of coordination and effective leadership within the party, the vigilance and stern repressive measures of the British government, and a profound misreading of the sentiments of the Indian public, which did not support the party's revolutionary aspirations. Ghadar Party leaders attributed their inability to succeed to the earlier than expected outbreak of the First World War and to the political climate of the India they returned to. As Ghadar leader Sohan Singh Bhakna later wrote, had the war been "delayed by two years, the Party would have done a lot of groundwork [with the] Indian masses."[78] Indeed, when the war broke out, the Ghadar Party had been in existence for less than one year.

Although Ghadar Party leaders believed their successful efforts in recruiting Indians in the United States would generate the same kind of enthusiasm in India, they discovered that India was not teeming with discontent and ready for revolution as they had hoped.[79] Leaders of the Indian National Congress, *granthis* of several important Sikh *gurdwaras*, and many nationalist leaders in India disapproved of returning emigrants seeking to exploit the war for their own revolutionary goals, and many strongly denounced the Ghadar Party.[80] Prominent Sikh leaders across India had gone so far as to separate themselves from the *Komagata Maru* passengers as well. In response to the Budge Budge massacre, a meeting of Sikhs at the Golden Temple in Amritsar declared their loyalty to the British crown. In

subsequent meetings at the *gurdwara* in Calcutta, Sikh leaders interpreted the events of the *Komagata Maru* not as political or anticolonial, but "purely and simply an isolated local affair" of simple peasants who "misunderstood the beneficent intention of their Government."[81]

As Ghadarite Gurmukh Singh later recalled, Indians fleeing North America for India at the start of the war "were under an illusion that the whole country felt as we did."[82] Chenchiah recalled that "the paradox" of the Ghadar movement was that it was "very intense among the Indians in far off America" yet unable to rouse the masses of India.[83] While racial discrimination in North America convinced thousands of Indian migrants along the Pacific Coast that they would not be treated with dignity and respect anywhere until the British were out of India, they were unable to convey these ideas to the broader Indian public.

The inability of the Ghadar Party to rouse the Indian masses should not, however, obscure the significance of the movement. As Indian historian Khushwant Singh has written, the Ghadar Party was the first secular movement that sought to liberate India by armed revolution and it marked the beginning of the end of decades of Sikh loyalty to the British Raj.[84] The Ghadar Party was the first to take revolutionary ideas to the Indian army and the peasantry. While nationalist leaders in India were seeking status as a British dominion, the Ghadar Party had dared to demand complete independence through armed revolt against British rule.[85] After leaving his post as the lieutenant-governor, O'Dwyer wrote that in the eyes of British officials during the war, "the most menacing of all the conspiracies was the Ghadr outbreak of the America-returned and other revolutionary Sikhs in the Punjab in 1914–1915."[86]

The post–First World War period was a critical turning point in Indian disillusionment and growing resistance to the British Raj. Rather than Indians being rewarded for military service with greater rights and liberties at home, the postwar period saw the implementation of harsh measures in India to curtail political organizing, most notably the Rowlatt Act. With the 1915 Defense of India Act due to expire, British officials were convinced that revolutionary fervor across India needed to be checked, and passed the Rowlatt Act amidst widespread opposition by the Indian public in March 1919. The Act indefinitely extended the "emergency measures" under the Defense of India Act to repress political dissent, authorized the government to imprison any person suspected of terrorism for up to two years without trial, and gave British authorities increased power to deal with revolutionary activities. Tensions in Punjab had been running high throughout the war as the province became a critical site for anticolonial agitation. Even those Punjabis who spoke out against the efforts of the Ghadar Party to exploit the war to overthrow British rule were disillusioned in the war's

aftermath, when high casualty rates, heavy taxation, and ongoing political repression forced many Indians to question whether their contributions to the war effort had been worthwhile.

Evidence suggests that the Ghadar Party's revolutionary uprisings played a key role in the British Indian government's brutal repression of Indians in the postwar period, particularly in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre in Amritsar on April 13, 1919. On this day, thousands of Indians gathered in Jallianwala Bagh, a public park in the heart of the city. While most came to celebrate *Baisaki*—an ancient harvest festival celebrated across northern India, as well as a significant religious holiday for Sikhs—the gathering was also a peaceful demonstration against the Rowlatt Act. Viewing the suppression of the Jallianwala Bagh protest as a message to the rest of India that resistance to the Rowlatt Act, and to British rule, would not be tolerated, Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer set out for the park in armored vehicles with his troops on the afternoon of April 13. After blocking the sole exit and arranging twenty-five troops on either side of him, Dyer ordered his troops to begin firing on the peaceful demonstrators without warning. For nearly fifteen minutes, Dyer's troops fired 1650 rounds of ammunition.[87] In vain, those gathered at the park tried to scale walls and fences to escape. Others desperately jumped into the well at the center of the park and drowned. In the end, official estimates reported that 379 were killed and 1200 wounded, though Indians claimed the numbers were much higher.

Dyer later admitted that "if more troops had been at hand the casualties would have been greater in proportion." As he stated, "it was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd, but one of producing a sufficient moral effect...not only on those who were present, but more especially throughout the Punjab."[88] Rather than condemn the massacre, Lieutenant-Governor O'Dwyer publicly credited General Dyer with preventing further rebellion in Punjab. That this brutal massacre occurred in Punjab was no accident or coincidence. According to the committee appointed by the British Indian government to investigate the disturbances in Punjab in the postwar period, the agitation spreading across Punjab in 1919 were "grounds for the gravest anxiety" among British officials, as the Ghadar movement had made it "unsafe for the authorities not to assume" that a "movement which had started in rioting and become a rebellion might have rapidly developed into a revolution."[89]

According to Ghadarite Gobind Behari Lal, after the war ended, the secretary of the government of the India Home Department, Sir James Houssemayne Du Boulay, told him that the Jallianwala Bagh massacre could be traced to the Ghadar movement. As Lal later stated, "he said that the British fired because they had been frightened by our propaganda written in San Francisco.... They took us seriously, so seriously that they blew

our heads off."[90] Both Lal's interpretation of events and the committee appointed to investigate disturbances in Punjab after the war suggest that Jallianwala Bagh was not an isolated incident, but a brutal response to the revolutionary aspirations of the Ghadar Party, which British officials blamed for the mounting political agitation in Punjab. For Indians across the globe, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre clearly revealed that the aim of British law in India was not to secure justice but to protect British rule. While this realization may not have taken hold among the larger Indian public until after the war and the bloodshed in Jallianwala Bagh, which together instilled in the country a new sense of nationalist pride and self-determination, Ghadarites had realized as much before the war had ever begun.

In March 1917, the American consul-general stationed in Hong Kong, George Anderson, wrote to Hong Kong's colonial secretary. Prompted by US and British officials' concerns that Indians being deported from the United States were not returning to India, but instead were jumping ship in Hong Kong or ports in Japan, Anderson assured colonial officials that he would assist them as best he could. Sympathetic to British concerns about "the part Indians in the United States" were playing in ongoing agitation in India, Anderson agreed to watch "the coming and going of Indians particularly closely."[91] These kinds of inter-imperial exchanges between US and British officials were critical to the surveillance and repression of Indian anticolonialists in the United States, India, and across the Pacific.

At the time of Anderson's correspondence with the colonial secretary in Hong Kong, the US Congress had just passed the 1917 Immigration Act. The Act had two critical provisions that illustrate the mutually constitutive anti-Asian and antiradical discourses of the era. The first formally excluded Indians through the "Barred Zone" Act and the second increased the statue of limitations for deportation from three to five years for "any alien who at any time after entry shall be found advocating or teaching the unlawful destruction of property, or advocating or teaching anarchy or the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law or assassination of public officials." The 1917 Immigration Act demonstrates that Congress viewed exclusion and deportation as the quickest and most effective methods of suppressing political radicalism in the United States. By this time, congressional representatives were well aware of the Indian anticolonial movement that had been forged from the Pacific Coast. The potential for political radicals to foment revolution from within the United States justified, in the eyes of US officials, the exclusion and deportation of anyone deemed potentially subversive. When, however, officials believed they had sufficient evidence against political radicals to bring criminal proceedings before a court, they did so, especially once the United States

had entered the war.[92] In the fall of 1918, the Justice Department opened the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial in San Francisco, which would become both the showcase of and precursor to the radicalism and repression of the Red Scare and the rising tide of color that would be unleashed after the First World War.

CHAPTER 6

"Hindu Conspiracies" from Lahore to San Francisco

Ours was not a conspiracy, it was an open challenge to the powers that rule this land and we are proud of having made that challenge.

Kartar Singh Sarabha (1915)

During the Great War, the United States championed the right of all oppressed peoples except those under British domination. The United States shows that she has a double standard of international morality by her actions. And if she were not a tool of British imperialism, she would take a stand for world freedom against the British Empire. If she continues to support Britain in her wars of tyranny, then she will find herself classed with Britain in the minds of the oppressed of the earth, and the subject peoples will know that they must fight both Great Britain and the United States.

Taraknath Das, "International Aspects of the Indian Question" (1921)

In the spring of 1917, immediately following the entry of the United States into the First World War, the Justice Department indicted dozens of Indian anticolonialists for violating the nation's neutrality laws, making them the first political agitators arrested by the department after the United States had entered the war.[1] The defendants were accused of conspiring "to produce mutiny and rebellion and the overthrow of the British government in India" and were charged with violating section 13 of the Criminal Code, which said that "whoever begins, sets on foot or provides the means for the carrying on of any military expedition or enterprise against a power" with which the United States was at peace, was guilty of a felony. In the sensational and well-publicized "Hindu Conspiracy" trial in San Francisco that followed from November 1917 to April 1918, US attorney John W. Preston

described the Indian anticolonial movement in the United States not as a legitimate struggle for independence but as a menacing global "conspiracy." Preston's success in the case relied heavily upon intelligence supplied by British officials, who had provided him with a vast amount of evidence as well as state witnesses, many of whom had already testified against their former comrades in courtrooms across the British empire.[2]

Much like their earlier cooperative efforts to deport Indian anticolonialists and delegitimize their aspirations for freedom and racial equality by exploiting US anti-anarchy laws, the collaboration between the British and American empires to repress Indian anticolonialism continued and would culminate in a series of interrelated conspiracy trials across the globe during the First World War. Between 1915 and 1918, the British and US governments convicted hundreds of Indian anticolonialists in conspiracy trials from Lahore and Singapore to Chicago and San Francisco. State prosecutors in all of these trials highlighted the transnational dimensions of the Indian anticolonial movement that had originated on the Pacific Coast of North America, emphasizing that the defendants had relied upon a "chain of agents circling the globe" to help implement their revolutionary uprisings.[3]

The British government's motivation in these cases was clear: these revolutionaries were actively working to expel the British from India. What, however, was the impetus behind the US government's actions? As this chapter demonstrates, Justice Department officials used the trial to argue that US borders were far too porous and that foreign radicals who were hatching revolutionary plots on US soil threatened the country's safety and prosperity. The "Hindu Conspiracy" trial tapped into and fueled a narrative of anti-immigrant and antiradical sentiment in accordance with popular American views of racial perils and foreign menaces at the time. The almost daily coverage of the trial on the front pages of San Francisco newspapers impressed upon the public the idea that there were dangerous links between "aliens" and radicals. At the same time, the uncovering of an alleged "Hindu conspiracy" proved to those who had long agitated for restrictive immigration laws targeting Indians that exclusion was indeed imperative to national security.[4]

The repression of Indian anticolonialism shaped and justified the expansion of politically repressive practices and policies in the United States to stifle all forms of dissent. The Justice Department used the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial to set a precedent for more expansive interpretations of existing US laws, specifically by using the conspiracy statute against the defendants and by widening the meaning of what constituted a military expedition. It has been well documented that during wartime and the subsequent "Red Scare," the federal government sought to purge the nation of "alien" bodies, ideas, and influences, all of which were treated as

inherently subversive and un-American. In the figure of the Indian migrant, the anti-Asian racism, anti-immigrant sentiment, and antiradicalism of the period converged. As such, the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial paved the way for a new wave of antiradicalism in the United States and was an important precursor to the Red Scare. At the same time, for US and British officials, the trial demonstrated the effectiveness of inter-imperial efforts to quell the specters of Bolshevism, revolutionary anticolonialism, and anarchism that they feared were about to sweep the globe.

LAHORE CONSPIRACY TRIALS

On April 26, 1915, the British Indian government opened the first in a series of cases collectively known as the Lahore Conspiracy Trials. In the first Lahore case, eighty-two revolutionaries, forty-one of whom were returning emigrants from the United States, were charged with conspiring to overthrow the British government in India. Due to the large number of prisoners and British fears of "their dangerous nature" and the "serious possibility" of an escape, the trial was held in the central jail in Lahore, where the defendants were being detained.[5] Armed with the recently implemented Defense of India Act, a legislative policy that, in part, established special tribunals to try revolutionaries and ensure that they would be unable to appeal the decisions, the British Indian government pursued the newly returned emigrants and their comrades. The lieutenant-governor of Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, was determined to get the men executed or, at the very least, sentenced to life imprisonment. He insisted that the accused must be punished so severely and in such an unprecedented manner that no one in Punjab would dare to contest British rule.[6]

During the course of the trial, the British Indian government placed special emphasis on the Pacific Coast as the center of a global Indian revolutionary movement. In his opening statement, crown prosecutor Bevan Petman told the court that the idea of a revolutionary uprising in India had begun among Indian "conspirators" living in the United States as early as 1907. Petman recounted the details of the Ghadar Party's emergence, its radical publications, and its revolutionary plans to overthrow British rule in India and gave a short history of the return of hundreds of emigrants from the United States at the outbreak of the First World War. Petman spoke briefly of Har Dayal's "seditious" propaganda in North America, which included the publication of *Ghadar* and *Ghadar-di-Gunj*, as well as the "inflammatory speeches" Dayal had delivered before congregations of Indian laborers and students along the Pacific Coast.[7] He also detailed the proceedings of Ghadar meetings held across California between December

1913 and August 1914 in cities including Sacramento, Stockton, Oxnard, and Fresno, during which Ghadar leaders had distributed Ghadar periodicals and preached revolution. As Petman told the court, "each and every one of the methods advocated by *The Ghadar* to effect a revolution was in the minds of the revolutionists when leaving America, while on the way to India, and after reaching India."[8]

Critical to Petman's successes in the Lahore conspiracy case was the testimony of government witnesses Amar Singh and Mula Singh, both of whom had returned to India from San Francisco on board the SS *Korea*, the first ship to carry Indian revolutionaries from the United States to India after Britain's declaration of war. In addition to Amar and Mula, six former Ghadarites had become prosecution witnesses after being promised pardons by the British Indian government in exchange for providing the details of the Ghadar Party's revolutionary plans. Twenty-two-year-old Amar Singh recounted for the court the story of his path from migrant laborer to revolutionary. Singh had left India in 1909 and after a brief stop in Hong Kong, had arrived in Seattle. From there, he had made his way to Oregon, where he found work in the lumber mills around St. John and came into contact with leading revolutionaries, including Taraknath Das and later Har Dayal.[9] Amar described the emergence of the Ghadar Party and the lectures delivered before Indian workers at Ghadar meetings across the Pacific Coast. According to Amar, party leaders urged their countrymen to donate funds for the publication of *Ghadar*, to help circulate the party's revolutionary literature across the diaspora and within India, to return to India and free their native land from the British, and to influence Indian soldiers across East Asia and India to mutiny. Amar recounted how *gurdwaras* both within and outside India were used as meeting places for devising the party's revolutionary plans.[10]

State witness Mula Singh's mobility across the US and British empires offered the court a vivid illustration of the politicizing effects of migration. Born in Amritsar, Mula Singh had left India as a soldier for the British army and had spent four and a half years as a sepoy in the 28th Punjabi Regiment in the Malay States. He had then left for Shanghai and joined the municipal police and later worked as a watchman in Shanghai and Manila. Mula had been a passenger on board the SS *Minnesota*, the ship that sparked a legal battle after carrying dozens of Indians from Manila to Seattle in May 1913. Mula later said that it was during the four-month period that he and his fellow passengers from the *Minnesota* were detained that they had become "seditious." According to British police officers F. C. Isemonger and James Slattery, who had been appointed by the British Indian government to produce an official report on the Ghadar Party, the treatment of the detained passengers from the Philippines had produced a deep sense

of "bitterness among the Indians already in Canada and the U.S. of A." Ultimately, Mula had been able to secure entry to the country and he found work in the rail yards and lumber mills of the Pacific Northwest, all the while taking part in Ghadar meetings. So strong was his revolutionary fervor that he was among the first shipload of revolutionaries to reach India after the outbreak of the First World War on the SS *Korea*. After landing in Colombo, he had made his way to Punjab and arrived in Amritsar on December 1, 1914, where he was later arrested.[11]

During the Lahore Conspiracy Trial, the accused decided that seven of them would accept full responsibility for the charges against them. Ghadarite Kartar Singh Sarabha was given an opportunity to speak before the court and boldly proclaimed that every action he took to bring down British rule in India he did with intent, for he considered it his duty to rouse the Indian people against British slavery. With no hint of remorse or regret, Sarabha addressed not only the judges, but also the people of India. He recounted the story of the passengers aboard the *Komagata Maru* and their trials after being refused entry into Canada. Additionally, Sarabha spoke of the rise of the Ghadar Party and the emergence of the idea of national revolt in the lumber mills and agricultural valleys of the Pacific Coast of North America. He openly claimed that British rule had meant poverty and degradation at home and contempt and humiliation abroad.[12] The spellbound judges listened to Sarabha's statement, and when he was finished speaking asked him if he understood what his words meant for the outcome of his case. Sarabha defiantly replied: "Yes, death." When asked if he would like to retract his statement, Sarabha replied that he had committed no crime, for it was the "right of the slave to revolt."[13]

Deciding that they would rather sacrifice their lives than betray their cause, the defendants used the trial as a platform from which to confront the British government directly. Worried that the audacity of the revolutionaries' words might arouse sympathy for the accused and inspire the Indian people to rise up against the British government, crown prosecutor Petman cast the revolutionaries not as the brave freedom fighters they purported to be but as cunning and treacherous conspirators. The public was prohibited from attending the court proceedings, as was the press. Whatever information about the trial was given to Indian newspapers was provided only through British authorities, and the British government closely monitored and controlled all media coverage of the trial. Viewing the trial as nothing more than a "staged farce" of British "justice," defendant Sohan Singh Bhakna, the first president of the Ghadar Party, decided that it was futile to "ask for justice from those you seek to overthrow." Instead, Sarabha and Bhakna used the trial as an opportunity to publicly condemn British rule in India and the consequences of British imperialism for Indians around the

world. They attributed their politicization and the "awakening" of Indians in the United States and Canada to the injustices of British imperialism and to Britain's indifference to the struggles of Indians abroad suffering under the weight of racial exclusion and discrimination.[14]

On September 13, 1915, the verdicts were announced: over twenty of the accused were sentenced to death with confiscation of property, including Kartar Singh Sarabha and Sohan Singh Bhakna. Another twenty-six were transported for life with confiscation of property, including Jawala Singh, the Californian entrepreneur who had established the Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Educational Scholarship and had led the migrants aboard the SS *Korea*. The remaining defendants were given lesser sentences.[15] Those who were sentenced to life in prison were sent to the Andaman Islands, the British penal colony that Indians referred to as "Kala Pani," or "Blackwater." Among them was Bhai Parmanand. Parmanand had initially been slated for execution, but British officials worried that, because of his popularity, Parmanand's death at the hands of British officials would have caused serious trouble for the government and thus commuted his sentence to life imprisonment. His memoir detailed the misery of life in the Andaman Islands, where he and his comrades were often kept in solitary confinement and darkness for twelve to thirteen hours a day.[16] Political prisoners were routinely beaten and tortured, and thousands were said to have died in the Andamans.

Like Parmanand, Sohan Singh Bhakna was initially sentenced to death but was later given a sentence of life imprisonment. During his sixteen-year imprisonment, he went on numerous hunger strikes to secure more rights for prisoners, including decent clothing and food and more humane treatment. Worried that Bhakna would perish while protesting the harsh conditions in the Andamans, the British government undertook some reforms of the empire's most notorious prison.[17]

In addition to Parmanand and Bhakna, British officials commuted the sentences of fifteen of the convicted revolutionaries from death to transportation for life in response to public protests against their harsh sentences. Kartar Singh Sarabha, however, received no leniency. When his grandfather came to see him for the last time, he wept before his grandson. Sarabha calmly assured him that he was at peace with his fate, for he was "being hanged for the crime of working for the liberation of thirty *crore* suppressed and enslaved people."[18] On a mid-November morning in 1915, Kartar Singh Sarabha and five of his Ghadar comrades, including Kanshi Ram and Vishnu Ganesh Pingle, who had been a student at the University of Washington and had been arrested in India for inciting a native regiment to revolt, were hanged in Lahore central jail for conspiracy to overthrow the British government in India. At eighteen years of age, Sarabha had been

the youngest leader of the Ghadar Party. He and his fellow Ghadarites were said to have bravely mounted the gallows and delivered the following message: Every Ghadarite who remained alive "will fight every form of slavery whether economic or political or social and will try to uproot it from the country and from human society."[19]

The 1915 Lahore Conspiracy Trial was the first in a series of conspiracy trials across the British empire and in the United States. Altogether, nine cases were tried by the British government in special tribunals under the Defense of India Act in Lahore, Meerut (in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh), Bengal, Singapore, and Mandalay (Burma). In May 1915, the American consul-general in Madras, Jose Olivares, wrote to the US secretary of state to convey "the seriousness of the attempt" by Indian soldiers "to create a mutiny" in Meerut. As a result of the attempted mutiny, four Indian soldiers had been sentenced to be hanged for knowing of the existence of a conspiracy led by the Ghadar Party to overthrow the government, as well as "inducing soldiers of the Indian Army stationed in Meerut to break out into open rebellion against the State" and failing to report such information to their commanding officers.[20] In Mandalay, the conspiracy cases accused Ghadarites of intending to train Sikhs returning to India in the use of arms and to invade Burma and foment rebellion by Indian troops and the military police.[21] In the first Mandalay conspiracy case in 1916, Sohan Lal Pathak, a Ghadar revolutionary who had been a student at Corvallis Agricultural College in Oregon, was hanged along with five of his comrades. As Sohan Lal stepped on to the gallows officials made him one last offer to repent and seek mercy. He smiled at them before calmly responding, "with tyranny and injustice on your side, it is you who should beg forgiveness."[22]

There were a total of three conspiracy trials in Lahore during the First World War. The second and third Lahore conspiracy cases provided further details of the return of the revolutionary emigrants from America, who British authorities charged with actively preaching sedition in villages across Punjab, with instructing regiments to rise up against the British empire, and with organizing a series of plots to smuggle weapons into India through Burma. In total, twenty-eight revolutionaries were hanged and hundreds more were sentenced to transportation for life or lesser imprisonments in the conspiracy cases across India and the British colonies during the war.[23]

When delivering their judgment at the first Lahore Conspiracy Trial, members of the special tribunal pointed to the contents and dangerous effects of *Ghadar*, in which they claimed that facts and statistics regarding British rule were "not only distorted but most maliciously perverted to appeal to the lowest passions of Indian subjects." Further, the judgment placed special emphasis on *Ghadar*'s challenge to white supremacy, declaring

that within the paper "white men as a race and the English Government in particular, are all maligned in a spirit born of a depraved nature."[24] At the close of the first Lahore Conspiracy Trial, the editors of the *Madras Mail* warned that the Lahore case, which had unveiled "one of the most dangerous and elaborate plots against the British Raj recorded for very many years," had clearly demonstrated that "a closer watch should be kept on returning emigrants" from the United States and Canada, "where there are notorious seditious organizations."[25] British authorities made sure to relay the details of the case to US officials, emphasizing that these revolutionary uprisings had been "hatched" on US soil and highlighting the connection between the "returned emigrants from the United States, and the propaganda of the *Ghadr* and the activities of the Yugantar Ashram," the name bestowed upon the Ghadar Party's San Francisco headquarters. According to Sir T. Holderness, the under-secretary of state at the India Office in London, "infinite harm is being done to British rule in India by the shelter which is given to this revolutionary society (the Yugantar Ashram) and its organ (the *Ghadr)* in the State of California."[26]

In January 1916, Sydney Brooks, the editor of the *British Saturday Review* and the London correspondent for *Harper's Weekly*, who was a close friend of President Woodrow Wilson, wrote to the US secretary of state expressing his concern that Indians from the United States were returning to India imbued with revolutionary ideologies and plans for uprisings intended to oust the British colonizers. According to Brooks, "in nearly every instance the men who were at the head of this revolutionary movement were Indians who either in America or India had become converts to the preachings of the *Ghadr*." "It would be regarded both by the British government and the British people as a most friendly act," Brooks wrote to the secretary, "if you could find the means of suppressing" and "breaking up the seditious society" that was responsible for the *Ghadar* publication. Finally, Brooks expressed deep concern that, in spite of the British government's success in the Lahore trial, the Ghadar Party continued to organize "the movements of men and arms from California to various parts of the East." He warned US officials that "another revolutionary outbreak in India may be anticipated" if they allowed the Ghadar Party to continue organizing from within the United States.[27]

Although the British Indian government jailed or executed a key contingent of the Ghadar Party's leadership in the first Lahore Conspiracy Trial, the party's revolutionary work on the Pacific Coast did not cease. In the summer of 1915, the *Literary Digest* of New York warned of ongoing "American-made Hindu revolts," in which Indians continued "spinning" their "revolutionary webs" from the Pacific Coast.[28] In December 1915, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that "Hindoos" in California had been

undeterred by the execution or imprisonment of some of their most important leaders who had returned to India immediately after Britain's declaration of war. Even more alarming, the *San Francisco Chronicle* warned, Indian agitators were moving forward in their revolutionary organizing backed by substantial German aid.[29]

Those Indian revolutionaries and German officials who had been involved in the *Annie Larsen, Maverick,* and *Henry S.* expeditions were charged with conspiracy to violate the US neutrality laws in the spring of 1917. Whereas the British Indian government implemented new laws like the Defense of India Act and then used them to try returning emigrants in conspiracy trials across the British empire, the US government used the "Hindu Conspiracy" Trial in San Francisco as a pretext for implementing its own expansive interpretations of existing laws in order to prosecute political radicals. Both the Wilson administration's intolerance for the radical changes that Indian anticolonialism advocated in the geopolitical landscape and the inter-imperial exchanges between the US and British governments led to the opening of the Chicago and San Francisco conspiracy trials in 1917, which, like the trials from Lahore to Mandalay, were instrumental in repressing Indian anticolonialism across the globe.

"HINDU CONSPIRACY" TRIAL

On April 7, 1917, the day after the United States entered the war, assistant attorney-general Charles Warren instructed US district attorney John Preston to have Ram Chandra and twelve other Indians arrested for violating the nation's neutrality laws for conspiring to organize military expeditions against a country with which the United States had been at peace. Using evidence that US and British officials had jointly collected over a decade of monitoring Indians in North America, federal, state, and city officials had begun rounding up German and Indian "conspirators" a month earlier. On the morning of March 6, 1917, with help from British agents, the New York City police arrested Indian revolutionary and Berlin India Committee representative Chandra Kanta Chakravarty and his traveling companion, the German agent Ernest Sekunna, along with several German consulate officials, including Franz Bopp, E. H. von Schack, and William von Brincken. Chakravarty and Sekunna made full confessions and indicated their willingness to cooperate with US officials, though Chakravarty made clear that he would not act as a state witness.

Chakravarty had been sent to the United States by the German Foreign Office in 1916 to take charge of the Indian revolutionaries in California,

but from the moment of his arrival, the Ghadar Party leadership viewed him with suspicion and questioned his leadership and commitment to the cause. The Ghadarites were particularly hostile to Chakravarty's alleged misappropriation of German funds. In addition to arresting Chakravarty, New York police officers raided his home, which was timed to coincide with a raid by federal officials in San Francisco of the Ghadar Party's headquarters. In New York officials seized Chakravarty's personal papers, while in San Francisco they uncovered and took possession of the Ghadar Party's membership and mailing lists, which revealed the addresses of persons all over the world who subscribed to *Ghadar*.[30]

In Chakravarty's papers officials unveiled several alarming plots, including plans to overthrow British rule on the island of Trinidad and establish an independent Hindustani republic. Additionally, officials discovered that Chakravarty had been working to send a Chinese student from Columbia to China to aid the Berlin India Committee's efforts to secure China's cooperation in allowing Indian revolutionaries to smuggle arms over the border. Even more damning was the discovery of a series of telegrams between German foreign minister Alfred Zimmerman and Johann von Bernstorff, the German ambassador in the United States from April 1916 to January 1917. These "Zimmerman telegrams" revealed the inner workings of the German Foreign Office's support of the Indian revolutionary movement and would be instrumental in the government's prosecution of the Indians in San Francisco during the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial.[31] According to federal authorities, the arrests of Chakravarty and his German associates signaled the beginning of a nationwide roundup of "aliens of various nationalities who have taken advantage of American neutrality to plot on American soil against the allies."[32] US Justice and Immigration officials' surveillance of Indians in New York, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Chicago, Portland, Seattle, and San Francisco once the United States entered the war yielded over 600 reports on suspected Ghadar activities nationwide.[33]

During the spring of 1917, US attorney Preston met with British agents in San Francisco, as well as Justice Department officials and US attorneys from New York and Chicago in Washington, DC. Together, they decided to first concentrate their efforts on a conspiracy case against H. L. Gupta, whom US officials had arrested on March 10, 1917, for his role in organizing the Siam-Burma plan from Chicago.[34] The Justice Department planned to use the Chicago trial as a test case to formulate a legal strategy and set a precedent in which it would apply the conspiracy statute to the military expedition law in order to bring the full force of existing American law against the revolutionaries.

