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Education and Modernity in Colonial Punjab

Khalsa College, the Sikh Tradition and the Webs of Knowledge, 1880–1947

Michael Philipp Brunner

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Note on Indic/Punjabi Terms, Transliteration, and City Names

Indic and Punjabi terms are written italicised, Punjabi/Gurmukhi citations in a simplified transliteration (loosely based on ISO 15919). Well-known and reoccurring terms (e.g. Ādi Granth, Khālsā, Akālī) are only italicised when first mentioned. Terms that form a part of names of people and institutions are written only in their common anglicised form without diacritics (e.g. Khalsa College, Singh Sabha, Chief Khalsa Diwan). The English plural-'*s*' is used for Indic/Punjabi terms in plural. If not mentioned otherwise, translations from Punjabi are the author's.

As a historical study, the thesis uses the historical names of cities and places that in post-colonial South Asia have undergone a name-change, such as *Bombay* instead of today's *Mumbai*, *Lyallpur* instead of *Faisalabad*, or *Madras* instead of *Chennai*.

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This book is dedicated to her loving memory.

Contents

Abbreviations

CKD	Chief Khalsa Diwan
Ed.	Education
GoI	Government of India
GoI-P	Government of India, Proceedings
GoP	Government of Punjab
GoP-P	Government of Punjab, Proceedings
IOR	India Office Records, British Library, London
J&PD	Judicial and Public Department (Annual Files)
KC(A)	Khalsa College, Amritsar
KCS	Khalsa College School, Amritsar
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi
PAL	Punjab Archives, Lahore
Proc.	Proceedings
PSAP	Punjab State Archives, Patiala
SEC	Sikh Educational Conference
Secr.	Secretary
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar
SHRD	Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar
SSMP	Sundar Singh Majithia Papers, NMML
SVNP	Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Gurus, Grades, and the Globe: Khalsa College, Education, and Colonial Modernity in South Asia

Introduction

On March 5, 1892, the city of Amritsar in the north-west of the Indian subcontinent was abuzz. "With great *eclat*"[1] the laying of the foundation stone of the Khalsa College (KCA) was celebrated and most of the important men of the region—both British and Indian—from the Maharaja of Patiala to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab province, were present. The establishment of Khalsa College was an enterprise led by a broad coalition of Sikh notables, aristocrats, social reformers, and educationists and was heavily supported by the British Indian administration.

Punjab had been annexed and thus become part of British India and the globe-spanning British Empire in 1849. In the province, the young religious tradition of the Sikhs, based on the teachings of Guru Nanak Dev (1469–1539) and his successors, saw itself confronted with the larger Hindu and Muslim communities as well as Christian missionaries and colonial administrators. In imperial imagination and practice, the religious minority community quickly assumed a prominent role as supposedly loyal and 'martial' subjects. However, by the end of the century only a few Sikhs "had drunk deep in the fountains of Eastern and Western learning,"[2] as it was attributed for instance to the Maharaja of Patiala, and observers lamented the backwardness of the Sikh community in education. Accordingly, Sikh representatives expressed their gratitude towards the government for helping to set up Khalsa College: "[T]he light of western

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education and civilization ha[d] not reached [the Sikhs] in their remote and ignorant villages"[3] and the college was thus supposed to be "the promising nursery of the loyal and enlightened Citizens of the future."[4]

Neither Indian, Punjabi, nor Sikh society were static. The opportunities and contingencies of a transforming nineteenth and early twentieth century led to manifold expressions of the colonial encounter that quickly transcended such early assertions of loyalty and simplistic devotion towards 'Western' and 'British' civilisation. Education was a crucial tool and place for the negotiation of colonial modernity in a world marked by an increasing integration on the regional, national, and global levels and the transgressing of the constraining limitations of earlier parochial frameworks.

Forty years after its establishment, Khalsa College published in its college magazine, the *Durbar*, an article written by then-principal Sardar Bishen Singh. The article was a call for transforming Khalsa College into a university, stylised as a retrospect on the institution's origin. The institution's founders, Bishen Singh noted, wanted it "to be at once the Oxford, Edinburgh and Sandhurst of the Sikhs."[5] The reference to these particular university locations was not random: The University of Oxford stood for tradition and scholarly excellence, the British Army's Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst near London famously trained military officers and future leaders, and the University of Edinburgh was celebrated for its crucial role in the Scottish Enlightenment and its consequent pioneering role in the fields of natural and practical sciences. Not only academically but also culturally the principal of Khalsa College saw his institution as an integrative place, claiming that

> thanks to the Founder of Sikhism, we are prejudiced in favour of no particular type, and our will be perhaps the only University in India fostering with care the Muslim as well the Hindu types of culture and moulding them together with the best from the West in order to evolve a new synthesis which alone can satisfy the needs of the fast-evolving nation.[6]

In a public lecture on "Democracy in Sikhism" given in May 1932, Waryam Singh, history professor at Khalsa College, painted a similar picture. In his lecture, Waryam read the ideals of modern democracy into the organisation of the early Sikh community and attributed to Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780–1839) a "democratic spirit," which the ruler of the famous Kingdom of Lahore had purportedly "imbibed because he was a Sikh."[7] According to the KCA professor, Sikhism was the "result of

evolution" and the "outcome of the mingling of several different types of cultures – the Aryan, the Greek, the Sythean [sic] and the Scemetic [sic] in this province of [Punjab]."[8]

Several key ideas like the nation, democracy, evolution, culture, and synthesis are of seminal importance in these statements. They coincided in the early 1930s with practical schemes of the educational institution: for example, it initiated agricultural education plans that followed a paradigm of integrated rural development as discussed globally, and professionalised and made more scientific its approach to physical culture and its grasp on the student's health. These universalist, evolutionist, and scientistic notions display a distinctively 'modern' outlook that situated the late-colonial Khalsa College in a complex, intertwined world marching towards modernity.

As the grand stories of the global "birth of the modern world" in nineteenth and early twentieth century tell us, this epochal process was accompanied by (and in many ways contingent on) the age of imperialism. This period and the imperial encounter entailed a profound transformation of both colonised and colonising societies. Often, the "formation of modernity under conditions of imperialism"[9] has been interpreted through an understanding of modernity (or 'modernisation') as either a state enterprise or a nationalist agenda. Inherent in such narratives are the notions of 'modernity' as a 'Western' imposition and, conversely, the creation of 'alternative' modernities as acts of resistance. At Khalsa College, the modernist dynamic generated diverse actions and interpretations. Not everyone attributed the progressive attitude to the college that it was propagating for itself in statements like Bishen or Waryam Singh's. Despite its emphasis on the allegedly democratic spirit of Sikhism in its lectures and essays, Sikh critics of the institution regularly condemned the college's management as undemocratic and oligarchical. Indeed, they urged that the KCA "should move with the times and not be ultra-conservative."[10] The ideal of a frictionless and harmonious cultural synthesis was contested too. For long, this optimistic outlook was contrasted by concerns of the British Indian government that complained that the institution would harbour more divisive than unifying, anti-British feelings, despite the institution's initial close relation to the colonial administration. Further, as both Bishen Singh's 1930 appeal for a 'Sikh University' and the introduction of a Sikh History Research Department in the same year imply, Khalsa College was in the main a Sikh institution. As such it pursued many particularistic interests and manifested the "coexisting tale of increasing disintegration

and disunity along ethnic and religious lines"[11] that accompanied modernity's route of integration and unification. At the Amritsari college, a complex interplay between very local and very global conditions, exchanges, and networks shaped its interpretation of the 'universalist', 'scientific', and 'modern' Sikh. It perpetuated the formulation of a third type of South Asian vernacular and localised modernity that in manifold ways transcended the framework of an antagonism between imperialist and nationalist forces.

Religion, Education, and Knowledge Transmission in Colonial South Asia

Education was one of the main theatres of modernity's negotiation. Religion, similarly, played a pivotal role in how people constructed their subjective 'modern' identity. Consequently, religious communities and associations functioned as the main drivers behind an educational institutionalisation that led to a mushrooming of schools, colleges, and universities. The establishment of Khalsa College in the 1880s and 1890s was promoted mainly by advocates of what today is known as the Singh Sabha Movement. In Punjab a loose network of socio-religious Sikh associations had been established in the 1870s and 1880s. These associations, called Singh Sabhas and later Khalsa Diwans, were heavily influenced by the emergence of the Hindu revivalist Arya Samaj as well as other organisations such as the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam.[12] The nineteenth century in British India witnessed the establishment of many "socio-religious reform movements."[13] Members of the elite as well as from the newly emerging middle classes of Indian society, often anglicised, came together in this period to re-evaluate their own traditions and carve out plans to reform and advance their respective communities. Although members of the middle classes played a huge part in the Singh Sabhas' dealings, many representatives from the traditional Sikh aristocracy were also involved in these associations, leading to various internal conflicts.[14] These associations and their later successors were crucial to the slow and complex societal establishment of a reformulated 'orthodox' Sikh identity, often called "*Tatt Khālsā*" or "Neo-Sikhism," which strongly advocated a form of Sikhism clearly delimited from Hindu traditions and which became the single leading interpretation of Sikhism by the 1920s.[15]

As scholar Arvind-Pal Singh Mandair has put it,

> There is […] a general consensus about the late nineteenth century as a crucial period in the modernizing/globalizing process, though which the lives and practices of the lower classes in the metropole and of entire populations in the Indian colonies were transformed.[16]

Both a symptom of and factor in this "conversion to modernity"[17] was the rise of voluntary revivalist societies that became influential players in the reproduction of the public sphere and the understanding of categories such as religion and the secular. Often, these neo-Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and other reform movements have been seen as the predecessors of nationalist or communitarian organisations that later took on more radical forms.[18] The Singh Sabha and later Khalsa Diwan associations have received particular attention by researchers from both the Punjabi and diasporic Sikh community.[19] While these studies have shed much light on the internal processes, societal and religious shifts, and identity politics within the Punjabi Sikh community around 1900, their analyses often tend to downplay the multifarious exchanges and contestations with colonial authorities or other religious communities.[20]

For many decades, literature on the Sikhs and colonial Punjab was dominated by the narrative of a nineteenth-century 'Sikh resurgence', 'renaissance', or 'revival' attributed to the initiative and action of the relentless Singh Sabha and Sikh reformers who saved a degenerating Sikh tradition and restored it to its original core; the latter usually identified with an original, coherent, and continuous Sikh ideology embodied in its perfection in the Khālsā identity.[21]

A more textual and empirical approach was introduced to academic Sikh Studies in the late 1960s.[22] Studies that inverted the earlier paradigm of an internally driven change soon emerged, and instead interpreted the transformation of Sikh tradition during the British Raj as the result of administrative and military interests and the totalising agenda of colonial power.[23] Harjot Singh Oberoi's seminal study *The Construction of Religious Boundaries*, published in the mid-1990s, challenged multiple previous currents in Sikh historiography.[24] Departing from the usual narrative of a 'revival' or 'resurgence' while simultaneously returning the agency behind historical change into the hands of the Sikhs, he painted a picture of a heterogeneous and polycentric nineteenth-century Sikh community that was the focus of the homogenising and eventually successful efforts of the Sikh reformers advocating a Tatt Khālsā interpretation of Sikh identity. As

Oberoi argues, despite the influence of colonialism, this form of Sikh identity was innovative in many ways.[25]

In the early twenty-first century, there has been a growth of more nuanced approaches that acknowledge the complexity of the colonial milieu and the ambiguity of categories such as 'traditional' or 'colonial'. Tony Ballantyne, for instance, has emphasised the importance of the colonial experience and global migration in the formation of Sikh identities, embedding Sikh and Punjabi history into his model of the British Empire as providing uneven 'webs' of vertical as well as horizontal exchange and connection.[26] Arvind-Pal Singh Mandair in his *Religion and the Specter of the West* has provided a complex analysis of the modern formulations of 'Sikh theology' in dialogue with 'Western' philosophy and theology, and situates this process into the workings of a global religious history.[27]

Such studies take into account multifarious contextual levels and the impact of individual agents—both Indian and non-Indian, and consider their role within the colonial milieu and vis-à-vis the structural and discursive power of the colonial state.[28] Still, a particular dualism in the engagement with Sikh history seems to prevail, as Anne Murphy observed:

> One tension persists in this body of work: between those that locate historical developments within a Sikh-centred frame – in relation to the teachings of the Gurus and the historical development of the community in relative isolation – versus those that look more to contextual factors to understand the history of the community within Punjab and South Asia overall.[29]

The case of Khalsa College permits us to transcend theses tensions. Putting an analytical emphasis on the individual agency of the historical actors advances the contextual approach. A dense micro-history of the Sikh institution in Amritsar elucidates how various factors and referential frames, ranging from the very local to the very global, contributed to the development of modern Sikh tradition.

Circulating Knowledge and Educational Agendas

Colonial South Asia's socio-religious reform movements often consisted of individuals working in the government service sector or the legal professions who were themselves educated in state or missionary schools. As a result, education played an important part in their ideas about improving their economic prospects while at the same time reforming their own

culture. Therefore, several private educational institutions were established along the ideological lines of the reform movements and became prominent in various provinces of British India, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century.[30] Often these educational institutions were meant to meet multiple objectives that were ambiguous if not contradictory and could lead to conflicts. Thus, while some Indian educationists perceived 'western' or 'modern' education as helpful for the advancement of their groups,[31] others dissociated themselves from it, claiming to represent 'traditional' alternative models of education. But of course, they too could not entirely ignore the didactic, pedagogic, and epistemic discourses made available by colonial rule.[32]

The relationship of these 'communal' private educational institutions with the colonial government was thus quite ambivalent. While there was a clear government interest in creating a class of English-educated Indians suited for petty administration jobs, especially in the nineteenth century, it also soon became obvious that private institutions had their own dynamics and agenda.[33] Although these had to follow rather strict regulations in terms of their curricula if they wanted to receive grants-in-aid from the Government and have their degrees accepted, their often cultural-revivalist and reformist character proved to be a hotbed for nationalistic and anti-colonial ideas.[34] Not only social, religious and political ideologies but also class and professional or gender identities came to be systematised and canonised in a dynamic colonial environment. Diverse interest groups like European and Indian educationists, scholars, reformers, traditionalists, government officials, and others interacted in often interwoven and contested debates.[35] Colonial educational institutions were central in the socialisation of their students, who later often acted as important leaders of their respective ethnic or religious groups, and they functioned as important venues in the building of social and political networks.[36]

For quite some time much of the scholarly work on education in British-India followed the notion (somehow in itself imperialist) that the imparting of 'modern' knowledge in the colony has been a process of 'diffusion'.[37] Often based on models describing multiple stages, these approaches interpreted the history of colonial knowledge as a unilateral process of conveying Western ideas and institutions to the non-Western world. Conversely, early critics of these diffusionist assumptions viewed science in the colonies as an instrument of imperial control and exploitation. 'Education' in particular was thus theorised as part of an imperialist and/or capitalist system, and the establishment of an indigenous private

educational institution was interpreted as an act of resistance, especially in nationalist historiography.[38] Proponents of these instrumentalist approaches emphasised the importance of the imperial interests in the scientific exploration of the colonies, and how the scientific "tools of empire"[39] allowed not only the topographical but also anthropological mapping of the colony as necessary preconditions for the consolidation of the colonial state.[40]

However, both the diffusionist and the critical instrumentalist approaches to science and education have suffered from the same two shortcomings, the first that they are limited to a rather general macro-perspective and the second their overemphasis of analytical dichotomies such as the 'West/East', 'coloniser/colonised' or 'modern/traditional' distinctions. 'The colonised' have to be taken into account as autonomous historical agents, as colonial processes usually were formed by complex interactions rather than unilateral, monolithic, and totalising acts of colonial power.[41] Indian actors did not simply adopt or reject ideas that Europeans brought to India. Gyan Prakash, for instance, has shown how 'science' and 'reason' became both hegemonic and contested signifiers of 'modernity'.[42] Considered tools of colonial power on one hand, they could also figure as a vehicle of Indian national regeneration and anti-colonial intellectual resistance on the other, as Indian nationalists made efforts to localise scientific thought in India's pre-colonial (mainly Hindu) intellectual history. Though Prakash was concerned with the rather reductive binary and antagonistic categories of the imperial state and the (mainstream) nationalist elite, he has made visible the intricacies, contradictions but also flexibilities in the production of colonial knowledge. Systems of knowledge in British India could take on 'hybridised', 'pidgzinised' or 'vernacularised' forms and were adapted or translated to the multifarious needs and ideologies of local actors.[43] Conversely, 'Western' ideas were not just disseminated in a straightforward manner by the imperial power, but rather the colonies were a social and political laboratory where ideas and policies could be tested and later brought back to the imperial metropolis in substantially modified forms.[44]

To be sure, this hybrid interpretation of knowledge production in colonial settings is not undisputed. One of the most sophisticated critiques was brought forward by Sanjay Seth.[45] In his analysis of educational projects in colonial India, he argues that narratives of 'hybridisation' or 'pidginisation' tend to overstate the Indian influence in the construction of knowledge-systems. According to him, decidedly 'Western' knowledge

came to be seen during the colonial period as *the* universally valid template, and not just one of many possible knowledge systems. Considering epistemic hierarchies in the history of colonial knowledge and education certainly is of crucial importance. Still, the debates and controversies between European educators, their Indian collaborators and their opponents, in which questions and discussions of the reception of colonial education were discussed, were usually livelier than Sanjay Seth implies.[46] Multiple colonial projects and discourses had a parallel existence, often in competition and opposition with each other, and were structured by complex personal networks and circulation of information.[47]

A fast growing body of literature has addressed colonial knowledge formation and the global flows of knowledge in regard to systems of medicine, anthropology, and the natural sciences in British India.[48] Similarly, scholars have turned to questions of transnational circulation and cross-cultural transfer of pedagogical, didactic, and organisational knowledge as applied by schools and colleges under the British Raj.[49] Transnational 'spaces of education'[50] were characterised by a global transfer of pedagogical and organisational educational methods and agendas. Already in early nineteenth century, exchange processes between European nation states as well as within global or colonial and 'imperial' areas of education impacted pedagogical discourse and practice,[51] as seen in the example of the so-called Bell-Lancaster method, a monitorial system whose genesis rooted in an intricate circulation of knowledge between numerous countries, empires, and continents.[52] The late nineteenth and the early twentieth century was a phase when the internationalisation of education, especially the reformist discourse on 'new education', reached unprecedented levels. The global proliferation of educational schemes manifested itself for example in a huge increase of supranational organisations and international congresses on education.[53]

Khalsa College, too, was part of Sikh, South Asian, imperial and transnational spaces and webs[54] of education, in which knowledge circulated and education could function as a tool for diverse agendas. Facing the discursive and political power of the colonial state, Indian actors were not passive and relegated only to the receiving end of flows of knowledge. Both local circumstances and global dynamics shaped Khalsa College, whose outlook and schemes were crucially formed by the possibilities and limits of modern processes of knowledge hybridisation.

Colonial Modernity, Global Spaces, and the Case for Localised Histories

Khalsa College provides a lens through which diverse interconnected processes are visible which eventually converge onto the topic of global, colonial, and Sikh interpretations of modernity. Ultimately, at its core, the micro-history of this institution relates to the double-sided question of what constitutes modernity and how concepts of 'modernity' constitute societies.

At Khalsa College in Amritsar, in the country's 'peripheral' northwest and among the Sikhs of late colonial South Asia, intricate processes of appropriating 'modernity' shaped the face of the institution. Sikh educationists and concerned colonial administrators 'localised' and 'vernacularised' the idioms of modernity—not simply reactionary, but consciously, actively and creatively as means that suited the particular circumstances, needs and interests of the religious, social, economic, and political groups involved. Peter van der Veer has identified the rise of voluntary religious movements, such as the Singh Sabha and Khalsa Diwans, and their domination of an emergent public sphere as a societal marker of the advent of modernity.[55] According to van der Veer, the debate on the nature of religion and its relation to secularity and the state in particular was crucial in negotiating modernity and shaping the modern public sphere.