If successful in Chicago, the Justice Department would make San Francisco the showcase of a "Hindu Conspiracy" trial in which it would

seek to convict dozens of German and Indian "conspirators." As Preston prepared the government's case in Chicago, US authorities indicted Ram Chandra, along with Ghadarites Godha Ram, Sundar Singh Ghalli, Surendra Nath Kar, Ladli Prada Varma, and Munshi Ram, at a district court in San Francisco on August 4, 1917, for conspiring to violate the neutrality laws by setting on foot a military expedition against a country with which the United States was at peace. From the Justice Department's perspective, the beauty of applying the conspiracy statute to the military expedition law was that it did not have to prove that Indian revolutionaries and their German associates had actually organized a military expedition, only that they had conspired to do so. During the course of both the Chicago and San Francisco trials, the government never proved that the defendants had procured weapons from the Germans. Under cross-examination, the state witnesses who had been involved in the *Annie Larsen* and *Maverick* expeditions admitted that they had never actually seen the arms and ammunition that were to be taken to India.[35]

On October 20, 1917, the US government convicted H. L. Gupta, as well as three German agents, of conspiracy to violate the neutrality laws by organizing a military expedition from Chicago. Assistant attorney-general Charles Warren could not have been more pleased with the ruling, for all that the government had proven was that the four men had gone out "more or less in a body to commit hostilities against India." U.S. Attorney Preston viewed the ruling in the Chicago case as a major victory and felt optimistic as he prepared for the government's case in San Francisco.[36]

The "Hindu Conspiracy" trial in San Francisco opened on November 20, 1917, with fifteen attorneys representing forty-two German and Indian defendants, including Franz Bopp, the former German consul-general, Wilhelm von Brincken, a military aide of the German consulate, Ram Chandra, Bhagwan Singh, Taraknath Das, Santokh Singh, Gopal Singh, Gobind Behari Lal, Ram Singh, and Chandra K. Chakravarty. The government was unable to locate many of the ninety-eight people named in the indictment, several of whom had fled to Mexico, including J. N. Sanyal, M. N. Roy, and Sailendra Nath Ghose.[37] Although Bhagwan Singh had tried to escape to Mexico, US immigration officials arrested him at the border and brought him to San Francisco.[38] Others, including H. L. Gupta and Darisi Chenchiah, were indicted but did not appear before the court in San Francisco because they had already been tried and convicted for conspiring to overthrow the government of India by armed revolt in other conspiracy cases in Chicago, Lahore, Burma, and Singapore.[39]

The "Hindu Conspiracy" referred to a series of planned revolutionary uprisings against the British Indian government between 1914 and 1917, including those jointly planned by the Ghadar Party, the Berlin India

Committee, and revolutionaries in India. Preston argued that in order to produce a rebellion in India, the defendants had "conspired" to recruit men from the United States, to give them training in the use of arms and explosives, and to dispatch them to India and neighboring countries in order to overthrow the British government. Some of the overt acts that Preston specified in his opening statement included: that Ram Chandra, Bhagwan Singh, and Muhammed Barakatullah had "caused" Indian migrants to sail from San Francisco on ships destined for India beginning in August 1914 by traveling up and down the Pacific Coast and delivering "revolutionary speeches of the vilest and strongest character"; and that Ram Chandra had sent numerous Indians from San Francisco to Germany between the fall of 1914 and the summer of 1915, including the five Indians on board the *Maverick*, with the intention of delivering arms and ammunitions to India. Additionally, the Justice Department charged defendants Godha Ram, Sundar Singh Ghalli, Munshi Ram, Nidhan Singh, Bishan Singh Hindi, Iman Din, Gobind Behari Lal, and Hari Singh with furthering the conspiracy as members of the Ghadar Party.[40]

During the trial, Preston uncovered a dense web of German and Indian agents scattered across the globe. As British authorities later wrote, because it was "a far cry from California to Calcutta, and the conditions were such as to make direct communication almost impossible," Indians and Germans had established contacts and bases at a number of intermediate ports, including Honolulu, Manila, Tokyo, Shanghai, and Bangkok. According to these authorities, similar conditions existed in all of these places, namely local German representatives and their agents worked "industriously for the conspiracy" and were in close touch with Indian agents with whom they provided money and whose plans they supervised. The German consul-general at Shanghai was the principal German agent "for the conspiracy in the Orient," while Shanghai was "an important meeting and jumping off place for the Hindu conspirators."[41]

In his opening argument, Preston, who had represented the government against Indians in the Philippines cases, told the court that he intended to prove that "this conspiracy reached the entire world" and that its purpose "was to engage the assistance of every Hindu and every sympathizer in every neutral country" around the globe. The global reach of the "conspiracy" resonated with the fears of US and British officials about the possibility of political movements across Asia and the Pacific that could pose a threat to Anglo-American dominance in the region. Preston located the inception of the "conspiracy" with the arrival of Har Dayal in the United States, whom he described as a "rank, out-and-out Anarchist" who believed "not only in revolution in India, but revolution everywhere." Quoting extensively from *Ghadar*, Preston described Dayal's efforts to organize the nearly

10,000 Indians on the Pacific Coast by forming the Ghadar Party, establishing its weekly newspaper "for the purpose of promoting the destruction of the British government," and forging an alliance with the German Foreign Office.[42]

During the course of trial, Preston described numerous activities by which the defendants attempted to incite an armed rebellion in India, including the publication of propaganda intended "to further the ends of the conspiracy." Ram Chandra and his staff were accused of producing "a mass of the most violent revolutionary literature during the war," with sending this literature to all parts of the globe in the hands of Indian revolutionaries, and with attempting to establish a propaganda center in Siam. Chakravarty was accused of engaging in similar propaganda work in New York and Taraknath Das in China and Japan. Additionally, Preston accused Har Dayal, Ram Chandra, Bhagwan Singh, and Muhammed Barakatullah of disseminating "propaganda by oratory," by delivering "inflammatory speeches" across the Pacific Coast from 1913 to 1914. The defendants were also accused of dispatching recruits, arms, and money to India, of seeking the assistance of the Chinese and Japanese governments to support their revolutionary aims, and of recruiting captured Indian soldiers into the ranks of the Ghadar Party. Additionally, Preston argued that from the moment war was declared, between twelve and fifteen German consuls across the world began assisting the Indian revolutionaries and helped form the Berlin India Committee under the direction of the German foreign minister Alfred Zimmerman.[43]

In order to make his case that the Indian revolutionaries had violated the US neutrality laws, Preston focused on the link between Ram Chandra and the Ghadar Party with the *Annie Larsen* and *Maverick* expeditions. Preston's evidence in the case relied heavily upon information that British officials had provided to him. Though the Justice Department had allegedly seized 10,000 rifles, 10,000 bayonets and cartridge belts, and four million rounds of ammunition from the *Annie Larsen* when it docked at Hoquiam, Washington, in July 1915, it was not until the British Foreign Office submitted a lengthy report to the Justice Department in February 1916 detailing Indian revolutionary organizing in Asia, Europe, and North America that US officials became aware of a German-Indian conspiracy in the United States.[44]

British officials had provided the Justice and State Departments with ample evidence of the inner workings of the Ghadar Party and Berlin India Committee. In March 1916, British ambassador Cecil Spring-Rice in Washington, DC, sent a translation of Ram Chandra's *Ghadar* to the secretary of state, Frank L. Polk, drawing attention to a section in which Chandra implored Indian migrants to "preach sedition within the sphere of

the American rule and regulations."[45] Rice also provided confessions made by German officials and Indian revolutionaries that revealed their involvement in the alleged conspiracy. During the trial, A. Carnegie Ross, the British consul-general at San Francisco, expressed his willingness to provide Preston with additional evidence to convict the Indian defendants if what he had already supplied "proved insufficient." Indian anticolonialist Sailendra Nath Ghose later pointed to this letter to demonstrate "the extent to which American officials are being influenced by foreign agents."[46] In the two years preceding the opening of the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial, more than 200 members of the British secret service had been in California gathering surveillance on Indians, which they passed on to Preston. The British also had numerous agents in the United States who were closely watching Germans, Austrians, Irishmen, and Indians. On the eve of America's entry in the war, these British agents began formally collaborating with the State Department.[47]

During the trial the US government summoned 150 witnesses from India, Singapore, Shanghai, and Bangkok to testify, many of whom had made confessions under British interrogation abroad, and whose testimony British officials had already used to convict Indian revolutionaries across the British empire. About ten of the government's witnesses had been involved in the *Annie Larsen* and *Maverick* expeditions and Siam-Burma plans, including the government's star witness, John B. Starr-Hunt, who had been aboard the *Maverick* and "was snatched from death before a British rifle squad in India by US authorities"; Harcharan Das, who was one of the five Ghadarites from San Francisco on board the *Maverick*; Sukumar Chatterjee, a key player in the Siam-Burma plan who was arrested in Bangkok; and Jodh Singh, who was also arrested in Bangkok for this work in the Siam-Burma plan.[48]

In a dramatic turn of events during the early days of the trial, Jodh Singh, whose testimony had been instrumental in convicting Indian revolutionaries in the Lahore Conspiracy Trials and H. L. Gupta in Chicago, refused to testify against his countrymen. During his testimony, Jodh Singh lamented that the British government had used him "as a tool and story teller in the courts of the world" and insisted that his confession to the British government was "wrung from his lips through fear of death before a rifle squad."[49] He appealed to the United States to deny British requests to "have all the Hindoos in America and elsewhere deported to India," where they had little chance of escaping execution or life imprisonment. Like Jodh, the Indian revolutionaries on trial appealed to the United States for justice by invoking the image of the United States as a safe haven for those suffering from political persecution. Additionally, they insisted that they had done nothing different than what American revolutionaries had done when they overthrew British rule 130 years earlier.[50]

During the trial, Chakravarty, who acted as his own attorney, delivered a sixteen-minute address to the jury in which he argued that "we in India are endeavoring to do just as America did in 1776. While Washington was struggling at home, Benjamin Franklin was seeking aid in France. While my countrymen are struggling at home I sought aid in Berlin." He concluded that he had "tried to inspire a revolution in India, but not ... by shipping arms and ammunition to my countrymen." Though refusing to act as a government witness, Chakravarty confessed to the jury that he had worked closely with Germany. Yet he claimed that he had no part in "putting on foot a military enterprise," by pointing out that he arrived in the United States after the *Annie Larsen, Maverick,* and Siam-Burma missions had failed. As Chakravarty told the court, "the Government would decorate me with power I do not possess when it endeavors to give me credit for 'setting on foot a military enterprise' in the United States. I have not the magical charm to work miracles."[51]

In their defense, the Indian revolutionaries contested the notion that they were conspirators; rather, they cast themselves as freedom fighters seeking to establish a democracy much like that in the United States. As Ram Chandra stated a year before the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial commenced in San Francisco, "the facts about ourselves are well known, we are not plotters and have no secrets. All that we do is to educate our people regarding the blessings of national independence, political freedom, and liberty."[52] From June 1917 to February 1918, Ram Chandra had written three letters to President Wilson in which he commended his wartime declarations that all weaker and subject nations must be independent and free while reminding him of his promise that he had taken the country to war to spread democracy. While Chandra expressed his "profound gratitude" for Wilson's "noble stand" for "the cause of universal democracy," he went on to write that he and his Indian comrades believed that the people of the United States must "recognize without hesitation that we are entitled to independence, especially as the Government we propose to set up, will be a democracy."[53] As Chandra wrote to Wilson, "you justly said that no nation had a right to put the yoke of slavery on the neck of another nation. Listening to these statements the Hindus, too, became hopeful. They saw in you a new champion, a helper for the freedom, the independence, the liberty to which they so ardently aspire." Bringing the question of race to the forefront of Wilson's democratic claims, Chandra went on to ask if "color or mere geographical position" was acting "as a barrier to justice." Attuned to the hypocrisies of Wilson's political rhetoric, Chandra warned that if the United States was unwilling to support the struggles of Asian and African colonized peoples for self-determination, it would betray the very values of democratic governance that it claimed to be spreading abroad.[54]

In addition to the testimony of state witnesses, Preston's case was largely based on documentary evidence seized throughout the world by federal agents, including the papers of Chakravarty, the Ghadar Party, and Wolfe von Igel, the secretary to the former military attaché of the German embassy in New York. Seized during a raid on von Igel's Wall Street office in the spring of 1916, von Igel's papers provided clear evidence of the direct participation of the German Foreign Office with the Indian revolutionary movement and ensured that US officials would not have to reveal that much of their evidence for the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial had been provided by British officials.[55] Americans could claim to have learned everything from the von Igel papers and nothing from the British agents with whom they had colluded for years. Chakravarty's papers also provided ample evidence of the inner workings of the relationship between Indian revolutionaries and the German Foreign Office.[56]

In March 1918, as the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial was drawing to a close, secret service agents seized documents from Taraknath Das's residence in San Francisco. The raid on Das's home, which he argued was done without a search warrant, was a precursor to the kinds of illegal searches and seizures that characterized the Red Scare. During the trial, Preston described Das as a figure of "infamy and treachery" and said there was no "greater criminal" or a "greater enemy" to the peace and welfare of the United States.[57] He accused Das of drinking "at the fountains of our learning" and "cloth[ing] himself with our citizenship," only to go to Berlin "to further plots and schemes [and] to violate the laws of the country," which "he had sworn to uphold." By arguing that Das and others had "abused American hospitality and trampled on the neutrality laws," Preston tied the convictions of these anticolonialists to the protection of national security.[58] Because Das had successfully challenged US and British efforts to quell his naturalization case in 1914, Preston's call for greater vigilance in the guarding of national borders against subversive foreign agitators simultaneously warned of the dangers of allowing the naturalization cases of political radicals to move forward and reinforced the racial boundaries of citizenship.

During the course of the trial, Preston focused on discrediting the revolutionaries in numerous ways. Those who were not dupes of Germany were treacherous agitators who had taken advantage of American hospitality and disregarded American laws. Preston also highlighted the relationships between Indian leaders like Har Dayal and Taraknath Das with white women, who befriended and in some cases married Indian radicals, as evidence of Indian attempts "to lure women to the German-Hindoo cause." Some of these women, including Verne Smith of San Francisco and Madame Camille de Berri of Berkeley, testified during the trial as government witnesses. Preston charged that both women were "used by

Taraknath Das" to conceal several hundred bomb manuals in their attic and safe deposit boxes in Berkeley. Thus, Preston evoked the specter of interracial relationships between Asian men and white women to suggest that the "Hindu Conspiracy" case was critical to protecting the racial boundaries that Indian revolutionaries were defiantly transgressing.[59]

Finally, Preston attempted to deploy the racialized image of the "Hindu" menace that the US Bureau of Immigration had been so instrumental in creating only a few years earlier when it tried to deport Ghadar Party leader Har Dayal to India. Preston pointed to the contents of *Ghadar* to support his claim that there was a clear link between the "Hindus" as a dangerous race and the propagation of subversive ideas. The US district attorney's file on the Ghadar Party highlighted an issue of *Ghadar* that stated that during the First World War, Indian soldiers should unite with the Germans and "fight against the English so that India, Egypt, Persia, Malaya, Kandhar, Afghanistan...and China be altogether freed from the oppression and slavery of the *feringhis* (foreigners), and Turkey, Kabul, Nepal, etc. become also liberated from the pressure and highhandedness of the English and the Russians and everywhere Swadeshi, i.e. Self-Government may be established." To US officials, such writings proved that Indian interpretations of the war, as well as their hopes for the war's outcome, constituted a threat to white supremacy.[60]

During the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial, US attorney Preston as well as national newspapers including the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *New York Times*, racialized Indian anticolonialists as enemy aliens engaged not in a legitimate anticolonial movement but in a conspiracy of worldwide revolt. Throughout the trial, Preston linked the Indian defendants to the most notorious political agitators of the day and described them interchangeably as Bolshevists, anarchists, and Wobblies.[61] At the time of the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial, Preston was acting as the US attorney in a concurrent case against fifty-five members of the IWW that the US government had indicted under the Espionage Act.[62] He warned that the "Hindu Conspiracy" was evidence of a larger Bolshevik menace that was threatening both national and global stability and security. Preston urged the jury to consider that the United States had reached the point in its "history where we must stamp out anarchists and revolutionary sects that are fanning themselves into flames of hate and disregard for our laws, or the day will come when we will have no country to defend."[63]

The correspondence between some of the accused and the most notorious political agitators of the day was also a key part of Preston's argument. First, Preston produced two letters written by Har Dayal to the infamous American anarchist leader Alexander Berkman in October 1915, in which Dayal had urged Berkman to send "some earnest and sincere comrades" to

Europe "to help our Indian revolutionary movement." Dayal went on to specify, "they should be real fighters, I.W.W.'s or anarchists."[64] A few weeks later, Preston introduced a letter written by Taraknath Das and Sailendra Nath Ghose that federal officials had seized from Taraknath Das's home in March 1918. Preston used the letter to demonstrate the alleged existence and dangers of a "Hindu-Bolshevik" clique operating from within US borders. Written by Das and Ghose from San Francisco on December 12, 1917, the letter was addressed to Leon Trotsky and "the Honorable Workingmen's and Soldiers' Council of Russia."[65]

Describing Russia as "the leader of the movement for true freedom in the world" and as "a source of constant inspiration for the Indian people," the letter compared "the position of revolutionary India today" to revolutionary Russia in 1905 and described how thousands of Indians were being thrown into prison and executed. Furthermore, Das and Ghose wrote, British injustice was not confined to its colonies. Rather, "the hand of British imperialism is long enough to have several scores of Indian revolutionists arrested in the United States on the pretext of violation of neutrality." According to British authorities, the letter "startled" the American public, which was finally starting to awaken to the dangerous possibility of a Bolshevik plot to aid the "Hindu" conspiracy. In the letter, Das and Ghose argued that the planned revolutionary uprisings in India may have been successful if the Indian people had faced Great Britain alone. The British government, however, had secured the aid and cooperation of France, imperial Russia, and the United States. As a consequence, Das and Ghose asserted, Indian anticolonialism had evolved from the narrow goal of overthrowing British rule to overthrowing "Anglo-Saxon imperialism," described by Das and Ghose as "the most pernicious imperialism in the world."[66]

Taraknath Das's meditations on the threat of western hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region had begun earlier in 1917, when he published *Is Japan a Menace to Asia?* In the book, Das urged Japan to ally itself with Asian nationalist movements and promote Asian solidarity against Western dominance. Prior to his arrest, Das had given several lectures in Japan and also published *The Isolation of Japan in World Politics*, which argued for the dissolution of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, an alliance between Britain and Japan that was in effect from 1902 to 1923 and that sought to protect British and Japanese imperial interests in China and Korea. Das wrote vociferously against the possibility of an Anglo-American military alliance, which would signal nothing less than "Anglo-American world domination." As Das saw it, the menace to world peace was not revolutionary anticolonialism but the possibility of Anglo-American global hegemony, which would encroach upon Russia, threaten the independence of China, and obstruct freedom struggles in India, Egypt, and elsewhere. In order to counter such a threat,

Das advocated the formation of a pan-Asian alliance. He was not, however, entirely forgiving of Japanese policy and urged Japan once again to dissolve its ties with Britain for the sake of those fighting for independence across Asia. As Das wrote, "imperialism is the menace to world peace" and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was "one of its expressions."[67]

During the trial, Preston read Das's and Ghose's letter and the "Hindu Conspiracy" itself as a threat to Anglo-American hegemony across the Pacific. In this, Preston was not entirely off the mark, for inherent within these critiques of "Anglo-Saxon imperialism" was an explicit challenge to Western domination. While Indian anticolonialists had initially appealed to the promises of American democracy and imperial citizenship, racial exclusion and political repression in both the United States and Canada over the past decade had expanded the scope of their anticolonial politics. According to Ghadarite Randhir Singh, like political radicals and revolutionaries from around the world, the Ghadar Party looked to Moscow for inspiration, leadership, and emancipatory possibilities "beyond the narrow horizon of American capitalist democracy."[68] Linking Britain and the United States through shared imperial regimes Das and Ghose highlighted the positioning of Indians on the North American Pacific Coast as a space between the false promises and betrayals of two empires.

On April 23, 1918, after four and a half hours of deliberation, the jury in the San Francisco "Hindu Conspiracy" trial found all but one of the remaining twenty-nine defendants guilty of conspiracy to violate the neutrality laws of the United States by organizing a military expedition against a country with which the United States was at peace.[69] The German defendants received sentences ranging from six months to two years in jail, with additional fines of between $1000 and $10,000. Among the fourteen Indians convicted, Taraknath Das received the most severe sentence with twenty-two months, followed by Santokh Singh with twenty-one months and Bhagwan Singh with eighteen months. Chakravarty was given a lighter sentence of thirty days in jail and a $5000 fine in exchange for his testimony, while the remainder received sentences ranging from twelve months to sixty days.[70]

Ram Chandra would likely have received the harshest sentence, but in a dramatic turn on April 23, fellow defendant Ram Singh shot him to death in the courtroom. Ram Singh had initially been a strong supporter of Chandra and in 1915 had toured China, Japan, and the Philippine islands on behalf of the Ghadar Party.[71] Singh later accused Chandra of keeping for his personal use hundreds of acres of land in Canada and thousands of dollars that Ram Singh had donated to the revolutionary cause. While Ram Singh was still firing shots at Chandra, a court marshal sent a bullet through Singh's neck, killing him instantly.[71] The killings of both Chandra and Singh

speak to how the Ghadar Party had disintegrated by this time amid pressures of surveillance, internal tension, and hostility between party members in the face of accusations of opportunism and betrayal by the Ghadar Party leadership.

By the time the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial was over, it had been one of the longest and most expensive state trials in US history.[72] Lasting five months, it had involved three governments, thirteen attorneys, and 500 pieces of evidence. It had cost the United States $450,000 and England $2.5 million.[73] Two years of investigation by the State Department, the Justice Department and its Bureau of Investigation, the Labor Department and its Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, the Military Intelligence Division of the US army, and British intelligence agents had yielded a vast amount of material about Indian anticolonialists in the United States.[74] Preston admitted that success in the case resulted from the "able and exhaustive" investigations of British secret service agents who had provided him with intelligence reports and state witnesses, and had coached him on how to present the case.[75]

After the sentences were delivered, US Judge William C. Van Fleet warned the Indian defendants to cease distributing their "Hindoo publications," as "the public is in a frame of mind not to further tolerate propaganda against the allies of the United States."[76] Demonstrating the fusion of anti-immigrant and antiradical rhetoric at the time, US attorney John Preston told reporters at the conclusion of the trial that the verdict demonstrated that "we must teach the non-assimilable, parasitic organizations in our midst that while this is a land of liberty, it is not a country of mere license."[77] According to Gobind Behari Lal, one of the defendants in the conspiracy trial, the Indian anticolonial movement had so alarmed British and US authorities that they "staged" the "biggest state trial of modern history in San Francisco."[78] In the eyes of Indian anticolonialists, these conspiracy trials across the British empire and the United States were showcases of antiradicalism intended to intimidate political activists seeking a change in the imperial and racial status quo.

The spectacle of the trial had important legal ramifications for the Justice Department as well, as officials pointed to the convicted "Hindu conspirators" as evidence of the dangers of "alien radicals" in their midst. As a result of the trial, the Justice Department was able to expand the definition of what constituted a military expedition. The "setting on foot of a military enterprise" now "would embrace most any character of activity or movement having for its object the beginning, instigating, aiding, or bringing out in this country of hostile action by the use of arms projected against another country or Government" with which the United States was at peace. The jury had been convinced by Preston's claims that activities including the

recruitment of men within the United States to be sent to India for revolutionary purposes, the very act of returning to India, and publishing or distributing "seditious literature and propaganda designed and intended to incite rebellion or revolt by the natives against British rule," constituted a military expedition.[79]

While the United States had tried to use the military expedition law against Irish revolutionaries and Cuban *insurrectos* in the nineteenth century and Mexican *revoltosos* in the early twentieth century, few had been successfully prosecuted. Until the Chicago and San Francisco conspiracy trials, the courts had been reluctant to use the conspiracy statute against individual revolutionaries and had defined what constituted a military expedition very narrowly. While it was clear that the Germans and Indians on trial did attempt to ship arms to India, this in itself would not have constituted a violation of neutrality laws unless the conspiracy statue was applied. Ultimately, the defendants were convicted of conspiring to set on foot a "military expedition."[80] Armed with a court ruling that paved the way for a new wave of antiradicalism in the United States, federal officials had wide discretion to target anyone who advocated "alien" doctrines seeking radical change in the geopolitical landscape. After the Justice Department's success in San Francisco, it applied the conspiracy statute to domestic security cases involving political activists and, over the next fifty years, it convicted political radicals for conspiracy to violate the Selective Service and Espionage Acts of 1917, the Smith Act of 1940, and the Selective Service Act of 1967.[81]

Though the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial dealt a decisive blow to the Ghadar Party, Indians continued to organize across the diaspora and were subjected to even closer scrutiny by the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation and the British government's Department of Criminal Intelligence DCI after the war. According to British authorities, by the summer of 1919 there were "three Indian gangs in the United States" that were "carrying on propaganda against the British-Indian Government." The first was what was left of the Ghadar Party, led by Bhagwan Singh; the second was the New York–based Indian Nationalist Party, led by Agnes Smedley and Sailendra Nath Ghose; and the third was Lajpat Rai's Young India party. In addition to these, there was "another nucleus of sedition in Mexico," led by M. N. Roy, as well as what British authorities referred to as the "Manila Gang," an allegedly disloyal and seditious group of Indians in the Philippines who were pinning their hopes on "an expected Bolshevik invasion" in India.[82]

US attorney Preston drew heavily from the domestic battles against political dissidents brewing around him and conflated what were popularly perceived as two of the greatest threats to national security at the time: the "yellow peril" and the "red menace." During the trial, Indians were not

merely victims of the government's antiradical crusade. They played an integral role in testing and enforcing the government's expansive interpretation of existing antiradical laws in order to combat political radicalism. The prosecution of fourteen "Hindu conspirators" in the San Francisco trial ultimately served as a powerful justification for the federal government's growing intelligence system and the consolidation of federal power, the legitimacy of which depended upon the ongoing threat of radicals deemed a threat to the nation's security.[83] At the same time that the Wilson administration claimed to be advancing the cause of self-determination, it was taking steps to crush all forms of Indian anticolonialism in the United States, thus keeping the path toward self-determination and the script of "racial progress" with the bounds of Wilsonian ideology. As the Justice Department argued its case in the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial, mounting fears of the influence of Bolshevism around the world plagued US and British officials. Just as Preston seized upon fears surrounding the success of the Bolshevists in toppling the Russian monarchy in order to make a case against Indian revolutionaries, the Wilson administration deployed the threat of Bolshevism to further its own efforts to stifle dissent.

THE "HINDU" MENACE AND THE RED SCARE

During the First World War, the Wilson administration guided Congress in passing numerous restrictive immigration and antiradical laws that gave the government wide discretion to incarcerate, exclude, and deport those suspected of engaging in radical political organizing. Between February 1917 and October 1918, Congress passed the Espionage and Sedition Acts, as well as the Immigration Acts of 1917 and 1918. The Espionage Act, passed in June 1917, gave the federal government broad powers to punish any appearance of disloyalty or interference with the draft, while the Sedition Act, passed in May 1918, allowed federal authorities to punish those responsible for any writings or speeches deemed disloyal to the US government, Constitution, army, or navy or that might harm the country's war efforts by encouraging resistance to the United States or promoting the cause of its enemies.[84]

Congress passed these antiradical laws at the same time that it implemented increasingly restrictive immigration policies. The Immigration Acts of 1917 and 1918 effectively excluded Indians from entering the United States under the "Barred Zone" law and sanctioned guilt by association and the elimination of the statute of limitations for deportation for post-entry criminal conduct in immigration proceedings. Frustrated by its inability to suppress foreign radical activity under existing laws, the Justice Department

decided that the best way to detain and remove foreign radicals from the country was to go through the Immigration Department, whose decisions did not require due process. Both the Immigration Acts of 1917 and 1918 made the exclusion and deportation of "aliens" suspected of having radical beliefs or affiliations a cornerstone of the federal government's antiradical campaigns after the war.[85]

The Bureau of Investigation emerged as the strongest domestic intelligence agency in the postwar years. Though the bureau employed only about 300 agents when it was formed in 1908, by the end of the war it had 1500 agents monitoring enemy aliens, war dissenters, and those suspected of having potential ties with Bolshevism or anarchism, all of which were loosely defined. In 1919, Justice Department attorney J. Edgar Hoover was appointed to lead the bureau's antiradical efforts as the head of the General Intelligence Division (GID). Hoover required all bureau field offices to submit weekly reports on local radical activities. While Hoover ordered that bureau agents comment specifically on the usual suspects—Bolsheviks, anarchists, and labor unions—he also specified that the weekly reports should comment on Japanese, Mexican, African American, and Indian agitators.[86]

As the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation grew, so did the War Department's Military Intelligence Division (MID), which also targeted "enemy aliens" and, after the First World War, all perceived forms of economic and political radicalism.[87] Like the bureau, the MID kept a close eye on Indians. In the spring of 1918, the MID submitted an intelligence report to the Labor Department in which it warned that "the Hindus are preparing to take an active part in strikes and other anti-war demonstrations fomented by the I.W.W., Bolsheviki and kindred masses in this country, about May first." Contrary to the MID's warnings, a strong contingent of Indian organizers did not participate in May Day rallies in 1918. Nevertheless, the MID continued to monitor Indians, convinced that they constituted a "menace" to national security.[88]

By late 1917, Bolshevism was the epitome of all that was evil and the mere suspicion that one was a Bolshevist justified, indeed necessitated, in the eyes of US officials, surveillance, exclusion, and deportation. In the postwar period, as labor unrest was on the rise and general strikes and race riots swept the country, the idea that America was under attack by Bolshevists attempting to dismantle the racial, imperial, and economic status quo not only in the United States but across the world found wide acceptance. In an international context, Bolshevism was the antithesis of Wilsonian visions of a gradualist path towards self-determination under an American-led world order. The new Bolshevik government was clear about its intention not to dominate foreign peoples or occupy their territories, but

rather to mobilize peoples of color worldwide into revolutionary action. Especially alarming to US authorities was the Bolshevik Party's view that America offered a fertile recruiting ground for creating revolutionaries out of the country's disaffected racial minorities.[89]

The Red Scare was rooted in the fear that there were anarchist and left-wing radicals determined to bring a Bolshevik revolution to the United States that would destroy all aspects of American life. Some Indian anticolonialists exploited the Wilson administration's deep opposition to Bolshevism for their own purposes. Lajpat Rai used the threat of Bolshevism as a tool to advance India's self-determination, warning that Bolshevism in India could be averted only if "the different peoples of the earth, now being bled and exploited," were conceded their rights. "A contented, self-governed India," Rai wrote, would offer the best protection against the spread of Bolshevism. "A discontented, dissatisfied, oppressed India," however, would offer Bolshevists "a fertile field."[90]

The antiradical hysteria of the postwar period was fueled by events shaking the country during the "Red Summer" of 1919, when race riots targeting black Americans swept across dozens of American cities. At the end of the war, African American soldiers, like colored and colonized soldiers across the globe, had returned to the home front expecting greater political, economic, and social equality, only to find that racial hierarchies and systems of exploitation and subordination had not changed. This reign of racial violence during the summer of 1919 coincided with the federal government's growing intolerance of political organizing. The coordinated bombings on June 2, 1919, of figures representing the American political and economic establishment, including the US attorney-general Alexander Mitchell Palmer, attacked at his home in Washington, DC, led to the Palmer Raids from November 1919 to January 1920, during which the Justice Department arrested and sought to deport hundreds of suspected radical leftists. Though many legal experts at the time criticized the Palmer Raids as unconstitutional, the political repression of anyone deemed a threat to national security continued.

The "Hindu Conspiracy" trial must be read against the backdrop of the closing days of the war and the impending repressive atmosphere of the Red Scare. In casting Indian anticolonialists as Bolshevists during the San Francisco trial, Preston used the case to showcase the federal government's intolerance of radical doctrine. While not all Indian anticolonialists ascribed to Bolshevism's commitment to the worldwide overthrow of capitalism and the abolition of private property, they were nevertheless described by Preston as adherents of Bolshevism, and thus a threat to American political and economic traditions and philosophies.[91] The Bolshevik revolution fueled a nationwide antiradical hysteria and continued to shape the

stereotype of Indians as inherently menacing, subversive, and un-American. While Indian anticolonialists did call for an end to British colonialism and the dismantling of the global imperial and racial order, visions of emancipation that no doubt seemed dangerously radical to some, state officials and national newspapers misrepresented a movement to overthrow British rule as a conspiracy against the US government and a crime against society.

After years of racial exclusion, surveillance, and political repression, many Indians began to reassess their vision of the United States as a beacon of hope. During the war, Indian anticolonialists had been acutely aware of the limitations of America's democratic claims and proceeded carefully in their anticolonial critiques, often appealing to American exceptionalism while making clear that they expected Wilson to uphold his wartime promises not just in Europe, but also in Asia and Africa. Though Indian anticolonialists exploited Wilsonian rhetoric for their own aims, they did not simply embrace Wilson as the embodiment of hope and democratic possibility. Rather, they consistently voiced their fears that the Great War was not being fought for freedom and democracy, but rather to destroy Germany's imperial ambitions, disempower it as an imperial competitor, and allow Britain to maintain control of its imperial possessions.

Just after the United States went to war with Germany, Ghadarite Bhagwan Singh criticized the United States for its friendship with Britain and questioned whether the United States truly was "in this war for the freedom of slave nations." Chandra K. Chakravarty urged the United States to demand consistency from its allies, stating that if Germany had no right to Belgium and Poland, neither did England have any right to Ireland, Egypt, and India.[92] In the war's waning days, many Indian anticolonialists began to articulate a counternarrative of the First World War as a war between what anticolonial leader Lajpat Rai, perhaps the greatest proponent of Wilsonianism among Indian anticolonialists in the United States, described as "rival commercial groups." Meanwhile, many Ghadar Party leaders were deeply disillusioned by what they came to view as the hypocrisies of Wilson's Fourteen Points and began to contend that the Great War had been driven by the quest for colonial acquisitions and capitalist expansion. The Ghadar Party circulated "An Open Letter to the People at Large," in which it demanded that the Allied powers commit themselves to "Freedom to all colonies: Not Re-Division of the Loot."[93]

By the end of the Great War, US surveillance and repression, in conjunction with what many Indian anticolonialists viewed as the hollow rhetoric of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, had led many of the movement's adherents to see the inter-imperial relationship between the United States and Britain as part of an ongoing inter-imperial commitment to Anglo-American hegemony. Their negative experiences with American

democracy had nudged many toward international communism. As Indians found themselves subject to ongoing exclusion, surveillance and repression, Sailendra Nath Ghose drew a link between "the growth of America as a world power" and its implementation of immigration laws that were "more and more restrictive."[94] Although Indian anticolonialists initially appealed to America's democratic promises, racial exclusion and political repression altered the trajectory of their anticolonial politics, and many came to feel that they were battling not only British but American imperialism as well. The radicalism and repression of Indian anticolonialists in North America enabled and facilitated the Red Scare and the global anticolonial movements that would be unleashed after the First World War.

Contrary to the accusations that had been hurled against them since before the First World War had begun, what the vast majority of Indian anticolonialists in North America had always sought was self-determination and the creation of a democratic country. Rather than finding a safe haven in the United States from which to work for the formation of such a government, they faced a country determined to bar their entry with policies dictated by long-standing traditions of Asian exclusion and abhorrence to political radicalism. During the war, Indians from San Francisco to Calcutta published articles critical of America's lofty claims of fighting a war to make the world safe for democracy. Many of them focused specifically on America's treatment of black Americans and Asian immigrants. As they saw it, a war that was ostensibly being fought to widen the bounds of democracy had done little more than solidify the global color line, for it had cast outside such bounds the colored peoples of the world struggling under the weight of colonial subjugation.

After the war, there was a smattering of reports in *The Crisis*, the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), about the cause of Indian independence. In one issue, *The Crisis* strongly condemned the Justice Department for its efforts to deport six Indians who had been convicted in the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial after the completion of their sentences to India, where they were almost certain to face execution or life imprisonment at the hands of the British government. The deportation cases prompted widespread protests from such unlikely groups as the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the United Mine Workers of America, and the International Garment Workers Union, all of which called the proposed deportations a "violation of the spirit of democracy" and a denial of the right of asylum that the United States had claimed to extend "to the downtrodden of the world" for over a century.[95] While the deportation cases provided a rallying point for organized labor to object to the political repression sweeping the country, ultimately the support of these labor groups downplayed the radical potential of Indian

anticolonialism. Rather than highlighting Indian anticolonial global visions of freedom from racial, colonial, and economic oppression, these protests framed the deportation of Indians as a move that would deal a severe blow to America's exceptionalist image of itself as a bastion of liberty and hope to the world's downtrodden. To Indian anticolonialists, however, the limitations of American promises of universality and freedom had already become all too clear.

Meanwhile, *The Crisis* strongly criticized the Justice Department's efforts to deport Indians for doing nothing more than what "Washington, Jefferson and Franklin" had been guilty of, namely, "struggling to free their country from the rule of the stranger."[96] US intelligence officials pointed to such expressions of sympathy from *The Crisis* as evidence of Afro-Asian solidarity in the interwar period that should be closely monitored. In February 1922, a US intelligence official warned the director of the Office of Naval Intelligence that "the present Hindu revolutionary movement has definite connections with the Negro agitation in America."[97]

These expressions of unity between black Americans and Indian anticolonialists were alarming to US and British officials alike, who seized upon such racial solidarities to justify and expand their inter-imperial surveillance apparatus. By 1919, British officials were arguing that there were dangerous links between radicalism in their West Indian colonies, American black militancy, and international communism. British and American intelligence agencies began gathering and sharing intelligence on black radicals, focusing particularly on the meeting of the Communist Third International in Russia in 1920.[98] Additionally, there were reports surfacing that a contingent of Ghadarites from San Francisco were planning to attend the 1920 meeting. Within a few years communism would start to gain a foothold in India, thanks in large part to returned emigrants like M. N. Roy and Ghadarites in Punjab, including Sohan Singh Bhakna. The structures and relationships through which Anglo-American intelligence on African American and Indian radicals was collected and shared persisted in the First World War and interwar years, when British and US officials continued to exchange information in an effort to combat the spread of communism.

Prior to America's entry into the Great War, the surveillance of Indians in the United States was largely done by British and Canadian officials, who then passed on the information to the Bureau of Immigration, hoping to enact deportation proceedings against Indian leaders. As the United States prepared to enter the war, the Justice and State Departments began to assume far more active roles in the surveillance of Indian anticolonialists. While the Justice Department concentrated its efforts on repressing radical Indian anticolonialism as a national security issue, the State Department was influenced by broader global concerns of the rise of anticolonial nationalism

among colonized peoples across Asia and Africa.[99] In the spring of 1919 the British proposed that the two governments formally cooperate in combating Bolshevism around the world. The American embassy in London, which began passing many of the Bureau of Investigation's documents on to the British government, endorsed the proposal and suggested that the head of British intelligence in the United States be given direct access to officials in the MID and the Justice and Labor Departments. Soon after, a secret British military intelligence office was established in New York City. The Bureau of Investigation, which changed its name to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in 1935, also continued to closely monitor and keep detailed information on Indians in the United States well into the 1950s, when the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities investigated potential Ghadar Party ties to the Communist Party.[100] US and British officials viewed the forms of political radicalism that emerged during the Red Scares after the First and Second World Wars as global problems that needed to be combatted through inter-imperial collaboration.

By 1919, those Indian leaders who had been convicted in the "Hindu Conspiracy" trial in San Francisco had completed their sentences and been released. Though their anticolonial politics did not cease, many of them parted ways. Sailendra Nath Ghose and Taraknath Das organized the New York–based Friends of Freedom for India, an anti-imperialist organization whose membership comprised Indians and white American activists. Meanwhile Santokh Singh and Rattan Singh had revived the Ghadar Party and established contacts with the Communist International. With the success of the Bolshevik revolution, many Ghadar Party members had joined the international communist movement and organized political movements in Punjab that were influenced by analyses of both anticolonialism and communism.[101] Santokh and Rattan attended the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International as representatives of the Ghadar Party and deployed dozens of Ghadarites from the United States and Canada to Russia to acquire a revolutionary education. Ghadar Party leaders shuttled between Moscow, Turkey, Afghanistan, the United States, Mexico, India, China, and Japan seeking to build a communist movement in Punjab.[102] For them, Soviet Russia offered a promising alternative to British claims of benevolent imperialism and to American liberal democracy. British intelligence continued to closely monitor Ghadarites across India, East Asia, Russia, and California. According to British surveillance reports, by 1926 the Ghadar Party in California was more active than it had been since the First World War and throughout the 1930s the party organized meetings in Sacramento, Fresno, Marysville, Stockton, Oxnard, and other towns, and sent thousands of dollars to India for political purposes.[103]

After the armistice, Indians, like colored peoples across the world, were deeply disappointed by the results of the Paris Peace Conference and demanded that the United States clearly state its position on the imperial question. Writing in the Ghadar Party's periodical *The Independent Hindustan*, Surendra Nath Kar declared that the people of the world had grown weary of the United States positioning itself in a "halfway house," in which it claimed to be the repository of freedom and justice while repeatedly and aggressively engaging in actions that proved to the contrary.[104] The United States must, Karr argued, take a clear stance as either an "imperialistic" or "anti-imperialistic power." Echoing Karr's statements, in 1921 Taraknath Das asked if the United States would champion the rights of all oppressed peoples and support world freedom or if it would continue to be a "tool of British imperialism" and a partner in Western dominance across the globe.[105]

Following the trajectory of the "Hindu" menace from the first decade of the twentieth century through the Red Scare illuminates the various racial formations by which Indians were characterized in the United States. Calls for Indian exclusion beginning in 1907 were based on charges that they constituted a threat to the American standard of living because of their alleged incapacity for assimilation and their willingness to work as cheap laborers. By the time the United States entered the war, Indians had been racialized as a threat to both national security and Anglo-American dominance across Asia and the Pacific. Antiradical and restrictive immigration policies and practices to target the alleged threats posed by the "Hindu" menace and other foreign radicals were often inseparable. Indeed, the implementation of such laws and practices relied upon the ever-present threat to national security posed by the foreign radical, with which the Indian migrant had long been synonymous.

Epilogue

We must make it clear that revolution does not mean an upheaval . . . revolution necessarily implies the programme of systematic reconstruction of society on a new and better adopted basis, often necessitating complete destruction of the existing state of affairs. It was one of the illusions of each generation that the social institutions in which it lived were natural and permanent.

Bhagat Singh (1930)

In 1931, the Indian revolutionary Bhagat Singh sat in a cold, dark cell in the Lahore central jail awaiting execution. He had been sentenced to death for attempting to avenge the killing of the revered anticolonial leader Lajpat Rai. Three years earlier, Rai had led 5000 protestors in Lahore in a demonstration against the Simon Commission, a British parliamentary commission that had been dispatched to India to assess whether Indians were "ready" for further constitutional reforms that would help the country move towards self-rule. As the commission members tried to make their way to the meeting in Lahore, the protesters formed a wall that prevented them from moving forward. Superintendent of police James A. Scott ordered the crowd to disperse but Lajpat Rai exhorted them to hold their ground. Scott then ordered police forces to begin beating the protesters with *lathis* (sticks). Scott himself beat Rai so severely that he died a few weeks later from his injuries. As Superintendent Scott beat him, Rai uttered these final words before losing consciousness: "Every blow that was hurled at us this afternoon was a nail in the coffin of the British Empire."[1]

As a twelve-year-old child, Bhagat Singh had visited Jallianwala Bagh, the park where hundreds of innocent Indians had been gunned down in

1919. Deeply moved by his visit to the hallowed ground, Bhagat collected a packet of dirt stained with the blood of the victims that he carried for years as a way of paying homage to those who had been massacred. He felt that British officials in India had gotten away with the murder of hundreds of innocent protesters at Jallianwala Bagh and that Superintendent Scott must be held accountable for Lajpat Rai's death. Bhagat and two other revolutionaries were assigned the task of assassinating Superintendent Scott by the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army, of which they were active members. However, one of Bhagat's comrades shot and killed the wrong police officer. After eluding the police for months, Bhagat eventually was arrested after a meticulously planned surrender in which he and fellow revolutionary B. K. Dutta threw bombs in the Central Legislative Assembly building while shouting what would become the common slogan for the Indian freedom struggle in subsequent years: "*Inquilab Zindabad*" ("Long Live Revolution").[2] During his imprisonment, Bhagat gained widespread national support during a hunger strike to demand equal rights for British and Indian political prisoners that lasted over one hundred days—the longest hunger strike ever undertaken by a revolutionary—during which police officers forcibly fed him.[3] He was tried before a special tribunal and, like the Ghadarites who had been convicted of conspiracy to overthrow British rule during the 1915 Lahore Conspiracy Trial, he decided to use the trial as a platform upon which to broadcast his revolutionary message. As Bhagat and his comrades marched to their deaths, shouts of "Long Live Revolution" and "Down with Imperialism" resonated through the jail cells, and on March 23, 1931, twenty-three year old Bhagat Singh was hanged.[4]

Born on September 28, 1907, Bhagat Singh came from a family of freedom fighters and was the nephew of Ajit Singh, the revered Punjabi revolutionary whom the British Indian government had arrested and deported in 1907 with Lajpat Rai for their anti-British political organizing across Punjab. When the Ghadar Party attempted to overthrow the British Raj in 1915, Bhagat's father, Kishan Singh, welcomed the returning emigrants into his home, often providing them with money and advice on how to proceed with their revolutionary plans. Eight-year-old Bhagat witnessed many of these meetings and self-consciously modeled himself after the revered Ghadar revolutionary Kartar Singh Sarabha, whose picture he always carried in his pocket.[5] Though Bhagat had never been to the United States, the Indian anticolonial movement that emerged from there profoundly influenced him and shaped the course of his short life. Bhagat revered both Lajpat Rai and the Ghadar Party, and he embodied the broad scope of the North America–based Indian anticolonial movement. He cited the Ghadar Party as one of his inspirations and believed that it was the only Indian revolutionary party at the time that clearly articulated what it was fighting for.

Though historians often have portrayed the Ghadar Party as lacking a cohesive political theory, Bhagat believed the party's intentions were clear: they wanted to replace the existing system of imperial governance in India with a republican form of government based on democratic ideals. He was moved by the ways in which these Indian workers and farmers in the United States had been politicized so quickly and had chosen to dedicate their lives to overthrowing British rule.[6]

During his time in the Lahore central jail, Bhagat befriended head warden Charat Singh. The two men had a fondness and mutual respect for one another, and Charat routinely allowed books to be smuggled in to Bhagat. Bhagat taught himself Marxism, communism, and revolutionary philosophy and he compiled a series of prison notebooks full of inspirational quotations from intellectuals and activists including Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, and Lajpat Rai.[7] As the date of his execution drew near, Bhagat found consolation in these writings and in the sacrifices of those who had come before him. He seemed particularly interested in Rai's meditations on the limitations and hypocrisies of the forms of "democracy" practiced by Western imperial powers. In the year that he was killed, Rai had published his autobiography, in which he expounded that imperial expansion was the driving force of Western history, including that of the United States. Linking US conquest across North America, the genocide of Native Americans, and African slavery in the United States to European colonialism in Asia and Africa, Rai argued that the history of Western imperialism was advanced by pronouncements of racial superiority. Pointing to the simultaneous advancement of liberal democracy and racial subjugation under a pan-imperial whiteness, Rai wrote that the white imperialist had forced the movement of subjugated peoples "from Africa to till the Virginian fields and incidentally to sow the seed of a great colour problem for himself in modern America. He brought them from India in thousands to enrich himself by their labour in Natal and incidentally sowed the seed of a great problem himself in the South Africa of today."[8] Pointing to the exploitation of Asian and African labor as critical to the development of industrialization and racial capitalism in Western countries, Rai described racial subjugation and economic exploitation as the foundations upon which liberal democracies had been built.

When Rai ended his five-year exile in the United States in 1919, he penned numerous articles and delivered speeches in which he concluded that for Indians seeking to build a free and independent country, European and American democracies were far from ideal. According to Rai, Indians could not look to the United States, where "the lynching of the Negroes" was evidence that "caste and privilege rule in the United States as much as in India," nor could they look to Western Europe. For Rai, "the democracies

of the United States, Great Britain, and France are only democracies in name," that mercilessly imposed their rule on racialized minorities and colonized subjects across the world. [9] Rai's critiques of the inherent limitations and unfulfilled promises of Western democracies and his commitment to Indian freedom had a profound impact on Bhagat and reminded him of the urgency of the revolutionary movement for which he would ultimately sacrifice his life.[10]

Shortly after Bhagat Singh was executed, the first president of the Ghadar Party, Sohan Singh Bhakna, was released from the Lahore central jail following a sixteen-year imprisonment. Having been convicted in the 1915 Lahore Conspiracy Trial, Bhakna was sent to the Andaman Islands and, in 1928, he was transferred to the Lahore central jail. It was here that, thirteen years after Bhakna and his Ghadar comrades had been convicted for their roles in attempting to overthrow British rule at the start of the Great War, Sohan Singh Bhakna and Bhagat Singh first met.[11] Like many of the anticolonialists of their time, both believed that political freedom in India would mean nothing without economic freedom. Bhaghat had once written to his mother, "I have no doubt that my country will be one day free. But I am afraid that the brown sahibs are going to sit in the chairs the white sahibs will vacate."[12] For Bhagat and many of the Ghadarites who returned to India from North America, the emancipatory dreams of a decolonized India were rooted in not only Indian self-determination but also a commitment to free the Indian people from the destructive and exploitative nature of capitalism.[13]

On the eve of Bhakna's release, British officials worried about his political influence in Punjab and tried to extend his sentence. In protest, Bhakna went on a hunger strike. His condition rapidly deteriorated and Punjabi newspapers began to report that the government seemed determined to kill him in jail. The Communist Party took a leading role in mobilizing for Bhakna's freedom and under the mounting pressure of public opinion the government was forced to have Bhakna hospitalized. He continued the hunger strike there, even as doctors tried to forcibly feed him through a tube. In the face of this public relations catastrophe, the British government felt it had no choice but to release Bhakna on the condition that he would be confined to his village. Bhakna, however, refused to accept any conditions and continued fasting.

After ninety days the government finally yielded and released Bhakna without any conditions, though the Department of Criminal Intelligence (DCI) immediately began tracking him closely. As soon as his health improved he resumed his political organizing, concentrating on securing the release of his Ghadar colleagues who were still in prison, as well as becoming active in communist politics in India. Then the Second World

Figure E.1 Sohan Singh Bhakna, second from the right, in 1938 at the Amritsar railway station. Courtesy of Amarjit Chandan Collection, photo by Kesar Singh.

War started and the British government rounded up revolutionaries, leftists, communists, and socialists. Bhakna was arrested once again. He later opened a school for girls and advocated greater freedoms and education for women and continued his political activism until the end of his life.[14]

Bhakna's life represents the spectrum of Ghadar Party activity, from its emergence in the lumber mills of Oregon to its reincarnation as a communist movement in the 1920s and 1930s. When Bhakna left Punjab for the United States in 1909, the province was predominantly loyal to the British Raj. Although Bhakna had been involved in nationalist political organizing in India, like most other Punjabis who migrated to North America in the early twentieth century, he was primarily motivated by labor opportunities that would allow him to pay his debts and maintain his family's agricultural landholdings. He found a job at the Monarch mill outside Portland, Oregon, where nearly 200 Punjabis were already employed alongside Chinese, Japanese, Turkish, and Russian workers.[15] According to Bhakna's biographer, Sohan Singh Josh, when Bhakna first arrived in the United States, he felt that he "was altogether in a new world. There was the fresh breeze of freedom. The atmosphere was charged with the new ideas of democracy." The more he compared this new world with that of colonial India, the more he came to recognize that his native country was suffering under the curse of British "slavery."[16]

The development of Bhakna's anticolonial consciousness followed the same trajectory as thousands of Indian migrants who came to the United

States during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Though they arrived as labor migrants, they left as anticolonial revolutionaries. Their politicization was a consequence of the racial violence, exclusion, and surveillance they were subjected to in North America. Ultimately, anti-Asian racism and political repression in North America fueled their anticolonial politics as much as the injustices of British rule in India. In February 1917, the same month that the Bolsheviks overthrew the Russian monarchy, the US Congress passed the "Barred Zone" Act, effectively barring the migration of laborers to the United States from almost all of Asia. At the same moment that Russia postured itself as standing at the forefront of global freedom and progress and the beacon of hope for colonized peoples, the United States, a self-described "nation of nations," closed its doors to vast portions of the world's people. Ironically, the specter that the British and US governments had so deeply feared and had worked so assiduously to repress was one they helped create—an anticolonial movement that looked to Bolshevist, and later, communist, Russia for inspiration and guidance. While breathing the air of freedom in the United States may have initially prompted Indian migrant laborers to compare India under British rule with an independent America, many anticolonialists ultimately came to view their experiences with racial discrimination and exclusion in the United States as evidence that the color line circumscribing the possibilities for freedom and equality in India in fact encircled the globe.

Though Bhakna lived to see India's independence in 1947, he felt that what emerged from the ruins of the British Raj bore little resemblance to the vision to which he and revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh had devoted their life's work. As he later wrote, "the foreign exploiter has gone but the indigenous exploiter is not less treacherous." For Bhakna, the failure of Indian independence was that it had been unable to resist the capitalist world system and that its postindependence leaders occupied the very positions that the British had once held. During the First World War, Ghadarites from around the world had returned to India with the hope that upon the ruins of the British empire would "rise new nations with new hopes, new aspirations, and new aims."[17] For Bhakna, the tragedy of the India that emerged postindependence was that it was a mere caricature of the British colonial system.

This book has contended that Indians who came to North America during the early twentieth century arrived at a critical moment in US and global history. Their migrations were prompted by the capitalist development of the American West and the exploitative nature of British imperialism, just as their exclusions were driven by transnational efforts to construct and enforce "white men's" countries and repress anticolonial revolt. During their journeys across the globe, they came to understand that the racially

restrictive immigration policies of the United States and British white settler countries were intended to systematically and deliberately exclude racialized minorities from full and equal political participation and social membership. Hoping to become an important symbol for those battling against racial oppression and colonial subjugation across the world, Indian anticolonialists provoked a global inter-imperial collaboration between US and British officials to repress the possibility of anticolonial uprisings. The entanglements of British colonialism in India, white settler colonialism across the Pacific, white American racism, and US and British state antiradicalism overlapped and operated in tandem as forms of repression. These forces sought to silence those who boldly confronted the British and American empires, foreclosing the possibility of multiracial democracies in the United States and British white settler countries.

While this book contributes to the rich Asian American historiography that traces the circulation of Asian peoples across the Pacific, it challenges the ways in which such studies have largely framed Asian exclusion as a betrayal of the promises of the US liberal nation-state, the redemption of which is linked to national inclusion through the liberalization of restrictive immigration and naturalization policies.[18] Through such frameworks, these studies have often reinforced the claims of the liberal nation-state as the guarantor of rights and freedoms unfulfilled, rather than detailing its inherent limits and contradictions. The experiences of Indians in North America during the early twentieth century necessitate a reconsideration of traditional paradigms for understanding Asian American and US history, which have often privileged narratives of assimilation and multiculturalism. Theirs was not solely a movement for inclusion in the United States or for the formation of an Indian nation-state, but a transnational anticolonial politics that transcended nationalism and looked beyond the narrow horizons of Western liberal democracies for emancipatory possibilities.

Indians who left North America for India as revolutionaries were both influenced by the democratic ideals of the United States and deeply disillusioned with the inequitable practices of American democracy. Firm in their conviction that their refusal to obey the authority of the British Raj would help stem the tide of white supremacy, they viewed the repressive reactions to their anticolonial movement by the United States and Britain—one whose global ascendance had just begun and the other determined to maintain its hold over an empire upon which the sun would never set—as evidence that the global racial and imperial order was starting to crack. Their fight for self-determination exposed the wide gap between the democracies that the United States and Britain purported themselves to be and the persistent reality of racial subjugation that each global power continued to practice and endorse. They

devoted their lives to closing this gap and worked for national independence because they believed that an independent India would advance freedom across the world. The echoes that resonated from the lumber mills and agricultural valleys of British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, and California and across the work camps of South America, the *gurdwaras* of Manila, Shanghai, and Hong Kong, British infantry units in Singapore and Burma, and cities and villages in Punjab, carried not only their shouts of mutiny, but their steadfast hopes for freedom, justice, and equality.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Saint Nihal Sing, "Colour Line in the United States of America and How the Negro is Uplifting Himself despite Odds" *Modern Review* 4, no. 5–6 (1908), 370.
2. Ibid., 367.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., 368 and 366. For more on the transnational racial analogies being articulated by Indians and African Americans, as well as the transatlantic discourse of white supremacy, see Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).
5. The term "white Pacific" comes from Gerald Horne, *The White Pacific: U.S. Imperialism and Black Slavery in the South Seas after the Civil War* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007). On constructing the boundaries of a "white Pacific" through anti-Asian racism, see Kornel Chang, "Circulating Race and Empire: Transnational Labor Activism and the Politics of Anti-Asian Agitation in the Anglo-American Pacific World, 1880–1910," *Journal of American History* 96 (December 2009), 678–701; Erika Lee, "The 'Yellow Peril' and Asian Exclusion in the Americas," *Pacific Historical Review* 76 (November 2007), 537–62. On the relationship between anti-Asian immigration policies and white settler colonialism, see Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
6. US Congress, House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization (hereafter US HCIN), *Hearings on the Restriction of Hindu Laborers*, 63d Cong., 2d sess., April 23, 1914, pp. 164–70.
7. The concept of the "organic intellectual" comes from Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971). Also see Harish K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organization, and Strategy* (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University Press, 1993).
8. For more on how discourses of anti-Asian racism and antiradicalism overlapped and evolved into a national security discourse, see Moon-Ho Jung, "Seditious Subjects: Race, State Violence, and the U.S. Empire," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 14 (June 2011), 221–47.
9. My discussion of the "inter-imperial" relations between the US and British empires is shaped by Paul Kramer, "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and U.S. Empires, 1880–1910," *Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (2002), 1315–53.
10. For more on how US and British spheres of power were constructed together, see Vivek Bald, Miabi Chatterji, Sujani Reddy, and Manu Vimalassery, eds., *The Sun Never Sets: South Asian Migrants in an Age of U.S. Power* (New York: New York University Press, 2013).

11. On internationalizing US history, see Michael Adas, "From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon: Integrating the Exceptionalist Narrative of the American Experience into World History," *American Historical Review* 106 (December 2001), 1692–1720; Matthew Guterl and Christine Skwiot, "Atlantic and Pacific Crossings: Race, Empire, and 'the Labor Problem' in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Radical History Review* 91 (Winter 2005), 40–61; David Thelen, "Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons: Toward the Internationalization of American History," *Journal of American History* 79 (September 1992), 432–62.
12. The book builds upon the work of historians who have recently argued that US colonialism in the Philippines forged new forms of state power domestically and that the ramifications of American empire included the formation of what historian Moon-Ho Jung has called the "modern" security state in both the Philippines and on the US mainland. Unbound by the US Constitution, the US-Philippine War generated the development of a broad infrastructure of intelligence and surveillance. For more, see Jung, "Seditious Subjects"; Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano, eds., *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Paul Kramer, "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World," *American Historical Review* 116, no. 5 (1911), 1348–91.
13. For an important exception to this nationalist framework, see Maia Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), which documents the transnational ideologies and practices of the Ghadar Party. For books on the North America-based Indian nationalist movement, see Kalyan Kumar Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement: Revolutionaries in America* (Calcutta: Jijnasa, 1969); Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1977–8); R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, 3 vols. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1962–3); Puri, *Ghadar Movement*; Tilak Raj Sareen, *Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad, 1905–1921* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1979); Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, volume two. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966). For biographies of Indian anticolonial leaders, see Emily Clara Brown, *Har Dayal: Hindu Revolutionary and Rationalist* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975); Sohan Singh Josh, *Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna: Life of the Founder of the Ghadar Party* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1970); Tapan K. Mukherjee, *Taraknath Das: Life and Letters of a Revolutionary in Exile* (Calcutta: National Council of Education, 1998).
14. Richard Kim, *The Quest for Statehood: Korean Immigrant Nationalism and U.S. Sovereignty, 1905–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 161.
15. Beverley Gage, *The Day Wall Street Exploded: A Story of America in Its First Age of Terror* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2.
16. For more on the indispensability and limits of Western modernity and the racialized premises of liberalism, see Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Uday Singh Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
17. Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press: 1999), 81–2. I am grateful to Moon-Ho Jung for his insight in helping me develop this idea.
18. Lala Lajpat Rai, "Mr. Lajpat Rai's Address," *Young India* 3 (February 1920), 39.
19. Lala Lajpat Rai, "ABC of Indian Politics," (1922), 109, reprinted in Vijaya Chandra Joshi, ed., *Lala Lajpat Rai: Writings and Speeches*, vol. 2, *1920–1928* (Delhi: University

Publishers, 1966); Rai, "A Call to Young India," (1919), 311, reprinted in Joshi, *Lala Lajpat Rai: Writings and Speeches*, vol. 1, *1888–1919* (Delhi: University Publishers, 1966).

20. On the connections between radicals and "aliens," see William Preston Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903–1933* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963). For more on the connections between race and antiradicalism, see Theodore Kornweibel, *Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns against Black Militancy, 1919–1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Mark Ellis, *Race, War, and Surveillance: African Americans and the United States Government during World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).
21. On British colonial constructions of Sikh masculinity, see Doris R. Jakobsh, *Relocating Gender in Sikh History: Transformation, Meaning, and Identity* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 50–69. For more on the connections between gender and colonialism more broadly, see M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, eds., "Introduction: Genealogies, Legacies, Movements," in *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*, M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, eds., xiii–xlii (New York: Routledge, 1997); Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
22. For more on the links between British colonialism in South Asia, the labor and political migrations that followed, and the perceived threat of a racialized Sikh masculinity, see Junaid Rana, *Terrifying Muslims: Race and Labor in the South Asian Diaspora* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 17.
23. There is, however, an excellent body of scholarship that examines Asian American political activism. See Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Joan M. Jensen, *Passage from India: Asian Indian Immigrants in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Kim, *Quest for Statehood*; Daryl J. Maeda, *Chains of Babylon: The Rise of Asian America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Renqui Yu, *To Save China, to Save Ourselves: The Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).
24. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, *India as I Knew It, 1885–1925* (London: Constable, 1925), 197.
25. Lala Lajpat Rai, "The New Internationalism," *Young India* 1 (April 1918), 9.

CHAPTER 1

1. Sundar Singh, "Hindu Immigration," *The Aryan* (August 1911), MG 30 E281, Manuscript Group 30: Twentieth Century Manuscripts, Kartar Singh Fonds, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa (hereafter cited as MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds).
2. Padmavati Chandra, quoted in tape-recorded interview, "Vidya C. Rasmussen and Mark Juergensmeyer with Mrs. Padmavati Chandra," November 18, 1972, New York City, box 4, folder 1, South Asians in North America Collection, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter cited as South Asians in North America Collection).
3. United States Immigration Commission, *Abstract of the Report on Japanese and Other Immigrant Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 677.
4. For works that emphasize the interconnectedness of Western imperialism, capital expansion, and Asian migration, see: Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich, eds., *Labor Immigration under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States before World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Dorothy Fujita-Rony, *American Workers, Colonial Power: Philippine Seattle and the Transpacific West, 1919–1941* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Gary Y. Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865–1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press,

1991); and Okihiro, *Margins and Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994); Jensen, *Passage from India.*

5. Commissioner-general Daniel Keefe to acting secretary, April 7, 1913, file 53173/40, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service, RG 85, National Archives, Washington, DC (hereafter cited as Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service); Harold S. Jacoby, "A Half-Century Appraisal of East Indians in the U.S.," Faculty Research Lecture, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California (May 23, 1956), box 1, folder 10, p. 6, South Asians in North America Collection.
6. On the connections between constructing the boundaries of a "white Pacific" and anti-Asian racism, see Kornel Chang, "Circulating Race and Empire: Transnational Labor Activism and the Politics of Anti-Asian Agitation in the Anglo-American Pacific World, 1880–1910," *Journal of American History* 96 (December 2009), 678–701; Erika Lee, " 'Yellow Peril' and Asian Exclusion," 537–62.
7. For more on economic conditions in Punjab under British colonialism see Sucheta Mazumdar, "Colonial Impact and Punjabi Emigration to the United States," in Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich, eds., *Labor Immigration under Capitalism*, 316–36.
8. Ram Chandra, *India's Voice At Last: India's Reply to British Propagandists and Christian Missionaries, Rev. James L. Gordon, D.D., Especially* (192?), p. 4, box 2, folder 27, South Asians in North America Collection. Every issue of *Ghadar*, the weekly newspaper published by the Ghadar Party in San Francisco, included a section that detailed and attacked the British government's exploitative economic policies in India.
9. Mazumdar, "Colonial Impact," 328; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 25–6.
10. East India Sedition Committee (EISC), *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918), 60.
11. Jakobsh, *Relocating Gender in Sikh History*, 67–9.
12. Article from the *Gazette of India*, in W. H. Michael to the assistant secretary of state, October 17, 1907; W. H. Michael to Elihu Root, June 6, 1907, file 6971 (microfilm: M862, file 540/541), Numerical and Minor Files of the Records of the State Department, 1906–1910, Records of the State Department, RG 59, National Archives, Washington, DC (hereafter cited as Records of the State Department).
13. W. H. Michael to Elihu Root, May 29, 1907, file 6971 (microfilm: M862, file 540/541), Records of the State Department.
14. W. H. Michael to Elihu Root, May 16, 1907; W. H. Michael to Elihu Root, June 6, 1907, file 6971 (microfilm: M862, file 540/541), Records of the State Department; Gurdev Singh Deol, *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement* (Delhi: Sterling, 1969), 33.
15. *The Englishman*, quoted in W. H. Michael to Elihu Root, June 19, 1907, file 6971 (microfilm: M862, file 540/541), Records of the State Department.
16. W. H. Michael to the assistant secretary of state, June 11, 1908, file 6971 (microfilm: M862, file 540/541), Records of the State Department.
17. W. H. Michael to the assistant secretary of state, November 1908, file 6971 (microfilm: M862, file 540/541), Records of the State Department.
18. Jensen, *Passage from India*, 3.
19. Darisi Chenchiah, quoted in Deol, Role of the Ghadar Party, 25–6. Also see Darisi Chenchiah, "History of the Freedom Movement in India: The Ghadar Movement, 1913–1918," unpublished manuscript, (1956), box 4, folder 3, South Asians in North America Collection.
20. Frank Oliver, minister of the interior, "Immigration Facts and Figures," (1911), files 51648/7, 51648/10; US Department of Labor, "Memorandum regarding Hindu Migration to the U.S.," January 23, 1914, file 52903/110C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Harish K. Puri, "Ghadar Movement: An Experiment in New Patterns of Socialisation," *Journal of Regional History* 1, no. 1 (1980), 121; and Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 7.