'Modernity', of course, is a controversial term, not only conceptually but also in terms of chronology. As a historical period, its unfolding is generally attributed to the 'long' nineteenth century, as seminal works by authors such as C.A. Bayly or Jürgen Osterhammel have done.[56] The processes that led to the "birth of the modern world," according to Bayly, encompassed "the rise of the nation-state, demanding centralization of power or loyalty to an ethnic solidarity, alongside a massive expansion of global commercial and intellectual links [...and] [t]he international spread of industrialization and a new style of urban living."[57] At the same time, in discussing his historical actors, Bayly also stresses that "an essential part of being modern [was] thinking you are modern."[58]

A crucial distinction, then, must be made between modernity as a process (or set of processes) of 'modernisation', and modernity as a sensibility. 'Modernisation', as a synonym for economic, institutional, and infrastructural change has often run into the danger of being interpreted as a simple and gradual one-way diffusion of processes of which many originated or were accelerated in European societies and economies and made possible

through the consequences of colonialism and imperialism.[59] As a sensibility too, the "disruptive epistemology of Western modernity"[60] had an undeniable impact throughout the world and it is difficult to leave the framework that European forms of modernity provide. Many processes and ideas particular to a European modernity found their way into the colonies, often initially as an act of imperial self-assurance and demarcation. Colonial societies were severely influenced by the Western narratives of 'modernity' and its conceptualisation as a historical category.[61] The idioms of such a modernity—such as the belief in individual reason, the scientific method, the inevitable progress of humanity, suspicion of tradition and traditional authorities, or reformist impulses of enlightenment and reformation—did have a universal appeal. This paradigm of modernity was regularly invoked at Khalsa College too. As Wasdev Singh, a professor at the institution, noted in a 1934 article on 'modernism' in the college magazine:

> Nothing is static, everything is in a state of flux and is changing for the better. Progress […] is the keynote of modern civilization. Day in and day out we are accumulating new experiences, giving new interpretations to our surroundings and to the phenomena we come into contact with and, through our resourcefulness, are continuously making an advance over the past.[62]

Colonial modernity was often inegalitarian in nature. This does not necessarily imply a history reduced to imposition and coercion, nor did processes of increasing integration and unification lead to a homogenous and uniform globalised modernity. Indeed, modernity was and is a varied, global experience.[63] As Dipesh Chakrabarty has noted, "One's sense of being modern did not always follow the chronology of modernization."[64] Various changes and innovations that historians today might attribute to processes of modernity (or modernisation) were not necessarily perceived as 'modern' or as a sign of a continuous progress by their historical contemporaries, but rather just simply as 'new'.[65] Further, European-derived discourses not always adequately explain 'modernity' in places such as South Asia, and pre-colonial intellectual traditions shaped this discourse and period of transition, too.[66] Modernity was and is a conjunctural phenomenon and different societies and individuals negotiated its outlines in different ways.[67] The crux of modernity is less the varying and often incompatible and diverging forms and processes of 'modernisation', but rather its impact as a global experience, which made 'modernity' a

rhetorical term as well as a marker. While global integration nurtured the idioms of modernity that were heavily deployed by Western narratives, perceptions, and reflections of the world, the world order, and cosmopolitanism was, of course, developed all around the world.[68]

Modernity does not necessarily mean Westernisation. Rather, the notion of modernity was marked by an increased longing for or self-placement of the individual and his local reality into bigger contexts. Indeed, emerging in tandem with the growth of institutions and infrastructure (be it parliamentary, legal, educational, or economic), and often perceived as the crucial element of modernity, is a self-awareness of these processes.[69] The historical actors engaged in negotiating 'modernity' were most concerned with themes such as the individual and the nation, the citizen and the state, religion and secularism, the past and the future, science and progress and the flow of knowledge, as well as the body and gender. Modernity, consequently, is a relational category whose content was—and is—developed in relation to concepts of gender, race, language, or science.[70] Self-descriptions such as 'modern', or its companions 'rational' or 'secular', are notions of difference that are always in need of a counter-narrative, be it the 'traditional', the 'non-modern' (or 'not-yet-modern'), the 'religious', or the 'emotional'.[71]

Accordingly, the socio-religious 'reform movements' of colonial South Asia interpreted 'reform' in heterogeneous ways that demonstrate the very ambiguity of modernity.[72] Concepts and terms of 'reform' and 'tradition' are relative and fluid[73] and already Kenneth W. Jones pointed to the double function of these groups and to the fact that although their discourses were held in the theatres of modernity, they framed their modernist agendas not only in terms of 'change' but very often also with reference to 'tradition' and 'conservation'.[74] This became particularly evident in their differing appropriations of the past. Historical self-reflection as well as a reflection over multiple points of reference—such as the encounter with the 'West'—is itself an often-claimed marker of modernity, and the reformists' multifarious interpretations of the past (and future) drew on various points in time and space, shifting between pre-, post-, and trans-colonial frameworks.[75]

In the colonial context, then, modernity and its negotiation were not only an imposed moment. Rather than being only reactionary, local 'appropriations' or rather 'pathways' of modernity were often conscious strategies and born out of a context-sensitive cultural creativity. As such, modernity was a rhetorical device "re-forged into forms of intellectual

capital"[76] and applied by both the colonial state and the colonised subject. This was not restricted to an opposition between state-imposed and nationalist-reactionary modernities. Rather, the modernist dynamic exceeded the grasp of the colonial state: it was also in dialogue with wider webs of empire and trans-regional and transnational flows situated beyond the imperial frame of reference altogether.[77]

At Khalsa College, various societal and religious processes converged whose historical significance goes well beyond the specific case of the Sikhs and the Punjab. What happened at the college in Amritsar was in many ways a global issue—concerning the effects and side-effects of creating modern educational systems under the conditions of colonialism—negotiated at a regional or local scale.

As modernity was (and is) a *longue durée* process efficacious around the globe and characterised by the transnational flow of things, people, and ideas, so were its local and regional reverberations felt at Khalsa College. Far from being an endogenous and isolated phenomenon, its story relates then to both global and South Asian history.[78]

Global and transnational history inform this book as a method and perspective, following an approach that "presumes, and explicitly reflects on, some form of global integration."[79] The corresponding processes of global integration are usually assumed to have intensified since what has been deemed the 'early modern' period or during the 'long' nineteenth century. In many ways, the preference of global historians for these two epochs coincides with debates on the periodisation of modernity.[80] As will be apparent throughout the following chapters, there were numerous areas in which Khalsa College, Punjab or South Asia reverberated and informed these global processes that were the result of an increasingly interconnected world in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Of course, not everything happened within a context of global connectedness and transnationality. It would be a serious fallacy to assume loose, even tangential global connections and entanglements in every corner of the KCA campus. As especially Chap. 2 shows, many developments at the college are best understood in light of distinct local circumstances and internal motivations without relating them to the presence and effects of global processes. Still, as will become apparent for instance in the conceptualisation of 'Sikhism' and 'religion' or the evolution of a sports ethic at KCA, a broad perspective uncovers aspects and peculiarities that would not have been visible when applying only a narrow frame of reference, whether imperial, national, or communal.

The abstract and macro form of global history has often been criticised for being a purely structuralist, homogenising and non-empirical enterprise that loses sight of the individual. Various concepts have sprung up that suggest a reconciliation of the global and the local.[81] Pursuing a globally informed micro history that follows a rather narrowly defined object of research in the vein of classical micro-history, for instance, allows for a thick description of its historical constellations and actors.[82] The key word in such a remarrying of macro- and micro-history is that of 'relation(s)'. A relational understanding of spatial—but not space-less—units dissects the microcosm of Khalsa College in relation to various analytical fields, be it the Sikh *panth*, the Indian nation, Asia and the non-'Western' world, or humanity as a whole, and the many, often interdependent, spatial units in-between.[83] This does not imply a smooth transition between these referential frames. As the case of Khalsa College and its conceptualisation(s) of modernity show, it was accompanied by historical inconsistencies, incompatibilities and anachronisms.[84]

As Carlo Ginzburg has argued, microhistory is an "indispensable tool"[85] for global history in toto. A micro-historical reductionist micro-global engagement with categories like 'modernity', 'nation', 'religion', 'development', 'body' or 'gender' unearths a limited but complex set of global entanglements, webs and networks that emanate from a single educational institution like Khalsa College.[86] As will be shown in the subsequent chapters, the pertinent analysis of local or 'localised' historical processes benefits from considering the global scale. Even noting the particular absence of global connections can say much about seemingly 'local' developments, as, for instance, Chap. 5 and its analysis of Khalsa College's sports schemes will show. For the Sikh reformists in Amritsar the global was an option and opportunity. Occasions where transnational entanglements are lacking do not equate a 'deficit' in modernity.[87] On the contrary, they prove that it is not fruitful to assume a totalising and homogenising—and often Eurocentric and teleological—globalisation but rather to look at Khalsa College and similar cases as historical forms of "translocality"[88] that reveal local variations, adaptions and rejections, and highlight the unevenness and fractured nature of globalisation processes. Thus, just as micro-history is said to be able to uncover the 'blind spots' of macro-history, so does the globally informed analysis of a minority and fringe institution such as Khalsa College transcend various 'blind spots' in multiple areas of South Asian, imperial, and global history and their encounters with modernity.

Outlook

This book is divided into four main chapters. Each of these deals with aspects of Khalsa College's agenda and schemes in the late colonial period that stood at the core of the institution's attempt to conceive of its interpretation of localised modernity and Sikh identity.

Apart from the 1892-founded Khalsa College other organisations and institutions became important forums not only for Sikh educationists but also politicians and other social and religious leaders in the early twentieth century. The Sikh Educational Conference, held annually from 1908 onwards is one such example.[89] These institutions were important in setting up a dense network of Sikh schools in Punjab, yet very little research has been done on the role played by the institutions themselves in the dissemination of religious and or political identities. Khalsa College in particular has been severely neglected by historians.[90] While a small number of mostly in-house and descriptive-commemorative publications on the college underscore the great impact the institution had as a hub of education and intellectual, political and religious debate, a comprehensive analysis of the institution and its history during the British *Raj* has been missing.[91]

The first main chapter hence provides the institutional and political background that underlies the narrative of the subsequent chapters and elaborates on Sikh politics and socio-religious change in the last half-decade of the British Raj. It looks at governmental interests within this same rubric, as colonial authorities perceived the Khalsa College as a place where "useful and intelligent citizens and loyal subjects of the royal crown"[92] were to be produced. Political matters played a substantial role at Khalsa College and the chapter shows how KCA's management, staff and students imagined the Sikhs', Punjab's and India's political future and economic 'development', thus elaborating on the crucial relationship between the community, the colonial state, and the idea of the nation.

The traditional paternalistic relationship between the colonial government and the Sikh community started deteriorating at least from the mid-1900s and more rapidly after 1920. Khalsa College, in turn, was increasingly criticised or lauded as a stalwart of 'loyalism' or 'collaboration' after 1920, whereas earlier it had been dubbed a hotbed for anti-British agitation by anxious government officials. This was related to general shifts in the Sikh socio-religious and political landscape and it showed, in particular, a growing generational divide between politically

radical Sikhs critical of government actions, and an older generation of Sikh reformists and activists with strong ties to Punjab's aristocratic and rural elites. Both generations advocated a distinct, reformed interpretation of Sikhism that was present at KCA since the institution's inception, but they differed severely in their articulation of their claims and their relationship to the British and the broader Indian national movement.

The broad topics of the subsequent three chapters—religion, agriculture, and military—at first sound stereotypical for a study of a Sikh institution. Yet, these areas and the attributes they entailed were indeed prominently associated with the educational institution and were as much externally attributed as internally cherished. They formed the main pivotal points that structured Khalsa College's unique endeavours beyond the standard curricular topics of a late colonial educational institution. However, the examination of these topics also transcends the expected narratives, revealing the complex nature of modern historical processes relating to topics such as religion, development, and physicality in both South Asia and on the global scale.

Chapter 3 analyses Khalsa College's role in the establishment of a distinct interpretation of Sikhism and Sikh history that is still dominant today. Modernised interpretations of Sikhism were influenced by European orientalists such as Ernst Trumpp, Joseph Davey Cunningham, and Max Arthur Macauliffe, who themselves drew heavily from Sikh informants and scholars.[93] Processes such as the institutionalisation, standardisation, and textualisation of modern Sikhism were shaped by the scholarly work of the college's teaching staff but also through the institution's impact on the everyday religious life of its students. Furthermore, these processes were part of a broader development in global religious history. The conception of 'religion' as stressed in Khalsa College attempted to formulate a 'Sikh theology' that stood in dialogue with three elements constitutive of the modern concept of 'religion' as perceived through its colonial and transnational negotiation: comparison, universalism, and science (or 'scientism').

The college's endeavours with regard to agricultural and rural education are the focus of Chap. 4. Initially started by the institution's last English principal in the context and vein of a persistent rural paternalism among Punjab's administrative cadre, the 'uplift' of the rural became an object of Khalsa College's educational and practical efforts when 'rural reconstruction' was a globally debated issue. Drawing from the stereotype of the 'rural Sikh', the institution's visions of 'developing' Punjab (and

India) through well-educated rural experts relied mainly on the 'universal' potential of science that neither interpreted science as something inherently 'Western', nor saw it as a counterpart to the 'Indian', 'native', or 'traditional'. Furthermore, it looked to the USA, widely perceived as the vanguard of modern agricultural science at that time, and in doing so participated in a transnational flow of expert knowledge. This also links the case of Khalsa College to the later early Cold War era forms of US 'development aid' in the global south.

The non-cognitive and more informal dimensions of knowledge transmission, namely the 'embodiment' of knowledge in physical education and competitive sports at the Amritsar college, are addressed in the last chapter. This allows us to focus on the complex relationship between subjectivity; gender; and religious, ethnic, and racial identity. Indeed, the overarching goal of developing "active habits and physical strength"[94] figured prominently in the College's curriculum. Influential were imperial discourses of race that attributed to 'the Sikhs' an exceptional belligerence and martial aptitude.[95] Ideas of Sikh masculinity were used to distinguish Sikhism from (possibly 'effeminate') Hindu, Muslim, or Christian identities, in rhetorical devices often used even today when demarcating a 'manly', 'martial', and 'active' Sikhism from an 'emasculated' Indian nation founded on a 'passive' concept of non-violence.[96] Another stereotypical occupation of the Sikhs, i.e. military service, in tandem with the topic of bodily culture took on, at least rhetorically, a highly important role for KCA. Although a lack of interest from the government in actively supporting schemes of military training at Khalsa College in the interwar period shows the growing wariness of the colonial administration with respect to Sikh recruitment after 1920, the college could celebrate its image as an institution producing manly and loyal Sikh soldiers as imagined in the colonial 'martial races' discourse and readily received by the Sikhs' rural and aristocratic elites during both World Wars. The realms of sports and physical education also showed Khalsa College in a rather conservative light in its adherence to a traditional nineteenth-century 'games ethic', consisting of an emphasis on teams sports such as football, hockey, or cricket or the fostering of youth organisations such as the Boy Scouts. However, once again, the institution did not see any conflict in this preference for a seemingly 'old-fashioned' concept and its claim of producing a modern and scientific Sikh. Instead it saw this goal as being achieved by readily infusing its bodily regimen with the latest international trends in

physical education and nutritional sciences, concepts once again mediated in South Asia partly through American actors.

Taken together, the individual chapters draw a picture of Khalsa College as a crucial player in conceiving a form of 'Sikh modernity' that in a universalist third-way approach transcended both imperialist and mainstream nationalist frameworks and networks. It figures as an intriguing example of the formation of vernacular and localised South Asian modernities that were increasingly influenced by global discourses beyond the imperial structure in the early twentieth century. Having to reconcile the occasional nationalist and anti-British attitudes among its students and staff with the college management's decidedly moderate outlook, it opted for a 'universalism' in its approach towards concepts such as religion or science. Guided by the quest for a 'scientific' Sikh, it transformed what it considered (or imagined) traditional Sikh values and occupations (military, agriculture, etc.) into a form compatible with the modernist discourse. As a colonial educational and academic institution embedded in broad, often uneven webs of knowledge and taking part in transnational networks and discussions of religion, agriculture, and bodily culture, these revised imaginings consciously drew from globally circulating concepts and topics such as 'comparative religion', 'rural reconstruction', and 'scientific physical education'. This identity had to be conceptualised in relation to (or differentiated from) both India's majority communities, particularly the Hindu tradition, and the British coloniser, which meant that the universalist and 'scientific' approach allowed for both a distancing from an imperial 'civilising' narrative and a largely indifferent reception of radical nativist and nationalist interpretations. Tellingly, Khalsa College and its ideological and curricular programme would later—though interrupted by the horrors of the subcontinent's Partition in 1947—be smoothly integrated within the agenda of a post-1947 independent Indian state, as the Conclusion suggests.

Notes

1. 'Report on the laying of the Foundation-Stone of the Khalsa College by […] James Broadwood Lyall, […] Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab', p. i, in *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Late Khalsa College Establishment Committee and of the Council of the Khalsa College,* ed. by Khalsa College (Lahore: Victoria Press, n.d. [c. 1896/97]).

2. Bhai Jawahir Singh, Secretary, Khalsa College Deputation, citing Sardar Partap Singh, to William Bell, Secretary, Khalsa College Establishment Committee, Lahore, 15 Sep. 1890, p. x, in *Abstracts Proceedings Khalsa College Establishment Committee*.
3. Ibid., p. iv.
4. 'Report on the laying of the Foundation-Stone of the Khalsa College by […] James Broadwood Lyall, […] Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab', p. i, in KCA, *Abstract Proceedings Khalsa College Establishment Committee*.
5. 'The Need of a Sikh University: An Appeal', by Principal Bishen Singh, *Durbar*, Apr./May 1931, 1–6, here 2.
6. Ibid., 5. The editorial was written in 1931, when what would eventually become the politically insurmountable Hindu/Muslim divide on the national scale was beginning to take shape and Sikh concern about getting crushed between these opposing forces in Punjab and South Asia was growing. The synthesising and conciliatory approach of Khalsa College (or University) as formulated by Bishen Singh, thus, surely was also a useful argument deployed by those KCA advocates who were demanding that the college be upgraded into a university.
7. *The Khalsa*, 28 May 1932, 3.
8. Ibid.
9. Peter van der Veer, *The Modern Spirit of Asia: The Spiritual and the Secular in China and India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).
10. *Khalsa Akhbar* (U), Lahore, 14 Aug. 1914, Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab [hereafter SVNP], 1914, India Office Records, British Library, London [hereafter IOR]/L/R/5/195.
11. Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 11.
12. Bob van der Linden, *Moral Languages from Colonial Punjab: The Singh Sabha, Arya Samaj and Ahmadiyahs* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2008).
13. Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
14. Norman G. Barrier, 'The Formulation and Transmission of Sikh Tradition: Competing Organizations and Ideology 1902–1925', in *The Transmission of Sikh Heritage in the Diaspora*, ed. by Norman G. barrier and Pashaura Singh (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), 193–212; Markus Daechsel, 'Being Middle Class in Late Colonial Punjab', in *Punjab Reconsidered: History, Culture, and Practice*, ed. by Anshu Malhotra and Farina Mir (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 320–55.
15. Harjot Singh Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition* (Delhi/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Joginder Singh, *The Sikh Resurgence* (New Delhi:

National Book Organisation, 1997); William H. McLeod, *Exploring Sikhism: Aspects of Sikh Identity, Culture, and Thought* (New Delhi/ Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

16. Arvind-Pal Singh Mandair, 'Time and religion-making in modern Sikhism', in *Time, History and the Religious Imaginary in South Asia*, ed. by Anne Murphy (New York: Routledge, 2011), 187–202, here 186.
17. Ibid. Mandair refers to Peter van der Veer (ed.), *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christian Modernities* (New York: Routledge, 1996).
18. Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Anupama Arya, *Religion and Politics in India: A Study of the Role of Arya Samaj* (Delhi: K.K. Publications, 2001); Van der Linden, *Moral Languages from Colonial Punjab*; Gwilym Beckerlegge (ed.), *Colonialism, Modernity, and Religious Identities: Religious Reform Movements in South Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Jose Abraham, *Islamic Reform and Colonial Discourse on Modernity in India: Socio-Political and Religious Thought of Vakkom Moulavi* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Maria-Magdalena Fuchs, *Islamic Modernism in Colonial Punjab: The Anjuman-i Himayat-i Islam, 1884–1923,* PhD thesis, Department of Religion, Princeton University, 2019.
19. Ganda Singh (ed.), *The Singh Sabha and Other Socio-Religious Movements in the Punjab, 1850–1925* (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1997); Surjit Singh Narang, 'Chief Khalsa Diwan: A Study of Its Ideology, Leadership and Strategy', *Journal of Sikh Studies*, 12:1 (1985), 97–108; J. Singh, *The Sikh Resurgence*; Safraz Khawaja, *Sikhs of the Punjab 1900–1925: A Study of Confrontation and Political Mobilization* (Islamabad: Book Depot, 1985).
20. Norman G. Barrier, 'Sikhs Studies and the Study of History', in *Studying the Sikhs: Issues in North America,* ed. by John Stratton Hawley and Gurinder Singh Mann (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 25–46; cf. Jasjit Singh Grewal, *Historical Writings on the Sikhs (1784–2011): Western Enterprise & Indian Response* (New Delhi: Manohar 2012), 473–91.
21. Ganda Singh, *The Singh Sabha and Other Socio-Religious Movements in the Punjab*; idem and Teja Singh, *Short History of the Sikhs*, Vol. 1 (1469–1765) (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1950); Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1964); Gopal Singh, *A History of the Sikh People*, 1649–1978 (New Delhi: World Sikh University Press, 1979); J. Singh, *The Sikh Resurgence*.
22. William H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968); idem, *The Evolution of the Sikh Community* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1975). Cf. Jasjit Singh Grewal, 'W.H. McLeod and Sikh Studies', *Journal of Punjab Studies*, 17:1–2 (2010), 115–44.

23. Richard Gabriel Fox, *Lions of the Punjab: Culture in the Making* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 106ff.
24. Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries*; idem, 'Mapping Indic Fundamentalisms through Nationalism and Modernity', in *Fundamentalisms Comprehended,* ed. by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 96–114.
25. Oberoi and other constructivist and externalist authors have repeatedly come under heavy attack from the Sikh orthodoxy. In its most radical form, this has led to certain Sikh authors appealing for a "Khalsacentrism" as an answer to the alleged 'Western' or 'Euro-centric' 'misrepresentations', which is supposed to 'correctly' represent Sikh tradition, see Surinder Singh Sodhi, 'Euro-Centrism vs. Khalascentrism', in *Invasion of Religious Boundaries: A Critique of Harjot Oberoi's Work,* ed. by Jasbir Singh Mann et al. (Vancouver: Vancouver: Canadian Sikh Study & Teaching Society, 1995), 335–48. While such a 'khalsacentric' scholarship in practice unfortunately suffers from subjective, reductionist and often minimally critical analyses and tends to devolve into polemics, the call for such a subversion is understandable in intent. It must be seen as an answer to persistent Euro-centric and orientalist narratives inherited from an imperial past and still hampering many works on the Sikhs and South Asia. In particular, it is a corrective to extreme forms of externalist literature that tend to overstate the role of the British colonial state.
26. Tony Ballantyne, *Between Colonialism and Diaspora: Sikh Cultural Formations in an Imperial World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); idem (ed.), *Textures of the Sikh Past: New Historical Perspectives* (New Delhi/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
27. Arvind-Pal Singh Mandair, *Religion and the Specter of the West: Sikhism, India, Postcoloniality, and the Politics of Translation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).
28. Cf. Pashaura Singh, 'New Directions in Sikh Studies', in *Oxford Handbook of Sikh Studies,* ed. by Pashaura Singhand Louis Fenech (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 625–43. Examples are Louis E. Fenech, *Martyrdom in the Sikh Tradition: Playing the 'Game of Love'* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000); Doris Jakobsh, *Relocating Gender in Sikh History: Transformation, Meaning and Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); idem (ed.), *Sikhism and Women* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010); Nikky-Guninder K. Singh, *The Birth of the Khalsa: A Feminist Re-Memory of Sikh Identity* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2005); Purnima Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks. The Making of the Sikh Warrior Tradition, 1699–1799* (New York:

Oxford University Press, 2011); Anne Murphy, *The Materiality of the Past: History and Representation in Sikh Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Pashaura Singh (ed.), *Sikhism in Global Context* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012).

29. Anne Murphy, 'Representation of Sikh History', in *Oxford Handbook of Sikh Studies,* ed. by Pashaura Singh and Louis Fenech (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 94–106, here 102.
30. Vickie, Langohr, 'Colonial Education Systems and the Spread of Local Religious Movements: The Cases of British Egypt and Punjab', *Comparative Studies in Society & History*, 47:1 (2005), 161–89; Amrit Walia, *Development of Education and Socio-Political Change in the Punjab, 1882–1947* (Jalandhar: ABS Publications, 2005).
31. Carey Watt, 'Education for National Efficiency: Constructive Nationalism in North India, 1909–1916', *Modern Asian Studies*, 31:2 (1997), 339–74; Sanjay Srivastava, *Constructing Post-Colonial India: National Character and the Doon School* (London/New York: Routledge, 1998).
32. Nina Dey Gupta, 'The Halcyon Yesteryears of Delhi College: A Chequered History', in *Knowledge, Power & Politics: Educational Institutions in India*, ed. by Mushirul Hasan (New Delhi: Lotus Collection, 1998), 114–40; Harald Fischer-Tiné, *Der Gurukul-Kangri oder die Erziehung der Arya-Nation: Kolonialismus, Hindureform und 'Nationale Bildung' in Britisch-Indien (1897–1922)* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2003); Leah Renold, *A Hindu Education: Early Years of the Banaras Hindu University* (New Delhi/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Srivastava, *Constructing Post-Colonial India;* David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation. Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); Barbara D. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860–1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982); Muhammad Qasim Zaman, 'Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The Madrasa in British India and Pakistan', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41:2 (1999), 294–323.
33. Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India, 1757–2007* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan 2009), 103–8. Cf. idem, *Indian Nationalism: A Case Study for the First University Reform by the British Raj* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1985).
34. Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898–1920*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1974; Krishna Kumar, *The Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas*, (New Delhi: Sage 1991); Harald Fischer-Tiné, '"The Only Hope for Fallen India": The Gurukul Kangri as an Experiment in National Education', in *Explorations in the History of South Asia. A Volume in Honour of Dietmar Rothermund,* ed. by G. Berkemer et al. (New Delhi:

Manohar, 2001), 277–99; Tim Allender, 'How the State Made and Unmade Education in the Raj, 1800–1919', in *Transformations in Schooling: Historical and Comparative Perspectives,* ed. by Kim Tolley (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 67–86.

35. Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *Knowledge, Power & Politics: Educational Institutions in India* (New Delhi: Lotus Collection, 1998); Fischer-Tiné, *Der Gurukul-Kangri oder die Erziehung der Arya-Nation*; Margrit Pernau (ed.), *The Delhi College: Traditional Elites, the Colonial State, and Education before 1857* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006); Tim Allender, 'Understanding Education and India: New Turns in Postcolonial Scholarship', *History of Education*, 39:2 (2010), 281–8; Parimala V. Rao (ed.), *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2014); Laura Dudley Jenkins, 'A College of One's Own: An International Perspective on the Value of Historically Dalit Colleges', in Rao, *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, 68–89; Mahima Manchanda, 'Contested Domains: Restructuring Education and Religious Identity in Sikh and Arya Samaj Schools in Punjab', in Rao, *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, 120–47; Robert Ivermee, *Secularism, Islam and Education in India, 1830–1910* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2015); Tim Allender, *Learning Femininity in Colonial India, 1820–1932* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).
36. Michael H. Fisher, 'An Initial Student of Delhi English College: Mohan Lal Kashmiri (1812–77)', in Pernau, *The Delhi College*, 232–60; Avril A. Powell, 'Scholar Manqué or Mere Munshi? Maulawi Karimu'd-Din's Career in the Anglo-Oriental Education Service', in Pernau, *The Delhi College*, 203–31.
37. Bruce Tiebout McCully, *English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940); George Basalla, 'The Spread of Western Science', *Science*, 156 (1967), 611–22; Elie Kedourie (ed.), *Nationalism in Asia and Africa* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970).
38. Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: David McKay, 1974); Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee, *Origins of the National Education Movement, 1905–1910* (Calcutta: Jadavpur University, 1957).
39. Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).
40. Zaheer Baber, *The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilization and Colonial Rule in India* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996); Ankur Kakkar, '"Education, empire and the heterogeneity of investigative

modalities": a reassessment of colonial surveys on indigenous Indian education', *Paedagogica Historica*, 53:4 (2017), 381–93.

41. Eugene F. Irschick, *Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795–1895* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Christopher A. Bayly, *Empire & Information. Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
42. Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
43. Id., 'Science between the Lines', in *Subaltern Studies*, Vol. 9, ed. by Shahid Amin and Dipesh Chakrabarty (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 59–82; Bayly, *Empire & Information*; Brian Hatcher, *Eclecticism and Modern Hindu Discourse* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Benjamin Zachariah, 'In Search of the Indigenous: J C Kumarappa and the Philosophy of Gandhian Economics', in *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission. Cultural Ideology in British India*, ed. by Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann (London: Anthem Press, 2004), 248–69; Harald Fischer-Tiné, 'From Brahmacharya to Conscious Race Culture: Indian Nationalism, Hindu Tradition and Victorian Discourses of Science', in *Beyond Representation. The Construction of Identity in Colonial India*, ed. by Crispin Bates (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 230–59; idem, *Pidgin-Knowledge. Wissen und Kolonialismus* (Zürich/Berlin: Diaphenes, 2013); Michael S. Dodson, *Orientalism, Empire, and National Culture: India 1770–1880* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Jana Tschurenev, 'Diffusing Useful Knowledge: The Monitorial System of Education in Madras, London and Bengal, 1789–1840', *Paedagogica Historica*, 44:3 (2008), 245–64.
44. Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (London: Faber, 1990); Tschurenev, 'Diffusing Useful Knowledge'. As Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler have noted, these 'laboratories' were far from sterile environments, but these colonial policies had to be negotiated with local actors who often significantly shaped, contested or undermined them, cf. Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 5.
45. Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).
46. See, for example, Tim Allender, *Ruling Through Education: The Politics of Schooling in the Colonial Punjab* (Elgin: New Dawn Press, 2006).
47. Tony Ballantyne, 'Empire, Knowledge, and Culture: From Proto-Globalization to Modern Globalization', in *Globalization in World History*, ed. by A. G. Hopkins (New York/London: Pimlico, 2002), 115–40; Kapil

Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Constitution of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Brett M. Bennett and Joseph M. Hodge (eds), *Science and Empire: Knowledge and Networks of Science across the British Empire, 1800–1970* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

48. Irfan S. Habib and Dhruv Raina, 'Reinventing Traditional Medicine: Method, Institutional Change and the Manufacture of Drugs in and Medication in Late Colonial India', in *Asian Medicine and Globalization*, ed. by Joseph Alter (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 67–77; Margrit Pernau, 'The Indian Body and Unani Medicine: Body History as Entangled History', in *Images of the Body in India,* ed. by Axel Michaels and Christoph Wulf (London: Routledge, 2009), 97–108; Bennett/Hodge, *Science and Empire*; Ricardo Roque and Kim A. Wagner (eds), *Engaging Colonial Knowledge: Reading European Archives in World History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Fischer-Tiné, *Pidgin-Knowledge.*
49. Indra Sengupta and Daud Ali (eds), *Knowledge Production, Pedagogy, and Institutions in Colonial India* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2011); Eckhardt Fuchs, 'History of Education beyond the Nation: Trends in Historical and Educational Scholarship', in *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education,* ed. by Barnita Bagchi et al. (New York: Berghahn, 2014), 11–26.
50. Esther Möller and Johannes Wischmeyer (eds), *Transnationale Bildungsräume. Wissenstransfers im Schnittfeld von Kultur, Politik und Religion* (Göttingen: Vandehoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); *Paedagocia Historica*, 50:1–2 (2014), Special Issue: 'Internationalisation in Education: Issues, Challenges, Outcomes'.
51. Jana Tschurenev, *Empire, Civil Society, and the Beginnings of Colonial Education in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).
52. Eugenia Roldán Vera, 'Order in the Classroom. The Spanish American Appropriation of the Monitorial System of Education', *Paedagogica Historica*, 41:6 (2005), 655–75; Patrick Ressler, *Nonprofit-Marketing im Schulbereich: Britische Schulgesellschaften und der Erfolg des Bell-Lancaster-Systems der Unterrichtsorganisation im 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a.M. et al.: Lang, 2010).
53. Marcelo Caruso, 'An der Schwelle zur Internationalisierung. Rezeption und Variationen der Bell-Lancaster-Methode am Beispiel Kolumbiens (1820–1844)', in *Bildung International. Historische Perspektiven und aktuelle Entwicklungen,* ed. by Eckhardt Fuchs (Würzburg: Ergon, 2006), 231–52.
54. The metaphor of the 'web', as utilized, for instance, by Tony Ballantyne in relation to Empire (cf. footnote 26), is useful also in describing flows and

networks of knowledge and education, as it implies the coexistence and interdependence of vertical and horizontal exchange.

55. Van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters*, 11.
56. Christopher A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (München: C.H. Beck, 2009). While the nineteenth century keeps being most historians' preference, there have also be claims that locate an "early modernity" usually between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, for example, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Hearing Voices: Vignettes of Early Modernity in South Asia, 1400–1750', *Daedalus,* 127: 3 (1998), 75–104.
57. Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 11.
58. Ibid., 10.
59. As a general critique of Euro-centric and teleological understandings of history and historiography, see Dipesh Chakrabarty's famous call for 'provincializing Europe', in Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
60. Michael S. Dodson and Brian A. Hatcher, 'Introduction', in *Trans-Colonial Modernities in South Asia,* ed. by Michael S. Dodson and Brian A. Hatcher (New York: Routledge, 2012), 1–12, here 3.
61. Ibid.
62. 'Modernism' by Prof. Wasdev Singh, M.A., *Durbar*, Feb. 1934, 25–7, here 25.
63. Carol A. Breckenridge and Arjun S. Appadurai, 'Public Modernity in India', in *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World*, ed. By Carol A. Breckenridge (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 1–22.
64. Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'The Muddle of Modernity', *American Historical Review*, 116:3 (2011), 663–75, here 671.
65. Partha Chatterjee, 'A Possible India: Essays in Political Criticism', in *The Partha Chatterjee Omnibus,* ed. by Partha Chatterjee (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 265.
66. Anne Murphy, 'Introduction', in *Time, History and the Religious Imaginary in South Asia,* ed. by Anne Murphy (New York: Routledge, 2011), 1–11, here 1.
67. Christopher A. Bayly, 'Bombay's "intertwined modernities", 1780–1880', in *Trans-Colonial Modernities in South Asia*, ed. by Dodson/Hatcher, 231–48; Subrahmanyam, 'Hearing Voices: Vignettes of Early Modernity', 99f.

68. Margrit Pernau, *Transnationale Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 2011), 75.
69. Chakrabarty, 'The Muddle of Modernity', 671.
70. Van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters*, 3.
71. Margrit Pernau and Helge Jordheim, 'Global history meets area studies. Ein Werkstattbericht', *H-Soz-Kult*, 14 Nov. 2017 [https://www.hsozkult.de/debate/id/diskussionen-4229, accessed 13 Apr. 2019].
72. Cf. Amiya P. Sen, *Social and Religious Reform: The Hindus of British India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003).
73. Cf. Brian A. Hatcher, *Hinduism before Reform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020).
74. Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements*, 14.
75. Gwilym Beckerlegge, 'Introduction', in *Colonialism, Modernity, and Religious Identities*, ed. by Gwilym Beckerlegge (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1–20, here 13. Arvind-Pal Singh Mandair elaborates on this in reference to notions of 'time' and 'past' among the Singh Sabha reformers, in Mandair, 'Time and religion-making in modern Sikhism'.
76. Dodson/Hatcher, 'Introduction', 2.
77. Ibid., 5.
78. Claiming the global surely has become somewhat of a fashion (if not cliché) in the last decades, as 'global history' has developed into one of the fastest growing sub-disciplines in academic history. Accordingly, one encounters today a myriad of definitions and concepts of global history and related concepts such as transnational and translocal history. At their core, however, they all share an interest in transcending narrow spatial constellations and rejecting the nation state as the guiding frame of reference for historical studies. Cf. Margrit Pernau, 'A Field in Search of its Identity: Recent Introductions to Global History', in *Yearbook of Transnational History*, Vol. 1, ed. by T. Adam (Vancouver: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2018), 217–28; Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016); Sven Beckert and Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Global History, Globally: Research and Practice around the World* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018).
79. Conrad, *What is Global History*, 9.
80. On the question of the periodization, location, and extent of these globalization processes and related debates, see ibid., 92–9.
81. Cf. Rebekka Habermas, 'Der Kolonialskandal Atakpame – eine Mikrogeschichte des Globalen', *Historische Anthropologie*, 17 (2009), 295–319, Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen (eds), *Translocality: The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010); Angelika Epple, 'Lokalität und die Dimensionen des Globalen',

Historische Anthropologie, 21:1 (2013), 4–25; Roland Robertson, 'Glocalization: Time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity', in *Global Modernities,* ed. by Mike Featherstone, Scott M. Lash and Roland Robertson (London: Sage, 1995), 25–44. With a view on South Asian history, see Harald Fischer-Tiné, 'Marrying Global History with South Asian History: Potential and Limits of Global Microhistory in a Regional Inflection', *Comparativ*, 29:2 (2019), 52–77.

82. Angelika Epple, 'Globale Mikrogeschichte: Auf dem Weg zu einer Geschichte der Relationen', in *Im Kleinen das Grosse suchen. Mikrogeschichte in Theorie und Praxis,* ed. by E. Hiebl and E. Langthaler (Innsbruck/Wien/Bozen: StudienVerlag, 2012), 37–47.
83. This approach corresponds with what Jacques Revel and others had dubbed the jeux d'échelles (the 'game of scales'). The concept has recently been reused in conceptualizations of global history, as it fits well with approaches that opt for a spatial and referential scaling, a constant but self-conscious zooming-in and zooming-out. Cf. Pernau/Jordheim, 'Global history meets area studies'; Bernhard Struck, Kate Ferris and Jacques Revel, 'Introduction: Space and Scale in Transnational History', *The International History Review*, 33:4 (2011), 573–84.
84. Cf. Martin Dusinberre and Roland Wenzlhuemer, 'Editorial – being in transit: ships and global incompatibilities', *Journal of Global History*, 11:2 (2016), 155–62, here 161.
85. Carlo Ginzburg, 'Microhistory and World History', in *The Cambridge World History,* Vol. 4, ed. By Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 446–73, here 446.
86. Cf. Roland Wenzlhuemer, *Globalgeschichte schreiben: Eine Einführung in 6 Episoden* (Konstanz: UVK, 2017), 261f.
87. Such an interpretation would employ a global history approach merely as a revised modernization theory, cf. Conrad, *What is Global History*, 88.
88. Freitag/von Oppen, *Translocality: The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*.
89. Amrit Walia, 'Achievements of Sikh Education Conference', *Punjab History Conference Proceedings,* 9 (1975), 205–12, here 208; J. Singh, *The Sikh Resurgence*, 67f.; Gurinder Singh Mann, 'Five Hundred Year of the Sikh Educational Heritage', in *Five Centuries of Sikh Tradition: Ideology, Society, Politics and Culture*, ed. by Reeta Grewal and Sheena Pall (New Delhi: Manohar, 2005), 335–68, here 350. The development is also recognised in more general overviews on Sikh history, see Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. 2: 1839–1964 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 144; J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab* (New Cambridge

History of India, Vol. 2:3) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 148.

90. The neglect of KCA can perhaps best be illustrated by the fact that the institution appears only twice in the otherwise quite exhaustive *Oxford Handbook of Sikh Studies* and is not even mentioned in the index, cf. Pashaura Singh and Louis Fenech (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Sikh Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 76, 329. A notable exception is J.S. Grewal's extensive work on Master Tara Singh which in several places features Khalsa College as a stage of Tara Singh's contention with his political opponents, cf. Grewal, *Master Tara Singh in Indian History: Colonialism, Nationalism, and the Politics of Sikh Identity* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2017).
91. The most useful work on the KCA in the colonial period is still Ganda Singh's *A History of the Khalsa College, Amritsar* (Amritsar: Khalsa College 1949). Ganda Singh had been in charge of KCA's Sikh History Research Department (SHRD) that was founded in 1930 and he wrote the book for the institution's golden jubilee. As Ganda Singh was himself a product of the historical processes under study here, the validity of his uncritical and rarely contextualising account has its limitations. There have been other, mostly in-house, publications on KCA since Ganda Singh's book, for example, Kulwinder Singh Bajwa, *A Brief History of Khalsa College Amritsar 1892–2003* (Amritsar: Khalsa College, 2003); Inderjit Singh Gogoani, *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਗਵਰਨਿਗ ਕੌਂਸਲ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਿਸਰ ਦਾ ਇਤਹਿਾਸ, 1890–2015 [khālsā kālaj gavarning kauṅsal ammritsar dā itihās; 'History of the Khalsa College Governing Council, Amritsar, 1890–2015']* (Amritsar: Khalsa College, 2015); Jasbir Singh Sarna, *ਅਦਬਨਾਮਾ, ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਿਸਰ [adabnāmā, khālsā kālaj ammritsar; 'Adabnama, Khalsa College, Amritsar']* (Srinagar: Sant & Singh Publishers, 2017). However, they rarely have added anything substantially new to Ganda Singh's earlier account, sometimes even follow it almost verbatim, and often have a more commemorative and encyclopaedic character, descriptively providing mainly dates and names of events, individuals, office bearers, and institutional milestones. Even in articles Khalsa College has so far been considered only marginally, and often superficially and rather selectively in their topics, cf. Kashmir Singh, 'Sikh Education, Khalsa College and the British', in *The Khalsa over 300 Years,* ed. by Jasjit Singh Grewal and Indu Banga (New Delhi: Tulika Books, 1999), 151–7; Kirpal Singh, 'Bhai Jodh Singh and Khalsa College, Amritsar', *Panjab Past and Present*, 16:2 (1982), 243–9; Gurdev Singh Deol, 'Role of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, in India's Freedom Movement', *Punjab History Conference Proceedings*, 24 (1991), 294–303; Jasbir Singh Sarna, 'Amritsar's Incomparable Khalsa College', *Sikh Review*, 46:1 (1998), 49–52.

92. 'Rules for the Management of the Khalsa College', included in C.A. Barron, Chief Secr., GoP, to Secr., GoI, Ed. Dept., 1 Apr. 1913, 4, in IOR/L/PJ/6/1273, Judicial and Public Department (Annual Files) [hereafter J&PD] 1913, File 3664.
93. Cf. Purnima Dhavan, 'Redemptive Pasts and Imperiled Futures: The Writing of a Sikh History', in *Time, History and the Religious Imaginary in South Asia*, ed. by Anne Murphy (New York: Routledge, 2011), 40–54.
94. 'Rules for the Management of the Khalsa College', 4, IOR/L/PJ/6/1273.
95. Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
96. Veena Das, *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

CHAPTER 2

The Politics of Education: Socio-Religious Transformation, Politicised Sikhism and Limited Nationalism at Khalsa College, c. 1880–1947

Introduction

In 1911, a report of British India's Central Intelligence Department (CID) drew a rather dark picture of the Khalsa College in Amritsar, lamenting an untrustworthy management, disloyal professors and teachers, and politically agitated students.[1] Key figures of the institution's history were suspected of holding 'anti-British' views, including Sundar Singh Majithia, who was first Honorary Secretary and later President of KCA's Governing Council between 1899 and 1941, and Bhai Jodh Singh, who was elected the first Professor of Sikh Theology in 1905 and was principal of the institution between 1936 and 1952. The 1911 CID report suggested that the college's further development be vigilantly monitored. However, by the 1930s, radical Sikh critics of Khalsa College considered the educational institution to be a stalwart of loyalism. Its management was accused of being lackeys of the British and individuals such as Jodh Singh and Sundar Singh Majithia were regularly attacked by radical Sikh voices for being collaborators or even traitors.

This chapter looks at those transformations in society and politics in Punjab, India, as well as at Khalsa College itself that lay behind these seemingly contradictory assessments of the institution and its influence on Sikh and Punjab politics. Key moments of KCA's history make complex

M. P. Brunner, *Education and Modernity in Colonial Punjab*,
Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series,

fault lines appear that will help to understand the institutional and political background of the various themes elaborated in the subsequent chapters, and will shed light on the late British Indian political landscape, the negotiation of different forms of socio-religious reform and sub-nationalism, and the role of education and educational institutions in these intricate and distinctively modern processes.

Khalsa College, the Government and Early Sikh Politics, 1892–1920

Socio-Religious Reform, the Singh Sabha Movement, and the Lahore/Amritsar Divide

In 1849 Punjab was annexed by British India after the East India Company defeated the troops of the Sikh Empire in the Second Anglo-Sikh War. As a part of the 'pacification' of Punjab after its annexation, the colonial administration aimed at integrating former soldiers of the Kingdom of Lahore into the colonial army. Sikhs, most notably *Jat* Sikhs, gained particular prominence in this process.[2] In the decades after Punjab's annexation "the ties that bound the Sikhs and the British were intensified and extended."[3] The recruitment of Sikhs into the army was a crucial factor in this process, not only for its economically importance. Soldiers' pay nurtured their families in the villages, and military pensioners often took on leading roles in the rural society.

Apart from military integration, British imperial control over its Sikh subjects relied on two groups: first, the aristocracy, both old and new, and, second, its religious leaders. Both groups had also been crucial in legitimising the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Sikh Empire.[4] After the annexation of Punjab, the British reorganised the old *jāgīr* (feudal land grant) system of the Kingdom of Lahore and distributed land rights preferentially, according to degrees of loyalty to the new regime. This led to some of the old landowners being able to keep and consolidate their power but also allowed a new landed gentry to emerge.[5] Those princely states in Punjab headed by Sikh dynasties that survived after 1849 and were under indirect imperial control through British residents bound themselves especially tightly to the British Crown.[6] Many of these groups among the Sikhs were declared to be "natural leaders" by the colonial authority—*mahārājās, rājās, rāis, sardārs*, etc.; they happily accepted these roles and readily cultivated the topos of the loyal Sikh.[7] These aristocratic elites were structurally heavily dependent on British rule. These 'natural leaders' saw not only

a moral duty in their *rāj bhagatī* (lit. 'devotion/loyalty to the government/sovereign') but also a means to secure and advance the rights and interests of their own (Sikh) community.[8]

However, the 'natural leaders' were not the only ones who maintained their marked *rāj bhagatī* for many decades. Loyalty towards the colonial regime was not a 'class character' but rather was present among members of various social classes and usually tied to political and economic agendas and claims. In the mid- and late nineteenth century, the emerging 'new elites' or 'middle classes'—professionals such as advocates, doctors, teachers, journalists, and so on, often from an urban background—that appeared vocally in the public sphere,[9] too, aspired for the sympathy of the British Raj.[10] Still, a comparatively uncritical loyalty vis-à-vis the Crown remained the most persistent among the "natural leaders" in particular, whereas criticism towards the government started to grow in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century within, for instance, the professional educated classes and the smaller *Jat* land owners.[11] During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, criticism was still rather sparse, and the claims of the 'natural leaders' were rarely questioned.