21. Viceroy George Curzon quoted T. R. Sareen, *Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad* (Delhi: Sterling, 1979), 145.
22. Dayal, quoted in John D. Barry, "Sidelights on India," *San Francisco Bulletin*, June 1912, box 1, folder 14, p. 4, South Asians in North America Collection.
23. Ram Chandra, *Exclusion of Hindus from America due to British Influence* (San Francisco: Hindustan Gadar Party, November 1916), box 1, folder 31, South Asians in North America Collection.
24. Sarangadhar Das, "Information for Indian Students," *Modern Review* 10 (December 1911), 610–11; Girindra Nath Mukerji, "The Condition of Hindu Students in America" *Modern Review* 5 (January 1909), 55; Saint Nihal Sing, "Colour Line in the United States of America and How the Negro is Uplifting Himself despite Odds," *Modern Review* 4, no. 5–6 (November 1908), 368.
25. Dayal, quoted in "Har Dayal States His Position," "Undergoes Three-Hour Examination Before Immigration Authorities," *San Francisco Bulletin*, March 27, 1914, file 53572/92–92A; US Department of Labor, Immigration Service, Hearing in the case of Har Dayal, March 26, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
26. "Lahore Conspiracy Case Judgment, Part III, The Revolutionists in America," A. October 1915, no. 91, in Arun Coomer Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad, 1905–1927: Select Documents* (New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 2002), 84.
27. Emily Clara Brown, *Har Dayal*, 85.
28. Har Dayal, "Indian Philosophy and Art in the West," *Modern Review* 11, no. 4 (1912), 419; John Daniel Barry, "Sidelights on India," box 1, folder 14, South Asians in North America Collection; Emily Clara Brown, *Har Dayal*, 109.
29. Sirdar Jawala Singh, "The Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Educational Scholarships," January 1, 1912, box 5, folder 5, South Asians in North America Collection.
30. Bhutia, quoted in US HCIN, *Hearings on the Restriction of Hindu Laborers*, 150.
31. Chandra, *India's Voice at Last. India's Reply to British Propagandists and Christian Missionaries*, 8.
32. Lajpat Rai, "Trade Union Movement on All-India Basis," (1920) reprinted in Joshi, *Lala Lajpat Rai Writings and Speeches*, vol. 2, 57–8.
33. *Vancouver Daily World*, September 6, 1907, file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series, 1873–1968, RG 76, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa (hereafter cited as Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series).
34. *London Times*, September 11, 1907; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 44.
35. *Vancouver Daily Province*, September 9, 1907; Gerald Hallberg, "Bellingham, Washington's Anti-Hindu Riot," *Journal of the West* 12, no. 1 (1973), 170.
36. *Vancouver Daily Province*, September 7, 1907 and *Vancouver Daily World*, September 9, 1907.
37. *Vancouver Daily World*, November 4, 1907.
38. E. Blake Robertson to John H. Clark, January 29, 1914, files 51648/7, 51648/10, Records of US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
39. Roosevelt quoted in Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism*, 9; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 58.
40. "No Need to Deport Hindu," "Were No Burden on Public," *Ottawa Free Press*, December 29, 1906, file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
41. American consulate, Victoria, BC, to the assistant secretary of state, Washington, DC, September 19, 1907, file 51388/5, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 60.
42. Mark Juergensmeyer, "The Ghadar Syndrome: Nationalism in an Immigrant Community," *Punjab Journal of Politics* 1 (October 1977), box 4, folder 7, South Asians in North America Collection.

43. *New York Times*, September 12, 1907.
44. Lord Elgin, Colonial Office, Calcutta to Lord Grey, Ottawa, January 25, 1908, file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
45. W.L. Mackenzie King, "On Mission to England to Confer with the British authorities on the subject of immigration to Canada from the Orient and Immigration from India in Particular," May 1908, file 51388/5, Records of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.
46. Report from the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, March 11, 1909 (Calcutta), file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
47. "Memorandum Regarding Hindu Immigration," file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
48. L. M. Fortier to John P. Froom, immigration inspector, Waneta, British Columbia, July 12, 1909; W. D. Scott, "Hindu Immigration to Canada," October 23, 1907, file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
49. Commissioner-General Daniel Keefe to acting secretary, April 7, 1913, file 53173/40, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; US HCIN, *Hearings on the Restriction of Hindu Laborers*, 68–9. The literacy test was vetoed by President Cleveland in 1897, President Taft in 1913, and President Wilson in 1915. All argued that the literacy test was a radical departure from the country's historically open immigration policy.
50. "The Hindu Question," *Marysville Appeal*, April 28, 1912, box 7, folder 14, South Asians in North America Collection.
51. "Twelve Indians" to secretary of commerce and labor, November 1907, file 51807/12, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
52. Charles Earl, office of the solicitor, Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, DC, to the secretary of commerce and labor, March 10, 1909, file 52391/5, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
53. Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 67.
54. Harold S. Jacoby, "U.S. Strategies of Asian Indian Immigration Restriction, 1882–1917," *Population Review* 25, (1981), 36–37; Erika Lee, *At America's Gates*, 73.
55. Caminetti, quoted in US HCIN, *Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization to Discuss the Passage of Additional Legislation to Exclude Asians*, 63rd Congress, 2nd session, December 6 and 9, 1913; E. Blake Robertson to John H. Clark, Jan. 29, 1914, files 51648/7 & 51648/10, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
56. US Department of Labor, "Hindu Migration to the U.S.," January 23, 1914, file 52903/110C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
57. Michael to the assistant secretary of state, Washington, DC, August 11, 1910, file 52903/110, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
58. Michael to the assistant secretary of state, Washington, DC, November 1908, file 6971 (microfilm: M862, file 540/541), Records of the State Department.
59. Walter Schulz, American consul in Aden, Arabia, to secretary of state, Washington, DC, May 27, 1912, file 52903/110A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
60. Inspector in Charge, Vancouver to Anthony Caminetti, December 11, 1913, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
61. Immigration inspectors D. J. Griffiths and T. M. Crawford to commissioner-general of immigration, April 14, 1910, file 52785/18, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service. Griffiths and Crawford would side with North again just a few weeks later in a case regarding twenty-six Indians landing in San Francisco, see file 52785/22, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
62. Hart North to the commissioner-general of immigration, April 15, 1910, file 52785/18, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.

63. Proceedings of the Asiatic Exclusion League, San Francisco, June 1910, file 52961/10, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
64. *Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration in Reports of the Department of Commerce and Labor, 1910* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), quoted in Harold S. Jacoby, "Why So Few East Indians? A Study of Social Renitence," University of the Pacific, Stockton (no date given), box 1, folder 11, p. 7, South Asians in North America Collection (my emphasis).
65. "Hindus Landed against Order, Say Leaguers," "Asiatic Exclusion Organization Will Ask Labor Bodies to Protest to Congress," "Commissioner North is Charged with Favoring Aliens to Aid Contractor," *San Francisco Call*, April 21, 1910, file 52785/22; "Removal of North is Again Demanded," "Asiatic Exclusion League Sends Second Big Petition to President Taft," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 26, 1910, file 52961/10, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
66. Daniel Keefe to the acting secretary of labor, April 22, 1910, file 52785/22, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
67. President William H. Taft to Charles Nagel, secretary of commerce and labor, October 22, 1910, file 52961/16, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
68. Proceedings of the Asiatic Exclusion League, San Francisco, October 1911, file 52961/10; Daniel Keefe to acting secretary, April 7, 1913, file 53173/40; and US Department of Labor, "Hindu Migration to the U.S.," January 23, 1914, file 52903/110C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Joan Jensen discusses this "legal theory" in a paper she presented at the Symposium on Indian Immigration at the University of California, Berkeley, on June 23, 1979, titled "The Great White Wall: East Indian and American Immigration Policy, 1900–1946," quoted in Emily C. Brown, "Revolution in India: Made in America," *Population Review* 25 (1981), 42; Gary R. Hess, "The Forgotten Asian Americans: The East Indian Community in the U.S.," *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (November 1974), 582.
69. Frederick Clift, attorney, regarding the exclusion of Sultan Khan, no date given, file 52927/16, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
70. Testimonies of Osman Khan and Fattah Deen, Angel Island, March 16, 1910, file 52785/18; Affidavit of Makhan Singh, June 20, 1910, file 52927/12, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
71. Kalyan Kumar Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 7-8; Gobind Behari Lal, "Dr. Taraknath Das in Free India," *Modern Review* 92 (1952), 36; and Mukherjee, *Taraknath Das*, 9–14.
72. Das, quoted in Mukherjee, Taraknath Das, 15.
73. American consulate-general, Ottawa, to the assistant secretary of state, March 24, 1908, file 8880 (microfilm: M862, file 540/541), Records of the State Department; "Hindus Protest" *Ottawa Citizen*, March 24, 1908, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series; "Representations Made to the Ottawa Government by the Delegates of the United India League and the Khalsa Diwan Society," December 15, 1911, file 20, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs, RG 25, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa (hereafter cited as Records of the Office of External Affairs).
74. T. R. E. McInnes to Frank Oliver, March 23, 1908, file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
75. "Taraknath Das," Department of Criminal Intelligence (DCI), 10.4.1909, B. June 1909, nos. 108–114, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 75; Mukherjee, *Taraknath Das*, 16–17.
76. B. R. James quoted in Jensen, *Passage from India*, 167.

77. J. C. Ker, "Indian Agitation in America" Simla, December 17, 1912, pp. 22–3, IOR/L/PJ/12/1, Public and Judicial Department Files, India Office Records, British Library, London (hereafter cited as India Office Records).
78. W. H. Michael to the assistant secretary of state, Washington, DC, June 23, 1910, file 6971 (microfilm: M862, file 540/541), Records of the State Department; and W. H. Michael to the assistant secretary of state, August 11, 1910, file 52903/110, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
79. Board of Special Inquiry Proceedings in the Case of Rajoor Singh, November 30, 1908, file 52269/21, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
80. Commissioner of police, Bombay and Cleveland quoted in Baker to the secretary of state, August 21, 1914, file 6971 (microfilm: M862, file 540/541), Records of the State Department.
81. Das quoted in Mukherjee, *Taraknath Das*, 34.
82. Taraknath Das's testimony in the rehearing of Dalipa Singh, Angel Island, August 20, 1910, file 53040/5, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
83. C. J. Stevenson Moore, "Note on the Anti-British Movement among Natives of India in America," Simla, October 1, 1908, p. 2, IOR/L/PJ/12/1, India Office Records.
84. Stevenson Moore, "Note on the Anti-British Movement," 3–6.
85. "Will Send the Hindu Colony to Honduras," *Vancouver Daily Province* (no date), file 51388/5, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
86. J. B. Hankin, private secretary to the minister of the interior, to Frank Oliver, minister of the interior, file 52903/110B, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
87. "Will Send the Hindu Colony to Honduras," *Vancouver Daily Province*, file 51388/5, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
88. Saint Nihal Sing, "The Triumph of the Indians in Canada," *Modern Review* 6, no. 2 (1909), 108.
89. Sundar Singh, "The Indian National Congress and the Canadian Hindus" *The Aryan* (November 1911), MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds; Jane Singh, "Echoes of Revolution: The Role of Literature in the Gadar Movement" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1990).
90. Sham Singh's Diary in "The East Indians in British Columbia: A Report Regarding the Proposal to Provide work in British Honduras for the indigent unemployed among them"; Nagar Singh's Diary in "The East Indians in British Columbia: A Report Regarding the Proposal to Provide work in British Honduras for the indigent unemployed among them," file 52903/110B, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
91. Teja Singh to J. H. Hill, immigration agent, Vancouver, BC, December 24, 1908, file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series; Nagar Singh, "The East Indians in British Columbia," file 52903/110B, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
92. Saint Nihal Sing, "Triumph of the Indians in Canada," 106.
93. Brittain quoted in Jensen, *Passage from India*, 125.
94. Jensen, *Passage from India*, 164.
95. "Indian Seditious Movement Directed from the Pacific Coast," *Liverpool Courier*, May 21, 1908; T. R. E. McInnes to Frank Oliver, March 23, 1908; "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada," 1919, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
96. William C. Hopkinson, "Confidential Memorandum for Information of India Office," March 1913, file IOR/L/PJ/12/1, India Office Records. The records of the Indian Political Intelligence Office were not made available to the public until 1996.

97. Anthony Caminetti to acting commissioner of immigration, May 8, 1914; F. H. Larned to US Immigration Service, Montreal, July 10, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 164; "Indian Seditious Movement Directed from the Pacific Coast"; and T. R. E. McInnes to Frank Oliver, March 23, 1908, file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
98. Everett Wallace to commissioner of immigration, Montreal, January 6, 1909, file 51388/5, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
99. Frank Oliver to W. D. Scott, February 23, 1910; and Malcolm R. J. Reid to "All Border Inspectors," June 15, 1916, file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
100. Reid to Scott, September 1916, file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
101. Saint Nihal Sing, "Triumph of the Indians in Canada," 99–100.
102. Saint Nihal Sing, "A Message Gave Me for India" *Modern Review* 6, no. 4 (1909), 375; Randhir Singh, *The Ghadar Heroes: Forgotten Story of the Punjab Revolutionaries* (Bombay: People's Publishing House, 1945), box 4, folder 11, p. 10, South Asians in North America Collection.
103. Saint Nihal Sing, "A Message Gave Me for India," 375. For more on how Indian anticolonialists cast revolution as a means of recuperating a manhood that was stripped under colonial rule, see Kornel Chang, *Pacific Connections: The Making of the U.S.-Canadian Borderlands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 117–146.
104. Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism*, 8–9.
105. For more on how anti-Asian racial politics was both transnational in reach and nationalist in methods, goals, and outcomes, see Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*.

CHAPTER 2

Speech delivered by Har Dayal, Jefferson Square Hall, San Francisco, October 31, 1913, file 53572/92-92A, Records of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Lajpat Rai, "ABC of Indian Politics" (1922), 112–3, reprinted in Vijaya Chandra Joshi, ed., *Lala Lajpat Rai: Writings and Speeches*, vol. 2 (Delhi: University Publishers, 1966).

1. Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 18. For more on the historical origins and revolutionary ideologies of the Ghadar Party, see Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia*; Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party*; Puri, *Ghadar Movement*; Sareen, *Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad*. Not every Indian radical in Canada and the United States joined the Ghadar Party—including important figures like Saint Nihal Sing and Lajpat Rai—yet US, British, and Canadian surveillance structures referred to most radical activities, writings, speeches, and "conspiracies," particularly between 1914 and 1917, as part of the Ghadar movement.
2. Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia*, 36.
3. For more on colonial temporality, see Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
4. Lala Lajpat Rai, "Towards Freedom," (1920), reprinted in Joshi, ed., *Lala Lajpat Rai: Writings and Speeches*, vol. 2, 4.
5. Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 79. For more on the INC see Manela, 74–81.
6. Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 1; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 22.
7. Shyamaji Krishnavarma, "A Plea for a Permanent Court of International Law," *The Indian Sociologist* 7 (March 1911), MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds.

8. *Bande Mataram* (September 1913), file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Maia Ramnath, "Two Revolutions: The Ghadar Movement and India's Radical Diaspora, 1913–1918," *Radical History Review* 92 (Spring 2005), 11.
9. Sareen, *Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad*, 37.
10. Prog. no. 78, Department of Criminal Intelligence (DCI), 20.6.1908, B. July 1908, nos. 72–81; Prog. no. 38, DCI, 11.4.1908, B. May 1908, nos. 36–43, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 74.
11. D. October 1915, nos. 43, "Note of Foreign Office, Dated 27.8.1915"; Prog. no. 38, DCI, 11.4.1908, B. May 1908, nos. 36–43, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 112–14, 74; J. C. Ker, "Indian Agitation in America, Arrangements for Watching Seditionists on the Pacific Coast, Mr. W.C. Hopkinson," Simla, December 17, 1912, p. 1, IOR/L/PJ/12/1, India Office Records; Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 83–5.
12. Secret, Foreign Directorate of 27.8.1915, D. October 1915, no. 43, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 80–81.
13. C. R. Cleveland, "Indian Agitation in America," Simla, April 1914, p. 1, IOR/L/PJ/12/1, India Office Records.
14. Secret, Foreign Directorate of 27.8.1915, D. October 1915, No. 43, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 80–81.
15. Indian National Party, *India's 'Loyalty' to England*, December 1915, folder 3, box 6, South Asians in North America Collection.
16. (Secret) Prog. no. 19, DCI, 30.11.1907, B. January 1908, nos. 19–26, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 73–4; "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada," 1919, file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series; Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 11–12.
17. C. J. Stevenson Moore, "Note on the Anti-British Movement Among Natives of India in America," October 1, 1908, p. 3–4, IOR/L/PJ/12/1, India Office Records.
18. Secret, Foreign Directorate of 27.8.1915, D. October 1915, No. 43, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 80–81.
19. "Hindus Hold Meeting to Air Grievances," Daily News Advertiser, Vancouver, April 18,1911, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series. Husain Rahim, "Canada as a Hindu Saw It," *The Hindustanee*, June 1, 1914, MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds.
20. J. C. Ker, "Indian Agitation in America," December 17, 1912, p. 6, IOR/L/PJ/12/1, India Office Records.
21. Ibid; Mukherjee, *Taraknath Das*, 27.
22. J. C. Ker, "Indian Agitation in America," December 17, 1912, p. 6, IOR/L/PJ/12/1, India Office Records; W. W. Cory, deputy minister of the interior, to Sir Joseph Pope, under-secretary of state for external affairs, Ottawa, November 30, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs; "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada," file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
23. "Subject: Position of Indians in Canada: Information Regarding Taraknath Das, G.D. Kumar," B. April 1912, Nos. 82, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 79–80.
24. J. C. Ker, "Indian Agitation in America," December 17, 1912, p. 5–6, IOR/L/PJ/12/1, India Office Records.
25. F. C. Isemonger and James Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy, 1913–1915* (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1919), 9.
26. Prog. no. 143, DCI, 5.5.1914, B. June 1914, nos. 142–5, "On the Activities of Organizations of Indians in the United States of America," in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 93–94.
27. *The Gadarite*, no. 2 (Berkeley: Gadar Heritage Foundation, 1998), 4.

28. Juergensmeyer, "Ghadar Syndrome," 9. Bhakna later returned to Punjab and remained politically active until his death in 1968. Except for Dayal and Bhakna, there is little indication that Indian anticolonialists had close ties to the IWW, yet many of the leaders of the anticolonial movement were influenced by the socialist theories and anticapitalist ideologies of groups like the IWW. In the aftermath of the First World War and with the success of the Bolshevik revolution, many Ghadar Party members, particularly Punjabi workers, joined the international communist movement and organized political movements within India that were influenced by communism.
29. Bhakna, quoted in *The Gadarite*, no. 2 (Berkeley: Gadar Heritage Foundation, 1998), 4.
30. "Lahore Conspiracy Case Judgment, Part III, The Revolutionists in America," in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 84–5.
31. Bhai Parmanand, *The Story of My Life* (Delhi: Prabhat Prakashan, 2002), 28–30.
32. Parmanand, *Story of My Life*, 53–4.
33. Har Dayal, "Indian Philosophy and Art in the West" *Modern Review* 11, no. 4 (April 1912), 419; Taraknath Das, "Hindu Question in U.S.A." *The Hindustanee* (March 1, 1914), MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds; *Ghadar* quoted in Emily Clara Brown, "Revolution in India: Made in America" *Population Review* 25 (1981), 43; "Young Men of India" *Ghadar*, December 5, 1913, quoted in Jane Singh, "Echoes of Revolution," 36; Brown, *Har Dayal*, 137.
34. Dayal quoted in Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 1.
35. Quoted in Mukherjee, *Taraknath Das*, 47.
36. "The Evidence of Figures. Expenditure on the Army," *Ghadar*, December 9, 1913, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; "Lahore Conspiracy Case Judgment, Part III, The Revolutionists in America," October 1915, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 86.
37. Ram Chandra, *India against Britain: A Reply to Austin Chamberlain, Lord Harding, Lord Islington and Others* (San Francisco: Hindustan Gadar Party, November 1916), folder 32, box 1, South Asians in North America Collection.
38. "Lahore Conspiracy Case Judgment, Part III, The Revolutionists in America," October 1915, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 88.
39. Kesar Singh Dillon, secretary, Hindustan Gadar Party to S. Hukum Singh, deputy speaker, Parliament of India, September 24, 1960, Friends of Freedom for India Correspondence, box 4, volume 1, South Asians in North America Collection.
40. Sohan Singh Josh, quoted in Mukherjee, *Taraknath Das*, 47.
41. Deol, *Role of the Ghadar Party*, 71.
42. "Our Saffron Robes," *Ghadar*, December 23, 1913, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
43. M. S. Dukhi, *Desh-Bhagat Yadan* (Jullunder: Awami Press, [n.d.]), folder 17, box 5, South Asians in North America Collection; Gobind Behari Lal, "Indian Flag First Flew in San Francisco," folder 8, box 6, South Asians in North America Collection; Jane Singh, "Echoes of Revolution," 52.
44. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 52–3.
45. Prog. no. 143, DCI, 21.4.1914, B. June 1914, nos. 142–145, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 93.
46. Maia Ramnath, "Two Revolutions," 8.
47. Chenchiah, "History of the Freedom Movement in India," no page number given, folder 3, box 4, South Asians in North America Collection.
48. Deol, *Role of the Ghadar Party*, 68; Puri, *Ghadar Movement*, 140–41; Jane Singh, "Echoes of Revolution," 127; Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia*, 7; Shyamaji Krishnavarma, *Indian Sociologist* 8 (May 1912), MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds.
49. Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia*, 37.

50. "Our Name and Our Work," *Ghadar* (November 1, 1913), "Ghadr Extracts," Record Group 118, US District Attorney, Neutrality Case Files, Box 1, US National Archives and Records Administration, Regional Branch, San Bruno, California, (hereafter cited as Neutrality Case Files); The first issue of *Ghadar* was in Urdu and 6000 copies were released. A Gurmukhi edition also came out one month later, see Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia*, 37.
51. "Our Name and Our Work," *Ghadar* (November 1, 1913) "Ghadr extracts," Box 1, Neutrality Case Files.
52. "Tape recorded interview of Vidya C. Rasmussen and Mark Juergensmeyer with Mrs. Padmavati Chandra," November 18, 1972, New York City, folder 1, box 4, South Asians in North America Collection.
53. *Ghadar* (July 14, 1914), "Ghadr Extracts," Box 1, Neutrality Case Files; Deol, *Role of the Ghadar Party*, 73; Brown, *Har Dayal*, 151; Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, 177; Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, p. 10, folder 11, box 4, South Asians in North America Collection; Tape recorded interview of Vidya C. Rasmussen and Mark Juergensmeyer with Mrs. Padmavati Chandra, folder 1, box 4, South Asians in North America Collection; "Government of India, Circular of April 1914," Foreign Directorate of 27.8.1915, D. October 1915, No. 43, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 82–3.
54. Jane Singh, "Echoes of Revolution," 5.
55. *Pyare Desh Bhagat Ji, Bande Mataram* (San Francisco: Hindustan Gadar Party, 1916), folder 23, box 2, South Asians in North America Collection.
56. "Memorandum," November 3, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1156, Records of the Office of External Affairs; *Ghadar* (July 14, 1914), "Ghadr Extracts," box 1, Neutrality Case Files; "Government of India, Circular of April 1914," Secret, Foreign Directorate of 27.8.1915, D. October 1915, no. 43, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 82–3; Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy*, 20.
57. "Note on Sedition among the Indians in British East Africa," June 1916, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 228.
58. Ibid. 230.
59. British officials quoted in Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy*, 17; "Note on Sedition among the Indians," 232.
60. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 20–21.
61. Sikh migrant, quoted in Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy* 24–25; Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia*, 7.
62. *Ghadar-di-Gunj* no. 1 (1914), quoted in Jane Singh, "Echoes of Revolution," 118. For more on the role of the printing press in facilitating the development of a national identity, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991).
63. *A Few Facts About British Rule in India* (San Francisco: Hindustan Ghadar Office, June 1915), folder 7, box 2; Chandra, *India against Britain*, 5; Puri, "Ghadar Movement: An Experiment in New Patterns of Socialisation," 126.
64. Lal, quoted in Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia*, 40.
65. Dayal, quoted in *The Astorian* (June 5, 1913); "The Evidence of Figures" and "Deaths from Plague," *Ghadar* (December 3, 1913), file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
66. Ram Chandra, *India's Voice At Last*, p. 4, folder 27, box 2, South Asians in North America Collection.
67. *Ghadar*, December 9, 1913, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
68. "Arise! Brave Young Men and Take your Swords" *Ghadar*, no date given, "Ghadr Extracts," box 1, Neutrality Case Files.
69. *Ghadar*, September 1, 1914, "Ghadr Extracts," box 1, Neutrality Case Files.

70. Chandra, *India against Britain*; Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia*, 7.
71. Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia*, 12.
72. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove, 1963), 94.
73. "A Mistaken Donation of the Maharaja of Patiala," *Ghadar*, December 9, 1913, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Chenchiah, "History of the Freedom Movement in India," no page number given, folder 3, box 4, South Asians in North America Collection.
74. *Ghadar*, May 10, 1917, "Ghadr Extracts," box 1, Neutrality Case Files.
75. "Our Saffron Robes," *Ghadar*, December 23, 1913, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Jane Singh, "Echoes of Revolution," 139.
76. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 28–9.
77. Har Dayal, *Shabash* (San Francisco: Hindustan Ghadar Party, December, 1913), p. 28–29, folder 2, box 2, South Asians in North America Collection.
78. "The Trumpet of War," *Ghadar*, August 4, 1914, "Ghadr Extracts," box 1, Neutrality Case Files.
79. *Ghadar*, no date given, "Ghadr Extracts," box 1, Neutrality Case Files; Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia*, 47.
80. Har Dayal, "Social Conquest of the Hindu Race and Meaning of Equality" (San Francisco: Hindustan Gadar Party, December 1913), p. 5, folder 3, box 2, South Asians in North America Collection.
81. Har Dayal, *Shabash*, 30.
82. Ram Chandra, "The Appeal of India to the President of the United States" (San Francisco: Hindustan Ghadar Party, February 26, 1918), folder 30, box 1, South Asians in North America Collection.
83. Harish K. Puri, *Lajpat Rai in USA, 1914–1919: Life and Work of a Political Exile*, Punjab Research Group (2009), p. 9, theprg.files.wordpress.com/2009/07/puri-lala-lajpat-rai.pdf, accessed on February 5, 2014.
84. "Preparations for the Revolution in Russia," *Ghadar*, December 9, 1913, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
85. Darisi Chenchiah, "History of the Freedom Movement in India," no page number given, folder 3, box 4, South Asians in North America Collection.
86. *Ghadar*, July 1, 1917, "Ghadr Extracts," box 1, Neutrality Case Files.
87. Lala Lajpat Rai, *Young India: An Interpretation and a History of the Nationalist Movement from Within* (New York: Huebsch 1917), 222.
88. Significantly, it was Dayal who later renounced his anticolonial politics and became a champion of British imperialism, while Rai died at the hands of imperial officers, protesting the injustices of British rule and inspiring revolutionaries in India to carry on the struggle he had spent his life fighting.
89. Lajpat Rai, *The United States of America: A Hindu's Impression and a Study* (Calcutta: Chatterjee, 1916), 25; Deol, *Role of the Ghadar Party*, 33.
90. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, "International India," lecture delivered at the Institute of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University, New York, March 1917, reprinted in *Young India*, February 1918, South Asian American Digital Archive, http://www.saadigitalarchive.org/item/20110912-360, accessed on February 5, 2014.
91. Senator France, quoted in Puri, *Lajpat Rai*, 9.
92. Lala Lajpat Rai, *The Story of my Life: An Unknown Fragment* (New Delhi: Gitanjali Prakashan, 1928), 10; Manela, *Wilsonian Moment*, 87–9.
93. Lala Lajpat Rai, "Why Am I A Home Ruler?" *Young India* 1, no. 3 (March 1918), 8, South Asian American Digital Archive, http://www.saadigitalarchive.org/item/20110912-361, accessed on February 5, 2014.
94. Rai, *United States of America*, 2–3.

95. Ibid., 4.
96. Ibid., 25–7.
97. Ibid., 296.
98. Ibid., 298.
99. Dayal, quoted in Barry, "Sidelights on India," 10; Dohra Ahmad, *Landscapes of Hope: Anti-Colonial Utopianism in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 120.
100. Rai, *United States of America*, 129, 394.
101. Rai and officer, quoted in Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism*, 38.
102. *Young India*, January 1918, 4; Manela, *Wilsonian Moment*, 89.
103. Rai, *United States of America*, 292.
104. Rai, *United States of America*, 339–40.
105. Rai, *United States of America*, 340–42.
106. Rai, quoted in Manela, *Wilsonian Moment*, 89.
107. Rai, "Why Am I A Home Ruler?" 8.
108. Lala Lajpat Rai, "India and World Peace," *Young India* 3, no. 4 (April 1920), 85, South Asian American Digital Archive, http://www.saadigitalarchive.org/item/20110930-388, accessed on February 5, 2014.
109. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 4. For more on the relationship between race and liberalism, see Uday Singh Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1999).
110. Lala Lajpat Rai, "The Problem of India" (1919), reprinted in Joshi, *Lala Lajpat Rai Writings and Speeches*, vol. 1, 343 (Rai's emphasis).
111. Lala Lajpat Rai, "The New Internationalism," *Young India* 1, no. 4 (April 1918), 10, South Asian American Digital Archive, http://www.saadigitalarchive.org/item/20110920-372, accessed on February 5, 2014.
112. Rai, "Editorial Notes and News," *Young India* 1, no. 3 (March 1918), 2, South Asian American Digital Archive, http://www.saadigitalarchive.org/item/20110912-361, accessed on February 5, 2014.
113. Rai, "New Internationalism," 11.
114. Ibid., 9.
115. Ibid., 9–10; Rai quoted in Manela, *Wilsonian Moment*, 174.
116. Editorial notes and news, *Young India* 1, no. 12 (December 1918), 1, South Asian American Digital Archive, http://www.saadigitalarchive.org/item/20110923-381, accessed on February 5, 2014.
117. "Mr. Lajpat Rai's Address," *Young India* 3, no. 2 (February 1920), 36, South Asian American Digital Archive, http://www.saadigitalarchive.org/item/20110923-384, accessed on February 5, 2014.
118. "Mr. Lajpat Rai's Address," 36, 39.
119. For more on the appropriation of Wilsonian rhetoric by anticolonial nationalists, see Manela, *Wilsonian Moment*.
120. Kris Manjapra, *M. N. Roy: Marxism and Colonial Cosmopolitanism* (Delhi: Routledge, 2010), 33–4.
121. M. N. Roy, *Memoirs* (Bombay and New York: Allied, 1964), 22–3.
122. Roy, *Memoirs*, 14; Manjapra, *M. N. Roy*, 2–9.
123. Roy, *Memoirs*, vi, 225.
124. Roy, *Memoirs*, 27; Puri, *Lajpat Rai in USA*, 10.
125. Roy, *Memoirs*, 28.
126. Roy, *Memoirs*, 43, 59.
127. Roy, *Memoirs*, 60, vi.
128. Manjapra, *M. N. Roy*, 33.

129. Roy, *Memoirs*, 217–18.
130. Roy, *Memoirs*, 76.
131. Roy, quoted in Manjapra, *M. N. Roy*, 35.
132. Roy, *Memoirs*, 116.
133. Roy, *Memoirs*, 116–17.
134. Roy, *Memoirs*, 217, vi; Manjapra, *M. N. Roy*, 40–43.
135. Roy, quoted in Manjapra, *M. N. Roy*, 53; Manjapra, *M. N. Roy*, 54–5.
136. M. N. Roy, "The Foundation of Democracy: The American Experience," *The Masses of India* 1 (September 1925), 7–9.
137. Roy, "The Foundation of Democracy," 7–9.
138. Aydin, *Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia*, 40.

CHAPTER 3

1. "Har Dayal States His Position," "Undergoes Three-Hour Examination before Immigration Authorities," *San Francisco Bulletin*, March 27, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
2. For more on the intertwined discourses of Indian exclusion and political repression, see US Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, "Hearings on the Restriction of Hindu Laborers," 63d Cong., 2d sess., April 23, 1914.
3. Jensen, *Passage from India*, 163.
4. Ram Chandra, *India against Britain*, 25; For more on the relationship between imperial expansion and anarchism, see Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).
5. "Indian Seditious Movement Directed from the Pacific Coast," *Liverpool Courier*, May 21, 1908; T. R. E. McInnes to Frank Oliver, March 23, 1908, file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
6. Jensen, *Passage from India*, 163; "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada," March 1919; "Indian Seditious Movement Directed from the Pacific Coast," file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
7. "Indian Agitation in America, Arrangements for Watching Seditionists on the Pacific Coast, Mr. W. C. Hopkinson," IOR/L/PJ/12/1, India Office Records; Hugh Johnston, *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1979), 1–2, 8; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 164.
8. Everett Wallace, Vancouver, to commissioner of immigration, Montreal, January 6, 1909, file 51388/5, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
9. Victoria Society of Friends of the Hindu, "Summary of the Hindu question and its results in B.C.," Victoria, BC, 1911, box 5, folder 6, p. 4, South Asians in North America Collection; "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada," March 1919, file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
10. J. C. Ker, "Indian Agitation in America," December 17, 1912, pp. 32–3, IOR/L/PJ/12/1, India Office Records.
11. W. D. Scott to W. W. Cory, October 9, 1911; W. D. Scott to William C. Hopkinson, March 26, 1912, file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series; "Summary of the Hindu question and its results in B.C.," box 5, folder 6, p. 4, South Asians in North America Collection.
12. Hopkinson to unknown recipient, October 20, 1913; "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada," file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series; John Zurbrick to US commissioner of immigration, Montreal, July 1, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 39.

13. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 39; Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 17.
14. Jensen, *Passage from India*, 163. For more on the binational espionage system that was built through the monitoring of Mexican revolutionaries, see W. Dirk Raat, *Revoltosos: Mexico's Political Rebels in the United States, 1903–1923* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1981). The question of where Indians should be deported to was often one of confusion. While US deportation laws stated that a migrant was to be deported "to the country from whence he came," many of the Indian migrants who came to the United States had last resided in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Canada, Mexico, and various other spaces. When Indians asked to be deported to their last location, rather than India, US immigration inspectors sent them back to India regardless of their requests. Yet they still faced problems because most ships leaving from San Francisco stopped in Yokohama, where many Indians simply jumped ship. See file 53854/133, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
15. For more on the links between "radicals" and "aliens," see Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters*; Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (London: Verso, 2005), 3.
16. Roosevelt's annual message to Congress, December 1901, quoted in Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters*, 30–31; Gage, *Day Wall Street Exploded*, 66; Raat, *Revoltosos*, 6.
17. Jensen, *Passage from India*, 173; for more on Taraknath Das's naturalization case, see Mukherjee, *Taraknath Das*, 34–39 and 56. Indians were able to become naturalized citizens until the 1923 Supreme Court case *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind*, which ruled that even though Indians may be scientifically categorized as Caucasian, they were not "white," and therefore were ineligible for US citizenship. For more on the Thind case, see Ian Haney Lopez, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).
18. William C. Hopkinson, "Confidential Memorandum for Information of India Office," March 1913, file IOR/L/PJ/12/1, India Office Records. W. W. Cory to Sir Joseph Pope, under-secretary of state for external affairs, Ottawa, March 4, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, part 2, Records of the Office of External Affairs; Brown, *Har Dayal*, 131; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 178.
19. Secretary of state to viceroy, Home Department, April 28, 1913, file IOR/L/PJ/12/1, India Office Records.
20. W. C. Hopkinson, "Confidential Memorandum for Information of India Office," March 1913, file IOR/L/PJ/12/1, India Office Records.
21. Hopkinson, quoted in Brown, *Har Dayal*, 132; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 182.
22. Hopkinson, quoted in John Clark to commissioner-general of immigration, Washington, DC, June 10, 1913, file 53572/92, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
23. Hopkinson to undisclosed recipient, August 2, 1913, file 53572/92, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Brown, *Har Dayal*, 131.
24. Hopkinson to W. W. Cory, August 4, 1911, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
25. Hopkinson to John H. Clark, September 9, 1913, file 53572/92, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 181.
26. Backus to secretary of commerce and labor, March 12, 1912, file 53396/10, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
27. Backus to Commissioner-General Caminetti, January 23, 1914, file 52903/110D; Backus to Commissioner-General Caminetti, February 3, 1914, file 53627/67, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
28. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 9–10.
29. Samuel Backus to Commissioner-General Caminetti, January 23, 1914, file 52903/110D; Samuel Backus to Commissioner-General Caminetti, January 30, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.

30. Samuel Backus to Commissioner-General Caminetti, January 23, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
31. Samuel Backus to Immigration Bureau, Washington, DC, February 3, 1914; Caminetti to John L. Burnett, chairman of Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, Washington, DC, February 7, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
32. Charles H. Reily to acting inspector in charge, Portland, Oregon, January 14, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
33. W. H. Michael to the assistant secretary of state, Washington, DC, June 23, 1910, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, roll 2), Records of the State Department.
34. Alvey Adee to the governor of New York, July 25, 1910, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, roll 2), Records of the State Department.
35. Henry D. Baker, Bombay to secretary of state, Washington, DC, May 27, 1914, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, roll 2), Records of the State Department.
36. Commissioner of police, Bombay, and Cleveland, quoted in Baker to the secretary of state, August 21, 1914, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, roll 2), Records of the State Department.
37. Baker to L. Robertson, political secretary to government, May 27, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Baker to secretary of state, Washington, DC, May 27, 1914, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, roll 2), Records of the State Department.
38. Jose Olivares, American consul, American consulate general, Madras, to the secretary of state, April 29, 1915, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, roll 2), Records of the State Department.
39. Memorandum prepared by Commissioner-General Anthony Caminetti, April 4, 1914; Caminetti to Paul Kennedy, secretary, Friends of Russian Freedom, New York, April 14, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
40. Shyamaji Krishnavarma, *The Indian Sociologist* 7, no. 4 (April 1911).
41. "Har Dyal Arrested by U.S.," *San Francisco Bulletin*, March 26, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
42. "British Embassy Dayal's Accuser" "Hindoo Philosopher was Taken at England's Instance, It is Learned at the Capital," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 25, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
43. "The Creed of Anarchy," *Daily News*, Santa Barbara, California, April 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
44. "Why Har Dayal is Undesirable" "Author of the Creed of Anarchy" *Daily News*, Santa Barbara, California, March 30, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
45. "Hindoo Suspect is Taken by U.S. Agents," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 26, 1914; "Why Har Dayal is Undesirable," *Daily News*, Santa Barbara, California, March 30, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
46. "Har Dyal [*sic*], Hindoo Savant, Faces Accusers" "Admits He Desires Revolt of Countrymen against Rule of British in India," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 27, 1914; "Har Dayal States His Position," "Undergoes Three-Hour Examination before Immigration Authorities," *San Francisco Bulletin*, March 27, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
47. Socialists of Vallejo, California, to US Immigration Service, March 27, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 123.
48. "Extract from a Report Dated Jan. 31, 1913," (author unknown), file 53572/92, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters*, 99; Ramnath, "Two Revolutions," 26.

49. Quote comes from "Preparations for the Revolution in Russia," *Ghadar* (December 9, 1913), file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; speech delivered by Har Dayal, Jefferson Square Hall, San Francisco, October 31, 1913, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
50. Speech delivered by Har Dayal, Jefferson Square Hall, San Francisco, October 31, 1913, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service. For more on the global significance of the Russo-Japanese War, see Aydin, *Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia*, 71–8.
51. *Ghadar*, title and date unknown, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
52. Hearing in the case of Har Dayal, US Department of Labor, Immigration Service, March 26, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 123.
53. For more on Goldman and the 1903 anti-anarchy law, see Gage, *The Day Wall Street Exploded*, 67–77.
54. "Defendant's Brief to the U.S. Department of Labor, in the matter of the arrest of Har Dayal, alleged anarchist arrested under the authority of Departmental Warrant, dated February 10, 1914," file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
55. Har Dayal to Senator George Earle Chamberlain, Oregon, March 28, 1914; "Har Dyal, Hindoo Savant, Faces Accusers" *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 27, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
56. "Hindoo Savant Drags Bryan into the Case" *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 29, 1914; "Dayal Denies Adherence to Anarchy," "Hindu Scholar Under Arrest Says U.S. is but Obeying Wish of England in the Matter," "Calls it Subservience," *San Francisco Examiner*, March 28, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
57. Acting commissioner, Ellis Island to commissioner-general of immigration, May 8, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service. On May 8, 1914, Hopkinson called the Ellis Island immigration office to say he had received a cablegram, dated May 6, from a confidential agent in London stating that Har Dayal had arrived in Switzerland.
58. Department of Labor to Mr. Larned, May 26, 1914; Certificate of Admission of Alien, US Department of Labor, Immigration Service, Ellis Island, April 3, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
59. R. P. Benham to commissioner of immigration, San Francisco, February 6, 1914; *Astoria Daily Budget*, June 2, 1913, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 14.
60. R. P. Benham to commissioner of immigration, San Francisco, February 6, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
61. Samuel Backus to commissioner-general of immigration, January 23, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Ram Chandra, *India against Britain*, 25; Kaplan, *Anarchy of Empire*, 12.
62. Wilson quoted in Manela, *Wilsonian Moment*, 29. For more on Wilson's view of British colonialism in India and the pursuit of self-determination across the colonial world, see Manela, *Wilsonian Moment*, 19–34.
63. Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters*, 128; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 189; Gordon N. Levin, *Woodrow Wilson and World Politics: America's Response to War and Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 6–8.
64. Hopkinson, quoted in W. W. Cory to Sir Joseph Pope, under-secretary of state for external affairs, Ottawa, March 4, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, part 2, Records of the Office of External Affairs.

65. F. H. Larned to US Immigration Service, Montreal, July 10, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
66. Caminetti to acting commissioner of immigration, Ellis Island, New York, May 8, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
67. John Clark to Anthony Caminetti, May 12, 1916, file 53854/133, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
68. Acting commissioner-general of immigration Alfred Hampton to commissioner of immigration, Angel Island, May 18, 1916, file 53854/133, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
69. John Clark to commissioner-general of immigration, Washington, DC, June 13, 1916, file 53854/133, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
70. Memorandum prepared by Commissioner-General Anthony Caminetti, April 4, 1914; Caminetti to Paul Kennedy, secretary, Friends of Russian Freedom, April 14, 1914; John Clark to Commissioner General of Immigration, Washington, DC, June 10, 1913, file 53572–92, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
71. Har Dayal, *Shabash*, 14; "Har Dayal States His Position," *San Francisco Bulletin*, March 27, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
72. "British Embassy Dayal's Accuser" "Hindoo Philosopher was Taken at England's Instance, It is Learned at the Capital," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 25, 1914, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Ram Chandra, *Exclusion of Hindus from America due to British Influence*, box 1, folder 31, South Asians in North America Collection.
73. Church, quoted in US HCIN, *Hearings on the Restriction of Hindu Laborers*, 82–4; Raker, quoted in US HCIN, *Hearings on the Restriction of Hindu Laborers*, 164.
74. US HCIN, *Hearings on the Restriction of Hindu Laborers*, 164–7.
75. US HCIN, *Hearings on the Restriction of Hindu Laborers*, 164–7.
76. Ram Chandra, *India against Britain*, box 1, folder 32, South Asians in North America Collection.
77. US HCIN, *Hearings on the Restriction of Hindu Laborers*, 164–7, 172.
78. Ram Chandra, *India against Britain*, box 1, folder 32, South Asians in North America Collection; Kaplan, *Anarchy of Empire*, 117.
79. US attorney general to secretary of state, June 3, 1916, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, roll 2), Records of the State Department.
80. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 36.

CHAPTER 4

Mohamed Khan (1911), quoted in Daniel Keefe to Acting Secretary of Labor, January 27, 1911, file 53154/2-2V, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Gurdit Singh (1914), quoted in Ray Gardner, "When Vancouver Turned Back the Sikhs." *McCleans Magazine* (November 8, 1958), box 1, folder 1, p. 64, South Asians in North America Collection, Bancroft Library Archives, University of California, Berkeley.

1. For more information on the deportation cases of Indian migrants arriving from the Philippines from 1910 to 1911, see file 53154/2–2V, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
2. On the connection between "free trade" and the exclusionary efforts of those proclaiming to fight on behalf of "free labor" in the United States, see Jung, "Seditious Subjects"; for more on how US colonialism in the Philippines contributed to the expansion of state power on the US mainland, see McCoy, *Policing America's Empire*.

3. Henry Marshall, Brief for all seven aliens, presented to Department of Labor, December 30, 1913, file 53627/89, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
4. Eric Morse, "Some Aspects of the *Komagata Maru* Affair, 1914," *Canadian Historical Association Annual Report* (May 1936), box 1, folder 5, p. 102, South Asians in North America Collection.
5. Teja Singh, Reverend L. W. Hall, Raja Singh, and Dr. Sundar Singh, "Representations Made to the Ottawa Government by the Delegates of the United India League and the Khalsa Diwan Society," Vancouver, December 15, 1911, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
6. Ibid.
7. Resolution of Khalsa Diwan Society, Vancouver, April 24, 1910, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 129.
8. Sundar Singh, "Hindus' Appeal to Imperialists" *The Aryan* (August 1911), MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds.
9. "Passive Resistance in South Africa," London dispatch quoted in the *Vancouver Province* and reprinted in the *Sansar*, Victoria, British Columbia, September 20, 1913, file 52903/110B, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Sukanya Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late-Victorian Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 76–82.
10. "Report of Proceedings at Meeting of Hindus Held in O'Brien Hall, Vancouver, British Columbia with reference to 73 Hindus held by US Immigration Authorities at Seattle, Washington," September 29, 1913, file 52903/110C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 130. For more on Indian resistance to the indentured labor system, see Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830–1920* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974).
11. Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens*, 22–3.
12. Prior to 1914, all those who lived under the jurisdiction of the British crown were subject to its sovereignty, and thus were legally subjects rather than citizens of the empire. The Imperial Conferences eventually led to the passing of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act in 1914, which stated that "any person born within his Majesty's dominions and allegiance" was considered a natural-born British subject. As Banerjee has written, the act "allowed for imperial certificates of naturalization, with which a person naturalized as a subject of the Crown in Britain or in any British possession would be recognized as a British subject throughout the empire, 'entitled to all political and other rights, powers, and privileges . . . to which a natural-born British subject is entitled to or subject.'" For more on the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, see Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens*, 23–4, 83, and Daniel Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2010), 9.
13. Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship*, 26–8; Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens*, 191.
14. Herman Scheffauer, "Tide of Turbans," *The Forum* 43 (June 1910), 616–18, box 1, folder 6, South Asians in North America Collection.
15. "Hindu Women Next to Swarm to CA," "Men from India begin to send home for their wives to come to America," "Sikh who arrived yesterday on Mongolia Brings Spouse with him," *San Francisco Call*, May 15, 1910, box 7, folder 17, South Asians in North America Collection.
16. Sundar Singh, "The Case of Hira Singh" *The Aryan* (August 1911), MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds.
17. W. C. Hopkinson to W. W. Cory, August 4, 1911, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.

18. "Hindus' Wives Waiting in Hong Kong" *The Aryan* (November 1911), MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds.
19. "Admit Hindus' Families," Editorial from the *Toronto Star* republished in the *Aryan* (February 1912), MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds.
20. Resolution passed by Parkdale Presbyterian Church, Toronto, January 4, 1912, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
21. For more on the racialized and gendered discourses that stigmatized Asian American "bachelor communities," see Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), and Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011). For more on the intertwined discourses of masculinity and "civilization," see Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).
22. "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada," 1919, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
23. Memorandum from W. D. Scott to Mr. Mitchell, September 30, 1913, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
24. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 5.
25. Sohan Singh Josh, *Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna: Life of the Founder of the Ghadar Party* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1970), 21.
26. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 9; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 129. There are some inconsistencies in the record as to who exactly was part of the delegation. While it is certain that Teja Singh was one member, conflicted reports include Narain Singh, a leader of the Sikh Temple in Vancouver, Balwant Singh, the priest of the Vancouver Sikh Temple, Bhag Singh, whose family, like Balwant Singh's had recently been admitted under the family reunification struggle, and Sundar Singh, editor of *The Aryan*.
27. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, *India as I Knew It*, 191.
28. In the orders in council, "origin" was used instead of "race, native or citizen," and "actual personal possession of $200" instead of "possession in one's own right": see Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 20; Solicitors for South Asian petitioners, Vancouver, to Prince William Patrick Albert, governor-general, November 7, 1913; Memorandum from W. D. Scott to Mr. Mitchell, November 25, 1913, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 129.
29. Quoted in *Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization to Discuss the Passage of Additional Legislation to Exclude Asians*, House of Representatives, 63d Cong., 2d sess., December 6 and 9, 1913, Part 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913).
30. Quoted in Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 22.
31. Malcolm Reid to Anthony Caminetti, December 17, 1913, file 52903/110C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
32. Albert Johnson in *Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization* (1913).
33. "Hindus Leaving in Hostile Frame of Mind," "Some Declare They are Disgusted with Canada and Will Soon Leave," *Vancouver Province*, December 6, 1913, file 52903/110C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Memorandum from assistant superintendent of immigration, Ottawa, January 5, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
34. Ray Gardner, "When Vancouver Turned Back the Sikhs," *McCleans Magazine*, November 8, 1958, box 1, folder 1, p. 64, South Asians in North America Collection; Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 23.

35. For more detail on the cases of Indian migrants arriving on the US mainland from the Philippines, see file 53154/2–2V, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
36. "Hindus Develop New Trick to Land," "Immigrants Escape Strict Examination Here by Breaking Trip at Honolulu," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 28, 1910, file 52903/110, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 116.
37. Brief from Herbert W. Myers to Department of Commerce and Labor, "On behalf of the seventeen aliens remaining" (December 19, 1910), file 53154/2–2V, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service (Myer's emphasis).
38. Affidavit of Balla Singh before the Board of Special Inquiry, December 30, 1910, and affidavit of Bier Singh before the Board of Special Inquiry, February 14, 1911, file 53154/2–2V, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
39. Affidavit of Taraknath Das before the Board of Special Inquiry, February 14, 1911, and affidavit of Suren M. Bose before the Board of Special Inquiry, February 15, 1911, file 53154/2–2V, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
40. Daniel Keefe to acting secretary of labor, January 27, 1911, file 53154/2–2V, and Daniel Keefe to acting secretary of labor, December 4, 1911, file 53173/40, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
41. M. Smith, attorney at law, Washington, DC, to Department of Commerce and Labor, January 31, 1911, file 53154/2–2V, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
42. Ibid.
43. Memorandum by secretary of commerce and labor Charles Nagel, March 7, 1911, file 53154/2–2V, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
44. Secretary of commerce and labor Charles Nagel to W. P. Dillingham, chairman, Committee on Immigration, US Senate, February 10, 1911, file 53173/40 (my emphasis); Memorandum by secretary of commerce and labor Charles Nagel, March 7, 1911, file 53154/2–2V, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
45. Secretary of commerce and labor Charles Nagel to W. P. Dillingham, chairman, Senate Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, February 10, 1911, file 53173/40, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
46. Memorandum from the office of the solicitor, Department of Commerce and Labor to the secretary of commerce and labor, May 24, 1912, file 53173/40, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
47. Commissioner-general to acting secretary of commerce and labor, July 6, 1912, file 53173/40, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
48. Acting secretary of commerce and labor to secretary of war, July 12, 1912, file 53173/40, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
49. Assistant secretary of war to secretary of commerce and labor, July 17, 1912 and Memorandum for the acting secretary from the commissioner-general, April 7, 1913, file 53173/40, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
50. Ellis DeBruler, commissioner of immigration, Seattle, to commissioner-general, March 29, 1913, file 53173/40; according to DeBruler the numbers of Indians arriving from the Philippines were as follows: May 30, 1912: 33 arrive on SS *Minnesota* in Seattle; August 30, 1912: 47 arrive on SS *Minnesota* in Seattle; November 29, 1912: 49 arrive on SS *Minnesota* in Seattle; March 24, 1913: 138 arrive on SS *Minnesota* in Seattle; May 19, 1913: 5 arrive on SS *Korea* in San Francisco. See letters from Ellis DeBruler, commissioner of immigration, Seattle, to commissioner-general, November 22, 1912, through March 29, 1913, file 53173/40, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.

51. Commissioner-general to acting secretary of commerce and labor, April 7, 1913, file 53173/40, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
52. Memorandum from commissioner-general to the acting secretary, December 1913, file 53627/39–39C; "U.S. Officials Amend Immigration Regulations," "Expect Battle in Courts," *Washington Post*, June 20, 1913, file 53173/40; brief presented by John McNab and Timothy Healy, attorneys for appellants, In the Matter of the Arrest of "22 Hindoos," September 1913, file 53627/39–39C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service. Also see Harold S. Jacoby. "Why So Few East Indians? A Study of Social Renitence," University of the Pacific, Stockton, no date of publication given, box 1, folder 11, p. 9, South Asians in North America Collection.
53. "Seattle Hindus' Case" *The Sansar*, September 20, 1913, file 52903/110B, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
54. T. K. Swaminathan, "Indians in the Philippines," *Indian Emigrant* (1914), MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds.
55. "Report of Proceedings at Meeting of Hindus Held in O'Brien Hall, Vancouver, British Columbia with reference to 73 Hindus, held by US Immigration Authorities at Seattle, Washington," September 29, 1913, file 52903/110C; *The Sun*, Vancouver, BC, September 30, 1913, file 52903/110B, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
56. "Report of Proceedings at Meeting of Hindus Held in O'Brien Hall," file 52903/110C; W. C. Hopkinson to John L. Zurbrick, September 30, 1913, file 52903/110A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
57. W. C. Hopkinson to John L. Zurbrick, September 30, 1913, file 52903/110A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
58. W. C. Hopkinson to John L. Zurbrick, February 24, 1912, file 52903/110A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
59. W. C. Hopkinson to John H. Clark, September 9, 1913, file 53572/92–92A; Caminetti to John H. Clark, October 15, 1913, file 53572/92–92A, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 8–9.
60. "Sedition in the Far East (Report on the Movements of Bhagwan Singh)," B. October 1915, Nos. 206–338, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 261–2.
61. "Plot to Import Hindus," *Washington Post*, December 4, 1913, file 52903/110B, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
62. US HCIN, *Hearings on the Restriction of Hindu Laborers*, 42.
63. Counselor representing the secretary of state to the secretary of labor, December 2, 1913; W. B. Wilson, secretary of labor to commissioner of immigration, January 16, 1914, file 53627/64; Samuel Backus to commissioner-general, February 3, 1914, file 53627/67, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
64. Brief presented by attorney Henry Marshall, file 53627/39–39C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
65. Affidavit of Rur Singh, January 8, 1914, In the Matter of the Arrest of Phuman Singh, on warrant for deportation, file 53627/89, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
66. Affidavit of Narain Singh, July 30, 1913, file 53627/39–39C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service. Narain Singh's warrant of arrest was eventually dismissed.
67. Affidavit of Dhian Singh, November 28, 1913, file 53627/67, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
68. Samuel Backus to Bureau of Immigration, Washington, DC, August 20, 1913, file 53627/39–39C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.

69. Immigration inspector to commissioner of immigration, Angel Island, August 26, 1913, file 53627/39–39C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
70. Statement of E. C. Hamilton, manager of the Sacramento Valley Sugar Company at Hamilton, August 26, 1913, file 53627/39–39C; immigration inspector to commissioner of immigration, Angel Island, August 28, 1913, and August 29, 1913, file 53627/39–39C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
71. Brief presented by John McNab and Timothy Healy, attorneys for appellants, In the Matter of the Arrest of "22 Hindoos," September 1913, file 53627/39–39C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
72. Ibid.
73. Ruling in the District Court of the United States, Northern District of California, First Division, by Judge Maurice T. Dooling, Regarding the Application of Timothy Healy for a writ of Habeas Corpus on behalf of 23 Hindus who came to the United States from Manila, December 5, 1913, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series; Lucy E. Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 1; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 151.
74. Caminetti to Malcolm R. J. Reid, Vancouver, December 10, 1913, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
75. *Marshall vs. Backus* in the US Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, Appeal in the matter of application for writs of Habeas Corpus for 35 Hindus, February 24, 1915, file 53627/58, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
76. Ibid.
77. Brief for five aliens on *Hong Kong Maru*, arrested on warrant for deportation, October 23, 1913, file 53627/67. *Marshall vs. Backus* in the US Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, file 53627/58, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
78. US Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit Upon Appeal from the US District Court for the Northern District of California, First Division, Timothy Healy (Appellant) vs. Samuel W. Backus, John W. Preston, US Attorney for Apelles and John McNab and Timothy Healy, for Appellants, file 53627/39–39C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers*, 186–7.
79. Petition for Writ of Certiorari to the Supreme Court of the United States, July 26, 1916, filed by Henry Ach and Fred A. Copestake, attorneys for petitioners, file 53627/39–39C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
80. Ibid. Fred A. Copestake was also the attorney for the Stockton branch of the Khalsa Diwan Society, file 53627/39–39C, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers*, 206.
81. "Confess Error in Case of Hindus" *Vancouver Daily Province*, February 22, 1917, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series; Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers*, 199; Harold S. Jacoby, "U.S. Strategies of Asian Indian Immigration Restriction, 1882–1917," *Population Review* 25 (1981), 36.
82. Ruling in the District Court of the United States, Northern District of California, First Division, by Judge Maurice T. Dooling, Regarding the Application of Timothy Healy for a writ of Habeas Corpus on behalf of 23 Hindus who came to the United States from Manila, December 5, 1913, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series; Linda Kerber, "The Stateless as the Citizen's Other: A View from the United States," *American Historical Review* 112 (February 2007), 20.
83. "Report of the *Komagata Maru* Committee of Inquiry" (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1914), 53.

84. Ibid. For more on the *Komagata Maru* affair, see "Report of the *Komagata Maru* Committee of Inquiry"; Norman Buchignani, Doreen M. Indra, and Ram Srivastava, *Continuous Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 1985); Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*; Sohan Singh Josh, *The Tragedy of the Komagata Maru* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1975); Gurdit Singh, *Voyage of Komagata Maru, or India's Slavery Abroad* (Calcutta: Unistar, 1928).
85. Superintendent of immigration (Canada), "Statement of Incidents Connected with the Arrival at Vancouver on the 21st of May, 1914, of the *Komagata Maru* with 376 Hindu Passengers on Board; Their Stay at Vancouver, and their Departure in the *Komagata Maru* on the 23rd of July, 1914," folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs; "Hindus Have Arrived off Victoria, B.C.," Montreal paper (title unknown), May 22, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 32–4.
86. "Report of the *Komagata Maru* Committee of Inquiry," 59; Jane Singh, "Echoes of Revolution," 13.
87. Gurdit Singh, quoted in "Komogata Maru Leaves for Here," Vancouver newspaper (title unknown) May 22, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada," 1919, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
88. "Will Test Law to the Limit, Hindus Declare," Vancouver newspaper (title unknown), May 20, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
89. Ibid.
90. "Aggressive India," *Fresno Republican*, May 23, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
91. US HCIN, *Hearings on the Restriction of Hindu Laborers*, 152.
92. Caminetti to secretary of labor, June 12, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
93. Secretary of labor W. B. Wilson to John L. Burnett, chairman, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, July 3, 1914, file 53139/8; A. Caminetti to secretary of labor, June 12, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
94. "Aggressive India," Fresno Republican, May 23, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Mr. Harcourt, London, to governor-general, June 24, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
95. Gurdit Singh to governor-general, July 8, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
96. "Aggressive India," *Fresno Republican*, May 23, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Morse, "Some Aspects of the Komagata Maru Affair."
97. Rahim and Singh, quoted in Tatla, "Introduction," Gurdit Singh, *Voyage of Komagata Maru*, 26; "Hindu Cargo Examined," "Twenty Returning to Canada Will be Allowed to Land," Ottawa newspaper (title unknown), May 24, 1914, file 52903/110D; "Trouble Brewing," "Searchlights Play on Komagata to Reveal Hindus' Movements," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1914, file 52903/110D; "Canada Will Exclude Hindus," *Fresno Republican*, May 23, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Rahim, "Mass Meeting of the Hindustanees Regarding Komagata Maru," *The Hindustanee*, June 1, 1914, MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds; Morse, "Some Aspects of the Komagata Maru Affair."
98. Rahim, "Mass Meeting of the Hindustanees Regarding Komagata Maru." *The Hindustanee*, June 1, 1914, MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds.

99. Morse, "Some Aspects of the Komagata Maru Affair," 104–5; Rahim, "Mass Meeting of the Hindustanees Regarding Komagata Maru," *The Hindustanee*, June 1, 1914, MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds.
100. Thomas Erskire, British consulate, Portland, Oregon, to Colville Barclay, British embassy, Washington DC, June 26, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
101. Hopkinson quoted in E. Blake Robertson to Hon. J. C. Doherty, August 10, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
102. "Lajpat Rai on British Citizenship," "A Greater Measure of Self-Government," Rai quoted in T. K. Swaminathan, *The Indian Emigrant* (August 1914), MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds; EISC, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India*, 63.
103. Chamberlain, quoted in Darshan Singh Tatla, *The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 70.
104. Husain Rahim, "Welcome to Komagata Maru," *The Hindustanee*, June 1, 1914; Husain Rahim, "Is This Administration of Law, or a Farce?" *The Hindustanee*, June 1, 1914, MG 30 E281, Kartar Singh Fonds; EISC, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India*, 63.
105. "Hindu Cargo Examined," "Twenty Returning to Canada Will be Allowed to Land," Ottawa newspaper (title unknown), May 24, 1914, file 52903/110D; "Trouble Brewing," "Searchlights Play on Komagata to Reveal Hindus' Movements," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1914, 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Gurdit Singh to governor-general's office, June 17, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs; J. Edward Bird, quoted in Gurdit Singh, *Voyage of Komagata Maru*, 88; J. Edward Bird, counsel for Gurdit Singh and immigrants on *Komagata Maru* to secretary of governor-general, Ottawa, June 19, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
106. Passengers on *Komagata Maru* to governor-general, July 18, 1914, and June 25, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
107. Superintendent of immigration (Canada), "Statement of Incidents Connected with the Arrival at Vancouver on the 21st of May, 1914, of the *Komagata Maru* with 376 Hindu Passengers on Board; Their Stay at Vancouver, and their Departure on the *Komagata Maru* on the 23rd of July, 1914," folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs; Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 50–52; Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. 2: *1839–1964* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 178–9.
108. "Hopkinson was killed by Hindu this Morning," *Vancouver Daily Province*, October 22, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs; Mukherjee, *Taraknath Das*, 57; "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada," 1919, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series.
109. Das, quoted in Mukherjee, *Taraknath Das*, 57.
110. Viceroy of India to governor-general, December 4, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
111. "Searchlights Play on Komagata to Reveal Movements of Hindus and Prevent Smuggling of Arms," "Hindus on Vessel Must Be Brought into Subjection says Dominion Government" Vancouver newspaper (date and title unknown), file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Brown, *Har Dayal*, 195.
112. "Searchlights Play on Komagata to Reveal Movements of Hindus and Prevent Smuggling of Arms," "Hindus on Vessel Must Be Brought into Subjection says Dominion Government" Vancouver newspaper (date and title unknown), file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Superintendent of immigration (Canada), "Statement of Incidents Connected with the Arrival at Vancouver on the 21st

of May, 1914, of the *Komagata Maru* with 376 Hindu Passengers on Board; Their Stay at Vancouver, and their Departure in the *Komagata Maru* on the 23rd of July, 1914," folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs; Brown, *Har Dayal*, 195.

113. Gurdit Singh, *Voyage of Komagata Maru*, 111.
114. Stevens, quoted in Johnston, *Voyage of Komagata Maru*, 79–81.
115. Gurdit Singh, *Voyage of Komagata Maru*, 111–12.
116. "Trouble Brewing," "Searchlights Play on Komagata to Reveal Hindus' Movements" *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Superintendent of immigration (Canada), "Statement of Incidents Connected with the Arrival at Vancouver on the 21st of May, 1914, of the *Komagata Maru* with 376 Hindu Passengers on Board; Their Stay at Vancouver, and their Departure in the *Komagata Maru* on the 23rd of July, 1914," folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs; Jensen, 135.
117. Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, box 4, folder 11, p. 12, South Asians in North America Collection.
118. J. Cote, acting deputy minister of the interior to Sir Joseph Pope, under-secretary of state for external affairs, July 31, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
119. "Interpreter Hopkinson Shot Dead in Court House Corridor by Hindoo" *Vancouver World*, Oct. 21, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
120. Gurdit Singh, *Voyage of Komagata Maru*, 109.
121. Kuwajima Sho, *Indian Mutiny in Singapore, 1915* (Calcutta: Ratna Prakashan, 1991), 25.
122. Josh, *Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna*, 40; Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 92; Ray Gardner, "When Vancouver Turned Back the Sikhs," *McCleans Magazine*, November 8, 1958, box 1, folder 1, p. 66, South Asians in North America Collection. There are conflicting reports as to whether or not the passengers actually had weapons. Johnston and the East India Sedition Committee said the passengers were armed with American revolvers but many Indians disputed such accusations.
123. Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 97.
124. *Komagata Maru* Committee of Inquiry, *Report of the Komagata Maru Committee of Inquiry* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1914), 286, 87; *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate the Disturbances in the Punjab, etc.*, 87.
125. Darshan S. Tatla, "Introduction," in Singh, *Voyage of Komagata Maru*, 34.
126. Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 104–7.
127. Ibid., 125.
128. "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada," 1919, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Office of External Affairs; Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 125–127.
129. Gardner, "When Vancouver Turned Back the Sikhs," 68; "Hopkinson was killed by Hindu this Morning" *Vancouver Daily Province* (date unknown), folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
130. "Trouble Brewing," "Searchlights Play on Komagata to Reveal Hindus' Movements," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1914, file 52903/110D, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
131. "Interpreter Hopkinson Shot Dead in Court House Corridor by Hindoo," *Vancouver World*, October 21, 1914, vol. 1139, folder 40, part 2, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
132. "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada," 1919, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series; Gardner, "When Vancouver Turned Back the Sikhs," 68; Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 130–34.
133. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 63.
134. Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 111.