Both the emerging new 'middle classes' and the 'natural leaders' were engaged in what Kenneth W. Jones has called socio-religious reform movements in colonial South Asia.[12] As a result of the colonial encounter these movements especially in their acculturative form sought ways to "save," revitalise and reform their religious and cultural traditions that often came under attack from European critics. In Punjab, where Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs all made up considerable communities, there was a particular sense of competition and conflict in regard to religious identity and the related societal, political and economic concerns and demands.[13]

Particularly successful in Punjab was the *Arya Samaj,* founded by the religious reformer Dayanand Saraswati in 1875. The socio-religious reform organization quickly achieved considerable relevance in the province and its emerging public sphere. Sikhs identifying with its reformist ideas were involved from early on in this organisation that drew mainly from Hindu traditions.[14] In 1873, the first *Singh Sabha* (lit. 'Singh society/association'), a distinct Sikh association with structures and goals similar to the Arya Samaj or, for example, the *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* (founded in 1884), was established in Amritsar. Only a few years later, in 1879, another society with the same name but independent of the former was started in Lahore. In 1880, a 'General Sabha' was started in

Amritsar, which was supposed to coordinate the work of both individual Sabhas. However, the General Sabha, called the *Khalsa Diwan* since 1883, split along the Lahore/Amritsar line in 1886. The Lahoris consequently founded their own *Lahore Khalsa Diwan* and both Diwans became the centres of a loose network of about one hundred local Singh Sabhas in the province.[15] The central background of the split was the urban/rural divide that showed in the occupational composition of the two groups. While members of the Lahore branch were mostly involved in urban professions, the Amritsari Sabha consisted of a considerable number of big landowners. The Amritsar Diwan was led by a group of traditional Sikh clerics and intellectuals (*giānīs, bhāīs*, etc.) as well as many aristocratic representatives of the princely states.[16] Much more heterogeneous was the Lahore group, which consisted of urban merchants, advocates, teachers, and petty government officials.

Shared by most of the supporters of the Lahore Singh Sabha was their understanding of 'Sikhism'. They followed what has been termed a Tatt [lit. 'pure'] Khālsā ideology, which understood 'Sikhism' as a singular and linear tradition that was particularly distinct from Hindu beliefs and practices. Condemning (at least theoretically) casteism and other social customs that were considered incompatible with the supposedly egalitarian nature of Sikhism, they urged 'true' Sikhs to forsake various rituals and popular practices attributable to a Hindu or brahmanical background, like the veneration of 'living gurus' (*pīrs*, local saints, descendants of the ten Gurus, etc.). Sikh shrines and temples were supposed to be 'freed' from 'un-Sikh' elements such as the *Udāsī* (a Sikh sect not following the Khālsā code), and a 'return' to a strict understanding of the Guru Granth Sahib as the sole source of theology and religious authority was advocated. Many adherents of the Tatt Khālsā considered only initiated *kēsdhārī/amritdhārī* Sikhs as "true" Sikhs.[17] A different view was propagated at the Amritsar Singh Sabha. Reformist religious and social questions were debated there, too, but generally in the framework of a *sanātan* Sikhism, which entailed the more polycentric and pluralistic interpretation of Sikh tradition that was still dominant in Punjab in the nineteenth century, as Harjot S. Oberoi has convincingly shown.[18]

The Khalsa College Establishment Committee and KCA's Early Years, 1890–1904

One of the topics on which there was considerable consensus was the question of 'modern' and English education. The Singh Sabha reformers considered the Sikh community to be lagging behind in this regard. Indeed, around 1880, Sikhs were only marginally represented both among graduated Indians and in the British Indian administration. The 1882 Hunter Commission Report, for instance, noted that only three Sikhs in the whole country were enrolled at a University.[19] In 1885, the Arya Samaj opened its Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (DAV) College in Lahore, and the Singh Sabhas and Diwans jointly worked for the establishment of a Sikh college.[20]

Finally, in February 1890, the *Khalsa College Establishment Committee* was set up in a meeting of the particularly active Lahore Diwan. The meeting had been led by the Diwan's members Sardar Sir Attar Singh and Gurmukh Singh, and W.R.M. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction of Punjab, was elected as president of the Committee; William Bell, Professor at Government College, Lahore, and later himself Director of Public Instruction was elected secretary.[21] The role the British officials played in the constitutive phase of the institution was substantial and indeed desired by the Sikh activists. In March 1890, shortly after the Establishment Committee was set up, Sikh members asked the Lieutenant-Governor, James Broadwood Lyall, whether the future institution might be christened "The Lyall Khalsa College" or even "The Loyal Lyall Khalsa College."[22] In his response, Lyall assured the petitioners that he felt honoured by the request but declined, stating that "the Committee should be quite independent and should be solely responsible for their own scheme and measures."[23] From early on, rulers from the indirectly British-controlled princely states of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot and Kapurthala, among others, were highly interested in the plans for establishing a Sikh college. Supporting the Khalsa College schemes fit with both the princes' traditional role as gift-giving patrons of literature and arts, sports, religious and educational institutions, and other social and welfare enterprises, and with the princes' cliental relationship with the British Imperial system.[24]

On 5 March 1892 the foundation stone of the new institution was laid. At first, only a Khalsa Middle School and later in 1895 a High School were started. Finally in 1897, Khalsa College was able to fulfil its original purpose when it opened college classes affiliated to Punjab University, Lahore.

During the first college year 14 students matriculated; by 1898 there were already 42.[25] In this early phase, Punjab's Education Department was quite optimistic with regard to the college's prospects, and John C. Oman's work as principal of the institution was especially lauded.[26] However, dissonant voices that interpreted the working of the institution much more critically than the official reports soon appeared.[27] Early financial problems developed when parts of the Sikh aristocracy withheld their donations due to quarrels with the college management. For instance, Baba Khem Singh Bedi in 1897 promised to donate Rs. 50,000, but quickly withdrew after another conflict with the Lahore Diwan.[28] The Raja of Nabha, Hira Singh, was similarly discontented with the management of the college which, the Raja complained, did not deliver on the building of a Khalsa school in the Malwa region as had been promised.[29] The rivalry between Punjab's regions of *Mājhā* (north of the river Sutlej, including Lahore and Amritsar) and *Mālwā* (southeast of Sutlej, including various princely states) led to regular quarrels.

The biggest controversy in the college's early years, however, was the resignation of John C. Oman as principal in 1899. Oman had succeeded the institution's first principal Vere O'Ratigan only a year earlier, but soon after assuming office, he got into a conflict with Jawahir Singh, the Honorary Secretary of Khalsa College and chief secretary and later president of the Lahore Khalsa Diwan. In June, the College Council elected Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia to Jawahir's position. Sundar Singh Majithia (after Majithia, a village close to Amritsar), born in 1872, was the son of Raja Surat Singh, an Honorary Magistrate and wealthy *jāgīrdār* who had supported the British in suppressing the Rebellion in 1857. Sundar Singh was educated at the Aitchison College and Government College, Lahore, and quickly entered the Singh Sabha's reformist sphere; he was a member of KCA's Governing Council from 1895. Through his two marriages he formed connections with the princely states of Patiala and Faridkot, and also held a huge estate in Gorakhpur in the United Provinces, which his father had received as reward for his role in the 1857 rebellion. In 1909 he set up the Saraya Sugar Mills, which made him one of the pioneers of the Indian sugar industry, on this estate. In addition to his five decades of involvement with the Khalsa College, Majithia was crucial in setting up institutions such as the Central Khalsa Orphanage in Amritsar and the annual Sikh Educational Conference, initiated in 1908.[30]

The turbulences of 1899—described by the *Tribune* as a "civil war" among Khalsa College's "gallant champions"[31]—quickly had its effect on

the institution's popularity. While 42 students had been enrolled in the college the previous year, there were only 26 in 1899.[32] For observers the reasons behind this decline lay in the animosities between the Lahore and Amritsar parties.[33]

The position of Honorary Secretary again became highly controversial in 1902 as Jawahir Singh had made too many enemies and was no longer acceptable as a candidate for the position. As Lakshman Singh framed the situation in his autobiography, the control of the college was "transferred by one stroke of pen to the Amritsar Party under the leadership of Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia" in 1902, and the latter was elected Honorary Secretary of the institution. The Lahore Khalsa Diwan in the early 1900s slowly lost its influence, mainly due to the death of several of its key figures such as Bhai Gurmukh Singh and Gyani Dit Singh,[34] and Jawahir Singh became increasingly isolated. On the other hand, the Chief Khalsa Diwan came into existence in 1902. It was an enterprise started mainly by activists like Sundar Singh Majithia from the Amritsar circle. However, Lakshman Singh's assessment has to be qualified to some extent. Much of the Lahore party's stricter Khālsā-centred ideology was firmly established by the early 1900s and accepted even by its Amritsari rivals. As CID-agent David Petrie recollected in 1911, although the Amritsar party had a financial advantage over their rivals due to their close ties to the Sikh princes and notables, the Lahore activists were "stronger as regards educational attainments and general ability."[35] In recognizing the potential of new means of communication, organisation and education and in their use of the emerging press culture and efficient networks of regional meetings, the Lahore Sabhaites were akin to other socio-religious reform groups like the particularly successful Arya Samaj as well as other organisations that also spawned early proto-nationalist associations such as the Indian National Congress.[36]

The more exclusive Tatt Khālsā version of Sikhism advocated by the Lahore party was also in many ways supported by the government, which was generally interested in a homogenized, Khālsā-centred understanding of Sikhism due to both administrative reasons and in view of the Sikhs' role in the army.[37] Hence, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw an "ascendancy of the Tat Khalsa as the voice of the Sikhs"[38] and the Tatt Khālsā became "ascendant in Sikh public life."[39] This development in many ways transcended the older Lahore/Amritsar rivalry. The Chief Khalsa Diwan, albeit closely associated with elements from the Amritsar party, must also be understood in a similar vein. The centralising and coordinating CKD combined Sikh reformist ideas with a staunch loyalism

towards the British Raj and close ties to the colonial bureaucracy, and it quickly emerged as the leading umbrella organisation for the various Singh Sabhas and Diwans of Punjab.

Despite a reorganisation of KCA's management in 1902, the institution's financial situation remained delicate. In a speech in Sangrur in November 1903, Viceroy Curzon pointed out that Khalsa College was in critical danger due to its financial situation, and called on the Sikh States and their princes to further support the institution.[40] On 12 April, 1904, according to official British sources "at the instance of […] Charles Rivaz"[41] or "at the instance of the Punjab Government,"[42] a huge meeting of 600 persons was held at Khalsa College. This "grand Durbar" and "meeting of the leaders of the Sikh community"[43] was visited by leading government officials of the province as well as various Sikh notables and representatives from Sikh regiments.[44] Speeches were given by figures such as Sundar Singh Majithia, Lieutenant-Governor Rivaz, and Hira Singh, the Raja of Nabha. The latter, who had worked closely with Rivaz in the preparations for the conference, stressed the traditional relationship between Sikhs and the Crown in his speech. Referencing classic paternalist narratives, he compared the Sikh community to a child "whose helplessness greatly stands in need of parental care and kindness."[45]

The *Tribune's* coverage of the conference and the college's 'financial rescue' noted that KCA's "most noteworthy feature" was indeed "the connection of the officials with it."[46] In another issue, an anonymous letter to the editor titled "The Khalsa College: A Warning" summed up what the success of the conference seen from a more sceptical perspective meant. To the author, it showed how completely the college was left "at the mere mercy of a few Sikh Chiefs."[47] Criticising the focus on the construction of huge, representative buildings, he urged that Khalsa College be "a *College of the people* and not merely a *College for the people*,"[48] anticipating much of the criticism it would regularly face from the *Akālīs* twenty years later.

The conference, however, was a huge success for Khalsa College in terms of the immediate financial situation of the institution. The Sikh princes announced donations adding up to Rs. 1.3 million and the government—in the person of Rivaz—contributed another Rs. 50,000.[49] The momentum the college gathered through the 1904 conference showed directly in its enrolment numbers. By 1905, these had increased by 50 per cent, whereas the Islamia College in Lahore, for comparison, grew only around 12 per cent in the same time period.[50] The status of the college was also apparent in a visit of the Prince of Wales to the institution in 1905:

this occasion prompted the princes of Patiala, Jind and Nabha once again to donate the total sum of Rs. 200,000 to the college.[51] Cautioning against an unhealthy dependency on princely generosity, thus, was justified, and the problem was even more evident when KCA's situation was compared to other private institutions. In 1903, for example, 50–60 per cent of the DAV College's expenditure was covered by student fees, whereas at Khalsa College those constituted barely 20 per cent of the college's expenditure.[52]

Political Unrest and the Reorganisation of Khalsa College, 1905–1911

The following years, however, were characterised by emerging political troubles rather than a stabilisation of Khalsa College. The year 1905 was a decisive year for Indian nationalism. The first Partition of Bengal and the early Swadeshi Movement were crucial moments in the country's national history leading up to 1947. In particular, they showed the British Indian government the subversive potential of politicized students. Both the anti-partition agitation in Bengal and the Swadeshi Movement were shaped and organized by highly educated activists and student protestors.[53] The violent revolutionary, too, was recruited largely in private, 'national' colleges and these institutions often proved to be the stage for agitators. This led to colleges and other institutions of higher education increasingly being monitored by a suspicious colonial government.[54] This was facilitated by Viceroy Lord Curzon, who arrived in India in 1899 and introduced a new education policy soon after assuming office, which dismissed previous laissez-faire policies.[55]

Although the situation in Punjab differed from Bengal, which had an older tradition of modern higher education and a bigger student population, the younger province in Northwest India was not immune to this kind of agitation in the early twentieth century. The conflicts in Punjab, however, were initially rural ones. As early as 1900, the introduction of the so-called Land Alienation Act, which was intended to prevent the selling of land from indebted farmers to urban moneylenders, was received with much protest. In 1906, the Government of Punjab amended the Act and introduced the controversial Colonization of Government Land Bill that regulated the selling and partition of land in the Punjab's canal colonies. The legal measures were considered repressive and massive protests broke out in the province after a crop failure caused a severe agrarian crisis.

Although land was initially a rural concern, urban interest groups came to the front of the agitation, giving the originally economic concerns a strong political tone.[56] The British Indian government quickly realized that the 'disturbances' came mainly from the 'educated classes': the Government of Punjab's Chief Secretary, for example, lamented the fact that too many students fell victim to the agitation of "sedition-monger[s]."[57] The Arya Samaj's DAV College and other institutions in Lahore in particular gained the government's mistrust.[58] The politicised atmosphere in 'national' colleges caused much anxiety within the colonial administration. The Chief Secretary of the Government of India, Herbert Risley, sent a directive titled "Protection of Higher Education from Dangers with which it is Threatened by Participation of Teachers and Pupils in Political Movement" to the provincial governments in 1907, advising them on how to deal with political agitation.[59]

At Khalsa College in Amritsar, there were similar episodes of unrest and nationalist agitation in 1907, though not directly related to the Colonization Bill. A remark by Major John Hill, a member of the college's Managing Committee first caused an uproar early in the year. In the eyes of Sikh commentators Major Hill had insulted Sardar Dharam Singh, who was the engineer in charge of the construction of the college's main building, during a discussion. Singh had been working on an honorary basis, but Hill and other Europeans in the Committee wanted to install an English engineer for pay. Hill went on to label Dharam Singh's honorary service for the Sikh community as "nonsense." Therefore, as the Sikh engineer was about to be replaced, students of the college formed an action committee and demonstrated (eventually unsuccessfully) against Major Hill and the dismissal of Dharam Singh.[60] The students' agitation committee was led by Tara Singh (better known later as Master Tara Singh), who was a student at Khalsa College at the time and would later become one of the most important Sikh leaders, and also a huge critic of KCA, until his death in 1967.[61] According to Tara Singh's autobiography, the student agitators quickly established connections to the Swadeshi Movement, which had been gathering pace around the same time.[62] Indeed, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who was travelling through Punjab in early 1907, visited the college in Amritsar during the controversy surrounding Dharam Singh's dismissal.[63] As CID agent David Petrie later noted, the nationalist was welcomed at Khalsa College enthusiastically.[64]

Apparently, Bhai Jodh Singh, professor of Sikh theology at the institution, had been one of the persons welcoming Gokhale to KCA.[65] Singh's

activities made him suspicious in the eyes of the government and its intelligence agencies. David Petrie's view of the professor, for instance, was unambiguous. According to him, Jodh Singh was "irreconcilably hostile to the British Government," "a disaffected man, a persistent preacher of sedition and an enthusiastic neo-Sikh" who would exercise "pernicious influence [...] over the students under him."[66] The figure of Jodh Singh here is of particular interest. David Petrie's overtly critical assessment is highly informative, as Jodh Singh was accused of being a staunch loyalist by critics of the institution thirty years later, when he became principal of Khalsa College. Jodh Singh, thus, represents in many ways the crucial political transformations that occurred within the Sikh community as well as in the governmental attitude towards the latter in the early twentieth century.

In February 1907 a delegation from Punjab University visited the college and warned the institution to fix its deficient internal administration and finances to avoid being disaffiliated.[67] The Sikh princely states had slowly started to withhold their usual financial contributions to the college and even addressed the Government of Punjab directly, asking them to intervene in the college in view of the often-reported problems at Khalsa College, specifically "owing to misconduct on the part of some of the students."[68] The government eventually set up a small committee that was supposed to prepare a constitutional reorganisation of the college. The committee consisted of the Commissioner of Lahore, the Director of Public Instruction, Sundar Singh Majithia, and Sardar Bahadur Risaldar Partap Singh of Faridkot. The latter, according to a later interpretation, was a "'safe' man"[69] that aligned with the government's position.[70] In June of the same year, the KCA Council voted on a revised constitution draft prepared by the sub-committee.[71]

Sundar Singh Majithia was the only member of the reorganisation sub-committee who expressed dissent against the new constitution.[72] He was opposed to several of the new regulations, and criticized the princely states' increased share in the Council, the lax requirements regarding the educational qualifications of its members, the composition of the Managing Committee, which was more nominated than elected, and the role of the English principal. Majithia was appointed in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy in 1909. He soon had to face accusations that claimed that he had sold out Khalsa College to the British. The *Prem*, a newspaper often critical of government actions, worried that Sundar Singh would also hand over the Chief Khalsa Diwan into government hands.[73] The Diwan,

cautiously maintaining good relations with the administration since its inauguration, was rather reserved in expressing criticism after the reorganisation of 1908.[74]

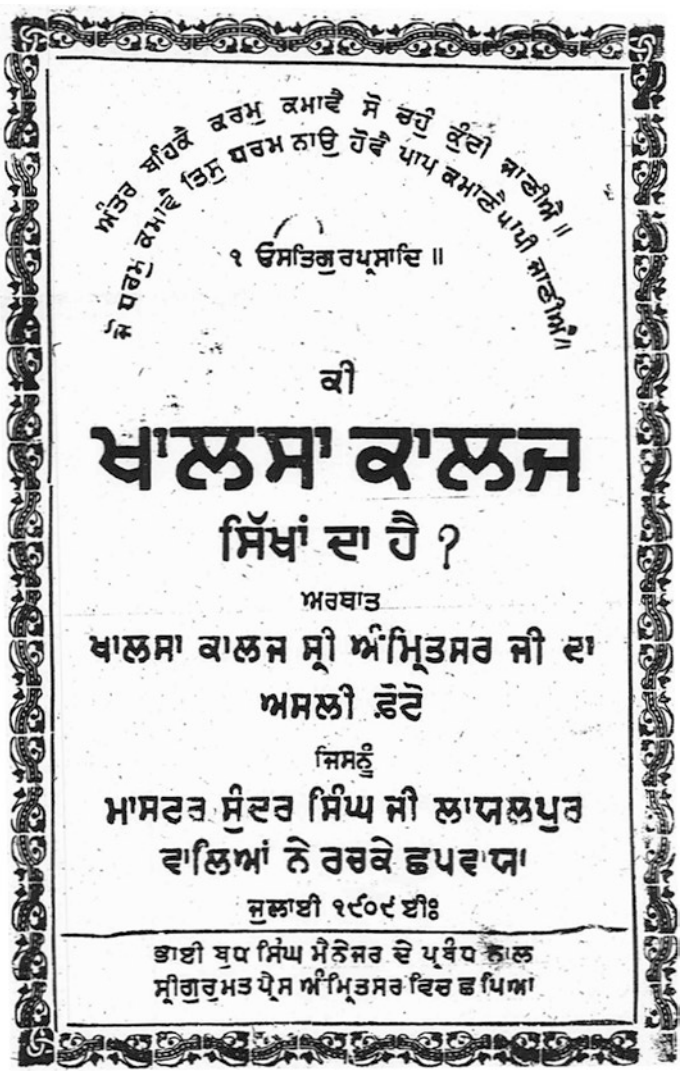
In the Punjab press the reorganisation of Khalsa College caused a massive storm of protest.[75] In 1909, a 40-page Punjabi pamphlet titled ਕੀ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਸਾਂਝਾਂ ਦਾ ਹੈ (*Kī Khālsā College Sikkhān dā hai?*; *'Does Khalsa College belong to the Sikhs?')* was published (see Fig. 2.1).[76] Master Sundar Singh, headmaster of a Khalsa School in Lyallpur, was the author of the pamphlet. According to David Petrie, the publication of the pamphlet had been made possible by donations by the Sikhs, and the text circulated extensively among both the civilian and military populations.[77] In the booklet, Sundar Singh Lyallpur recollected the history of Khalsa College leading up to the events of 1908. Sundar Singh also heavily attacked his namesake from Majithia, calling him a traitor and criticising the CKD's close relations with the British.

However, David Petrie did not see the prevalent criticism of Sundar Singh Majithia as sufficient evidence that there were no voices critical of the government and KCA's 'officialisation' in the CKD: "[T]hough outwardly it was accepted [by CKD members] with but little protest, there is reason to believe that inwardly it was keenly resented."[78] Sundar Singh Majithia himself too got a rather critical evaluation Petrie's 1911 assessment and was deemed potentially disloyal.[79]

While the alarming character of Petrie's intelligence report is not completely representative of the generally more positive attitude within the government towards Khalsa College, Majithia and the Sikh reformers,[80] it is indicative of the transformations occurring in the early twentieth century. Further, it also reminds us to be critical about the often-passionate condemnation of contemporary critics of Khalsa College, which fostered simplistic, dichotomic narratives such as loyal/anti-British or Sikh/anti-Sikh. Sundar Singh Majithia himself moved in diverse colonial environments, including Sikh aristocracy, Sikh reform and education, landowning and industrialist enterprise, imperial-royal *durbar* and politics, etc. That said, his actions and views must be understood from within the complex dialectic of these milieus.

The Politicisation of the Sikh Community in the 1910s

The second decade of the twentieth century was a crucial phase for Punjab's Sikh community due to an accelerating politicization as well as an increasing alienation from the British Raj. The Morley-Minto reforms


ਅੰਤਰ ਚਹਿਕੈ ਕਰਮੁ ਕਮਾਵੈ ਸੋ ਚਹੁੰ ਕੁੰਦੀ ਜਾਣੀਐ ॥
ਜੇ ਧਰਮੁ ਕਮਾਵੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਧਰਮ ਨਾਉ ਹੋਵੈ ਪਾਪ ਕਮਾਣੈ ਪਾਪੀ ਜਾਣੀਐ ॥

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥

ਕੀ

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ

ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦਾ ਹੈ ?

ਅਰਥਾਤ

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਜੀ ਦਾ
ਅਸਲੀ ਫੋਟੋ

ਜਿਸਨੂੰ

ਮਾਸਟਰ ਸੁੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਲਾਯਲਪੁਰ
ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਨੇ ਰਚਕੇ ਛਪਵਾਯਾ

ਜੁਲਾਈ ੧੯੦੯ ਈਃ

ਭਾਈ ਬੁਧ ਸਿੰਘ ਮੈਨੇਜਰ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਨਾਲ
ਸ੍ਰੀਗੁਰਮਤ ਪ੍ਰੈਸ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਵਿਚ ਛਪਿਆ

Fig. 2.1 Cover page from Master Sundar Singh Lyallpur's *Kī Khalsa College Sikkhān dā hai?* (1909)

("Indian Councils Act") in British India in 1909 were an early trigger for these developments. The reforms increased the representation of Indians in provincial legislative councils and established separate electorates for Muslims. However, the reforms proved rather unfavourable for the Sikhs because the Punjab Legislative Council was elected through the Municipal Committees and District Boards, where either urban Hindus or Muslim landowners dominated, making the election of Sikh candidates difficult.[81] The government saw no need to change the provisions though the Chief Khalsa Diwan after 1909 occasionally expressed its discontent with the situation.[82] As a result, voices increasingly demanded that a new, politically vocal organisation representing the Sikhs be established. Sikhs felt politically isolated after the founding of the Muslim League in 1906 and particularly after the Lucknow Pact between the League and the Indian National Congress in 1914.[83]

Alongside the increased demand for more politically vocal Sikh organisations, the reputation of the Chief Khalsa Diwan as the representative organ of the Sikhs was waning among the Sikh public and press. Eager to maintain its claim of loyalty to the British Raj, the organisation only rarely and moderately intervened in discussions on the political or economic situation of the Sikh community during the 1910s.[84] The Diwan lost much of its credibility in 1919 when it only mildly expressed its criticism of the governmental actions during the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, in which British Indian troops fired on non-violent protestors gathered in Amritsar's Jallianwala Bagh park and caused the death of hundreds of people and wounded more than a thousand. The incident was a decisive moment in the history of the Indian independence movement.[85] In April 1919, the CKD (with Sundar Singh Majithia as one of the signatories) published a manifesto on the *Khalsa Advocate*'s front page, titled in big letters: 'National Traditions should be Scrupulously Maintained'. In response to the unrest in Punjab in early 1919, the statement condemned the agitation and reminded Sikhs of their "traditional loyalty to the throne of H.M. the King Emperor."[86] Critics in the press subsequently heavily attacked the CKD, which was called "oligarchical"[87] and accused of being led mainly by land-owning aristocrats.

As apparent in David Petrie's CID report from 1911, the British Indian and the Punjab administrations were aware of and did monitor the changing attitudes within the Sikh community from as early as the late nineteenth century. The danger of discontent in the Sikh community became

blatant during the Ghadar Agitation of 1915. Although it was eventually unsuccessful, the transnational movement, which originated in North America and was brought to India through returning migrants, made the colonial administration severely anxious.[88] That the Ghadar Movement in Punjab could not stir as much unrest among Punjab's population as the agitators had envisioned was not at least due to the fact that moderate associations like the Chief Khalsa Diwan made an effort to isolate and marginalise the revolutionaries.[89]

After the War, the Sikhs in Punjab were granted separate electorates in the province's Legislative Council. However, the critical Sikh press was dissatisfied with the number and rural-based composition of the electorates.[90] The introduction of the repressive Rowlatt Act in early 1919 indefinitely extended the war-time Defence of India Act of 1915 and aimed at repressing revolutionary movements, causing a storm of protest among the Indian public. Decisive in changing the attitude among the Sikhs was the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in Amritsar which, according to S.C. Mittal, "[shattered] the tradition of loyalty to the British Government […] beyond repair."[91]

In March 1919 what had been repeatedly demanded during the decade was finally realised: the "Central Sikh League," an explicitly political organisation, was founded. Its founding members consisted mainly of retired military and civil officials, lawyers, advocates, doctors, and journalists.[92] The leadership initially featured many persons with a CKD background, but soon it was composed of mainly non-CKD associates. Among the founders was Jodh Singh, Professor of Theology at KCA until 1912 and Principal of Khalsa College in the 1930s and 1940s, who was attacked as a lackey of the CKD and about the 'Majithia reign' over the KCA during his tenure as principal. In its first annual session in December 1919 the League passed a resolution listing the topics the organisation intended to deal with. The list consisted of issues such as the wearing of the *kirpan* (dagger), the management of the *Harimandir Sāhib* and other *gurdwārās*, and the under-representation of Sikhs in various governmental offices, departments, and institutions.[93] Khalsa College found no mention in this initial list. However, by May 1920, KCA was added to the concerns in the first issue of the *Akali*, which was edited by CSL member Mangal Singh Gill and fast becoming a mouthpiece of the radical Sikhs.[94]

The political ferment among the radical Sikhs led to what has been termed the 'Akālī Movement', after the term *akālī* (lit. '(follower of the) immortal/timeless (God)'), which was used to denote the movement's

activists and also picked up by the above-mentioned newspaper. Its main goal was to 'free' Punjab's *gurdwārās* from the hands of the *mahants*. The *mahants*, usually from the *Udāsī* sect, had traditionally been the managers of the temples and by the early twentieth century considered them their personal hereditary property. They were patronised by the British, as part of the latter's strategy to govern the Sikhs using the traditional religious authorities.[95] Radical Sikh activists, however, attacked the *mahants* and accused them of mismanaging the *gurdwārās* and allowing Hindu elements to enter them, and even install Hindu statues in the Sikh temples. The mostly non-violent movement entailed various mass demonstrations, marches to 'occupied' *gurdwārās* (so-called *morchās*), and the imprisonment of many of its leaders and participants. It lasted until 1925 when the government passed the Sikh Gurdwaras Act, which handed over the control of all historic *gurdwārās* to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC).[96] The SGPC had been founded in 1920 as a representative committee of the Sikh community in order to manage the Sikh temples in the place of the *mahants*. 1920 also saw the foundation of the Akālī Dal, which became the political arm of the SGPC and the Akālīs. Events from 1920 onwards established the Akālīs as a radical element and crucial player in the Sikh and Punjab political landscape in the following decades, and the founding of bodies such as the Central Sikh League, the SGPC, and the Akālī Dal institutionalized their existence.

Critical of the older and more moderate Sikh organisations such as CKD, the Akālīs were discontented with Khalsa College and its relationship with the government, and continued to demand a reorganisation of the college's management. Indeed, in the 1910s the colonial authorities had greatly increased their hold on the Sikh institution.

Khalsa College Under Government Control, 1912–1920

CID agent David Petrie's 1911 report on the 'Recent Development in Sikh Politics' drew a rather dark picture of Khalsa College. In July 1912, Punjab government's Chief Secretary reported to his counterpart in the Government of India that

> the reputation of the college has steadily degenerated. A long series of incidents can be adduced to show that the tone of the college is distinctly disloyal and that it has been so for many years.[97]

Following this communication, the Punjab administration worked out a list of suggestions to "improve" Khalsa College.[98] The central authorities in Delhi quickly endorsed the suggested measures because the latter were considered imperative "to restore public confidence in the college which [was] very near being closed for want of pupils."[99] Indeed, the enrolment numbers in 1912 were roughly at same level as in 1908, and the college's stunted development was visible when compared to rival institutions like the DAV College and the Islamia College in Lahore, which grew rapidly during this period.[100] Finally, the Managing Committee of KCA, under pressure from the Lieutenant-Governor, approved the suggestions on 15 November, 1912.[101]

The 1912 reorganisation had three particularly important consequences. First, it increased the representation of the princely states in the College Council and the Managing Committee once more.[102] The second crucial change was the extended role of the principal in the overhauled constitution. The principal no longer had to coordinate his decisions with the Honorary Secretary but rather with the President of the Managing Committee: since 1908, the latter had been ex officio the Commissioner of Lahore.[103] The most far-reaching and controversial measure, however, was the introduction of a new article in the college's constitution, which read as follows:

> Rule 32. – The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab shall have power, after fully and carefully considering any representation made by the Council or the Committee, to suspend the [constitution's fundamental] rules and to direct the Committee to take such action as the special circumstances may appear to demand and it shall thereupon be binding upon the Committee to take such action.[104]

The measures undoubtedly added up to another substantial increase in the government's influence in the institution. However, in one respect, the colonial administration was only partially successful. For years now, it had intended to transform the institution's Honorary Secretary into a salaried position, but this proposal was eventually dropped due to strong opposition.[105] Still, the government's hold on the position grew tighter and, dissenting with the severe constitutional changes, Sundar Singh Majithia stepped down as Honorary Secretary of the institution and was replaced by a candidate chosen by the government.[106]

In the eyes of the British Indian administration, a particularly important step in order "to improve the tone and efficiency of the College"[107] was an overhaul of the institution's teaching staff. Hence, in November 1913, Lieutenant-Governor O'Dwyer announced a "strengthening of the Staff"[108] in a speech at KCA. First, the college was rid of whoever was considered "undesirable":[109] Sikh professors or, as later Akālī interpretations deemed them, the "'strong' men of the staff."[110] Professor Jodh Singh and Narain Singh, headmaster of the collegiate school, were made to resign in 1913 as a part of this "purging [of] the staff of hostile elements,"[111] as the Chief Secretary of Punjab's administration called it in internal correspondence. They were replaced by teachers from the princely states.[112] Further, the college employed two English professors who were made members of the Indian Education Service (IES), the central bureaucratic administrative organisation for British India's educational cadre before they joined Khalsa College. They were then formally lent to Khalsa College, and the Punjab government—financially supported by the central government—paid the professors' salary and accommodation.[113] As the Judicial & Public Department's Financial Secretary noted, the situation was "certainly a very artificial arrangement."[114] As employees of Khalsa College, the two new professors had in fact no connection to the IES, which usually only provided teachers and professors for government institutions.[115]

In 1914, professors Horace B. Dunnicliffe, Chemistry, and Herbert Y. Langhorne, History and English Literature, were employed. Though they technically, satisfied the IES requirements only partially, they were selected, apparently, due to the urging circumstances and the professors' particular background and experience. As official correspondence noted, Dunnicliffe, previously principal at the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental (MAO) College, Aligarh, had extensive experience with Indian students,[116] and Langhorne, principal of the Randhir State College in the Sikh princely state of Kapurthala, had connections to "certain Indian gentlemen of recognised eminence"[117] whose reference letters he sent to Punjab's Director of Public Instruction.[118]

Just like four years before, the reorganisation of 1912 caused sharp reactions. Various commentators welcomed the strengthening of the staff, the employment of new European professors and the additional financial income that the government's 'improvement' of KCA implied.[119] However, most of the comments in the Punjab press were negative, and

complained that "the Sikh community had no hand in the administration of the college."[120]

Although the 'officialisation' of Khalsa College initially met with much disapproval, the institution grew exceptionally during this period. In 1914/15, roll numbers rose from 148 to 226, and five years later there were 602 college students.[121] This "exceptional progress"[122] exceeded the growth of comparable institutions such as the DAV College and the Islamia College by far. The main reason behind this rapid development was the remarkable investment the government made into the institution after 1912. As early as 1913, the college received an extraordinary grant of Rs. 9300 for the construction of a tube well and a swimming pool on campus.[123] After the employment of the new European professors, the infrastructure of the educational institution was improved and the college library and the laboratories for science classes were enhanced.[124] When a new chemistry laboratory for the English Chemistry professor was constructed in 1917, the Government of Punjab bore half of the costs of Rs. 22,000.[125] The following year, the college's regular grant was increased from Rs. 10,000 to 15,000.[126] In late 1918, at the request of the Punjab administration, both the central and provincial governments granted KCA the impressive sum of Rs. 150,000 "in recognition of the services rendered by the Sikhs in the Great War"[127] (see Chap. 5). In a letter to Delhi, Henry D. Craik, Officiating Additional Secretary to the Government of Punjab, explained at length why the college in Amritsar deserved extensive support, stressing the KCA's military contribution and the splendid condition of the institution.[128] Unlike the critical voices in the Punjab and Sikh press, Craik sold KCA to the central government as the "par excellence [...] national institution of the Sikhs"[129] supported by all parts of Sikh society. In his letter, Craik further argued that Khalsa College be aided financially because it "takes the place of a Government College and obviates the necessity for a separate Government College in Amritsar,"[130] though government officials at that time publicly downplayed their role in the Sikh college. In the second half of the 1910s, not only did the government increase its investment in Khalsa College but the Sikh princes also rediscovered their support for the institution.

While the work of the industrious Principal Gerard A. Wathen was frequently praised, the British effort at Khalsa College was received more critically by other sections of the Sikh public. The basic tenor of this criticism was later pointedly summed up in an Akālī publication in 1922: "The [...] efficiency and the [...] outward show of prosperity was there, but it

stunted the growth of the native genius."[131] Voices such as the Central Sikh League made the de-officialisation of Khalsa College a part of their agenda. The horrifying events at Jallianwala Bagh nurtured such feelings. In 1919, there were various incidents at the Sikh college too. These, however, were contained comparatively peacefully through the mediation of the popular Principal Wathen, who played an important role in de-escalating the critical situation in Amritsar as a whole.[132] Protests occurred at various educational institutions during the disturbance in Punjab in early 1919. There was massive agitation especially in the province's educational centre, Lahore, among the students and staff of the DAV and the Dayal Singh Colleges.[133]

In the 1880s, Khalsa College had been started as a typical socio-religious reform endeavour born out of the colonial encounter of mid- to late nineteenth century British India, which had led to a renegotiation of the relationship between society, state, and religion and included the modern impetus of (educational) institutionalisation. Since its beginning, an unusually strong exertion of influence by the colonial state complemented the college's communal trajectory. To some extent, this constellation made the college engage comparatively late or even skip a transition in the developmental stages of South Asia's public sphere. In late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these transitions led from older, often in themselves apolitical reformist, revivalist, and social service agendas, to the articulation of political claims, to representation and eventually self-government, and to the creation or transformation of representative institutions, as visible for instance in the development of the Indian National Congress. This tension was only partially resolved at KCA in the 1920s and the subsequent decades. Despite critics heavily criticizing the institution, Khalsa College's management remained invested in keeping in check the forces that questioned its relationship with the old colonial order.

Khalsa College, the Akālīs, and Limited Nationalism, 1920–1947

The Non-cooperation Movement and the 'De-officialisation' of KCA in 1920

By 1920, Khalsa College became an integral part of the narrative of governmental discrimination against (if not oppression of) the Sikhs. Broad

sections of the Sikh community including the Central Sikh League, the Sikh Educational Conference,[134] the *Akali*, and the *Khalsa Advocate* demanded a 'de-officialisation' of Khalsa College. The '(re-)nationalisation' of Khalsa College that eventually occurred in November 1920, however, must be ascribed rather to the turbulent events of the Non-cooperation Movement and the general deterioration of Anglo-Sikh relations.

In the fall of 1920, Mohandas 'Mahatma' Gandhi launched his Non-cooperation Movement, which aimed at the boycott of British goods and institutions. Opinions as to if and to what extent the Sikhs should participate in the movement were divided.[135] Some voices usually critical of the governmental grip on Khalsa College warned that the movement could damage the fragile and still underdeveloped network of Sikh educational institutions.[136] Gandhi visited the Punjab in October 1920 and held conferences and gave speeches in Lahore with the Ali brothers, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, and Maulana Shaukat Ali. On October 25, students of the DAV and Islamia Colleges marched through Lahore and asked other students to join their strike.[137] Student protests and strikes took place not only in Lahore but also in other places like Aligarh. In late October, the Central Sikh League in Lahore passed a resolution calling for the boycott of the government and its educational institutions.[138] Though welcomed by some,[139] the *Khalsa Advocate* considered this demand as going too far.[140] According to the *Advocate*, the Sikh League was not in a position to speak for all the Sikhs and many moderate, conservative, and apolitical Sikhs as well as those employed by the colonial state would not support the Non-cooperation Movement. Further, the Sikh newspaper did not reject governmental aid for Sikh educational institutions categorically.

Gandhi also visited Amritsar and Khalsa College during his stay in Punjab, where various professors and other staff were in support of at least some of his ideas.[141] These professors jointly sent a letter to Punjab's Lieutenant-Governor, threating to resign collectively should the government not withdraw from the institution by 5 November.[142] On October 18, Gandhi gave a speech in front of KCA's students, asking them whether "they wish to be loyal to the Empire or to Guru Nanak."[143] There could be no more cordiality between the Sikh community and the British colonial rulers after the events at Jallianwala Bagh, Gandhi stated, and he urged in a speech "that the Khalsa College gives up receiving grants, that it breaks off its connection with the Municipality, and so [...] can make it truly *khalsa*."[144] Student groups at Khalsa College subsequently agitated

for the boycott and wrote a letter to the principal demanding a quick 'de-officialisation'.[145] On 31 October, the College Council held an extraordinary meeting and in a resolution expressed "full sympathy [...] for the liberalisation of the Constitution"[146] while simultaneously rejecting the Non-cooperation Movement, stating that an abandonment of governmental grants and disaffiliation from Punjab University were not desirable. This position was shared by many educational institutions and their managements, which showed marked scepticism towards Gandhi's radical agenda and its potential consequences.[147]

Consequently, in another extraordinary meeting on 13 November the Managing Committee and the Council voted for the changes without substantial resistance.[148] However, this was only a soft 'nationalisation'. Like in the previous meeting, the Council did not commit to the Non-Cooperation Movement: the representatives from princely states had apparently threatened to withdraw their support for KCA should it come to a non-amicable break with the government.[149] Neither was the college disaffiliated from Punjab University. Instead, the reorganisation de-officialised both the Managing Committee and the College Council. The concessions for the Government in the constitution were removed, among them the Rule 32.

For many commentators the reorganisation of 1920 was highly unsatisfactory. For example, the *Khalsa Akhbar*, a newspaper vocally critical of the CKD, raised the criticism that the institution's principal was still a non-Sikh and that the College Council was still elected mainly through nomination and not a general election.[150] This criticism highlights one of KCA's central shortcomings, often repeated in the following decades, in the eyes of its detractors: the overrepresentation and influence of the traditional elites and the princely states. The changes of 1920, accordingly, were more of a 'nationalisation' than 'democratization'. In April 1921 the *Tribune* accurately summed up the changes as follows: "The new scheme of the management of the Khalsa College [...] has failed to satisfy the section of the Sikhs which advocated the reform[...]."[151] Ultimately, the de-officialisation of 1920 did not mean a complete break with the government. The administration still had its English staff at the institution, and the busy Principal G.A. Wathen in particular continued his work for the KCA.

Akālī Attacks and the Governmental Withdrawal, 1920–1925

Criticism from the Akālīs continued after 1920. The Gurdwara Reform Movement gathered pace and in 1921 radical activists superseded the more moderate Sikh leaders who originally had taken part in the establishment of institutions like the Central Sikh League and the SGPC.[152] The Akālīs also had extended contact with the Indian National Congress and the national movement during the Gurdwara Reform Movement, as the nationalists saw the movement as a part of their fight for national emancipation.[153] Handling the Akālīs and the radical Sikh demands was a delicate matter. As Henry D. Craik, Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab, wrote in a review of the government's actions taken "to check the lawless activities" of the Akālīs in May 1922, the government had to be cautious and sympathetic when dealing with demands of religious or "semi-religious" character. For Craik, who was later himself Governor of Punjab (1928–31), this was the reason why the government had "deliberately divested itself of all control over the Khalsa College in Amritsar."[154]

In the institution's 1921/22 report, its Honorary Secretary lamented the "frequent visits of persons of the extreme political views and other agents and haranguers."[155] One of these persons was Master Tara Singh. Tara Singh periodically lived on KCA's campus where he resided with his brother Niranjan Singh who was a professor at the institution.[156] The Akālīs actively lobbied in the college, directly addressing the institution's students in their newspapers. The writings complained about the students' apathy and urged them to take active part in the Akālī and Gurdwara Reform Movements, to wake up and "venture into the (battle-)field like lions."[157]

Effects of this agitation were seen in 1922–24. In 1922 the Prince of Wales, who was touring India at that time, was supposed to visit Khalsa College. The politicised atmosphere on the campus and the hostility expressed by visiting Akālīs and agitated students towards the Prince, however, made the colonial authorities wary about the anticipated visit and it was eventually cancelled.[158] In October 1923, three professors of Khalsa College, among them Teja Singh,[159] were jailed after their participation in a meeting of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, which at the time was considered an unlawful organisation by the government.[160] This led once more to an internally and externally propelled agitation in the following months. The question of the replacement of the jailed professors caused particular indignation and increased the general

discontent with the working of the Managing Committee. Student protestors went on strike and, among other protests, prevented the contested new professors from entering their classrooms.[161] The college management was compelled to temporarily close the educational institution multiple times in 1924.[162] One of the newly employed professors was Bhai Jodh Singh. Jodh Singh, considered a 'hostile element' and forced to resign in 1913 by the government, had become a member of the institution's Managing Committee during the reorganisation of 1920. By the early 1920s, he came to be one of the 'moderate leaders' among the Gurdwara reformers and in the SGPC. He left the latter organization in the summer of 1921 due to its confrontational attitude towards the government.[163]

Khalsa College's Managing Committee continued to be criticised for being not representative of Sikh society because the overwhelming number of its members were nominated and not elected. Even professors of the institution joined the protests and requested the resignation of the Committee.[164] Radical activists and newspapers such as the *Akali* asked the Sikhs to strive "for the liberation of the College from the hands of the present high-headed Managing Committee" and to make "[t]he rules of the College […] democratic in spirit."[165] On March 18, activists from the SGPC and Akālī milieu set up a *Khalsa College Sudhār* ['reformation', 'improvement'] *Committee* with the object of changing KCA's constitution. Master Tara Singh spearheaded the association.