135. Ibid., 111–12.
136. Singh, *Voyage of Komagata Maru*, 57–8.
137. *Ghadr*, August 4, 1914, "Ghadr Extracts," box 1, Neutrality Case Files; "Urge Hindus to Aid Uprising in Native Land," *Fresno Republican*, September 24, 1914, folder 18, box 7, South Asians in North America Collection; Jane Singh, "Echoes of Revolution," 14; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 190.
138. "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada," 1919, file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series; Darisi Chenchiah, "History of the Freedom Movement in India: The Ghadar Movement, 1913–1918," no page number given, box 4, folder 3, South Asians in North America Collection.
139. Bhakna quoted in Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 12.
140. "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada" (1919), file 536999, vol. 384, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series; India Sedition Committee Report, 1918, quoted in Morse, "Some Aspects of the Komagata Maru Affair," 108.
141. Malwinderjit Singh Waraich and Gurden Singh Sidhu, eds. *Komagata Maru: A Challenge to Colonialism; Key Documents* (Chandigarh: Unistar, 2005), 241.
142. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 64.
143. Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens*, 14.
144. Gurdit Singh, *Voyage of Komagata Maru*, 58–9.
145. For more on immigration law as race policy, see Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*.
146. Josh, *Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna*, 24.
147. Ram Chandra, *India against Britain: A Reply to Austin Chamberlain, Lord Harding, Lord Islington and Others*, box 1, folder 32, South Asians in North America Collection.

CHAPTER 5

1. "The Day of Liberty for India has Come," *Ghadar* (no date given), "Ghadr Extracts," box 1, Neutrality Case Files; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 217; historians have estimated that between one and two thousand Indians left North America for India at the start of the war. See Jensen, *Passage from India*, 217; John W. Spellman, "The International Extensions of Political Conspiracy as Illustrated by the Ghadr Party," *Journal of Indian History* 37 (April 1959), 32–5; Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 27; Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 8; Jane Singh, "Echoes of Revolution," 27.
2. "List of Gadar Martyrs," Hindustan Gadar Party Memorial Committee, box 6, folder 26, South Asians in North America Collection.
3. Ram Chandra, quoted in Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. 2, 181–2.
4. Mula Singh's testimony quoted in "The Lahore Conspiracy Case," *Madras Mail*, May 6, 1915, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department.
5. Hopkinson quoted in Governor-general to Mr. Harcourt, August 18, 1914; J. Cote, acting deputy minister of the interior to Sir Joseph Pope, under-secretary of state for external affairs, Ottawa, August 15, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
6. Sir Thomas Holderness to Mr. W. Marris, December 20, 1915, file 3885, IOR/L/PJ/1402, India Office Records.
7. EISC, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India*, 87.
8. Letter from Malcolm Reid, immigration inspector, Vancouver to W. D. Scott, superintendent of immigration, August 20, 1914, folder 40, vol. 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
9. *Fresno Republican*, September 23, 1914, quoted in Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 57.
10. DCI director, quoted in Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 58.

11. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy*, 47–8; "Lahore Conspiracy Case Judgment, Part III, The Revolutionists in America," in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 87–8.
12. "The Lahore Conspiracy Case," "Hatching the Conspiracy in America," *Madras Mail*, May 1, 1915, file 8880 845 (microfilm: MG 335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department.
13. A. April 1915, nos. 216–18, S. H. Slater, March 12, 1915, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 115; Sho, *Indian Mutiny in Singapore*, 31.
14. "The Lahore Conspiracy Case," "Hatching the Conspiracy in America," *Madras Mail*, May 1, 1915; "Lahore Conspiracy Case," *Madras Times*, April 29, 1915, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department.
15. EISC, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India*, 63; "Lahore Conspiracy Case," *Madras Times*, April 29, 1915, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department; Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. 2, 182.
16. O'Dwyer, India as I Knew It, 194–95. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 69.
17. O'Dwyer, India as I Knew It, 196. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 72–3.
18. EISC, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India*, 67.
19. O'Dwyer, *India as I Knew It*, 192–7.
20. Malcolm Reid to W. D. Scott, August 20, 1914, folder 40, volume 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
21. Governor-general to Mr. Harcourt, August 31, 1914, folder 40, volume 1139, Records of the Office of External Affairs.
22. W. D. Scott to John H. Clark, May 9, 1916, file 53854/133, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 95.
23. Jane Singh, "Echoes of Revolution," 36; Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. 2, 182.
24. "Desh Bhagat Yadan," box 5, folder 17, South Asians in North America Collection.
25. Brown, *Har Dayal*, 199.
26. Bhakna, quoted in Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 15–16.
27. Josh, *Sohan Singh Bhakna*, 41.
28. Ibid., 42–4.
29. DCI quoted in Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 52–4.
30. Brown, *Har Dayal*, 198–9.
31. Nawab Khan's testimony quoted in "Revolutionists Educate Leaders at U.C., Says Witness," "Scholarship Funds Open to Plotters," "Former Wealthy Rancher of Stockton, Now in Prison, Fathered Scheme" "Murder and Pillage Were to be Means Used to Further Revolt, Says Witness," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 20, 1917.
32. EISC, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India*, 63–72.
33. *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate the Disturbances in the Punjab, etc.* (1920), 91, 57–8.
34. J. C. Ker, "Indian Agitation in America, Arrangements for Watching Seditionists on the Pacific Coast, Mr. W.C. Hopkinson," December 17, 1912, IOR/L/PJ/12/1, India Office Records.
35. Ker, "Indian Agitation in America."
36. EISC, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India*, 72.
37. O'Dwyer, *India as I Knew It*, 168.
38. EISC, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India*, 64.
39. Bonny Tan, *1915 Indian Mutiny* (Singapore: National Library Board, 2000), 11–22; Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. 2, 186; Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 24.
40. Sho, *Indian Mutiny in Singapore*, 74.

41. "Lahore Conspiracy Case," *Madras Times*, April 29, 1915, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department.
42. Kartar Singh Sarabha, quoted in Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 18; "Lahore Conspiracy Case," Madras Times, April 29, 1915, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department; Brown, *Har Dayal*, 200.
43. EISC, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India*, 65; Brown, *Har Dayal*, 200.
44. EISC, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India*, 66.
45. Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 19; Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. 2, 183.
46. Lord Hardinge quoted in Ram Chandra, *India against Britain*, 8.
47. "Note by Mr. Marris, October 7, 1915," file 3885, IOR/L/PJ/1402, India Office Records; EISC, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India*, 76.
48. O'Dwyer, *India As I Knew It*, 189 and 196.
49. Brown, *Har Dayal*, 78.
50. Har Dayal, *Shabash* (San Francisco: Hindustan Gadar Party, December 1913), box 2, folder 2, p. 17, South Asians in North America Collection.
51. David Machado, "The Ghadr Party and the Hindu-German Conspiracy," unpublished manuscript (March 22, 1973), box 5, folder 1, p. 29, South Asians in North America Collection.
52. M.N. Roy, quoted in Panchanan Saha, "Indian Revolutionary Movement in Germany," *Mainstream* 12, no. 6 (October 1973), 35.
53. Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. 2, 186.
54. C. Sehanavis, "Pioneers among Indian Revolutionaries in Germany," *Mainstream* 13, no. 6 (1975), 12; Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 24.
55. EISC, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India*, 52; Machado, "Ghadr Party and the Hindu-German Conspiracy," 7.
56. Machado, "Ghadr Party and the Hindu-German Conspiracy," 6.
57. Franz von Papen, quoted in Machado, "Ghadr Party and the Hindu-German Conspiracy," 6.
58. Sehanavis, "Pioneers among Indian Revolutionaries in Germany," 13; Saha, "Indian Revolutionary Movement in Germany," 34; Brown, *Har Dayal*, 179.
59. Rai, quoted in Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 62.
60. Machado, "Ghadr Party and the Hindu-German Conspiracy," 11.
61. Ibid., 13.
62. Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 32.
63. Machado, "Ghadr Party and the Hindu-German Conspiracy," 18–19.
64. Chenchiah, "History of the Freedom Movement in India," 22–6; Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 40–41.
65. "Statement of Jodh Singh," January 23, 1917, file no. 9.10.3, Record Group No. 60, Reel 3, Justice 8445, Part 3, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 192–4.
66. Ibid., 194.
67. Ibid., 196–205.
68. Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, xxx.
69. *United States of America v. Franz Bopp et al., defendants*. Reporters' transcript [of trial of Ghadar Party conspiracy] in the District Court of the United States for the Southern Division of the Northern District of California, First Division, November 20, 1917–April 23, 1918 (London: India Office Library and India Office Records, Photocopying and Microfilming Section, 1968); Chenchiah, "History of the Freedom Movement in India," 34; Machado, "Ghadr Party and the Hindu-German Conspiracy," 20.
70. Chenchiah, "History of the Freedom Movement in India," no page number given.
71. Chenchiah, "History of the Freedom Movement in India," 34; In the District Court of the United States, Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, *United States of America v. Gustave H. Jacobson et al.*, October 16, 1917, box 5, folder 1, Neutrality Case Files; Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 140.

72. Machado, "Ghadr Party and the Hindu-German Conspiracy," 22.
73. Chakravarty, quoted in "Chakravarty Confesses before Court to Plotting," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 18, 1918; Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 53.
74. Machado, "Ghadr Party and the Hindu-German Conspiracy," 26.
75. John W. Spellman, "The International Extensions of Political Conspiracy as Illustrated by the Ghadr Party," *Journal of Indian History* 37 (April 1959), 41–2.
76. "Documents Offered at Trial Reveal Spread of German-Hindoo Intrigue," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 28, 1918.
77. Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. 2, 186.
78. Machado, "Ghadr Party and the Hindu-German Conspiracy," 31–2.
79. Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, "Notes on the History of the Ghadar Party," from *Heritage* (Jalandhar: White Cross, April 7, 1996), 15. Bhakna's notebooks have been translated by the history subcommittee of the Desh Bhagat Yadar Committee and republished in its periodical *Heritage* (formerly called *Bulletin*), box 12, folder 14, South Asians in North America Collection.
80. Brown, *Har Dayal*, 206; Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 29–30.
81. Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. 2, 183.
82. Sikh attendees of a meeting at Burrabazar Sikh Temple in Calcutta, quoted in Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 107.
83. Gurmukh Singh, quoted in interview with Harish Puri in "Ghadar Movement: An Experiment in New Patterns of Socialisation," *Journal of Regional History* 1, no. 1 (1980), 139.
84. Chenchiah, "History of the Freedom Movement in India," 25.
85. Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. 2, 191.
86. Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 25.
87. O'Dwyer, *India as I Knew It*, 190.
88. Nasser Hussain, "Toward a Jurisprudence of Emergency: Colonialism and the Rule of Law," *Law and Critique* 10, no. 2 (1999), 93.
89. *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate the Disturbances in the Punjab, etc.* (1920), 112.
90. *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate the Disturbances in the Punjab, etc.* (1920), 63; Helen Fein, *Imperial Crime and Punishment: The Massacre at Jallianwala Bagh and British Judgment, 1919–1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1977), 22.
91. Gobind Behari Lal, quoted in Brown, *Har Dayal*, 202.
92. American consul-general George Anderson to Claud Severn, colonial secretary, Hong Kong, March 2, 1917, file 53854/133, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
93. Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters*, 83–5, 119; Daniel Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation: Outsiders in American History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 133; Arthur W. Helweg, "The Immigration Act of 1917: The Asian Indian Exclusion Act," in *Asian Americans and Congress: A Documentary History*, ed. Hyung-Chan Kim (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1996), 162.

CHAPTER 6

Kartar Singh Sarabha (1915), quoted in Randhir Singh, *The Ghadar Heroes*, 21.

1. Jensen, *Passage from India*, 222.
2. *United States of America v. Franz Bopp et al., defendants.* Reporters' transcript [of trial of Ghadar Party conspiracy] in the District Court of the United States for the Southern Division of the Northern District of California, First Division, November 20, 1917–April

23, 1918 (London: India Office Library and India Office Records, Photocopying and Microfilming Section, 1968); Jensen, *Passage from India*, 214.

3. Preston, quoted in Machado, "Ghadr Party and the Hindu-German Conspiracy," 15.
4. For more on the links between "aliens" and radicals, see Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters*.
5. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 140.
6. Josh, *Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna*, 47–50.
7. "Lahore Conspiracy Case," *Madras Times*, April 29, 1915, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department.
8. "Lahore Conspiracy Case Judgment, Part III, The Revolutionists in America," in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 86–9.
9. "The Lahore Conspiracy Case," "Hatching the Conspiracy in America" *Madras Mail*, May 1, 1915, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department.
10. "Lahore Conspiracy Case," *Madras Times*, April 29, 1915, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department.
11. Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 91.
12. *The Gadarite*, no. 2 (Berkeley: Gadar Heritage Foundation, 1998), 46; Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 21.
13. Sarabha quoted in Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 21.
14. Sohan Singh Bhakna, quoted in Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 21; for details of Bhakna's role in the trial, see Josh, *Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna*, 46–54.
15. Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 22.
16. Parmanand, *Story of My Life*, 96–7; Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 21.
17. Josh, *Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna*, 59–60; *The Gadarite*, no. 2 (Berkeley: Gadar Heritage Foundation, 1998), 46.
18. Sarabha quoted in *The Gadarite*, no. 2 (Berkeley: Gadar Heritage Foundation, 1998), 46. In the South Asian numbering system, a *crore* is equal to ten million.
19. Sarabha and his comrades, quoted in Josh, *Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna*, 58; Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 21.
20. Jose Olivares, American consulate general, Madras, to the secretary of state, May 6, 1915, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department.
21. EISC, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India*, 72.
22. Lal, quoted in Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 23.
23. EISC, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India*, 66.
24. Special tribunal, quoted in Isemonger and Slattery, *Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy*, 25.
25. "The Lahore Conspiracy Case," *Madras Mail*, September 15, 1915, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department.
26. Holderness, quoted in Sydney Brooks, "Memorandum on the Indian Revolutionary Movement in the United States," January 25, 1916, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department.
27. Ibid., Sydney Brooks to secretary of state, January 25, 1916, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department.
28. "American-Made Hindu Revolts," *Literary Digest*, July 10, 1915, p. 56, folder 13, box 1, South Asians in North America Collection.
29. "Tulare Hindoos Raising Funds to Aid Rebels," "Plans for Indian Revolution Said to be Well Under Way and Awaiting Proper Date" *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 26, 1915 quoted in letter from Joel Hayes, Oakland, CA to Secretary of Labor, December 28, 1915, file 53854/133, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that 100 Indians in Tulare County, California, had met in December 1915.

30. "Note on the Hindu Revolutionary Movement in Canada" (1919), file 536999, Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series; Machado, "Ghadr Party and the Hindu-German Conspiracy," 26.
31. *United States of America v. Franz Bopp et al., defendants*; "Kaiser Seeks Aid of China in Revolutionary Plot," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 19, 1917; "Luxburg Code Cables Figure in Hindoo Plot," "State Department Sending Documents to Strengthen Case on Trial Here," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 16, 1918; "Documents Offered at Trial Reveal Spread of German-Hindoo Intrigue," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 28, 1918.
32. *New York Times*, March 7, 1917, quoted in Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 60.
33. Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, *American Espionage: From Secret Service to CIA* (New York: Free Press, 1977), 111.
34. Machado, "Ghadr Party and the Hindu-German Conspiracy," 19.
35. *United States v. Ram Chandra et al.* District Court, [Southern District] California, First Division, August 4, 1917, no. 6133, 254 Fed. Report 635–7, box 4, folder 2, South Asians in North America Collection; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 216–24.
36. Warren, quoted in Jensen, *Passage from India*, 223.
37. "Men Held in Hindoo Plot To Face Trial Today," "World-Wide Conspiracy is Charged," "150 US Witnesses," "Government Accuses 42 Defendants with Starting Military Expedition," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 20, 1917.
38. Ibid.; "Hindoo Sought Aid in Mexico, Says Captain," "Army Officer Identifies Bhagwan Singh as Agent of Accused Plotters," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 4, 1918.
39. Chenchiah, "History of the Freedom Movement in India," no page number given.
40. Preston, quoted in United States of America v. Franz Bopp et al., defendants; "Men Held in Hindoo Plot To Face Trial Today," "World-Wide Conspiracy is Charged," "150 U.S. Witnesses," "Government Accuses 42 Defendants with Starting Military Expedition," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 20, 1917; "Hindoo Sought Aid in Mexico, Says Captain," "Army Officer Identifies Bhagwan Singh as Agent of Accused Plotters," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 4, 1918; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 214.
41. "The Organisation of the Hindu-German Conspiracy," Reel No. 4, Record group 118, US attorney for the Northern District A, California, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 162–5.
42. *United States of America v. Franz Bopp et al., defendants.*
43. "The Organisation of the Hindu-German Conspiracy," Reel No. 4, Record group 118, US Attorney for the Northern District A, California, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 166–9; Machado, "Ghadr Party and the Hindu-German Conspiracy," 15.
44. Karl Hoover, "The Hindu Conspiracy in California, 1913–1918," *German Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (1985), 250–51.
45. Rice to Polk, March 27, 1916, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department.
46. Sailendra Nath Ghose, "Deportation of Hindu Politicals," *The Dial* 67, August 23, 1919, box 4, folder 31, pp. 145–6, South Asians in North America Collection.
47. Jeffreys-Jones, *American Espionage*, 45.
48. "Hindoo Trial Jury Votes to Hear Argument," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 13, 1918; "Hindoo Witness Will Reveal Revolutionary Plot," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 2, 1917; "Hindoo Plot Witness Accused of Attempt to Thwart Trial," "Preston Files Affidavit Protesting Against Permitting Jodh Singh to Change to Not Guilty," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 8, 1917.
49. "Hindoo Refused to Testify for U.S. in Trial," "Chief Witness of Govt. in Chicago Cases Taken to Alameda Jail," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 28, 1917.

50. "Jodh Singh is Anxious to be Tried in U.S.," "Hindu Informer Fears Execution at British Hands in India," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 2, 1917.
51. "Chakravarty Confesses before Court to Plotting," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 18, 1918.
52. Ram Chandra, *India against Britain*, 9.
53. Ram Chandra to Woodrow Wilson, June 28, 1917, file 845 (microfilm: MG335, Roll 2), Records of the State Department.
54. Ram Chandra, *The Appeal of India to the President of the United States* (San Francisco: Hindustan Gadar Party, February 1918 and June 1917), box 1, folder 30, South Asians in North America Collection.
55. "Von Igel's Papers Appear in Hindoo Plot Trial," "Consulate of Germany in San Francisco Involved," "Mentioned Several Times in Documents Seized in New York Raid," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 12, 1917; "The Organisation of the Hindu-German Conspiracy," Reel No. 4, Record group 118, US Attorney for the Northern District A, California, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 165.
56. Jeffreys-Jones, *American Espionage*, 63, 111.
57. "More Arrests in Plot Case are Expected," "Allies May Take Action to Bring Hindoos in India to Face Trial," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 24, 1918; *United States of America vs. Franz Bopp, et al., defendants*.
58. "Preston Opens Final Appeal in Hindoo Cases," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 23, 1918.
59. "Bomb Manual Involves Woman in Hindoo Plot Trial," "Madame Camille de Berri of Berkeley was Cloak for Defendant, Says U.S.," San Francisco Chronicle, January 9, 1918; "U.S. Charges Hindoo with Peace Plot," "Taraknath Das Accused of Propaganda to Disrupt Entente Alliance," San Francisco Chronicle, January 19, 1918. On anxieties caused by such interracial relationships between Asian men and white women, see Mary Ting Yi Lui, *The Chinatown Trunk Mystery: Murder, Miscegenation, and Other Dangerous Encounters in Turn-of-the-Century New York City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).
60. "The Day of Liberty for India Has Come," no date given, "Ghadr extracts," Box 1, Neutrality Case Files.
61. Hess, "Forgotten Asian Americans," 586.
62. "55 I.W.W. Indicted as War Work Plotters," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 9, 1918.
63. "Preston Opens Final Appeal in Hindoo Cases," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 23, 1918.
64. "Miss Goldman and Berkman Aids of Dyal," "Letters Indicate Cooperation with Hindoo Revolutionist in Propaganda," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 25, 1918.
65. "Hindu Activities in Mexico" Office of Naval Intelligence, Navy Department, June 25, 1918, file 20969/129, Entry 78A, Box 39, Records of the Justice Department, Record Group 38, National Archives (hereafter cited as Records of the Justice Department).
66. "U.S. Seizes 4 in New India Uprising Plot," "Scheme to Enlist Bolsheviki Aid to Overthrow British Sown in Letters," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 23, 1918.
67. Taraknath Das, *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance and America* (Washington, DC, 1918), 18; Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia*, 117–18.
68. Randhir Singh, *Ghadar Heroes*, 29.
69. Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement*, 73.
70. "29 Conspiracy Defendants Sentenced," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 1, 1918.
71. "Hindoo Revolt Case Unique in State's History," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 24, 1918.
72. "Ram Singh Kills Ram Chandra; U.S. Marshal Holohan Kills Slayer," "Swift Murder and Swifter Retribution Done in the Federal Court During Hindoo Trials," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 24, 1918.
73. Kesar Singh Dillon, secretary Hindustan Gadar Party, Oakland, to S. Hukum Singh, Deputy Speaker, Parliament of India, September 24, 1960, Friends of Freedom for India correspondence, box 4, vol. 1, South Asians in North America Collection.

74. "Hindoo Revolt Case Unique in State's History," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 24, 1918.
75. Hoover, "Hindu Conspiracy in California," 246.
76. Jensen, *Passage from India*, 224; "Jury in Hindoo Trial to Rule on Final Pleas," "W. J. Bryan is Awaited," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 12, 1918.
77. "29 Conspiracy Defendants Sentenced," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 1, 1918.
78. Preston, quoted in Jensen, *Passage from India*, 224.
79. Lal, "Dr. Taraknath Das," 37.
80. Jensen, *Passage from India*, 214.
81. "Jury Finds Against All Except One Defendant," "Gemans, Hindoos and Americans Included in Sweeping Verdict in International Case," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 24, 1918; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 213–17.
82. Kornweibel, *Seeing Red*, 20. Kornweibel's important study illustrates how antiradicalism and white supremacy operated hand in hand, especially in and through the federal government; Jensen, *Passage from India*, 213–17.
83. "Relations of Anti-British Parties," DCI, 23.6.1919, B. June 1919, nos. 701–704; "Indian Revolutionaries Abroad," DCI, 5.4.1920, Deposit April 1920, nos. 80–103, in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad, 1905–1927*, 347.
84. Kornweibel, *Seeing Red*, 1.
85. Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919–1920* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), 14; Kornweibel, *Seeing Red*, 5; Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters*, 145.
86. Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation*, 133.
87. Kornweibel, *Seeing Red*, 6–7.
88. Ibid., 10.
89. Chief, Military Intelligence Branch, Executive Division, War Department to Labor Department, May 3, 1918, file 53854/133, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service; Kornweibel, *Seeing Red*, 17, 11.
90. Kornweibel, *Seeing Red*, 20; Manela, *Wilsonian Moment*, 37.
91. Rai, "The Problem of India" (1919), reprinted in Joshi, *Lala Lajpat Rai Writings and Speeches*, vol. 1, 346.
92. Murray, *Red Scare*, 34.
93. Bhagwan Singh quoted in Jeffreys-Jones, *American Espionage*, 108.
94. "An Open Letter to the People at Large" (San Francisco: Hindustan Gadar Party, date unknown), box 2, folder 30, South Asians in North America Collection.
95. Sailendra Nath Ghose, "Deportation of Hindu Politicals," *The Dial* 67, August 23, 1919, p. 145, box 4, folder 31, South Asians in North America Collection.
96. There are over one hundred petitions and resolutions protesting the government's efforts to deport the detained Indians in file 53854/133, 133B, Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service.
97. *The Crisis*, quoted in *Young India* 3, no. 2 (February 1920), 46, http://www.saadigitalarchive.org/item/20110923-384, accessed February 5, 2014.
98. Intelligence official quoted in Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism*, 50.
99. Kornweibel, *Seeing Red*, 33–5.
100. Kornweibel, *Seeing Red*, 115.
101. "Seventh Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California" (California Senate: Sacramento, California, 1953), 213–46; Kornweibel, *Seeing Red*, 71, 116.
102. Ramnath, "Two Revolutions," 9.
103. Josh, *Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna*, 69; Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, xxxvii.
104. "Ghadar Party in America," in Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 410.

105. Surendra Karr, "India's Fight for Independence," *Independent Hindustan* (San Francisco: Hindustan Gadar Party, 1921), box 9, folder 6, South Asians in North America Collection.
106. Taraknath Das, "International Aspects of the Indian Question," reprinted in *The Independent Hindustan* (San Francisco: Hindustan Ghadar Party, 1921), box 9, folder 6, South Asians in North America Collection.

EPILOGUE

Bhagat Singh quoted in Kuldip Nayar, *The Martyr: Bhagat Singh—Experiments in Revolution* (New Delhi: Har Anand Publications, 2000), 55.

1. Lajpat Rai quoted in Nayar, *Martyr*, 35.
2. Chaman Lal, "Introduction" in *Bhagat Singh: The Jail Notebook and Other Writings*, Bhupender Hooja, ed. (New Delhi: Left Word, 2007), 9.
3. Nayar, *Martyr*, 93; Lal, "Introduction," 12.
4. Lal, "Introduction," 9, 19; Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia*, 7.
5. Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia*, 158.
6. Harish K. Puri, "The Influence of Ghadar Movement on Bhagat Singh's Thought and Action," *Pakistan Vision* 9 no. 2 (2008), 71; Nayar, *Martyr*, 55–60.
7. Nayar, *Martyr*, 14–15.
8. Rai, *Story of My Life*, 42–3.
9. Rai, "The Problem of India" (1919), and "A Call to Young India" (1919), in Joshi, ed., *Lala Lajpat Rai Writings and Speeches*, vol. 1, 340, 311.
10. In his notebook, Bhagat had copied a quote from Lajpat Rai in which Rai had written, "no rule over a foreign people is so exacting and so merciless in its operation as that of democracy." According to Nayar, Bhagat came across this quote while awaiting execution and found solace in it, Nayar, *Martyr*, 29.
11. Josh, *Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna*, 61.
12. Bhagat Singh quoted in Nayar, *Martyr*, 16.
13. Josh, *Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna*, 69.
14. Ibid., 64–70.
15. Ibid., 11–13.
16. Ibid., 14.
17. Bhakna quoted in Ibid., 72. "Indo-Russian Entente Cordiale," "British Inquisition against Independent Hindustan," *The Independent Hindustan* (San Francisco: Hindustan Gadar Party, March 1921), folder 6, box 9, South Asians in North America Collection.
18. For more on the ways in which Asian American historiographies have often reified the promises of the US liberal nation-state, see Jung, "Seditious Subjects."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Archival and Manuscript Collections

US National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, and College Park, Maryland.
Records of the US Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85.
Records of the Justice Department, Record Group 38.
Records of the State Department, Record Group 59.

US National Archives and Records Administration, Regional Branch, San Bruno, California.
Records of the US District Attorney, Record Group 118, Neutrality Case Files.

Library and Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
Records of the Immigration Central Registry File Series, Record Group 76.
Records of the Office of External Affairs, Record Group 25.
Twentieth Century Manuscript Collection, Manuscript Group 30, Kartar Singh Fonds.

Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
South Asians in North America Collection.

British Library, London.
Public and Judicial Department Files, India Office Records (IOR).

Government Publications and Reports

United States Immigration Commission. *Abstract of the Report on Japanese and Other Immigrant Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911.

United States Congress, House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. *Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization to Discuss the Passage of Additional Legislation to Exclude Asians,* Hearings, 63d Cong., 2d sess. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1913.

United States Congress, House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. *Hearings on the Restriction of Hindu Laborers,* Hearings, 63d Cong., 2d sess. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1914.

Senate Fact Finding Committee. *Seventh Report on Un-American Activities in California.* Sacramento: California Senate Printing Office, 1953.

Komagata Maru Committee of Inquiry. *Report of the Komagata Maru Committee of Inquiry.* Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1914.

East India Sedition Committee, *Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate Revolutionary Conspiracies in India.* London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918.

Report of Committee Appointed to Investigate the Disturbances in the Punjab, etc. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Fresno Republican
Modern Review
New York Times
San Francisco Bulletin
San Francisco Chronicle
San Francisco Examiner
Times (London)
Vancouver Daily Province
Vancouver Daily World
Young India

Other Sources

Reporters' transcript, *United States of America v. Franz Bopp et al.*, District Court of the United States for the Southern Division of the Northern District of California, First Division, November 20, 1917–April 23, 1918.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Adas, Michael. "From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon: Integrating the Exceptionalist Narrative of the American Experience into World History." *American Historical Review* 106 (December 2001), 1692–1720.

Ahmad, Dohra. *Landscapes of Hope: Anti-Colonial Utopianism in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Alexander, M. Jacqui, and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, eds. *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures.* New York: Routledge, 1997.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London and New York: Verso, 1991.

——. *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination.* London: Verso, 2005.

Aydin, Cemil. *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Azuma, Eiichiro. *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Bald, Vivek. *Bengali Harlem and the Lost Histories of South Asian America.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Bald, Vivek, Miabi Chatterji, Sujani Reddy, and Manu Vimalassery, eds. *The Sun Never Sets: South Asian Migrants in an Age of U.S. Power.* New York: New York University Press, 2013.

Ballantyne, Tony. *Between Colonialism and Diaspora: Sikh Cultural Formations in an Imperial World.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

——. *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire.* New York: Palgrave, 2002.

Banerjee, Kalyan Kumar. *Indian Freedom Movement: Revolutionaries in America.* Calcutta: Jijnasa, 1969.

Banerjee, Sukanya. *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late-Victorian Empire.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.

Basch, Linda, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, eds. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States.* Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1994.

Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Beisner, Robert L. *Twelve against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists, 1898–1900.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture.* London: Routledge, 1994.

——, ed. *Nation and Narration.* London: Routledge, 1990.

Bose, Arun Coomer. "Indian Nationalist Agitation in the USA and Canada until the Arrival of Har Dayal in 1911." *Journal of Indian History* 63 (1965): 227–39.

——. *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad, 1905–1922.* Patna: Bharati Bhawan, 1971.

——. *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad, 1905–1927: Select Documents.* New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 2002.

Bose, Sudhindra. "American Impressions of a Hindu Student." *Forum* 53 (February 1915): 251–7.

——. "Asian Immigration in the United States." *Modern Review* 25 (1919): 521–8.

Brown, Emily Clara. *Har Dayal: Hindu Revolutionary and Rationalist.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975.

——. "Revolution in India: Made in America." *Population Review* 25 (1981): 41–50.

Brown, Giles T. "The Hindu Conspiracy, 1914–1917." *Pacific Historical Review* 17 (1948): 299–310.

Buchignani, Norman, Doreen M. Indra, and Ram Srivastava. *Continuous Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada.* Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 1985.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Chang, Kornel. "Circulating Race and Empire: Transnational Labor Activism and the Politics of Anti-Asian Agitation in the Anglo-American Pacific World, 1880–1910." *Journal of American History* 96 (December 2009): 678–701.

——. *Pacific Connections: The Making of the U.S.-Canadian Borderlands.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Chatterjee, Partha. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

——. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Cheng, Lucie, and Edna Bonacich, eds. *Labor Immigration under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States before World War II.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Chuh, Kandice. *Imagine Otherwise: On Asian Americanist Critique.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.

Chuh, Kandice, and Karen Shimakawa, eds. *Orientations: Mapping Studies in the Asian Diaspora.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.

Cohen, Nancy. *The Reconstruction of American Liberalism, 1865–1914.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Das, Sarangadhar. "Information for Indian Students Intending to Come to the Pacific Coast of the United States." *Modern Review* 10, no. 7–12 (1911): 602–12.

Das, Taraknath. *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance and America.* Washington, DC, 1921 [booklet].

——. *Foreign Policy in the Far East.* New York: Longmans, Green, 1936.

——. *India in World Politics.* New York: Huebsch, 1923.

——. "Our Nation Day Celebration in California." *Modern Review* 13, no. 2 (1913): 210–212.

——. "Stateless Persons in U.S.A." *Calcutta Review* 16 (July 1925): 40–46.