The subsequent lukewarm attempts to reform KCA's management in the summer of 1924 were highly criticized not only by the college's regular Akālī critics, but also by people like the Governor of Punjab, William Malcolm Hailey. In a private message to Sundar Singh Majithia, the Governor noted that the management's poor handling of the situation would not only alienate the Akālīs and the SPGC but also others critical of the college management. He felt that the measures discussed at various management meetings could hardly be "taken as enlarging the basis of representation" as they would "confine the franchise to rich men."[166] Hailey emphatically urged Majithia to correct the conditions of the college. As the Governor stressed, the situation was urgent and he had "not the slightest desire to see the College pass into the hands of the S.G.P.C., or its friends."[167]

Khalsa College's revised constitution was finally adopted in October 1924, although it made the management of KC only partially more democratic. The revision introduced the position of a Chancellor and made

some adjustments to the Council and Managing Committee that made the nomination of the British-Indian districts' representatives to the College Council less selective and more elective. But the constitution also kept much of the restrictive conditions for the Council's general electors, did not adjust the representation of (princely) states and districts in the Council, and even increased the powers of the president of the Council (at the time Sundar Singh Majithia).[168]

The year 1924 also saw the withdrawal of KCA's European staff who had continued to work for the institution after the 'de-officialisation' in 1920. In October 1923, Principal G.A. Wathen turned in his resignation to Punjab's Education Department, which was eventually accepted in early 1924. Wathen's resignation was preceded by his growing frustration with what he viewed as his limited powers, which he felt significantly hampered his work as principal.[169] In May 1924 Rai Bahadur Man Mohan, principal of the Government College in Gujrat, was employed on loan to replace Wathen and become the first regular Indian principal of KCA.[170]After Wathen's departure, the two British professors William Armstrong and A.C.C. Harvey, too, expressed their desire to leave the institution when it increasingly came under attack from the Akālīs, and they left KCA soon after.[171] The Government's official position toward Khalsa College now was as follows:

> The Punjab Government (Ministry of Education) is [...] of opinion that, the Government having dissociated itself from direct control, the dissociation should be complete, and that for the future the relation between the Khalsa College and Government should be similar to that of other privately controlled colleges, and aid furnished by Government being purely financial, on the lines adopted by Government in giving aid to other colleges of the same class.[172]

Institutional Growth and Continuing Criticism, 1926–1936

The second half of the 1920s was considerably calmer for Khalsa College and the institution reported reasonable progress in terms of enrolment numbers and the introduction of new academic subjects. However, the threat from radical critics and their impact on KCA's students and staff still lingered over the institution. The government continued to view the conditions at Khalsa College with much anxiety. In a report in 1929, DIB (Delhi Intelligence Bureau) agent Bhagwan Das attributed the events in

the first half of the decade to a "the weakness of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, who were unable to control the institution effectively."[173] David Petrie, the author of the infamous 1911 C.I.D. report, endorsed his assessment done almost twenty years ago, stating that the college "for some time past [...] has been too often the plaything of contending factions among the Sikhs" and that it had "deteriorated greatly in respect of efficiency, discipline, and loyalty – more particularly the last two."[174]

Government officials got a confirmation of their pessimism in 1930 in a serious incident that resulted in the death of a KCA student. Sardar Bishen Singh took over as the first Sikh principal of Khalsa College in 1928, after he retired after many years in government service. Bishen Singh quickly became a favoured target of the college's critics who saw him as a government agent. In 1930, the Indian National Congress called for January 26 to be observed as an 'Independence Day'. KCA students also participated in its celebration in Amritsar. After the activities in the city they returned to the college and continued the ceremonies there, allegedly also hoisting a national flag on one of the college's hostels before being halted by Principal Bishen Singh and other professors including Bhai Jodh Singh. The incident and the principal's subsequent reaction in rusticating students and forcing them to apologise caused a big outcry in the press.[175] In the weeks after the incident, the Akālīs ran an aggressive campaign against Principal Bishen Singh who was deemed a "retired government officer of jholicuk ['collaborator'[176]] views."[177] In the *Akālī tē Pradēsī's* opinion, a "national educational institution [such as KC] should not be in the hands of jholicuks."[178] Further, as the Viceroy later reported to the Secretary of State for India, "the [KCA's] Principal, whose open support of the Government has made him unpopular, [...] received letters threatening his life"[179] in early 1930.

The heated atmosphere reached a dramatic climax on 22 February when students and staff gathered for the annual Junior Common Room meeting at the college. Suddenly, the lights went out—because someone cut the electricity wires—and a self-made bomb was thrown in the direction of Principal Bishen Singh who was sitting on a small platform. The bomb missed its purported target but a student sitting close to Bishen, Partap Singh, was severely injured: he later died. The bombing was apparently planned and executed by a group of students who had participated in the Independence Day celebrations.[180] In September, the alleged culprit, a fourth year student of the college, was sentenced to death but was acquitted two months later due to false statements made by witnesses.[181]

After the bombing incident in February, the college magazine, the *Durbar*, accused the vernacular press of having deliberately heated up the atmosphere against the college management by "nefarious propaganda" through "malicious suggestions and exaggerations, always intended to wound the reputation of the Principal."[182] However, as the *Durbar* noted, the tone of these newspapers became only slightly milder after the attack.[183] The *Akālī tē Pradēsī*, for example, formally condemned the attack but at the same time reminded Khalsa College that, albeit financed mainly by the Sikh states, it was also accountable to the general public; if it did not concede to the wishes of the latter, it continued, even more such incidents might occur in the future.[184] Other political opponents of the Majithia- and CKD-led moderate Sikhs joined the Akālī newspaper. The communist *Babar Śēr* speculated after the attack if Principal Bishen Singh was an 'agent provocateur' of the government, and the newspaper indulged in various conspiracy theories regarding the bomb-throwing incident.[185] Commentators close to the moderates interpreted the incident rather differently. Shortly after the bombing, the *Khalsa*, for instance, attributed the condemnable behaviour of the KCA students responsible for the attack to Gandhi's ideas, which had already cost Khalsa College the illustrious visit of the Prince of Wales in 1922 and was now also responsible for the death of a student.[186]

Despite the heavy attacks on the institution, the attitude of the institution's managerial level remained clear. The college addressed its students after the incident through its *Durbar* magazine, trying to align them with the management's moderate course. An editorial titled "Lest We Forget" written by professor Teja Singh, for instance, recalled the institution's constitution and its stated goal of "produc[ing] intelligent and useful citizens and loyal subjects of the British Crown," and reminded readers of the fact that "[t]he main financial support [for KCA] comes from the Sikh States and the Government, and the management cannot afford to lose this support by allowing any anti-government propaganda on the premises. Those who pay the piper must command the tune."[187]

Further, the article rejected current forms of nationalist agitation, claiming that

> [t]here is as yet no national cry evolved which may be consistent with the dignity and aspirations of our people. The Sikhs can in no case abandon the time-honoured cry of Sat Sri Akal for any hotch-potch shouts improvised in anger.[188]

The editorial was followed by an anonymous ten-page treatise on 'The Essentials of Democracy', which claimed that national sovereignty was "largely a historical accident, and one that may be opposed to the spirit of democracy."[189] Pointing to the examples of the USA, the British Empire, and the League of Nations, it concluded that the essence of democracy was in fact representative government and religious tolerance.

The following years were less exciting for Khalsa College, at least in political terms. Instead, they were characterised by a steady growth under the leadership of Sundar Singh Majithia, who between 1921 and 1926 was also Revenue Minister in the Punjab Government. The numbers at the college remained stable in general and were even growing in various areas. Khalsa College by now was one of the biggest institutions in the province in terms of facilities, land, and students. The institution was financially secure, not at least due to the investments made during the 'officialised' period, and the college was able to further expand its educational and academic activities in the early 1930s, particularly in the fields of agricultural education and Sikh history. Despite the colonial anxiety that occasionally permeated the intelligence sources, the dust from the most intense phase of Akālī agitation in the early to mid-1920s settled, and the institution and its management were considered a mostly reliable partner of the authorities.[190]

Punjab Politics, Princely States, and the 'Majithia Reign', 1936–1947

Severe political trouble resurfaced in 1937 when elections were held for the Punjab Legislative Assembly.[191] In these elections, Sundar Singh Majithia's Khalsa National Party cooperated with the Unionist Party, which was the dominant secular party in Punjab supported by the province's rural land-owning classes, while the Akālī Dal led by Master Tara Singh formed an alliance with the Indian National Congress.[192] There were rival factions supporting different candidates among Khalsa College's students and staff. A strike took place at Khalsa College in January, after students supporting the Congress candidate clashed with a KCA professor supporting the moderate rival at a polling station in Amritsar. An even bigger strike was organised by mostly the same internal and external agitators four months later. In late May, a pamphlet titled *Prof. Narinjan* [sic] *Singh: Guru Gorakh of the Masand Party* fiercely attacked Niranjan Singh, Chemistry Professor at Khalsa College and the brother of Master Tara

Singh, and started to circulate widely on campus. Niranjan had been eagerly active in the Akālī and Gurdwara Reform Movements, and had gained considerable influence on campus already during the tenure of Principal Bishen Singh, working subtly against the college management and "preach[ing] his political views to the students."[193] The pamphlet against Niranjan was published by Master Sundar Singh Lyallpur who regularly visited the KC professors Waryam Singh and Sant Singh Sekhon on the campus, but its author had in fact been Singh Sekhon, a professor of English and later a renowned author with Marxists leanings.[194] Though Principal Jodh Singh made an effort to condemn the pamphlet publicly soon after it surfaced, students protested the pamphlet and its controversial content. The strike continued, driven by Akālī agitators, student associations, and other groups, into early June (Fig. 2.2). Various clashes

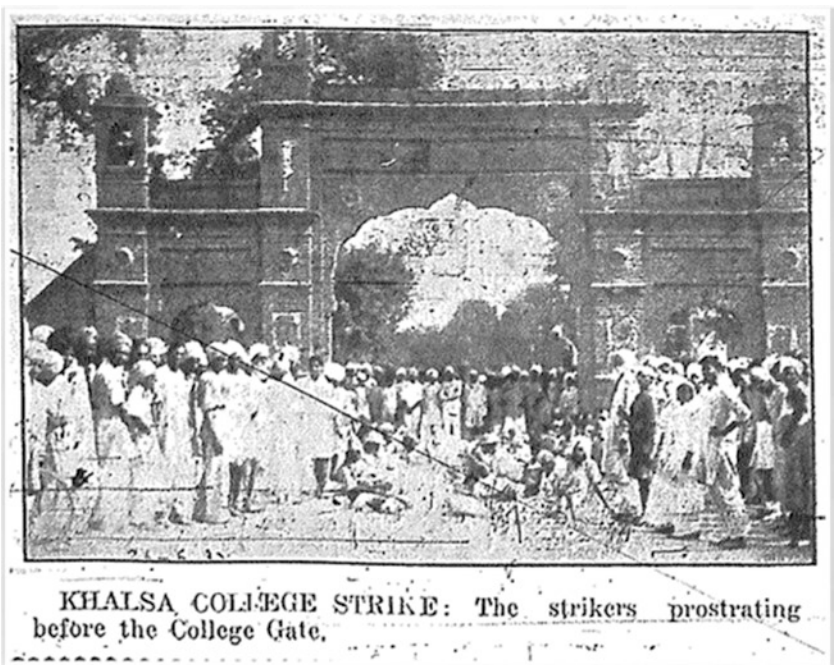

KHALSA COLLEGE STRIKE: The strikers prostrating before the College Gate.

Fig. 2.2 Strikers in front of KCA's main gate (*The Tribune*, 29 May 1937, p. 7)

between picketing activists and the local police led to escalations that featured prominently in the press.[195]

The exact reasons behind the internal political quarrels that underlay the strike are complex and difficult to reconstruct. According to a statement of Ganda Singh from the college's Sikh History Research Department, the two main clashing parties were the "extreme-politician party," namely, the radical Akālī activists consisting of Niranjan Singh and his supporters, and those "deadly opposed to the extreme-politician party," who were mainly the professors Waryam Singh and Sant Singh Sekhon. Ganda Singh further mentioned the 'loyalists', those "that would not care for what their personal views are and would sacrifice their political views to coo-perate [sic] with the Management and the College authorities," among whom Ganda Singh counted himself and the principal.[196] As this assessment implies, it would be wrong to reduce the internal conflict among the staff of the KCA to merely a loyalist/nationalist divide. The fractures went along various fault lines: differences among progressive Sikh activists, Congress supporters, socialists and other leftists, personal and even family relations and animosities, and the old Mājhā/Mālwā rivalry also played into it. Sant Singh Sekhon, for example, was opposed to Niranjan Singh and Tara Singh at least partially because of the latter's recent understanding with the Maharaja of Patiala.[197] However, how the conflict and the strikes were represented in the media and how it eventually reverberated coincided once more with the strong cleavage between Sundar Singh Majithia and Master Tara Singh. While the college management ascribed any controversy and indiscipline among the students to the workings of the destructive Akālīs, KCA's critics, in turn, continued to condemn the KC management as loyalist, pro-government, non-national, CKD-lackeys, and "political slaves of the Majithia party," as the Amritsar Students Union wrote in an open letter.[198] Critics were particularly unhappy with how Principal Jodh Singh dealt with the situation. His behaviour during both strikes, including his rustication of students and other disciplinary actions, was seen as inappropriate. The principal was deemed a "mechanical disciplinarian"[199] and after the first strike, the *Akālī Pattrikā* reported that KCA was 'going fascist' and that the attitude of both the principal and KC Council president Sundar Singh Majithia was getting dictatorial, and compared them both to Adolf Hitler.[200]

The criticism of the management grew only bigger in fall 1937, when it terminated the employment of five members of the teaching staff, the most prominent and controversial being Niranjan Singh. Only persons

from Niranjan Singh's circle were punished, apart from Sant Singh Sekhon, who came under fire also due to his controversial, sexually liberal literary activities. This unequal dealing with the opposing groups concerned was again heavily criticised.[201]

Beyond agitation and propaganda against KCA, the Akālīs also reacted in another way to the events of 1937. In early 1938 they started their own college in Lahore, the Sikh National College (SNC). Niranjan Singh became its first principal and some of the other teaching staff dismissed from KCA in the fall of 1937 were also employed by the new Sikh college.[202] The founders emphasised that the SNC was not intended to be a rival institution to Khalsa College. However, in the same breath, they also eagerly defined the new college's character by distinguishing it from KCA. The latter, according to the founders of SNC, was not in the hands of representatives of the 'common people' but rather of the princes and the government.[203] The Sikh National College, on the other hand, was said to be a genuine 'Panthic' college in which the people would truly be able to participate. The SNC indeed tried to live up to its promise of a more democratic management, for example by letting its students participate in the management of the institution.[204] The institution's curriculum also made the college's outlook evident. It provided, for instance, training in civics and parliamentary procedure and emphasised a "practical training in useful subjects" to enable the students to earn an independent living, as the *Tribune* reported.[205] In summer 1939, the SNC also started an 'Akali Training School'.[206]

The establishment of the Sikh National College and its anti-colonial potential caused the government many anxieties, and the institution's claim of not intending to rival Khalsa College was seen as highly suspect. As the Government of Punjab's fortnightly report to the Viceroy in January 1938 noted, the founders of the new college spoke the language of the Congress and were "teaching patriotism and freedom."[207] Governor Henry D. Craik considered the SNC "entirely controlled by Akali Sikhs of extremist views," in contrast to Khalsa College, which was "an institution of old standing[..,] the leading Sikh College in the province" and "the particular 'child' of my [= Craik's] Revenue Minister, Sir Sundar Singh Majithia."[208] A major matter of concern was the support, including financial, for the Akālī college that came from the Maharaja of Patiala, Yadavindra Singh. The Patiala Durbar had already earned the government's suspicion the year before, when Maharaja Bhupinder Singh, Yadavindra's father, had refused to endorse the KCA management's course of action and decisions

during the 1937 crisis, but rather had criticised them for being heavily biased against the Congressites and Akālīs.[209] The tension even led to the suspension of the state's financial contributions to Khalsa College. Patiala's support of the Sikh National College was highly regretted in government circles, as "[t]he Maharaja [was], by his actions, in danger of opposing the policy of the Local Government in an important sectarian matter."[210] Whereas Patiala had worked closely with the government and supported moderate Sikh activists during the Gurdwara Movement in the 1920s and the Maharaja himself came under attack from the Akālīs in the following years, the politically-savvy ruler(s) of Patiala State sought to improve their relationship with the Akālīs by the late 1930s and made concessions to their demands, a development that the government monitored anxiously.[211] Maharaja Yadavindra Singh, who succeeded his father Bhupinder after the latter's death in 1938, justified his considerable contribution to the SNC citing his "complete neutrality in so far as different schools of thought in the Sikh community are concerned."[212] He argued that he had in fact resumed the donations to Khalsa College that his father had suspended and, hence, due to his "neutrality in Panthic matters"[213] was obliged to also financially support the new Sikh college in Lahore. Further, Yadavindra Singh stressed that he was aware of the Akālīs' "extremism" and that his support would make him "able to exert [his] moderating influence"[214] and thereby undermine hostile Akālī agitation in his own princely state.

The SNC and associated incidents that showed its 'subversive' character continued to bother the government in the following years, and Khalsa College, in turn, remained a potential loyal counterweight to the 'malicious' Akālī influence in the eyes of the government. This became evident once more when the question of the succession of Sundar Singh Majithia, who had been President of KCA's Governing Council since 1920, arose. Sundar Singh passed away in 1941 and his son, Kirpal Singh Majithia, replaced him as President. In December 1942, however, the regular triennial election of the President came up and Kirpal was eager to keep his inherited position. However, he met with resistance from his political opponents in the electoral meeting of the Governing Council as the Maharaja of Patiala nominated Baldev Singh as a candidate.[215] Baldev Singh was a prominent and renowned Akālī politician who in 1942 became Development Minister under Premier Sikandar Hayat Khan after the Akālī Dal had secured an understanding with the Unionists.[216] During the meeting, various Council members, among them many representatives of

Patiala and other princely states that supported Patiala's nominee, staged a walk-out. They accused Kirpal Singh Majithia and his supporters of procedural irregularities that revolved around the voting rights of a number of new life-members in the Council. This 'huge deceit'[217] by Kirpal, as the Akālīs termed it, was also acknowledged by the government in the person of Governor Bertrand Glancy, who reported of an "exercise of a considerable degree of ingenuity [by] Kirpal Singh"[218] that he however hardly lamented. Rather, the governor was relieved that "[t]he Akalis received a set-back" in what the *Tribune* called "an indirect trial of strength between the Akali Party on the one hand and the moderate group of Sikhs [...] on the other."[219] There was not much resistance after the walk-out by Baldev Singh's supporters and Kirpal Singh was elected president.

The conflict between the Akālīs and the Majithia-headed college management continued in the years up to 1947. In 1944, the government interpreted the unexpected death of Kirpal Singh Majithia as a "very severe blow" to the "conservative Sikh party."[220] The Majithia rule over the institution, however, was upheld as the College Council elected Surjit Singh Majithia, Kirpal's younger brother, to succeed Kirpal Singh as President. Surjit Singh Majithia remained in this position until 1965.

Campus Organisations, Education Networks, and Khalsa College's Socio-Economic Composition

The recurring strikes during Khalsa College's colonial history suggest a student body that was organised and eager to participate in social and political discussion. Such an atmosphere, however, had only slowly developed at the institution in Amritsar. In its early days, campus life was remarkably dormant, as apparent in a *Khalsa Advocate* article in 1904 that urged the institution to initiate a school magazine, school clubs, as well as an old boys organisation.[221] The problems that for long hindered the development of student organisations at the institution can be illustrated best by the shaky history of KCA's alumni association(s).

In November 1905, a first old boys club was founded at Khalsa College.[222] Only two years later, amidst the controversy around Major Hill and Dharam Singh, (later Master) Tara Singh, then a 4th-year student, initiated another "Khalsa Old Boys Association."[223] This organisation too did not survive. The next initiative for an alumni association came under the tightened governmental regime of the college in the 1910s, when the start of a next version was celebrated in November 1916.[224] This attempt

was slightly more successful than earlier ones, but eventually "foundered in the stormy days of 1923-24."[225] A revival of the association in 1929 under Principal Sardar Bishen Singh was discontinued after its first meeting.[226]

The fragility of these alumni organisations was related to the fact that they were expected to represent Khalsa College and, in extenso, the educated Sikh community. Further, at influential educational institutions old boys' associations were a means for securing a persisting influence over the political and socio-religious development of one's community. In Aligarh, for example, Aftad Ahmad Khan or the Ali brothers for many years were heavily involved in the affairs of their alma mater through these type of organisations.[227] At Khalsa College, the old boys clubs' character and activities were thus always a delicate subject and anxiously monitored by the college authorities. This was particularly evident during the stormy events of 1937.

Soon after assuming office in 1936, Bishen Singh's successor Jodh Singh had tried anew to invigorate the old boys club and called for a formative meeting in November 1937. After the meeting, a statement listing a number of resolutions critical of the college management circulated in the press and public. The legitimacy of the statement, however, was contested. Jodh Singh reported to the press that the resolutions were not passed at the provisional meeting itself.[228] According to the principal, a group led by Master Tara Singh and his brother, who had had brought "two lorry loads" of "students from Lahore"[229] with them, drew up the statement after the meeting had already been disbanded and the majority of its participants were having dinner. Particularly contested was a claim expressed in the resolutions demanding that this alleged new Old Boys Association—that officially did not yet exist, according to Jodh Singh—would receive one seat in the KCA Council reserved for college alumni.[230] In a letter to the *Yuvraj* (crown prince) of Patiala, Sundar Singh Majithia rejected this claim, stating that he did not acknowledge the alumni association in "its present nebulous state."[231]

Compared to other educational institutions, Khalsa College allowed its students and alumni only miniscule participation on a constitutional and organisational level.[232] In the College Council the KCA old boys were granted only one seat out of one hundred (additional seven went to Sikh graduates in general).[233] An elected Khalsa College Students Council was established by the authorities only in 1943 in order "to direct the energies of the students into constructive channels."[234] Its purpose, however, was

only partially to increase student participation. Rather, it was thought as a means "to help the Principal in maintaining discipline and peace in the College."[235]

As these examples indicate, independent or self-organised student groups, as they, for instance, had blossomed in Aligarh in the MAO College or at BHU, had more difficulties to thrive at KCA.[236] Sustainable were mainly organisations initiated and/or sponsored by the college management, such as the Junior Common Room Club, the City Students Association, the Boy Scouts or the numerous sports clubs. One of the oldest associations of the institution was the Guru Nanak Club. Initiated in 1904, its comparably innocuous purpose was to familiarise students with Sikh history and religion, stimulate debate on socio-religious reform and to promote and pursue charitable activities.[237] A similar role later took on the Young Men's Sikh Association (Y.M.S.A) at the campus, one of many Indian associations following the model of the Christian Y.M.C.A., which organised social work and religious festivities and arranged lectures on socio-religious topics at the College *dharamsālā*—often by speakers from the college's own faculty such as Jodh Singh, Teja Singh, or Waryam Singh.[238] These clubs gave the college students the most room for autonomous action and initiative, but they, too, were to a considerable degree supported by, if not dependent on the goodwill and financial support of the college authorities and staff.

Literary clubs and English-style debating societies were started at KCA in the government-sponsored mid-1910s.[239] A prominent feature in most higher educational institutions, debating societies were supposed to teach students to articulate themselves, discuss abstract ideas among peers in a rational and structured form, and prepare them for their designated role as leaders of the community and 'useful' citizens—of what kind of nation, however, still had to be determined.[240] The college's debating societies were re-hauled in the late 1920 and changes showed not only in the clubs' organisational structure but also in their debates' content.[241] Before, student debates on the campus were restricted mostly to general, philosophical and social topics, and the authorities considered it their explicit "duty to prevent [the college student] from discussing politics while he is a student."[242] In the 1930s and 1940s, corresponding with the growing political consciousness among Sikhs and students, the debates became more overtly political. While topics such as "Science has done more good to the world than Literature," "Every man is the creator of his fortune," or "The sufferings of the good are greater than those of the wicked," had

dominated in the 1910s, in later decades students were able to debate on questions like "Independence versus Dominion Status," "The participation of women in politics," or "Social emancipation must precede political emancipation."[243] However, while the college authorities felt they had to "meet the growing demand of students for intellectual enlightenment,"[244] the debating societies were rather strictly supervised by the staff and faculty.

Khalsa College's attitude towards political matters was linked to the socio-economic make-up of its management, teachers, and students. Significant was the composition of the college's Governing Council and Managing Committee. As both bodies remained mostly selective despite occasional faint attempts at constitutional reform, their composition was only mildly subject to change throughout the years. Provisions for separate, elected constituencies, such as Sikh graduates, were only granted slowly and in small numbers. Dominant remained the influence of the princely states which were able to keep their share of roughly half of the representatives and which were free to nominate their delegates. The College Council and even more so the smaller Managing Committee were thus manned with *sardars* and other title- and estate-holders. A persisting complaint towards KCA's managing bodies was the lack of regulations regarding the educational qualifications of many of the council members who often had not pursued any higher education. The leading office bearers in both bodies usually combined a distinct aristocratic and upper class background with formal English education and a marked interest in socio-religious reform and 'Panthic' affairs, such as Sikh notables like Sundar Singh Majithia, Harbans Singh Raes Attari, member of a prominent family of Sikh chiefs and educated at Aitchison College, or Sardar Gopal Singh Bhagowalia, son of a *tehsildar* (revenue collector) and big land-owner.

The social and economic background of the teaching staff was humbler and, naturally, showed more representation from the professional and educated classes. Various early leading figures among the faculty, such as Sahib Singh, Bhai Jodh Singh, Teja Singh, or Niranjan Singh, shared a particular socio-economic origin. They came from villages and smaller towns in central and western Punjab with parents who were active in business, trading and petty shop keeping. Often, they belonged to Arora or Khatri families and already at a young age became *amritdhārī* Sikhs. Their personal skills, a sustained interest in professional training, and (higher) educational drive allowed them to gain prominence and profile in the Sikh reformist milieu despite their modest roots and quickly rise through the

ranks of the Singh Sabha and Khalsa Diwan associations. At the same time, their success and position were highly dependent on the sponsorship of the "enlightened Chiefs and Sardars";[245] the traditional, rural elites, and aristocracy who financed and led the reform and educational organisations. These ties and networks facilitated persisting loyalties that on many occasions may have curbed the personal convictions of these professional groups who usually took part most actively in the various socio-religious and political debates. The case of Jodh Singh, who had quick-started his career as a protégé of Sundar Singh Majithia (see Chap. 3), surely is the most evident example of this. Other professors and scholars similarly had to restrain their political activities in the institutional and educational setting of Khalsa College. Sant Singh Sekhon, later known as a lauded Punjabi author with strong Marxist convictions, was lecturer in English at KCA in the 1930s and 1940s. An article on the socialist revolution by Sekhon from 1937—published amidst the turmoil of the 1937 elections and student strike—appears tellingly and decidedly cautious. In his address to KCA's students Sekhon, "in honesty to [himself] as a teacher," opted for 'evolution' rather than 'revolution' in order to conserve Sikh tradition and "to keep the Khalsa College out of harm's way."[246] As Gurbachan Singh, another politically interested professor of the college who later transferred to the Sikh National College in Lahore, stressed a few months later in a *Durbar* editorial, educational institutions "should be above subscribing to particular political creeds."[247]

In 1917, KCA's school department could report that out of 739 students 47 per cent were "sons of agriculturists."[248] A year later, there were 41 per cent "sons of Jats" among the 704 boys in the school. The composition of the college students is more difficult to trace, but there are indicators that KCA's particular appeal towards agricultural groups was no unfounded claim made regularly by the college authorities but indeed substantiated, even before to college started to offer regular F.Sc. and B.Sc. agriculture classes in the 1920s (see Chap. 4). Various district boards of the province supplied scholarships specifically for *Jat* Sikhs,[249] and during economically hard times like the depression of the early 1930s, the college issued relief measures that were specifically aimed towards the substantial base of agricultural groups among KCA's students.[250] A limited and tentative glimpse into the students' background allows us a student list from a KCA *almanach* published in 1918. The list does not provide information on the socio-economic origin of the students and their families, but about a quarter of the 570 students are listed with caste names

that can be identified with some confidence. While this makes only for rather speculative conclusions, the caste indicators indeed seem to mirror the situation in the school department—about half can be classified as *Jat* and other agricultural groups.[251] To some degree, this set Khalsa College apart from other, similar communal institutions such as the Arya-Samaj-backed Gurukul Kangri in Haridwar that showed a distinct urban bias in their students' background.[252]

A composition of the college's student body similar to that of the collegiate school suggests also the fact that a substantial share of KCA's college students came from the institution's own or associated feeder Khalsa schools. Already in the early years of its existence, Khalsa College had initiated this connection between the college in Amritsar and associated institutions.[253] In the early 1900s, voices grew louder that called for a more organised Sikh educational landscape and the foundation of an umbrella organisation, ideally led by the KCA Council.[254] Feeder schools to the Khalsa College were supposed to "spread over the whole country inhabited by Sikhs so as to serve every town or village having a Sikh population," whereas the college was envisioned to be "only the dome meant to crown the splendid educational edifice."[255] Such calls for a more coordinated Khalsa education found their culmination in the establishment of the Sikh Educational Conference in April 1908.[256] Since 1908, the Chief-Khalsa-Diwan-sponsored Sikh Educational Conferences took place annually in different cities of Punjab. They became huge events and a meeting-ground for Sikh educationists, reformers, and other 'leaders', and usually led to a flow of donations and financial contributions, which subsequently allowed for the opening of new schools in the area.[257] The concept was highly successful and Khalsa schools mushroomed exceptionally in the 1910s and 1920s especially in rural areas; by 1947 there existed 340 such institutions, whereas in 1907 there had only been seven.[258]

It was an aim of Khalsa College to integrate this network of Khalsa institutions, particularly the ones in and around the Amritsar district, and to tie them to the college's sphere of influence. With this intention, the institution started a Khalsa Schools Tournament in 1916. Teams from dozens of Khalsa middle and high schools participated in this annual hockey and football tournament held on Diwali on Khalsa College's extensive playgrounds. While also being an expression of a permeating discourse on Sikhs and physical education (cf. Chap. 5), the tournament was specifically intended to enable school boys to get in touch with the college.[259] In 1916, half of the 167 new first year students of the college

came indeed from various Khalsa schools of the province.[260] In the following years, this ratio remained roughly the same; between 40 and 50 per cent of the freshmen had previously been enrolled in Khalsa institutions.[261] As detailed data for 1917 show, boys from Khalsa schools displayed a disproportionately high enrolment in KCA's science classes, implicating a tangible impact of a debate on 'useful', technical, and agricultural education and of KCA's understanding of the 'modern' Sikh. The numbers from 1917 also indicate the further early educational background of KCA's college students beyond the strong "Khalsa" representation: About a fifth had previously been in government schools, a tenth in mission schools, whereas out of 254 new admissions in 1917 only 12 and 6 boys, respectively, got their early education in Islamia and Arya Samaj institutions.[262]

In turn, Khalsa College supplied the Khalsa feeder institutions with teachers. There was a steady stream of KC alumni who were engaged as teachers and headmasters in the numerous Khalsa primary, middle, and high schools of the province.[263] In 1931, the principal of Khalsa College noted that "[m]ost of the Khalsa Schools in the Province are manned by the Graduates and under-Graduates of this institution[…]."[264] In cooperation with the Educational Committee of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, Khalsa College started a Junior Anglo-Vernacular (J.A.V.) class for training school teachers for middle and primary schools in 1919, in order "to meet the demands of the rapidly increasing Khalsa Schools."[265] Despite the class theoretically being open to everyone, the selective admission procedure favoured Sikh candidates who, for instance, did not have to pay tuition fees.[266]

Apart from specific cases such as teaching, it is difficult to tell where the students went professionally after they finished their education at Khalsa College. Data coming from the institution itself is available mainly from the era of G.A. Wathen (1915–24), the latter who seems to have been eager to secure his students jobs after their graduation. As the sources show, Wathen was not shy to wield his influence and he helped to place his former pupils into clerical positions in various departments of the colonial administration and especially of the military branch.[267] Further, the sources suggest that Khalsa College's orientation towards science and technical education from the 1910s onward did indeed have an effect on the student's professional perspectives, as will be touched upon more specifically in Chap. 4 on the college's schemes in scientific agricultural education.

Conclusion

In his autobiography Master Tara Singh writes that the 'officialisation' of Khalsa College in 1908 and 1912 were the deciding events that irretrievably awoke an anti-government attitude in him.[268] Indeed, internal quarrels and rivalries, the entrance of anti-colonial politics, and a growing governmental encroachment heavily shaped the turbulent and critical first two decades of the institution.

Although Khalsa College was founded in cooperation with the British Indian government and the princely states, a tendency towards anti-colonial critique was somewhat inherent in the institution's outlook from the outset. Often described as a 'national' institution, it saw itself as the bearer of one of many Indian national and communal identities, comparing itself to institutions such as the Arya Samaj and Islamia colleges, the Aligarh Muslim University, and the Banaras Hindu University. In areas such as language, history, and religion, Khalsa College strongly urged the fostering of Sikh and/or Punjabi traditions, that is, identity politics central to the emergence of nationalist and sub-nationalist ideas. There were, of course, no clear dividing lines between socio-religious reform and subversive anti-colonial activism. The government anxiously monitored the activities of organisations such as the Arya Samaj, the Singh Sabhas, and the Khalsa Diwans in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Social reform and higher education were the modernist forces related to the global rise of the 'middle classes' that lay behind the establishment of Khalsa College. Both the initial reformist trajectory with its articulation of a homogenized Sikh identity, which sought recognition from the colonial state, and its later radicalized and politicised Akālī version engaged with and later challenged colonial rule on the basis of the modern notion of the nation and the state, whether envisioned as British-imperial, Sikh, or Indian. Further, the college's advocates had to deal with shifting understandings of these concepts—state, nation, society, and community—that compelled the introduction, for instance, of party politics and democratic participation.

The politicisation of the Sikh community from the 1910s onwards soon changed the political setting. With the appearance of the radical Akālī element, Sikh activists who earlier had been met with suspicion by the government became crucial partners of the government in facing the threat of the Akālīs. The latter, in turn, became the biggest critics of Khalsa College and its management. Khalsa College's administration remained sceptical

of newer, radical, anti-colonial Sikh movements like the Akālīs which quickly rose to become important political players. The 'de-officialisation' of KCA in 1920, thus, was only a limited 'nationalisation'. It hardly satisfied the demands of the more politically minded Sikhs and bore many of the problems resurfacing in the subsequent two to three decades. It cemented the influence of Sikh public figures like Sundar Singh Majithia who represented an approach to Sikh politics diametrically opposed to that of his Akālī opponents. In many ways, Sundar Singh Majithia and his management of Khalsa College represented a 'rural loyalism' and 'limited nationalism' that historian Rajit K. Mazumder has read into Punjab's political landscape up to World War II.[269]

However, it would be an oversimplification to infer from the mutual accusations and disputes between the college management and its critics that there were clear and sharp ideological distinctions between two neatly defined opposing factions. Actors such as Sundar Singh Majithia, Jodh Singh, Teja Singh, and Master Tara Singh shared most of the communal Sikh interests and were important in establishing modern Sikh reformist ideas through their extensive and relentless engagement with education, religion, and politics. They differed mainly in how they expressed these communal ambitions vis-à-vis the colonial administration and how they imagined the relationship between Sikhs, other Indians, and the British.[270]

As disruptive moments of student, Congress, and Akālī agitation on the KCA campus were, they usually were isolated incidents. In the end, Khalsa College was an educational institution foremost, and for most of the half-century discussed here, its teachers were teaching, and its students were studying. There usually was also internal opposition to Akālī-friendly radical staff and student protestors. For instance, as Vice-Principal Narain Singh claimed in his statement about the 1937 incidents, 39 of the 45 members of KCA's teaching staff had been on the side of the principal.[271] Additionally, there were multiple student groups at Khalsa College bonding together to counter the agitation of the strikers, with one of them, according to Narain Singh, having as many as 120 members.[272] That said, the fault lines were there and Khalsa College undoubtedly had a strong connection to (and dependency on) both the government and the old aristocratic land-owning elites and the princely states. The particular mix of social reform, an ambivalent attitude towards both loyalism and nationalism, and the institution's modernist drive structured much of Khalsa College's educational and scholarly enterprises during its late colonial

history until 1947, as will become apparent in the subsequent chapters. Further, probing into the subcontinent's Partition and its aftermath, the Conclusion will suggest that many of these processes and inclinations carried over into the post-1947 era.

Notes

1. David Petrie, 'Secret C.I.D.-Memorandum on Recent Developments in Sikh Politics, 1911', *Panjab Past and Present*, 4:2 (1970), 302–79.
2. On the 'Politics of Pacification' and the Sikhs' military integration, see Mark Condos, *The Insecurity State: Punjab and the Making of Colonial Power in British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 77–94; Tan Tai Yong, *The Garrison State: The Military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab 1849–1947* (New Delhi/London: Sage, 2005), 31–69.
3. Ian Kerr, 'Sikhs and State: Troublesome Relationships and a Fundamental Continuity with Particular Reference to the Period 1849–1919', in *Sikh Identity: Continuity and Change,* ed. by Pashaura Singh and Gerald N. Barrier (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999), 147–74, here 159.
4. Ibid.; Joginder Singh, *The Sikh Resurgence* (New Delhi: National Book Organisation, 1997), 10ff.
5. Joginder Singh, *Sikh Leadership: Early 20th Century* (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1999), 18–22. Tony Ballantyne, *Between Colonialism and Diaspora: Sikh Cultural Formations in an Imperial World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 50.
6. J. Singh, *Sikh Resurgence*, p. 11; cf. Kerr, 'Sikhs and Sate', 152–9.
7. On Sikh elites in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Joginder Singh, 'The British Raj and the Raj Bhagati of the Sikh Elites', *Panjab Past and Present,* 23:1 (1989), 200–7; id., *Sikh Leadership.*
8. J. Singh, *Sikh Resurgence*, 117; J. Singh, 'Raj Bhagati of the Sikh Elites', 200f.
9. See Markus Daechsel, 'Being Middle Class in Late Colonial Punjab'. 'Being Middle Class in Late Colonial Punjab', in *Punjab Reconsidered: History, Culture, and Practice*, ed. by Anshu Malhotra and Farina Mir (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 320–55. Sukhdev Singh Sohal, 'Emergence of the Middle Classes and Forms of Political Articulation', in *Five Punjabi Centuries: Polity, Economy, Society and Culture, c. 1500–1990,* ed. by Indu Banga (New Delhi: Manohar, 1997), 455–70, describes the "agrarian, commercial, industrial und professional 'middle classes'" (p. 455), which emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century in colonial Punjab due to processes such as the commer-

cialisation of agriculture, infrastructural and industrial development, the colonial administrative structure, or education. Cf. Sanjay Joshi (ed.), *The Middle Class in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010), introduction, p. xvii. H. S. Oberoi has pointed out the problematic nature of the term 'middle classes' (and similar terms such as 'intelligentsia', 'professionals', etc.) and himself coined the term 'new elite' for the emerging social groups contesting the old authorities, see Harjot S. Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition* (Delhi/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 206–77. On the global dimension and the question of the universal applicability of the concept and term, see A. Ricardo López and Barbara Weinstein (eds), *The Making of the Middle Class: Toward a Transnational History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); Margrit Pernau, *Ashraf into Middle Classes: Muslims in Nineteenth-Century Delhi* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013); Keith David Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).

10. J. Singh, 'Raj Bhagati of the Sikh Elites', 200; Kerr, 'Sikhs and State', 158.
11. J. Singh, 'Raj Bhagati of the Sikh Elites', 206.
12. Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
13. Bob van der Linden, *Moral Languages from Colonial Punjab: The Singh Sabha, Arya Samaj and Ahmadiyahs* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2008), 194.
14. Oberoi, *Religious Boundaries*, 224–6. One of them was Jawahir Singh, as the institution's Honorary Secretary a key figure at Khalsa College until 1902. Cf. Singh, *Sikh Leadership*, 217f.
15. Oberoi, *Religious Boundaries*, 301f.
16. Ibid., 244–9.
17. *Amritdhārī* (ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਧਾਰੀ) is a term for Sikhs that have 'taken' *amrit* (ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ, 'nectar/holy water') and are initiated into the Khālsā. They observe the *rahit* (ਰਹਿਤ) code of conduct and wear the five K's; *kesh* (ਕੇਸ਼, kēś, long unshorn hair and beard), *kanghā* (ਕੰਘਾ, kaṅ ghā; wooden comb), *kirpān* (ਕਰਿਪਾਨ; sword/dagger), kaṛā (ਕੜਾ; steel wrist bracelet), and *kachhirā* (ਕਛਹਿਰਾ; short undergarments). Sikhs that wear *kés* are called *késdhārī* (ਕੇਸ਼ਧਾਰੀ) Sikhs and are often (but not necessarily) also *amritdhārī* Sikhs, see Norman G. Barrier, 'The Formulation and Transmission of Sikh Tradition: Competing Organizations and Ideology 1902–1925', in *The Transmission of Sikh Heritage in the Diaspora*, ed. by Norman G. Barrier and Pashaura Singh (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), 193–212, here 195. The topic of identity, self-definition and terminology is extensively covered in Oberoi's *Religious Boundaries*.

18. Oberoi, *Religious Boundaries*, esp. part 1: 'Diversity'.
19. GoI, *Report of the Indian Education Commission* (Calcutta: Government of India, 1883), 275. Cf. McCully, *English Education*, 179.
20. Barrier, 'The Formulation and Transmission of Sikh Tradition', 207; For the pre-history of the Khalsa College Movement, see Ganda Singh, *A History of the Khalsa College, Amritsar* (Amritsar: Khalsa College 1949), 4–11.
21. Oberoi, *Religious Boundaries*, 405; Petrie, 'Secret C.I.D.-Memorandum', 313.
22. Government of Punjab, Proceedings [hereafter GoP-P], Education (Ed.) B, Proc. 17f., 21 Mar. 1890, India Office Records, British Library, London [hereafter IOR]/P/3612; KCA, *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Late Khalsa College Establishment Committee and of the Council of the Khalsa College* (Lahore: Victoria Press, n.d. [c. 1896/97]), p. III.
23. GoP-P, Ed. B, Proc. 17f., 21 Mar. 1890, IOR/P/3612.
24. On the role of Indian princes as patrons, see Barbara N. Ramusack, *The Indian Princes and their States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 140–64; on the princes' *rājādharmā* see also Ian Copland, *State, Community and Neighbourhood in Princely North India, c. 1900–1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 44–57.
25. Government of Punjab, Education Department, *Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1897/98* (Lahore: Government of Punjab, 1898), 30; 1898/99, 29.
26. Ibid.
27. For instance, *Khalsa Gazette* (P), Lahore, 22 July 1898, SVNP 1898; *Khalsa Gazette* (P), 1 Aug. 1898, Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab [hereafter SVNP] 1898, IOR/L/R/5/182; *Akhbar-i'-Am* (U), Lahore, 19 May 1899, *Khalsa Bahadur*, Lahore, 31 July 1899, SVNP 1899, IOR/L/R/5/183; *Watan*, Lahore, 21 Feb. 1902, SVNP 1902, IOR/L/R/5/186.
28. Safraz Khawaja, *Sikhs of the Punjab 1900–1925: A Study of Confrontation and Political Mobilization* (Islamabad: Book Depot, 1985), 59.
29. Cf. 'Opinion in re Khalsa College, Amritsar', a report by Tej Bahadur Sapru, Advocate, High Court Allahabad, 3 Jan. 1927, IOR/R/1/1/1826, Government of India [hereafter GoI], Pol. Dept., Internal Branch, Annual Cycle 1929, File 150-P(S).
30. J. Singh, *Sikh Leadership*, 316f., gives a short overview on Sundar Singh Majithia's life. Longer biographies that sometimes lack sufficient historiographical distance were written by Gurnam Singh Rekhi, *Sir Sundar Singh Majithia and His Relevance in Sikh Politics* (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1999), and Gurdev Singh Deol, *Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia: Life, Work & Mission* (Amritsar: Khalsa College, 1992).

31. *Tribune*, 29 June 1899, 4.
32. GoP, *Report on Public Instruction,* 1899/1900, 28.
33. *Khalsa Bahadur*, Lahore, 31 July 1899, SVNP 1899, IOR/L/R/5/183.
34. Lakshman Singh, *Autobiography*, ed. by Ganda Singh (Calcutta: Sikh Cultural Centre, 1965), 144.
35. Petrie, 'Secret C.I.D.-Memorandum', 311.
36. Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movement*s, 215. For the Arya Samaj, see Harald Fischer-Tiné, *Der Gurukul-Kangri oder die Erziehung der Arya-Nation: Kolonialismus, Hindureform und 'Nationale Bildung' in Britisch-Indien (1897–1922)* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2003), 35ff.
37. This is heavily emphasised—probably too much—by Richard Fox in his *Lions of the Punjab: Culture in the Making* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985). As an example of this attitude, see Max Arthur Macauliffe, *A Lecture on the Sikh Religion and Its Advantages to the State* (Simla: Government of India, 1903). Macauliffe was an ICS member and scholar who, with help from members of the Lahore Singh Sabha, translated parts of the Guru Granth Sahib into English. Macauliffe and his work were very positively received at Khalsa College; see, for example, *Durbar*, June 1929, 1–3.
38. Barrier, 'The Formulation and Transmission of Sikh Tradition', 197.
39. Ibid., 195.
40. G. Singh, *A History of the Khalsa College*, 57.
41. H.D. Craik, Officiating Additional Secr., GoP, Home Dept., to Secr., GoI, 11 Jan. 1919, GoI-P, Ed. A, Jan.–Jun. 1919, Proc. 46f.; IOR/P/10584.
42. Petrie, 'Secret C.I.D.-Memorandum', 314.
43. GoP, *Report on Public Instruction,* 1904/05, 1.
44. *Khalsa Advocate,* 14 Apr. 1904, special supplement; cf. *Paisa Akhbar* (U), Lahore, 15 Apr. 1904, SVNP 1904, IOR/L/R/5/187; KCA, *Annual Report of the Khalsa College, 1904/05*, Amritsar: Khalsa College, 24–7.
45. Hira Singh, *English Translation of a Lecture Read at the General Khalsa Conference, Amritsar on the 12th of April 1904* (Lahore: Mufid-i-ʾam Press, 1904), 2.
46. *Tribune,* 16 Apr. 1904, 2.
47. Ibid., 2 June 1904, 4f.
48. Ibid., cursive in original.
49. H.D. Craik, Officiating Additional Secr., GoP, Home Dept., to Secr., GoI, 11 Jan. 1919. GoI-P, Ed. A, Jan.–Jun. 1919, Proc. 46f., IOR/P/10584.