Dayal, Har. "India in America." *Modern Review* 10, no. 1 (1911): 1–11.

——. "Indian Philosophy and Art in the West." *Modern Review* 11, no. 4 (1912).

——. "India and the World Movement." *Modern Review* 13, no. 2 (1913): 185–8.

Deol, Gurdev Singh. *The Role of the Ghadar Party in the National Movement.* Delhi: Sterling, 1969.

Dignan, Don K. "The Hindu Conspiracy in Anglo-American Relations during World War I." *Pacific Historical Review* 40 (1971): 57–77.

——. *The Indian Revolutionary Problem in British Diplomacy, 1914–1919.* New Delhi: Allied, 1983.

Edwards, Brent Hayes. *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Ellis, Mark. *Race, War, and Surveillance: African Americans and the United States Government during World War I.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth.* New York: Grove, 1963.

Fein, Helen. *Imperial Crime and Punishment: The Massacre at Jallianwala Bagh and British Judgment, 1919–1920.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1977.

Fujita-Rony, Dorothy. *American Workers, Colonial Power: Philippine Seattle and the Transpacific West, 1919–1941.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Gage, Beverley. *The Day Wall Street Exploded: A Story of America in Its First Age of Terror.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Gardner, Lloyd. *Safe for Democracy: The Anglo-American Response to Revolution, 1913–1923.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Ghosh, Amitav, and Dipesh Chakrabarty, "A Correspondence on Provincializing Europe." *Radical History Review* 83 (2002): 146–172.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Gorman, Daniel. *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.

Gould, Harold. *Sikhs, Swamis, Students, and Spies: The Indian Lobby in the United States, 1900–1946.* New Delhi: Sage, 2006.

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks.* New York: International Publishers, 1971.

Guha, Ranajit, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. *Selected Subaltern Studies.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Guterl, Matthew, and Christine Skwiot. "Atlantic and Pacific Crossings: Race, Empire, and 'the Labor Problem' in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Radical History Review* 91 (Winter 2005), 40–61.

Hallberg, Gerald. "Bellingham, Washington's Anti-Hindu Riot," *Journal of the West* 12, no. 1 (1973): 163–75.

Hess, Gary R. "The Forgotten Asian Americans: The East Indian Community in the U.S." *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (November 1974): 576–96.

——. "The 'Hindu' in America: Immigration and Naturalization Policies and India, 1917–1946." *Pacific Historical Review* 38 (1969): 71–77.

Hing, Bill Ong. *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy, 1850–1990.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Hooja, Bhupender, ed. *Bhagat Singh: The Jail Notebook and Other Writings.* New Delhi: Left Word, 2007.

Hoover, Karl. "The Hindu Conspiracy in California, 1913–1918." *German Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (1985): 245–61.

Horne, Gerald. *The White Pacific: U.S. Imperialism and Black Slavery in the South Seas after the Civil War.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007.

Hussain, Nasser. "Toward a Jurisprudence of Emergency: Colonialism and the Rule of Law." *Law and Critique* 10, no. 2 (1999): 93–115.

Ichioka, Yuji, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1924.* New York: Free Press, 1988.

Isemonger, F. C., and James Slattery. *An Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy, 1913–1915.* Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1919.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876–1917*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2000.

Jacoby, Harold S. "U.S. Strategies of Asian Indian Immigration Restriction, 1882–1917," *Population Review* 25 (1981): 35–40.

Jakobsh, Doris R. *Relocating Gender in Sikh History: Transformation, Meaning, and Identity*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Jeffreys-Jones, Rhodri. *American Espionage: From Secret Service to CIA*. New York: Free Press, 1977.

——. *Cloak and Dollar: A History of American Secret Intelligence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

Jensen, Joan M. *Passage from India: Asian Indian Immigrants in North America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

Johnson, Chalmers. *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*. New York: Metropolitan, 2004.

Johnston, Hugh. *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Josh, Sohan Singh. *Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna: Life of the Founder of the Ghadar Party*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1970.

——. *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*. 2 vols. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1977–8.

——. *The Tragedy of the Komagata Maru*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1975.

Joshi, Vijaya Chandra, ed. *Lala Lajpat Rai: Writings and Speeches*, vol. 1, *1888–1919*. Delhi: University Publishers, 1966.

——. *Lala Lajpat Rai: Writings and Speeches, vol. 2, 1920–1928*. Delhi: University Publishers, 1966.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. "The Gadar Syndrome: Ethnic Anger and Nationalist Pride." *Population Review* 25 (1982): 48–58.

——. *The Ghadar Syndrome: Nationalism in an Immigrant Community*. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1977.

Jung, Moon-Ho. *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.

——. "Seditious Subjects: Race, State Violence, and the U.S. Empire." *Journal of Asian American Studies* 14 (June 2011): 221–47.

Kanstroom, Daniel. *Deportation Nation: Outsiders in American History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Kaplan, Amy. *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Kazanjian, David. *The Colonizing Trick: National Culture and Imperial Citizenship in Early America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.

Ker, James Campbell. *Political Trouble in India, 1907–1917*. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1917.

Kerber, Linda. "The Stateless as the Citizen's Other: A View from the United States." *American Historical Review* 112 (February 2007): 1–34.

Kim, Hyung-Chan, ed. *Asian Americans and Congress: A Documentary History*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1996.

Kim, Richard. *The Quest for Statehood: Korean Immigrant Nationalism and U.S. Sovereignty, 1905–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Kornweibel, Theodore. *Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns against Black Militancy, 1919–1925*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.

Koshy, Susan. *Sexual Naturalization: Asian Americans and Miscegenation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.

Kramer, Paul. *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

——. "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and U.S. Empires, 1880–1910." *Journal of American History* 88, no.4 (2002): 1315–53.

——. "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World." *American Historical Review* 116, no. 5 (2011): 1348–91.

LaBrack, Bruce. *The Sikhs of Northern California, 1904–1975*. New York: AMS, 1988.

Lake, Marilyn, and Henry Reynolds. *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Lal, Gobind Behari. "Dr. Taraknath Das in Free India." *Modern Review* 92 (1952): 34–38.

Lee, Erika. *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

——. "The 'Yellow Peril' and Asian Exclusion in the Americas." *Pacific Historical Review* 76 (November 2007): 537–62.

Leonard, Karen. *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992.

Levin, Gordon N. *Woodrow Wilson and World Politics: America's Response to War and Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Link, Arthur S. *Woodrow Wilson and a Revolutionary World, 1913–1921*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

Lopez, Ian Haney. *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*. New York: New York University Press, 1996.

Lowe, Lisa. *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996.

Lui, Mary Ting Yi. *The Chinatown Trunk Mystery: Murder, Miscegenation, and Other Dangerous Encounters in Turn-of-the-Century New York City*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Maeda, Daryl J. *Chains of Babylon: The Rise of Asian America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

Majumdar, R. C. *History of the Freedom Movement in India*. 3 vols. Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1962–3.

Manjapra, Kris. *M. N. Roy: Marxism and Colonial Cosmopolitanism*. Delhi: Routledge, 2010.

Manela, Erez. *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Mathur, L. P. *Indian Revolutionary Movement in the United States of America*. Delhi: Chand, 1970.

Mazumdar, Sucheta. "Colonial Impact and Punjabi Emigration to the United States." In *Labor Immigration Under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States before World War II*, Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich, eds., 316–36. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

McCoy, Alfred W. *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009.

McCoy, Alfred W., and Francisco A. Scarano, eds. *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009.

Mehta, Uday Singh. *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Montgomery, David. *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865–1925*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Mukherjee, Tapan K. *Taraknath Das: Life and Letters of a Revolutionary in Exile*. Calcutta: National Council of Education, 1998.

Mukerji, Girindra Nath. "The Condition of Hindu Students in America." *Modern Review* 5, no. 25 (January 1909): 53–55.

Murray, Robert K. *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919–1920*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955.

Nayar, Kuldip. *The Martyr: Bhagat Singh—Experiments in Revolution*. New Delhi: Har Anand, 2000.

Ngai, Mai M. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

O'Dwyer, Sir Michael. *India as I Knew It, 1885–1925*. London: Constable, 1925.

Okihiro, Gary Y. *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865–1945*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.

——. *Margins and Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994.

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to 1990s*. New York: Routledge, 1986.

Ong, Aihwa. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.

Parmanand, Bhai. *The Story of My Life*. Delhi: Prabhat Prakashan, 2002.

Pease, Donald, "US Imperialism: Global Dominance without Colonies." In *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray, eds., 203–20. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000.

Popplewell, Richard. *Intelligence and Imperial Defence: British Intelligence and the Defence of the Indian Empire, 1904–1924*. London: Frank Cass, 1995.

Prashad, Vijay. *The Karma of Brown Folk*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

Preston, William, Jr. *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903–1933*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Puri, Harish K. "Ghadar Movement: An Experiment in New Patterns of Socialisation," *Journal of Regional History* 1, no.1 (1980): 120–41.

——. *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organization, and Strategy*. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University Press, 1993.

——. "The Influence of Ghadar Movement on Bhagat Singh's Thought and Action." *Pakistan Vision* 9, no. 2 (2008): 70–84.

——. *Lajpat Rai in USA, 1914–1919: Life and Work of a Political Exile*. Punjab Research Group (2009), theprg.files.wordpress.com/2009/07/puri-lala-lajpat-rai.pdf (accessed on February 5, 2014).

Raat, W. Dirk. *Revoltosos: Mexico's Political Rebels in the United States, 1903–1923*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1981.

Rafael, Vicente L. *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000.

Rai, Lala Lajpat. *The Story of my Life: An Unknown Fragment*. New Delhi: Gitanjali Prakashan, 1928.

——. *The United States of America: A Hindu's Impression and a Study*. Calcutta: Chatterjee, 1916.

——. *Young India: An Interpretation and a History of the Nationalist Movement from Within*. New York: Huebsch, 1917.

Ramnath, Maia. *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

——. "Two Revolutions: The Ghadar Movement and India's Radical Diaspora, 1913–1918." *Radical History Review* 92 (Spring 2005): 7–30.

Rana, Junaid. *Terrifying Muslims: Race and Labor in the South Asian Diaspora*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.

Rosenberg, Emily. *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890–1945*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1982.

Roy, M. N. "The Foundation of Democracy: The American Experience." *The Masses of India* 1 (September 1925): 7–11.

——. *Memoirs*. Bombay and New York: Allied, 1964.

Saha, Panchanan. "Indian Revolutionary Movement in Germany." *Mainstream* 12, no. 6 (1973): 33–6.

Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage, 1993.

——. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979.

Salyer, Lucy E. *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Sareen, Tilak Raj. *Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad, 1905–1921*. New Delhi: Sterling, 1979.

Sehanavis, C. "Indian Revolutionaries Abroad: A Rare Document." *Mainstream* 13, no. 48 (1975): 22–23.

——. "Pioneers among Indian Revolutionaries in Germany." *Mainstream* 13, no. 6 (1975): 11–15.

Shah, Nayan. *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

——. *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

Shankar, Lavina Dhingra, and Rajini Srikanth. *A Part, Yet Apart: South Asians in Asian America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998.

Sho, Kuwajima. *Indian Mutiny in Singapore, 1915*. Calcutta: Ratna Prakashan, 1991.

——. *Mutiny in Singapore: War, Anti-War, and the War for India's Independence*. New Delhi: Rainbow, 2006.

Sing, Saint Nihal. "Colour Line in the United States of America and How the Negro is Uplifting Himself despite Odds." *Modern Review* 4, no. 5–6 (1908): 366–72.

——. "A Message Gave Me for India." *Modern Review* 6, no. 4 (1909): 373–377.

——. "The Triumph of the Indians in Canada." *Modern Review* 6, no. 2 (1909): 99–108.

Singh, Diwakar Prasad. *American Attitude towards the Indian Nationalist Movement*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1974.

Singh, Gurdit. *Voyage of the Komagata Maru, or India's Slavery Abroad*. Calcutta: Unistar, 1928.

Singh, Jane. "Echoes of Revolution: The Role of Literature in the Gadar Movement." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1990.

——. *South Asians in North America: An Annotated and Selected Bibliography*. Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1988.

Singh, Khushwant. *A History of the Sikhs, Volume 2: 1839–1964*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.

Singh, Nikhil Pal. *Black Is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Singh, Randhir. *The Ghadar Heroes*. Bombay: People's Publidhing House, 1945.

Sinha, Mrinalini. *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.

Slate, Nico. *Colored Cosmpolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Smedley, Agnes. "Home Rule or Independence." *Modern Review* 29 (January 1921): 108.

Sohi, Seema. "Race, Surveillance, and Indian Anticolonialism in the Transnational Western U.S.-Canadian Borderlands." *Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (September 2011): 420–36.

——. "Repressing the 'Hindu Menace': Race, Anarchy, and Indian Anticolonialism." In *The Sun Never Sets: South Asian Migrants in an Age of U.S. Power*, Vivek Bald, Miabi Chatterji, Sujani Reddy, and Manu Vimalassery, eds., 50–74. New York: New York University Press, 2013.

Sood, Malini. "Expatriate Nationalism and Ethnic Radicalism: The Ghadar Party in North America, 1910–1920." PhD diss., SUNY, Stony Brook, 1995.

Spector, Ronald. "The Vermont Education of Taraknath Das: An Episode in British-American–Indian Relations." *Vermont History* 48 (Spring 1980): 96–113.

Spellman, John W. "The International Extensions of Political Conspiracy as Illustrated by the Ghadar Party." *Journal of Indian History* 37 (April 1959): 23–45.

Stoler, Ann Laura, ed. *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

Tabili, Laura. *"We Ask for British Justice": Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Tan, Bonny. *1915 Indian Mutiny*. Singapore: National Library Board, 2000.

Tatla, Darshan Singh, ed. *A Guide to Sources: Ghadar Movement*. Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 2003.

——. *The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999.

Thakur, Gopal. *Bhagat Singh: The Man and His Ideas*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1962.

Thelen, David. "Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons: Toward the Internationalization of American History." *Journal of American History* 79 (September 1992): 432–62.

Tinker, Hugh. *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830–1920.* London: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Tyrrell, Ian. "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History." *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (October 1991): 1031–55.

——. "Empire in American History." In *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, Alfred McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano, eds., 541–56. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009.

——. "Making Nations/Making States: American Historians in the Context of Empire." *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (December 1999): 1015–44.

Van der Veer, Peter. *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.

Vatuk, Ved Prakash. *Thieves in My House: Four Studies of Indian Folklore of Protest and Change.* Varanasi: Vishwavidyalaya Prakashan, 1969.

Waraich, Malwinderjit Singh, and Gurden Singh Sidhu, eds. *Komagata Maru: A Challenge to Colonialism: Key Documents.* Chandigarh: Unistar, 2005.

Yu, Renqui. *To Save China, to Save Ourselves: The Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992.

INDEX

Account of the Ghadr Conspiracy (1913–1915), An, 61
Adee, Alvey, 94
Aden, *Ghadar* in, 60
Africa, 26, 46, *See also Specific countries*
African Americans: Afro-Asian solidarity, 202; Rai on, 70–71; Rai on US treatment of, 207–8; riots targeting, 199; Sing on, 1–2; soldiers, 199
agricultural workers. *See* migrant workers
Ainsworth, Frank, 92, 97, 98–99
American exceptionalism: anticolonialists appeal to, 200; Dayal on, 103–4; deportation of Indians and, 202; Ghadar Party and, 76; Indian migrants and, 103; Rai on, 73, 75–76; Sing on, 42
American Federation of Labor (AFL), 29, 30, 98, 201
American Revolution, 66, 80, 81, 105, 189–90
anarchism/anarchists: anticolonialism viewed as, 81, 83–84, 88–96; Dayal viewed as anarchist, 97; *Ghadar* or Ghadar Party and, 92–93, 97; Hindustan Association, 54; IWW as anarchist organization, 97; in Mexico, 79; Roosevelt, Theodore on, 88; Western imperialism and, 8, 11, 88, 106
Andaman Islands penal colony, 181
Anderson, George, 174
Angel Island: Dayal interrogated at, 97; Hopkinson and officials from, 89; immigration from the Philippines and, 127–28, 132; Indian immigration at, 31–34, 103
Annie Larsen (ship), 167, 184, 186, 188, 190
anti-Asian attitudes and policies. *See* antiradical and immigration policies; conspiracy trials; Hindu menace; race; *Specific countries*
anticolonialism in North America: as antiracist struggle, 47, 50; beyond nationalism, 76–81; border crossing and, 37–41; decolonizing liberalism, 68–76, 225*n*90; early organizing and resistance, 48–54, 51*f*; First World War and, 152–56; migration and, 21–24; overview, 5–13, 45–48, 209–12; rise of anticolonial consciousness, 42–44; rise of the Ghadar Party, 54–67, 223*n*30, 224*n*52; transnational movements, 38, 143, 154
antiradical and immigration policies: Indian critiques of US and British relations, 96–104, 230*n*57; inter-imperial exchanges and surveillance, 84–96, 87*f*, 202–3, 228*nn*14, 17; overview, 82–84, *See also* conspiracy trials; Hindu menace
Aryan, The, 14, 52–53, 111
Arya Samaj, 68
Asia, *Ghadar* in, 46
Asiatic Exclusion League, 25, 31, 32–33
Astoria, 59, 155
Australia, 26, 28, 60

Backus, Samuel, 92, 101, 102, 127, 128–29
Baker, Henry D., 94–95
Bande Mataram, 23, 49, 91
Barakatullah, Muhammed: about, 50; Berlin India Committee and, 165, 166; conspiracy trial, 187, 188; funds for passage to India collected by, 156; *Komagata Maru* and, 135, 140, 149
Barred Zone Act, 3, 28, 133, 155, 197
Bellingham riot, 25–27, 37, 42

Bengal: anticolonialists in, 18–19; Ghadar Party members from, 59; intellectuals from, 15, 46; partition of, 21; students from, 46
Berkeley: Das in, 34; Ghadar Party in, 59; students in the Ghadar Party, 58, 93; students'
political work, 101; surveillance in, 40, 102
Berkman, Alexander, 99, 192–93
Berlin, Indian anticolonialism in, 21
Berlin India Committee, 165–71, 184–85, 186–97, 242*n*73
Bernstorff, Johann von, 170, 185
Bhakna, Sohan Singh: anticolonial consciousness of, 209; communism and, 202; family reunification and, 115; on the First World War and Ghadar Party, 171, 243*n*79; Ghadar Party, 54–56; imprisonment, 208–9, 209*f*, 248*n*10; Indian independence and, 210; IWW and, 223*n*30; *Komagata Maru* and, 144, 149, 150; PCHA and, 54; Singh, Bhagat and, 208; on slavery, 159; trial of, 180–81
Bhopal, Ghadar Party members from, 59
Bhutia Kyawgh Hla', Tishi, 24, 105
Bird, J. Edward, 140, 141, 143
Birth of a Nation, 70–71
Boehm, George, 168, 169
Bolshevik revolution, 66, 75, 78
Bolshevism in the US and globally, 192–93, *See also* Red Scare
Bopp, Franz, 184, 186
Borden, Richard, 143
borders. *See* boundaries/borders
Bose, Rash Behari, 158–59, 162, 163
Bose, Suren M., 119
boundaries/borders: border enforcement, 37–41; US deportation of laborers crossing, 87; white Pacific, 25–37, 218*nn*49, 51, 61
boycotts, 19
Britain: Afro-Asian solidarity and surveillance by, 202; conspiracy trials and, 177, 178–84, 244*n*29; imperial policies and Indian migration, 16–21, 20f; Indian critiques of US relations with, 96–104, 230*n*57; London, 21, 22–23, 48–49; Sikh masculinity as defined by, 8–9, 18; surveillance by, 37, 40, 46, 50, 203; surveillance, inter-imperial, 4–5, 84–96, 87*f*, 202–3, 228*nn*14, 17; US treaties with, 132–33, *See also* anticolonialism in North America; antiradical and immigration policies; immigration from imperial territories; revolutionary uprisings and repressions (First World War); Western imperialism and capitalist development
British Columbia: immigration restrictions in, 15, 26–28; migration from the US to, 25–29; Punjabi migration to, 17, *See also* Vancouver
British East Africa, 46, 60
British empire, migration within the, 25–30
British Guiana, 49
British Honduras, 38–40, 114
British Rule in India (Bryan), 64
Brittain, Rowland, 40
Brooks, Sydney, 183
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, 29
brown man's burden, 42–43
Bruler, Ellis De, 119
Bryan, William Jennings, 64
Bryce, James, 35, 89
Buddhism, Dayal study of, 23
Budge Budge, *Komagata Maru* and massacre in, 145–46, 148–49, 150, 172
Burma: Berlin India Committee and, 154; *Ghadar* and Ghadar Party in, 160, 161, 182; Roy in, 77; Siam-Burma Plan, 167–68, 185, 190
Burnett, John L., 2, 93
Burrell, Martin, 143

Calcutta, 77, 156, 172
California: demand for Indian laborers in, 31, 129–30; exploitation of workers and racism in, 45; Ghadar Party in, 59; immigration from Philippines to, 125, 127–32; Lahore Conspiracy Trials and, 178–79, 183–84, 244*n*29; Punjab in, 56; Roy in Palo Alto, 77; Stockton, 51*f*, 59, 127, *See also* Berkeley; San Francisco
Cama, Bhikaiji Rustom (Madame): anticolonial activities of, 49; Ghadar Party and, 56; Hopkinson's allegations regarding, 91; Kumar, Guru Dutt and, 53; Singh, Jodh and, 168; Dayal, Har and, 49, 56, 91

Caminetti, Anthony: on Asian exclusion laws, 30; Hopkinson and, 41, 91, 102; immigrants from the Philippines and, 122, 124, 125, 126, 130; on the *Komagata Maru*, 137; Reid and, 116; surveillance and, 91, 92, 93, 102–3
Canada: British officials and sedition in, 34; continuous journey rule in, 27–28, 38, 84, 85, 86, 113–17; immigration restrictions in, 15–16, 26–28, 34–35, 42; Indian migration to, 21, 25–29; surveillance in, 40–41, 84–88, 158; US surveillance and, 36, 102–3, *See also* anticolonialism in North America; British Columbia
Canada-India Supply and Trust Company, 85
capitalism. *See* Western imperialism and capitalist development
Chakravarty, Chandra Kanta: Berlin India Committee and, 165, 170–71, 184–85; conspiracy trial, 186, 190, 191, 194; on the First World War, 200
Chamberlain, Austen, 139
Chandra, Padmavati, 14, 59
Chandra, Ram: Berlin India Committee and, 170, 171; conspiracy trial, 184, 186, 187, 188; on a democratic India, 105, 190; on a free India, 62; funds for passage to India collected by, 156; on Indian economy, 17; killing of, 194; *Komagata Maru* and, 149, 151; on migration being discouraged, 22; on missionary work in India, 24; on rebellion, 153; Siam-Burma plan and, 168; US activities of, 100–101; von Brincken and, 165
Chatterjee, Sukumar, 168–70
Chattopadhyay, Viren, 165
Chenchiah, Darisi: on becoming revolutionaries, 63; on the political atmosphere of Punjab, 20–21; Siam-Burma plan and, 168–70; Sun Yat-sen and, 67 (please add *Komagata Maru* and, 149; Conspiracy Trials and, 186).
Chicago, Hindu conspiracy trial in, 185–86
China: *Ghadar* in, 59; Ghadar Party and, 47, 58; nationalism in, 19–20, 66; political radicals from, 57; revolutionary struggle in, 66, 67, 153; Roy in, 77
Church, Denver S., 104
Circular-i-Azadi (Circular of Freedom), 51–52
Clark, John, 41, 85, 91–92, 102–3, 126
Cleveland, C. R., 35–36, 50, 94–95
communism: anticolonialists turning towards, 200–201, 210; Bhagat and, 207, 208; Bhakna, Sohan Singh and, 208; black militancy and, 202; Bolshevik revolution, 66, 75, 78; Bolshevism in the US and globally, 192–93; Ghadar Party and, 63, 203, 209; in India, 202, 203; Indians and, 203; Lenin and, 80; Rai and, 10; Roy and, 10, 76, 80; Second World War and, 209, *See also* Red Scare
Communist International, 203
Communist Party of Mexico, 78
Communist Third International (1920), 202
Conference of Radical, Socialist, and Labor Organizations, 75
conspiracy trials: Hindu conspiracy, 184–97, 247*n*83; Lahore, 178–84, 244*n*29; overview, 12, 106, 176–78, *See also* Hindu menace
continuous journey rule: in Canada, 27–28, 38, 84, 85, 86, 113–17; in the US, 29
Cook, Carson, 129
Cory, W. W., 86, 89
Crawford, T. M., 31
Criminal Investigation Department of India, 94, 95
Crisis, The, 69, 71, 201–2
Cuba, 70
Curzon, George, 22
Czolgosz, Leon, 88

Das, Taraknath: on availability of work for migrants, 119; Berlin India Committee and, 165; British authorities view of, 52; conspiracy trial, 186, 188, 191, 193–94, 194; *Free Hindusthan*, 34, 35, 49, 52, 94, 161; Freeman and, 49; Friends of Freedom for India and, 203; *Komagata Maru* and, 142; Kumar, Guru Dutt and, 53, 126; migrant and labor assistance (1905–1910), 33–37; on Sikhs in North America, 161; Singh, Amar and, 179; Trotsky and, 193; US citizenship of, 88–89; on US as tool of Britain, 204; on western hegemony, 193–94

Dayal, Har: on American exceptionalism, 103–4; anticolonial tracts by, 64–66; arrest and interrogation of, 82, 96–100, 103, 107, 230*n*57; Berkman and, 192–93; Berlin India Committee and, 165; on British government, 22–23, 225*n*90; Cama and, 49; conspiracy trial, 187–88, 192–93; deportation case, 90–93, 106; on *Ghadar*, 59; Ghadar Party and, 55–57, 57; Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Educational Scholarship and, 23–24; Hopkinson and, 89–90; on Indian education, 22; IWW and, 223*n*30; Lahore Conspiracy Trials and the, 178–79; on migration being discouraged, 22; Parmanand and, 55; Singh, Amar and, 179; US plans to deport, 81, 83; on Western imperialism, 70
DCI. *See* India Department of Criminal Intelligence (DCI)
de Berri, Camille, 191
Declaration of Independence, 81
decolonizing liberalism, 68–76, 225*n*90
Defense of India Act (India, 1915), 164, 172, 178, 182, 184
democracy: Chandra on, 62, 190; deportations and, 201; First World War and, 201; Ghadar Party and democratic movements, 47; global movements for, 47; limitations of, 5, 200–201; Rai on, 7, 12, 70, 73–75, 207–8; Roy on, 80–81; Singh, Gurdit on, 150; Sing on, 2; US promise and practice of, 6, 24, 66, 194, 211; Wilson on, 101, 190, 200, *See also* Western imperialism and capitalist development
democratic movements, Ghadar Party and, 47
Department of Criminal Intelligence. *See* India Department of Criminal Intelligence (DCI)
deportation: continuous journey rule used for, 85, 86, 113–14; Das, 88–89; Dayal, 90–93; Pacific Coast anticolonialists, 90–94; of political radicals in the US, 174–75; statute of limitations for, 104; to place of last location, 228*n*14, *See also* immigration from imperial territories; Red Scare
Dhingra, Madan Lal, 48–49
Dillon, Kesar Singh, 57
Din, Iman, 187
Dooling, Maurice T., 130
"Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Question" (Lenin), 80
Du Bois, W. E. B., 69, 71
Du Boulay, Sir James Houssemayne, 173
Dutta, Bhupendranath, 165
Dutta, B. K., 206
Dyer, Reginald, 173

East Indian Sedition Committee, 154, 157
Edsell, Thomas, 102
Egypt, 47, 60, 66
"El Camino Para la Paz Duradera del Mundo" (The Way to Durable World Peace) (Roy), 78
Ellis Island, 132
Emancipation Proclamation, 1
England's Debt to India (Rai), 69
Englishman, The, 19
Erskire, Thomas, 139
Espionage Act (US, 1917), 196, 197
Europe: Cama's influence on anticolonialists in, 49, 91; *Ghadar* and Ghadar Party and, 46, 56, 58, 60, 66, 97; Indian revolutionary organizing in, 188, 193; Irish-Indo solidarity in, 49; revolutionary movements in, 16; supremacy of, 21, *See also Specific countries*; Western imperialism and capitalist development

family reunification, 113–14, 135
February 1915 uprising, 155–65
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 203
Fiji, *Ghadar* in, 59
First World War: border enforcement and the, 41; Ghadar Party and the, 72; Indian exclusion during the, 106; *Komagata Maru* and the, 144, *See also* revolutionary uprisings and repressions
Foreigners Ordinance (India, 1914), 154, 155, 157
"Foundation of Democracy, The " (Roy), 80–81
Fourteen Points (Wilson), 76, 78, 200
France: anticolonialists in Paris, 21, 23, 48, 49; Dayal and revolutionaries of, 91; *Ghadar* in Paris, 60
France, Joseph, 68

Franklin, Benjamin, 190, 202
Fraternity of the Red Flag, 97
Free Hindusthan, 34, 35, 49, 52, 94, 161
Freeman, George, 35, 49–50
Fresno Republican, 136
Friends of Freedom for India, 203

Gaelic American, 35, 49
Gandhi, Mohandas, 55, 80, 112
Gegiow v. Uhl (1915), 132–33
George, III, V, 105, 124
Germany: Berlin India Committee, 165–71, 184–85, 242*n*73; Ghadar Party and, 72; Indian anticolonialism in Berlin, 21; Roy and, 77
Ghadar: anarchist movement in the US and, 92–93; on British rule and white superiority, 99; as conspiracy trials evidence, 178–80, 192; content of, 61–63; Dayal and, 56; distribution and readership of, 59–61, 160–61; on European nations and the British Empire, 165; first issue, 59, 224*n*52; on independent rule in India, 153; in India, 126; purpose of, 99, 100; Reid on, 41; on white supremacy, 182–83
Ghadar-di-Gunj (Echoes of Mutiny), 60, 61, 156, 178–79
Ghadar Party: American exceptionalism and the, 76; anarchism and the, 97; British imperialism and the, 3, 151; Canadian immigration law and the, 115–16, 151; communism and the, 203, 223*n*30; conspiracy trials and the, 178–79, 182–83, 186–97; Germany and the, 72; global reach of the, 171–75, 243*n*79; *Komagata Maru* and the, 135, 138, 149; prohibited literature of the, 41; reaction of Western powers to the, 81; rise of the, 45–47, 54–67, 223*n*30, 224*n*52; Siam-Burma Plan, 167–70; Singh, Bhagat and, 206–7; Singh, Bhagwan and, 171, 196; US immigration actions and the, 151, *See also* Bhakna, Sohan Singh; Chandra, Ram; Dayal, Har; revolutionary uprisings and repressions (First World War)
Ghalli, Sundar Singh, 186, 187
Ghose, Sailendra Nath, 193, 194, 196, 203
Goldman, Emma, 93, 99
Gompers, Samuel, 29
Grey, Sir Albert, 26, 27
Griffith, D. W., 70
Griffiths, D. J., 31
Gronna, Asle, 68
Guam, US occupation and annexation of, 70
Gupta, Heramba Lal (H. L.): Berlin India Committee and, 165, 166, 167–68, 169, 170, 186–97; conspiracy trial, 185, 186; Singh, Jodh and, 168
Gupta, Shiv Dayal, 169
gurdwaras: Calcutta, 172; *Ghadar* in, 60; Hong Kong, 156; Khalsa Diwan Society opening, 51; Manila, 169; Stockton, 51*f*, 127; surveillance and, 40; Vancouver, 138
Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Educational Scholarship, 23–24, 91, 115, 152, 181
Guru Granth Sahib, 145
Guru Nanak Mining and Trust Company, 39, 113

habeas corpus, 34, 85, 116, 124, 130, 138
Hamilton, E. C., 129
Hammond Lumber Company, 101
Harcourt, Lewis, 115
Hardinge, Charles, 112, 158, 164
Harvard, Dayal at, 23
Hawaii, 70, 117–18, 121–22, 124
Healy, Timothy, 129
Hearings on the Restriction of "Hindu laborers" (1914), 2–3, 24, 93, 104–106, 126, 137
Henry S. (ship), 169, 184
Hindi, Bishan Singh, 187
Hindu conspiracies. *See* conspiracy trials
Hindu menace: constructing and combatting the, 84, 104–7; overview, 8; and the Red Scare, 175, 177–78, 191, 197–204, 247*n*97
Hindu Nationalist party, 93
Hindustan Association of the United States, 24, 54, 105
Hindustanee, The, 52
Hindustan Socialist Republican Army, 206
Hindu Students Association, 33
Holderness, Sir Thomas, 154
Hong Kong: *Ghadar* in, 59; immigration to Canada from, 109–10, 134–51, 136*f*, 141*f*, 234*n*51, 236*n*81, 239*n*123; Indian revolutionaries in, 156; *Komagata Maru* in, 144

Hoover, J. Edgar, 198
Hopkinson, William C.: Das US citizenship and, 88–89; on exodus of Indians from Pacific Coast, 154, 158; on Hira Singh's family, 113; immigration from the Philippines and, 125–26; Indian migrants view of, 94; inter-imperial surveillance and, 40–41, 84–85, 89–91, 102; *Komagata Maru* and, 139, 141, 146, 147; murder of, 147; Singh, Teja and, 40; US surveillance policy and, 88
House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2–3, 24, 30

Ilan-i-Jang (Declaration of War), 64
Immigration Act (US, 1903), 88, 100
Immigration Act (US, 1905), 131
Immigration Act (US, 1907), 122, 131
Immigration Act (US, 1917), 3, 174, 197
Immigration Act (US, 1918), 174, 197
immigration from imperial territories: into Canada, 109–10, 134–51, 136*f*, 141*f*, 234*n*51, 236*n*81, 239*n*123; overview, 11, 108–10; race and citizenship, 89, 110–17, 132, 191, 232*n*12, 233*nn*26, 28; into the US, 108–9, 117–34, 123*f*
immigration policy/law. *See* antiradical and immigration policies; immigration from imperial territories; Red Scare; *Specific countries*
Independent Hindustan, The, 204
India: Her Past, Present and Future (Roy), 79
India: anticolonial literature in, 52; Calcutta, 77, 156, 172; economic repression in, 21; education in, 22; *Ghadar* and Ghadar in, 46, 60–61; missionary work in, 24; Pacific Coast exclusion and political unrest in, 27, 34; sedition laws, 36, 83; *Swadesh Sewak* in, 21; US diplomats repression of anticolonialism, 94–96, *See also* anticolonialism in North America; Bengal; conspiracy trials; migration (Indian); Punjab; revolutionary uprisings and repressions (First World War)
India Department of Criminal Intelligence (DCI), 35, 36; Berkeley Indian students and the, 58; Canadian surveillance and the, 84–85; on exodus of Indians from Pacific Coast, 155; on the Hindustan Association of the United States, 54; on Irish nationalists, 49; *Komagata Maru* and, 145; on returning emigrants during the First World War, 160; on *Swadesh Sewak*, 161
India Home Rule League, 68, 71
India Home Rule Society in London, 48
India House, 48, 49
Indian Emigrant, 124
Indian National Congress (INC), 48, 56, 116, 171
Indian Nationalist Party, 196
Indian Sociologist, 48, 96
Indian students: anticolonialism movement and, 43–44; Dayal and, 92; Ghadar Party and, 59; Hindustan Association and, 54; migrant workers and, 37, 45; migration to West, 21–22; political work of, 101; Rai and, 68
Indo-Aryan Association, 33
Indonesia, 77
Industrial Workers of the World (IWW): as anarchist organization, 97; Bhakna and, 54, 233*n*30; Dayal and, 82, 91, 98, 233*n*30; Indian mill workers and the, 93–94; as threat to stability and security, 192
Ingress into India Ordinance, 145, 154, 157
intellectuals: anticolonialism movement and, 43–44; Ghadar Party and, 59; migration of, 15, 21–24, *See also Specific individuals*
Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 71
International Garment Workers Union, 201
Ireland: Ghadar Party and, 47; Ghadar Party and nationalists from, 58; Indian anticolonialists and, 49; nationalist movement in, 66; political radicals from, 57
Isemonger, F. C., 61, 115
Is Japan a Menace to Asia (Das), 193
Islamic Fraternity, 50
Isolation of Japan in World Politics, The (Das), 193
IWW. *See* Industrial Workers of the World

Jallianwala Bagh massacre, 173–74, 205–6
Jamaica, *Ghadar* in, 60
Japan: Barakatullah and, 50, 135; Das and, 34, 193; *Ghadar* in, 59; Ghadar Party and nationalists from, 58; Indian students in, 22; modernity in, 72;

pan-Asianist and pan-Islamic thought in, 50; Rai in, 68–69; Roy in, 77; Russian-Japanese War, 21, 22, 66, 98–99
Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, 25
Java, *Ghadar* in, 59
Jefferson, Thomas, 202
Johnson, Albert, 116, 137
Johnson, Jack, 79
Josh, Sohan Singh, 57

Karr, Surendra, 204
Kar, Surendra Nath, 186
Kaur, Harnam, 114
Kaur, Kartar, 113–14
Kaur, Kishen, 146
Keefe, Daniel, 28, 29–30, 32, 85, 119–20, 121–22
Ker, J. C., 35, 53–54
Khalsa College, 53
Khalsa Diwan Society: British authorities view of the, 54; DCI monitoring the, 54; on deportation, 34; financial responsibility for migrants, 33; goals and purpose of the, 50–51; immigration from the Philippines and the, 125, 127; Indians returning to India for rebellion and the, 155; *Komagata Maru* and the, 139; on legal status of Indians in Canada, 110–11, 115; Singh, Bhagwan deportation and the, 86; surveillance of the, 92
Khan, Nawab, 160
Khan, Osman, 33
King, W. L. Mackenzie, 27
Kipling, Rudyard, 42
Komagata Maru, 109–10, 134–51, 136*f*, 141*f*, 156, 158, 159, 171–72, 180, 234*n*51, 236*n*81, 239*n*123
Krishnavarma, Shyamaji, 48, 49, 55, 56, 96
Kumar, Guru Dutt: Das, Taraknath and, 53; Ghadar Party and, 56; in Manila, 126; on immigration to the US, 126; PCHA and, 54; *Swadesh Sewak*, 52, 53, 161

labor: anti-Asian activities of, 25–26; Dayal on labor relations and organizing, 98; organizations on deportations, 201; US immigration authorities ties to, 29–30
Lahiri, J. N., 58, 63
Lahore Conspiracy Trials, 178–84, 244*n*29
Lal, Gobind Behari, 173–74, 186, 187, 195
Larned, F. H., 102
League of Nations, 76
League of Oppressed Peoples, 75
Lenin, Vladimir, 80, 101, 207
liberalism, decolonizing, 68–76, 225*n*90
Lincoln, Abraham, 1
Lippman, Walter, 69
literacy tests, 26, 28, 218*n*49
Literary Digest, 183
London, 21, 22–23, 48–49
Low Wah Suey v. Backus (1912), 132
Lumber Unloaders' Association, 30

McCormick, Joseph, 68
McInnes, Thomas, 34
Mackenzie, John, 31
McKinley, William, 88, 100
McNab, John, 129
Madagascar, *Ghadar* in, 60
Madras Mail, 183
Mahomed, Nawah Syed, 138
Manila Gang, 196
Manila *gurdwara*, 169
Marcus, Washington, 29
Marshall, Henry, 130–32
Marxist theory: Rai on, 77; Roy and, 76, 78, 80; Singh, Bhagat and, 207
masculinity, 8–9, 18
Maverick (ship), 167, 184, 186, 188, 190
Mazzini, Giuseppe, 69
"Message Gave Me for India, A" (Sing), 42–43
Mexico: binational surveillance with the US, 87–88; revolution in, 153; Roy and, 78–80, 196; US deportation of laborers crossing border of, 87
Michael, William H., 19, 30–31, 35–36, 94
migrant workers: anticolonialism movement and, 37, 43–44; Bhakna on, 54; early twentieth century, 21; Ghadar Party and, 47, 55–56, 57–58, 59; *gurdwaras* and agencies for, 51; Indian students and, 37; poetry of, 60; publications for, 51–52; Sikh mill, 20*f*
migration (Indian): border enforcement, 37–41; boundaries of a white Pacific, 25–37, 218*nn*49, 51, 61; Dayal on, 66; imperial oppression and, 16–21, 20*f*; overview, 10, 14–16; political, 21–24

military expedition law in the US, 12, 95–96, 176, 177, 184, 185–86, 194, 195–96
Military Intelligence Division (MID), 198, 203
Millside, New Westminster (BC), 52
mill workers, 20f; anticolonial movement and, 46; Bellingham riot and, 25, 42; Ghadar Party and, 55–56; IWW and, 93
modernity. *See* Western modernity
Moore, Stevenson C. J., 38, 52
Morocco, *Ghadar* in, 60
Moscow, 63,80, 194, 217
Mother Earth, 99
Muslims: Ghadar Party members, 59; Rajput Infantry, 162
Myers, Herbert W., 118, 124

Nagel, Charles, 120–21, 122
Nalanda Hostel, 58
Namadhari Movement, 54
Namsang (ship), 159
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 69, 201
nationalism, Roy and, 76–81
Nationalist Party (India), 68, 69
National Longshoremen's Association, 30
Native Americans, 69–70
Native Sons of the Golden West, 30
Naturalization Law, (US, 1790), 89
neutrality laws in US. *See* conspiracy trials
New Nationalist Party, 18–19
New York: anticolonial global network centered in, 49–50; India Home Rule League in, 68; Indian students in, 35; Roy in, 77; surveillance in, 37, 50
New York Times, 71, 192
New Zealand, immigration policies in, 26, 28
Norris, George, 68
North, Hart H., 31–33
Norwich University, 35

O'Donnell, Roger, 104
O'Dwyer, Sir Michael: on family reunification delegation, 115–16; on Ghadar movement, 162, 164–65, 172; on Jallianwala Bagh massacre, 173; on Lahore Conspiracy Trials, 178; on repressive laws, 12; on Sikh emigrants, 157–58; on *Tosa Maru* passengers, 156; on trials for revolutionaries, 162
Olivares, Jose, 182
on exodus of Indians from Pacific Coast, 155 (should this be here? Seems like a strange entry)
Oregon: anticolonial movement in, 45–46; Chandra in, 101; Ghadar Party in, 56, 59; PCHA, 45–46, 54; Punjabi migration to, 17, *See also* Portland
Oxford University, Dayal at, 22, 65

Pacific Coast Hindi Association (PCHA), 45–46, 54, 55
Pacific Coast region: anti-Asian movement in the, 24; anticolonial organizing in the, 23–24; boundaries of a white, 25–37, 218*nn*49, 51, 61; deportation of anticolonialists from, 90–94; riots in, 24, 25–27, 29, 34, 42, 50; *See also* anticolonialism in North America; conspiracy trials; immigration from imperial territories; revolutionary uprisings and repressions (First World War); *Specific locations*
Palmer, Alexander Mitchell, 199
Palto Alto, Roy in, 77
Panama, *Ghadar* in, 60
Pan-Asianism, 50, 194
Pandion, Henry Edward, 91
Pandy, Mangal, 64
Pan-Islamism, 50
Papen, Franz von, 166
Paris, 21, 23, 48, 49, 60
Paris Peace Conference, 204
Parkdale Presbyterian Church, 114
Parmanand, Bhai, 55, 181
Pathak, Sohan Lal, 161, 182
People's Council of America, 74–75
Petman, Bevan, 178–180
Phelps, Myron, 49–50
Philippines: *Ghadar* and Ghadar Party in, 46, 59; immigration to the US from, 108–9, 117–34, 123*f*, 234*n*51; Manila Gang, 196; Manila *gurdwara*, 169; Roy in, 77; US occupation and annexation of, 70
Pillai, Champakraman, 165, 166
Pingle, Vishnu Ganesh, 181–82
Political Future of India, The (Rai), 69
political migration, 21–24
political repression in India, anti-British hostilities due to, 21
Polk, Frank L., 188

Pope, Arthur, 69
Portland: Chandra in, 100; exodus of Indians from, 155; Ghadar Party in, 59
Preston, John W., 176–77, 184, 186, 187–88, 191–93, 195–96
Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act (India, 1907), 18, 19
Progressivism, 73
propaganda: after conspiracy trials, 196; American publications, 95, 100, 183; by Rai, 71; Cleveland on, 50; Dayal and, 55, 100, 178; of the Ghadar Party, 47; in India, 19; Lal on, 173; as military expedition, 196; Pillai and, 166; Sareen on, 49; Singh, Bhagwan and, 126; as trial evidence, 188, 195; Wilson and, 102
public charge law: in Canada, 39–40; labor market and, 31–33, 37; in US, 15, 28–29, 30, 31–33, 37, 118–19, 122, 124–25, 127–32
Puerto Rico, 70, 124
Punjab: in California, 56; Canadian immigration law and, 115–17; communism in, 202; emigrants and revolutionaries in, 156–59, 160, 161–65, 172–73; Ghadar Party membership from, 58–59, 97; intellectuals from, 15; Jallianwala Bagh massacre, 173–74; labor recruiters in, 21; migrant workers from, 45, 46; Nationalist Party in, 68; Sikh agriculturalists from, 17; soldiers and police officers from, 17–18
Puri, Ram Nath, 51–52

race: Bolshevik revolution and, 75, 199; brown man's burden, 42; citizenship and, 89, 110–17, 132, 191, 232*n*12, 233*nn*26, 28; conspiracy trials and, 192, 194, 195; Dayal on US racial restrictions, 104; First World War fought for democracy and, 201–2; Ghadar Party and, 54, 57, 59, 62–63, 65, 66, 67; global color line, 2–3, 42–43, 201; global dimensions of inequality, 1–2; Hindus as a dangerous, 192; immigration and, 22, 29, 83, 125, 127–28; interracial relationships, 191–92; labor/laborers and, 23, 45–46, 54, 98, 133; in Mexico, 79; modernity and racial hierarchies, 47, 74, 75; Paris Peace Conference and, 204; Rai on West's claims of racial superiority, 73–76; riots, 24, 25–26, 29, 34, 199; Russian-Japanese War and, 98–99; Sikhs and, 18; transnational dimensions of racial subjugation, 10–11, 16, 177; treaties and, 132; in US naturalization law, 89, 228*n*17; Western imperialism/capitalist development and, 2, 4, 5–10, 81, 148, 150–51, 172, 177, 207–8, 210–12; white Pacific boundaries and racial exclusion, 25–37; Wilson regarding, 190, 197, *See also* African Americans; Hindu menace; white settler countries; white supremacy
Rahim, Husain, 52, 85–86, 125, 138, 139, 140
Rai, Lajpat: on African American history, 69-71; on the Berlin India Committee, 167; on Bolshevism in India, 199; death of, 205; decolonizing liberalism and, 68–76, 225*n*90; on the First World War, 200; on imperial expansion, 207; on Indian independence, 67, 77; on *Komagata Maru* passengers, 139; protests by and arrest of, 18–19; on real democracy, 12–13; Roy and, 77; Singh, Bhagat and, 206, 207; transnational analyses of colonialism and race, 47; on Western imperialism, 7, 207–8, 248*n*10; Young India party, 196
Rainbow (ship), 143
Raker, John, 2, 104
Ram, Godha, 186, 187
Ram, Kanshi, 181–82
Ram, Munshi, 186, 187
Rathbun, Don S., 89, 102
Red Scare, 175, 177–78, 191, 197–204, 247*n*97
Red Summer (1919), 199
Reid, Malcolm, 41, 116, 130, 141, 142, 147
Reily, Charles H., 93–94
Reunion, *Ghadar* in, 60
revolutionary uprisings and repressions (First World War): Berlin India Committee, 165–71, 184–85, 186–97, 242*n*73; February 1915 uprising, 155–65; Ghadar's global reach, 171–75, 243*n*79; overview, 11–12, 152–55
riots, 24, 25–27, 29, 34, 42, 50, 199

"Rise of British Power in India, The" (Parmanand), 55
Robertson, L., 94
Roosevelt, Theodore, 26, 88
Ross, Andrew Carnegie, 89, 189
Rowlatt Act (India, 1919), 172, 173
Roy, Manabendra Nath (M.N.): Berlin India Committee and, 165; communist theories of, 76, 202; Mexico and, 78–80, 196; nationalism and, 76–81; transnational analyses of colonialism and race, 47
Russia: Dayal and revolutionaries of, 91, 98; Ghadar Party and, 47; Ghadar Party and nationalists from, 58; immigrants from, 132–33; Moscow, 80; political radicals from, 57; revolution in, 66, 75, 78, 153, 193; Roy in, 80
Russian-Japanese War, 21, 22, 66, 98–99

Sacramento, Ghadar Party in, 59
St. John, Ghadar Party in, 59
Samoan Islands, US occupation and annexation of the, 70
San Francisco: Chandra in, 100–101; Dayal in, 23, 55, 82; Ghadar Party in, 46, 57–58; Hindu conspiracy trial in, 186–97; immigration from Philippines to, 125, 127; Indian anticolonialism in, 21, 89–90, 95; radical intellectuals migration to, 15; Roy in, 77; Singh, Bhagwan in, 86; surveillance in, 40, 102, *See also* Angel Island
San Francisco Bulletin, 96
San Francisco Call, 113
San Francisco Chronicle, 96–97, 183–84, 192, 244*n*29
Sansar, 112
Sarabha, Kartar Singh, 45–46, 153, 159, 163, 180–82, 206
Sareen, T. R., 49
Sargent, Frank, 29
Schack, E. H. von, 184
Schultz, Henry, 168
Schulz, Walter, 31
Scott, James A., 205, 206
Scott, W. D., 86, 114–15, 141
Sea Customs Act (India, 1911), 53
Sea Lion (tugboat), 143
search and seizures, illegal, 191
Seattle: anticolonial literature in, 52; immigration from Philippines to, 119, 123*f*, 124–25, 127; Kumar, Guru Dutt in, 53; migrants in harbor of, 123*f*; radical intellectuals migration to, 15; surveillance in, 40; United India League in, 53
Seattle Central Labor Council, 25
Seattle Japanese Exclusion League, 25
Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 116
Second Congress of the Communist International, 80
Second World War, 208–9
Sedition Act (US, 1917), 197
sedition laws: India, 18–19, 36, 83, 164; US, 197
Sekunna, Ernest, 184
Selective Service Act (US, 1917), 196, 197
Selective Service Act (US, 1967), 196
self-determination/self-rule: anticolonialists goal of, 201–2, 211–12; Bhagat Singh on, 208; Bolshevism and, 198–99; Chandra on, 190; Das on, 22; Dayal on, 65, 99; First World War and, 75; Ghadar Party on, 65, 67; Indian fitness for, 7, 205; Jallianwala Bagh massacre and, 174; Lenin on, 101; migration and organizing for, 21, 43, 48, 110; Rai on, 68, 75, 76, 77, 199; Roy on, 78; Sing on, 42–43; Wilson on, 6, 66, 78, 101, 197
Sferlazzo, Charles, 99
Shabash (Dayal), 64–66
Shanghai, 187
Siam: Berlin India Committee and, 154; *Ghadar* and Ghadar Party in, 160, 166, 167; Siam-Burma Plan, 166–70, 185, 190
Sihra, Nand Singh, 115
Sikhs: agriculturalists, 17; Ghadar Party members, 58–59, 97, 171; Khalsa, 18; *Komagata Maru* and, 139–40, 142, 145, 146–47, 148, 149, 171–72; masculinity of, 8–9, 18; migrants in Seattle harbor, 123*f*; in military, 8–9, 17–18, 21, 53, 161; mill workers, 20f; returning emigrants, 157; revolutionary ideas and, 52, 172; students, 53; veterans, 52, *See also gurdwaras*
Simon Commission, 205
Singapore: *Ghadar* and Ghadar Party in, 60, 160, 167; *Komagata Maru* and,

145; revolutionary uprisings and, 154; uprising in, 162–63
Singh, Ajit, 18–19, 68, 206
Singh, Amar, 179
Singh, Arjan, 147
Singh, Balla, 119
Singh, Balwant, 113–14, 115, 126, 142, 169, 233*n*26
Singh, Bela, 146–47
Singh, Bhag, 113–14, 138, 139, 142, 147, 233*n*26
Singh, Bhagat, 205–8, 210
Singh, Bhagwan, 87*f*; Barakatullah and, 50; Chandra and, 171; conspiracy trial, 186, 187, 188, 194; deportation of, 64, 86; Ghadar Party and, 171, 196; imprisonment of, 181; Jodh and, 169; *Komagata Maru* and, 135, 137, 140, 149; in Manila, 126; on US in the First World War, 200
Singh, Bub, 118
Singh, Charat, 207
Singh, Dhian, 128
Singh, Furmukh, 172
Singh, Gobind, 18
Singh, Gurdit, 134, 136*f*, 137–38, 143, 144, 148, 150; *Voyage of Komagata Maru, or, India's Slavery Abroad* and, 148
Singh, Hari, 127–28, 187
Singh, Harnam, 142, 147
Singh, Hira, 113
Singh, Inder, 126–27
Singh, Jawala, 23–24, 56, 152–53, 155, 181
Singh, Jawanda, 158
Singh, Jodh, 168–70, 189
Singh, Kesar, 56
Singh, Khushwant, 172
Singh, Kirpal, 163
Singh, Kishan, 206
Singh, Makhan, 33
Singh, Mewa, 142, 147
Singh, Mula, 179–80
Singh, Munshi, 141
Singh, Nagar, 39
Singh, Narain, 115, 128
Singh, Natha, 161
Singh, Nidhan, 187
Singh, Raja, 110
Singh, Ram, 186, 194
Singh, Randhir, 163, 194
Singh, Rattan, 203
Singh, Rur, 128
Singh, Santokh, 186, 194, 203
Singh, Sham, 39
Singh, Sundar, 14, 52–53, 110, 111, 146, 233*n*26
Singh, Tara, 127
Singh, Teja, 23, 38–40, 110, 233*n*26
Singh, Thakur, 169
Sing, Saint Nihal, 1–2, 42–43
Slattery, James, 61, 64, 115, 179
slavery: Bhakna on, 159, 209; Chandra on, 190; Das on, 161; Dayal on, 64; *Ghadar* on, 192; Krishnavarma on, 96; Lahiri on, 63; Rai on, 70, 207; Sarabha on, 180, 182; Singh, Gurdit on, 148; Sing on, 1–2
Smedley, Agnes, 196
Smith Act (US, 1940), 196
Smith, M., 120
Smith, Verne, 191
"Social Conquest of the Hindu Race and the Meaning of Equality" (Dayal), 64, 65–66
socialism/socialists: Bhakna and, 54; Dayal and, 90, 96, 97; Ghadar Party and, 58; Lenin on, 80; Rahim and, 86; Rai and, 75, 77; Roy and, 78; Second World War and, 209
Socialist Party of Mexico, 78
Socialist Radical Club, 23
Souls of Black Folk (Du Bois), 71
South Africa: *Ghadar* in, 60; immigration policies in, 26, 28; Indian resistance in, 111–12
South America, 46, 60, *See also Specific countries*
Spanish-American War, 70, 133
Spring-Rice, Cecil, 101, 102, 188–89
SS Korea (ship), 153, 156, 179, 234*n*51
SS Minnesota (ship), 108, 118, 123*f*, 179, 234*n*51
Stanford University, Dayal at, 55
Starr-Hunt, John B., 167, 189
Stevens, H. H., 143
Stockton, 51*f*, 59, 127
students. *See* Indian students
Sudan, *Ghadar* in, 60
Sumatra, *Ghadar* in, 59
Sun Yat-sen, 66, 67, 69
"Supplementary Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" (Roy), 80

surveillance: Afro-Asian solidarity and, 202; British surveillance in North America, 37, 40, 46, 50; in Canada, 40–41, 84–88, 158; of Das, 34–35; First World War, 154–55, 158, 171, 185, 200–201; Ghadar Party disintegration and, 195; *gurdwaras* and, 40; inter-imperial, 4–5, 40–41, 84–96, 87*f*, 102, 202–3, 228*nn*14, 17; transnational nature of, 36; in the US, 37–38, 40, 41, 50, 102, 158, 171, 174, 185, 200–203
Swadeshi movement, 19, 21
Swadesh Sewak, 52, 53, 161

Taft, William H., 32, 96
Tang Tun v. Edsell (1912), 132
Terrorist Party of Bengal, 58
Tokyo, Indian anticolonialism in, 21
Toronto Star, 114
Tosa Maru (ship), 156–157
Trent, Evelyn, 77, 80
Trinidad, 60, 185
Trotsky, Leon, 193
Turkey, 58

United India League, 34, 53, 110–11, 125
United India League of Vancouver, 86
United Mine Workers of America, 201
United States: anticolonial organizing in the, 23–24; continuous journey rule in, 29; deportation of radicals from the, 174–75; First World War and Indian migrants, 154–55; Germany arming Ghadar Party in the, 166; Hawaii, 70, 117–18, 121–22, 124; immigration restrictions in, 15–16, 28–34, 28–37, 42; Indian critiques of British relations with, 96–104, 230*n*57; Indian migration to, 21, 21–22; military expedition law in the, 12, 95–96, 176, 177, 184, 185–86, 194, 195–96; Puerto Rico and the, 70, 124; Red Scare, 175, 177–78, 191, 197–204, 247*n*97; Revolution, 66, 80, 81, 105, 189–90; seditious literature from Indian radicals in the, 19; surveillance, inter-imperial, 4–5, 84–96, 87*f*, 202–3, 228*nn*14, 17; surveillance in the, 37–38, 40, 41, 50, 102, 158, 171, 174, 185, 200–203, *See also* anticolonialism in North America; antiradical and immigration policies; California; conspiracy trials; immigration from imperial territories; New York; Oregon; Washington; Western imperialism and capitalist development
United States of America: A Hindu's Impressions and a Study, The (Rai), 69–70, 71–72
University of Washington, Das at, 36–37
US Bureau of Immigration: Dayal's deportation and, 91, 97, 98; immigration from the Philippines and the, 124–25, 125, 126, 128–29, 131–32; Indian exclusion, 82–83; on Indian migrant literacy, 58; inter-imperial surveillance by, 4; investigation of the anticolonial movement, 106; Justice Department and the, 198; public charge law and the, 31–32
US Congress: Barred Zone Act, 133; early 20th Century immigration law and, 15–16; hearings regarding Indian laborers and migration, 93, 104–6, 137; House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 2–3, 24, 30; Immigration Acts, 3, 88, 100, 131, 174; immigration from the Philippines and, 120–21; literacy tests and the, 28, 58; restrictive immigration and antiradical laws and, 197
US Constitution, 81
US Department of Commerce and Labor, 120, 121, 122, 129
US Justice Department, 71, 98; deportation error by the, 133; deportations by the, 202–3; Immigration Department and the, 198; inter-imperial surveillance by, 4, 202–3; investigation of the anticolonial movement, 106, *See also* conspiracy trials
US Labor Department, 198
US State Department: British anticolonialism suppression and the, 95–96, 188–89; inter-imperial surveillance by, 4; investigation of the anticolonial movement, 106, 202; surveillance of Indian immigrants, 36
US War Department, 121–22, 131, 198

Vancouver: anticolonial global network in, 50–51; anticolonial literature in, 52;

Komagata Maru in, 109–10, 134–51, 136*f*, 141*f*, 234*n*51, 236*n*81, 239*n*123; radical intellectuals migration to, 15; riots in, 25–27, 34, 42; United India League in, 53
Vancouver Province, 116
Vancouver World, 147
Van Fleet, William C., 195
Varma, Ladli Prada, 186
von Brincken, William, 165, 184, 186
von Igel, Wolfe, 191
Voyage of Komagata Maru, or, India's Slavery Abroad (Singh, Gurdit), 148

Warren, Charles, 184
Washington: Punjabi migration to, 17, *See also* Seattle
Washington, Booker T., 69
Washington, George, 190, 202
Washington Post, 126
Washington State Federation of Labor, 25
Wehde, Albert, 168, 169
Western imperialism and capitalist development: anarchism/anarchists and, 8, 11, 88, 106; anti-Asian laws and, 16; anticolonialists and, 201; Bhakna on, 210; Bhutia on, 24; Bolshevism and, 6, 200; Das on, 193–94; Dayal on, 98; democracy and, 75; exploitative nature of, 71; Ghadarites and, 208; labor migration and, 21, 210; race and, 2, 4, 5–10, 148, 150–51, 172, 177, 207–8, 210–12; Rai on, 71, 73, 76, 77, 207–8; resistance in India and, 16–21, 20*f*; Roy on, 80; Singh, Bhagat on, 208; white supremacy and, 72; Wilson on, 101, 200, *See also* Western modernity
Western modernity: colonizers practices, 73; Dayal on, 65; India adopting, 7–8; Japanese modernity, 72; limitations of, 10, 12–13, 81; racial hierarchies and, 47, 74, 75; Rai on, 72; universality of, 65; white supremacy and, 72, *See also* Western imperialism and capitalist development
"White Man's Burden" (Kipling), 3, 42
white settler countries: equal citizenship in, 112; Ghadar Party and, 47; immigration policy in, 26, 28; racial exclusion in, 43, 150; white supremacy in, 15–16
white supremacy: *Birth of a Nation*, 70–71; British rule and, 98; in California, 29; *Ghadar's* challenge to, 182–83; Indian threat to, 192; *Komagata Maru* and, 144; Roosevelt on, 26; Russian-Japanese War and, 98; transatlantic, 43; Western imperialism and modernity and, 72; in white settler countries, 15–16
Wilson, William B., 30, 124, 125, 137
Wilson, Woodrow: anticolonialists unfulfilled expectations of, 6, 66, 200; on anticolonial movements, 101–2; Chandra letters to, 190; Fourteen Points, 76, 78, 200; Rai and, 75; restrictive immigration and antiradical laws and, 197; Roy essay and, 78
Wyllie, Sir William Curzon, 49

Yokohama, *Komagata Maru* in, 134, 135, 144; Bhagwan Singh in, 86, 87*f*
Young India (journal), 68, 69, 71
Young India party, 196
Young India (Rai), 69
Yugantar Ashram, 57, 58, 183

Zimmerman, Alfred, 166, 170, 185, 188
Zulm! Zulm! Gore Shahi Zulm! (Tyranny! Tyranny! The Tyranny of White Rule), 64
Zurbrick, John, 102, 125

"*Echoes of Mutiny* draws from archives rarely looked at seriously and makes an argument that is deceptively simple. Sohi draws a dialectical connection between Indian anticolonial radicalism in North America with the growth of state repression in the United States and in Canada. As these countries tightened the web against Reds, it pushed many migrants to a much more radical consciousness about their own status in the U.S. and Canada, and as they went in a more radical direction it spurred the states of this region toward policies of immigration restriction and state surveillance. This Mobius strip of repression-radicalism whipped round and round, spinning the migrants toward a more radical position on Indian nationalism than nationalists who remained in British India, and pushing the state to bar migrants from Asia altogether."
—Vijay Prashad, author of *Uncle Swami: South Asians in America Today*

"In *Echoes of Mutiny*, Seema Sohi provides us with an expansive account of the radicalism—and the repression—of a group of Indian anti-imperialists who found a short-lived home in the United States of the early 20th century. While historians of South Asia have often treated these expatriate radicals as a small overseas outpost of the Indian independence movement, Sohi draws on a range of archival evidence to make a bolder argument: that members and associates of the Ghadar party were simultaneously contesting British colonialism and U.S. racialization and exclusion—and that their experiences produced a vision of revolutionary change that was global rather than merely national in its scope. Sohi demonstrates that the barring of Indian immigration in 1917 was intimately tied to U.S. and British fears of political radicalism, and that the surveillance, prosecution, and deportation of Indians during and after the First World War must be seen as a formative moment in the development of the U.S. national security state. Sohi's work is transnational history at its best: it is as dense, complex, and deeply researched as it is beautifully written."
—Vivek Bald, author of *Bengali Harlem and the Lost Histories of South Asian America*

In this book, Seema Sohi traces how Indian labor migrants, students, and intellectual activists who journeyed across the globe seeking to escape the exploitative and politically repressive policies of the British Raj linked restrictive immigration policies and political repression in North America to colonial subjugation at home and provoked a global inter-imperial collaboration between U.S. and British officials to repress anticolonial revolt. *Echoes of Mutiny* provides an in-depth and transnational look at the deeply intertwined relationship between anti-Asian racism, Indian anticolonialism, and state antiradicalism in early twentieth century U.S. and global history. Sohi uncovers the dialectical relationship between the rise of Indian anticolonialism and state repression in North America and demonstrates how Indian anticolonialists served as catalysts for the implementation of restrictive U.S. immigration and antiradical laws as well as the expansion of state power in early twentieth century India and America.

Seema Sohi is Assistant Professor of Ethnic Studies at the University of Colorado, Boulder.

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

www.oup.com

Cover design: Lisa Force. Cover image: Photographed in November 1913, these men (Husain Rahim fourth from the left) were part of the group of thirty-nine immigrants, who successfully challenged Canada's continuous journey law in 1913, prompting the voyage of the *Komagata Maru*. Courtesy of Simon Fraser University Special Collections, Kohaly Collection.