50. GoP, *Report on Public Instruction,* 1904/05, 9: Khalsa College 59, Islamia College 80; GoP, *Report on Public Instruction,* 1905/06, 11: Khalsa College 90, Islamia College 91.
51. G. Singh, *A History of the Khalsa College*, 65f.
52. GoP, *Report on Public Instruction,* 1903/04, 10f.
53. Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898–1920*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1974), 42.
54. Cf. Fischer-Tiné, *Gurukul-Kangri*, 122f.
55. On Curzon's (tertiary) education policy, see Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India, 1757–2007* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2009), Chapter 12; id., *Indian Nationalism: A Case Study for the First University Reform by the British Raj* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1985); Basu, *Growth of Education*, 6–31. On Punjab, see Walia, *Education and Socio-Political Change in the Punjab*, 130–138.
56. The most detailed analysis of the 'disturbances' is still Barrier, *Punjab Politics and the Disturbances of 1907*. See also Satish Chandra Mittal, *Freedom Movement in Punjab*, 1905–29 (Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1977), 40–59; Tan, *The Garrison State*, 92–6.
57. GoP, *Report on Public Instruction,* 1908/09, introduction by W. Fenton (Offg. Chief Secr., GoP), 3.
58. Fischer-Tiné, *Gurukul-Kangri*, 117. Cf. O'Dwyer, *India As I Knew It: 1885–1925* (London: Constable, 1925), 129, 182ff., 198.
59. Herbert Risley, Secr., GoI, to Chief Secretaries, Government of Bengal, Eastern Bengal/Assam, Burma, Simla 4 May 1907 (copies were sent a few days later to the other provinces too), GoI-P, Ed. A, June 1907, Proc. 76–77, IOR/P/7591.
60. Khawaja, *Sikhs of the Punjab*, p. 60; *Khalsa Advocate*, 9 Feb. 1907, 3; 16 Feb. 1907, 1, 3, 5–7; 2 Mar. 1907, 5; 9 Mar. 1907, 6; 20 Apr. 1907, 5.
61. On Tara Singh's biography, see J.S. Grewal, *Master Tara Singh in Indian History: Colonialism, Nationalism, and the Politics of Sikh Identity* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2017), or his own autobiography, *ਮੇਰੀ ਯਾਦ [mērī yād; 'My Memory']* (Amritsar: Dharm Prachar Committee SGPC, 2010 [1945]).
62. T. Singh, *ਮੇਰੀ ਯਾਦ [mērī yād]*, 37.
63. Petrie, 'Secret C.I.D.-Memorandum', 316.
64. Ibid., 332. See also *Khalsa Advocate*, 23 Feb. 1907, 3, 5.
65. Kirpal Singh, 'Bhai Jodh Singh and Khalsa College, Amritsar', *Panjab Past and Present*, 16:2 (1982), 243–9, here 245.
66. Petrie, 'Secret C.I.D.-Memorandum', 350.
67. Ibid., 314.
68. Cf. Edward D. Maclagan, Chief Secr., GoI, to Secr., GoI, Home Dept., 28 Dec. 1908, IOR/L/PJ/6/920.

69. Teja Singh, *The Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikh Awakening* (Jullundur: Desh Sewak Book Agency, 1922), 48.
70. Cf. Edward D. Maclagan, Chief Secr., GoI, to Secr., GoI, Home Dept., 28 Dec. 1908, IOR/L/PJ/6/920; *Khalsa Advocate*, 18 Apr. 1908, 2; 9 May1908, 2; *Civil and Military Gazette*, 14 Apr. 1908, 3.
71. For the discussions prior to the decisive meeting, see *Khalsa Advocat*e, 16 May 1908, 3, and the issue's supplement, 1f.; *Khalsa Advocate*, 23 May 1908, 3f.; *Khalsa Advocate*, 30 May 1908, 3. On the controversies, see T. Singh, *Sikh Awakening*, 48; L. Singh, *Autobiography*, 203f.; *Sher-i-Babar* (U), Lahore, 20 June 1908, SVNP 1908, IOR/L/R/5/189.
72. Cf. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, Sundar Singh Majithia Papers [hereafter SSMP], Subject File 1: 'Khalsa College—Minute of Dissent of Sundar Singh Majithia 1908'.
73. *The Prem* (P), Ferozepore, 7 Sep. 1909, SVNP 1909, IOR/L/R/5/190.
74. Joginder Singh, 'Transition from Socio-Religious to Political Concerns: Sikh Periodicals of the Early Twentieth Century', in *Five Centuries of Sikh Tradition: Ideology, Society, Politics and Culture,* ed. by Reeta Grewal and Sheena Pall (New Delhi: Manohar, 2005), 151–72, here 160, 166: footnote 63.
75. For a selection of opinions collected from different newspapers, see *Khalsa Advocate*, 4 July 1908, 2; 11 July 1908, 2. See also *Panjabee* (E), Lahore, 6 June 1908, SVNP 1908, IOR/L/R/5/189; *Jhang Sial*, Jhang, 20 June 1908, SVNP 1908, IOR/L/R/5/189; *Hindustan*, Lahore, 12 June 1908, SVNP 1908, IOR/L/R/5/189.
76. Master Sundar Singh Lyallpur, *ਕੀ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦਾ ਹੈ [kī khālsā kālaj sikkhāṅ dā hai?; 'Does Khalsa College belong to the Sikhs?']* (Amritsar: Sri Gurmat Press, 1909).
77. Petrie, 'Secret C.I.D.-Memorandum', 328f.
78. Petrie, 'Secret C.I.D.-Memorandum', 329.
79. Ibid., p. 352.
80. C.R. Cleveland, Petrie's superior at the CID, qualified the report in his introduction, stating that "[Petrie] may have laid somewhat too much stress on the political nature of the *Tat Khalsa* movement which in its general nature and spirit may perhaps be less political and anti-British than the writings, speeches, and acts of its most zealous exponents seemed to suggest," Petrie, 'Secret C.I.D.-Memorandum', 301.
81. J. Singh, *Sikh Resurgence*, 101.
82. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. 2: 1839–1964 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 218f.
83. J. Singh, *Sikh Resurgence*, 102; Van der Linden, *Moral Languages*, 194.

84. Surjit Singh Narang, 'Chief Khalsa Diwan: A Study of Its Ideology, Leadership and Strategy', *Journal of Sikh Studies*, 12:1 (1985), 97–108, here 105f.
85. Ibid. On the Amritsar Massacre, see Sherman Taylor, *State Violence and Punishment in India, 1919–1956* (London: Routledge, 2010), Chapter 2; Kim A. Wagner, 'Calculated to Strike Terror: The Amritsar Massacre and the Spectacle of Colonial Violence', *Past and Present*, 233:1 (2016), 185–225.
86. *Khalsa Advocate*, 22 Apr. 1919, 1. On the manifesto, cf. Rekhi, S*ir Sundar Singh Majithia and His Relevance in Sikh Politics*, 47f.
87. *Panth Sewak* (P), Lahore, 27 Nov. 1914, SVNP 1914, IOR/L/R/5/195; *Khalsa Akhbar* (U), Lahore, 8 Jan. 1915, SVNP 1915.
88. Mittal, *Freedom Movement in Punjab*, 86. On the Ghadar Movement and its global implications, 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); Heather Streets-Salter, *World War One in Southeast Asia. Colonialism and Anticolonialism in an Era of Global Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
89. Mittal, *Freedom Movement in Punjab*, 86. Cf. O'Dwyer, *India as I Knew It*, 190, 205f.
90. J. Singh, *Sikh Resurgence*, 118f.
91. Mittal, *Freedom Movement in Punjab*, 143.
92. Ibid., 122.
93. 'Resolutions of the Sikh League meeting at Amritsar, December 1919, 1st session of the Sikh League held at Amritsar, 27th Dec. 1919′, IOR/L/PJ/6/1656, J&PD 1920, File 1336.
94. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab* (New Cambridge History of India, Vol. 2:3) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 157; J. Singh, *Sikh Resurgence*, 122; Sukhmani Bal Riar, *The Politics and History of the Central Sikh League, 1919–1929* (Chandigarh: Unistar Books, 2006), 53.
95. Cf. Ian Kerr, 'British Relationships with The Golden Temple 1849–90', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 22:2 (1984), 139–51.
96. For a general overview of the Akālī and Gurdwara Reform Movement, see Mohinder Singh, *The Akali Movement* (New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2008). On the developments after 1925, see Raghbir Singh, *Akali Movement, 1926–1947* (New Delhi: Omsons 2001).
97. Cit. after Amrit Walia, *Development of Education and Socio-Political Change in the Punjab, 1882–1947* (Jalandhar: ABS Publications, 2005), 146.
98. C. A. Barron, Chief Secr., GoP, to Secr., GoI, Ed. Dept., 1 Apr. 1913, 1, IOR/L/PJ/6/1273.

99. Viceroy Charles Hardinge of Penshurst et al. to Robert Crewe-Milnes, Secr. of State for India, 25 Sep. 1913, 1, IOR/L/PJ/6/1273.
100. Cf. GoP, *Report on Public Instruction,* 1908/09, 7; 1909/10, 7; and Government of Punjab, Education Department, *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab 1913/14* (Lahore: Government of Punjab, 1914), 7.
101. C.A. Barron, Chief Secr., GoP, to Secr., GoI, Ed. Dept., 12 Sep. 1913, IOR/L/PJ/6/1273.
102. C.A. Barron, Chief Secr., GoP, to Secr., GoI, Ed. Dept., 1 Apr. 1913, 2, IOR/L/PJ/6/1273. Further, two dismissed KCA professors from Majha were replaced by personal from the princely states, see ibid., 3.
103. Ibid., 8, art. 25, note II.
104. Ibid., 8, art. 32.
105. Cf. Jodh Singh, *Truth About the Khalsa College* (Amritsar: Panthic Press, 1924), 12f. This small booklet is a compilation of letters sent by Bhai Jodh Singh to the press, in which the author defended KCA's management from the attacks by the Akālīs and other critics.
106. Cf. SSMP, Subject File 2: 'Papers in connection with his resignation from Hon. Secretaryship of the Khalsa College, Amritsar 1912'.
107. C. A. Barron, Chief Secr., GoP, to Secr., GoI, Ed. Dept., 1 Apr. 1913, 3, IOR/L/PJ/6/1273. On the office of the Honorary Secretary, see also 'Extract from the Proceedings of an Extraordinary Meeting of the Khalsa College Managing Committee held in the Office of the Honorary Secretary at the Khalsa College, Amritsar, 30 Oct. 1915', IOR/L/PJ/6/1849, J&PD 1923, File 2664.
108. Cit. in *Civil and Military Gazette*, 8 Nov. 1913, 7f.
109. C. A. Barron, Chief Secr., GoP, to Secr., GoI, Ed. Dept., 1 Apr. 1913, 3, IOR/L/PJ/6/1273.
110. T. Singh, *Sikh Awakening*, 50.
111. C.A. Barron, Chief Secr., GoP, to Secr., GoI, Ed. Dept., 25 June 1913, IOR/L/PJ/6/1273.
112. C.A. Barron, Chief Secr., GoP, to Secr., GoI, Ed. Dept., 1 Apr. 1913, 3, IOR/L/PJ/6/1273.
113. C.A. Barron, Chief Secr., GoP, to Secr., GoI, Ed. Dept., 25 June 1913; Viceroy Charles Hardinge of Penshurst et al. to Robert Crewe-Milnes, Secr. of State for India, 25 Sep. 1913, 2, IOR/L/PJ/6/1273.
114. Reference Paper of the J&PD, addition by S. Stewart, Financial Secr., 23 Oct. 1913, IOR/L/PJ/6/1273.
115. Cf. Clive Whitehead, *Colonial Educators: The British Indian and Colonial Education Service 1858–1983* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), 3–22.

116. Director of Special Inquiries and Reports, Under Secretary of State for India, Public Dept., India Office, to Board of Education (London), 12 Jan. 1914, IOR/L/PJ/6/1295, J&PD 1914, File 159.
117. H.Y. Langhorne to J.C. Godley, Director of Public Instruction, GoP, 15 May 1913, IOR/L/PJ/6/1273.
118. GoP-P, Ed. B, Proc. 5, 16 Dec. 1914, IOR/P/9432.
119. *Tribune*, 2 Nov. 1912, 2f.; *Punjab Darpan* (P), Amritsar, 7 Nov. 1914, SVNP 1914, IOR/L/R/5/195
120. *The Hindu*, Lahore, 15 Jan. 1914, SVNP 1914, IOR/L/R/5/195.
121. GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education,* 1914/15, 7; 1919/20, 16.
122. Ibid.*,* 1917/18, Introduction, 2.
123. Ibid.*,* 1913/14, 7.
124. Ibid.*,* 1914/15, 7; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1913/14, 23.
125. GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education,* 1917/18, Introduction, 2.
126. H.D. Craik, Officiating Additional Secr., GoP, Home Dept., to Secr., GoI, 11 Nov. 1919, GoI-P, Ed. A, Jan.–Jun. 1919, Proc. 46f., IOR/P/10584.
127. GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education,* 1919/20, 16.
128. H.D. Craik, Officiating Additional Secr., GoP, Home Dept., to Secr., GoI, 11 Nov. 1919, GoI-P, Ed. A, Jan.–Jun. 1919, Proc. 46f., IOR/P/10584.
129. Ibid.
130. Ibid.
131. T. Singh, *Sikh Awakening*, 50.
132. Gurdev Singh Deol, 'Role of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, in India's Freedom Movement', *Punjab History Conference Proceedings*, 24 (1991), 294–303, here 297; GoI, *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Government of India to Investigate the Disturbances in the Punjab,* etc. *(*London: Government of India, 1920), 27. On Wathen's mediation, see Kim A. Wagner, 'Fear and Loathing in Amritsar: An Intimate Account of Colonial Crisis', *Itinerario,* 42:1 (2018), 67–84; Nigel Collett, *The Butcher of Amritsar, General Reginald Dyer* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2005), 251–267.
133. O'Dwyer, *India as I knew it*, 296. Cf. GoI, *Report to Investigate the Disturbances in the Punjab*, 120; Mittal, *Freedom Movement in Punjab*, 131f.
134. CKD, *ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਚੀਫ਼ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦਵਿਾਨ ਦੀ ਤੇਰ੍ਹਵੀ ਵਾਰਸਕ ਰੀਪੋਟ [aijūkēsanal kamētī cīf khālsā divān dī tērhvīn vārsak rīpōṭ; 13th Annual Report of the CKD's Educational Committee]* (Amritsar: Chief Khalsa Diwan, 1920), 22.

135. Cf. articles from October 1920 in newspapers such as *Khalsa Advocate* (E), Amritsar, *Tribune* (E), Lahore, *The Sikh*, Lahore, or *Sidaqt*, Lahore, in the SVNP 1920, IOR/L/R/5/202.
136. *Punjab Darpan* (P), Amritsar, 23 Sep. 1920, SVNP 1920, IOR/L/R/5/202.
137. Shiri Ram Bakshi, *Gandhi and Non-Cooperation Movement, 1920–22* (New Delhi: Capital Publishers, 1983), 88. Cf. Walia, *Education and Socio-Political Change in the Punjab*, 148f.
138. Bakshi, *Gandhi and Non-Cooperation Movement*, 88 and 91. Cf. Riar, *Politics and History of the Central Sikh League*, 24–34.
139. For example, in *Satjug* (P), Lahore, 3 Nov. 1920, SVNP 1920, IOR/L/R/5/202.
140. *Khalsa Advocate* (P), Amritsar, 26 Oct. 1920, SVNP 1920, IOR/L/R/5/202.
141. Gandhi had already visited Amritsar, Jallianwala Bagh and KCA briefly in November 1919, see C.B. Dalal, *Gandhi: 1915–1948: A Detailed Chronology* (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1971), 28.
142. Printed in *Khalsa Advocate*, 2 Nov. 1920, 2. Cf. Bakshi, *Gandhi and Non-Cooperation Movement*, 91f.
143. GoI, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. 18: July-Nov. 1920 (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Trust, 1965), 356.
144. Ibid., emphasis in original.
145. *Civil and Military Gazette*, 11 Nov. 1920, 8.
146. Cit. in ibid, 3 Nov. 1920, 4.
147. Cf. Parashuram Mahadev Limaye, *History of the Deccan Education Society, 1880–1935* (Poona: Deccan Educational Society, 1935), pt. 2, 17; M. Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British Indian Politics. A Study of the Khilafat Movement, 1918–1924* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 256f.; Gail Minault and David Lelyveld, 'The Campaign for a Muslim University 1898–1920', *Modern Asian Studies*, 8:2 (1974), 145–189; here 185f.; Leah Renold, *A Hindu Education: Early Years of the Banaras Hindu University* (New Delhi/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 80–114.
148. A detailed report on the meeting can be found in *Civil and Military Gazette*, 17 Nov. 1920, 5f.
149. Ibid, 14 Nov. 1920, 8.
150. *Khalsa Akhbar* (U), Lahore, 17 Dec. 1920, SVNP 1920, IOR/L/R/5/202.
151. *Tribune*, 21 Apr. 1921, 1.
152. M. Singh, *Akali Movement*, 54f.
153. Cf. Mohinder Singh, 'Akali-Congress Cooperation during the Akali Movement'; K.L. Tuteja, 'Akalis and the Non-Cooperation Movement',

both in *The Khalsa over 300 Years,* ed. by J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga (New Delhi: Tulika, 1999), 169–73 and 174–82, respectively.

154. 'Proceedings of the Governor of the Punjab in Council in the Home Department', IOR/P/11277, GoP-P, Home A, Proc. 5, 6 May 1922.
155. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1920/21, 5.
156. Grewal, *Master Tara Singh*, 100.
157. Lit. "ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਦੇ ਵਦਿਆਰਥੀਓ! [...] ਸੇਰਾਂ ਵਾਂਗ ਮੈਦਾਨ ਵਚਿ ਨਤਿਰੋ!" [khālsā kālaj dē vidiārthīō! [...] śērāṅ vāṅg maidān vicc nittarō!], in *ਅਕਾਲੀ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸੀ [Akālī tē Pradēsī]*, 10 Nov. 1922, 2; See also *ਅਕਾਲੀ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸੀ [Akālī tē Pradēsī]*, 1 Sep. 1922, n.P.; *ਅਕਾਲੀ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸੀ [Akālī tē Pradēsī]*, 26 Oct. 1922, 2.
158. 'Extracts from the notes in home department file, no. 387-Political of 1922', IOR/R/1/1/1791. Cf. *Khalsa Advocate*, 1 Feb. 1922, 4.
159. On Teja Singh's work at KCA, see Chap. 3.
160. Cf. G. Singh, *A History of the Khalsa College*, 98; J. Singh, *Truth About the Khalsa College*, 5.
161. Secr., MC Khalsa College, to Under Secr., GoP, Ed. Dept., 30 Aug. 1924, IOR/L/PJ/6/1849. Cf. *Tribune*, 3 May 1924, 3.
162. *Civil and Military Gazette*, 9 Mar. 1924, 5.
163. Grewal, *Master Tara Singh*, 101. See also M. Singh, *Akali Movement*, 68.
164. *Civil and Military Gazettze*, 12 Mar. 1924, 5; *Tribune*, 15 May 1924, 4; 20 May 1924, 9f.
165. *Akali* (P), Amritsar, 19 May 1924, SVNP 1924.
166. W. M. Hailey, Governor of Punjab, to Sundar Singh Majithia, 19 Aug. 1924, 1, SSMP, Subject File 3.
167. Ibid., p. 3.
168. Cf. 'ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਮੈਨੇਜਗਿ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਅਸ੍ਾਧਾਰਨ ਇਕੱਤ੍ਰਤਾ ਦੀ ਕਾਰਰਵਾਈ, 13 ਸਤੰਬਰ 1924' [khālsā kālaj mainējing kamēṭī dī āśādhāran ikattratā dī kāraravāī, 13 satambar 1924; 'Proceedings of the Emergent Meeting of the Khalsa College Managing Committee, 13 Sep. 1924']', 9f., SSMP, Subject File 6. Cf. an anonymous speech, probably by a member of the Sudhar Committee: SSMP, Subject File 7: 'The Sudhar Conference—papers relating to 1924′ 'New Rules of Constitution of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, passed in the Managing Committee Meetings held on 30th August & 13th September 1924 & finally adopted by the Council in its Meetings held on 26th October 1924′, SSMP, Subject File 3.
169. See IOR/L/PJ/6/1849; AF 1923, File 2664: 'Employment of IES officers at the Khalsa College, Amritsar; status of IES service posts attached to the college'; George Anderson, Under Secr., GoP, Ministry of Education, to Secr., GoI, Ed. Dept., 16 Jan. 1925; W.M. Hailey, Governor of Punjab, to Sundar Singh Majithia, 19 Aug. 1924, 2f., SSMP, Subject File 3.

170. *Tribune*, 29 May 1924, 6.
171. Frederick E. Smith, Secretary of State for India, to Rufus Isaacs, Governor-General of India in Council, 7 May 1925, IOR/L/PJ/6/1849.
172. George Anderson, Under Secr., GoP, Ministry of Education, to Secr., GoI, Ed. Dept., 16 Jan. 1925, IOR/L/PJ/6/1849.
173. Bhagwan Das, Intelligence Bureau report, 27 Apr. 1929, IOR/R/1/1/1826, GoI, Pol. Dept., Internal Branch, Annual Cycle 1929, File 150-P(S).
174. Note by David Petrie on Bhagwan Das' report, 29 Apr. 1929, IOR/R/1/1/1826, GoI, Pol. Dept., Internal Branch, Annual Cycle 1929, File 150-P(S).
175. *ਅਕਾਲੀ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸੀ [Akālī tē Pradēsī]*, 28 Jan. 1930, 12.
176. Lit. 'robe-bearers'; 'sycophants, collaborators'. The term was prominently used during the Akali Movement, for example, by the militant Babbar Akālī movement that targeted Indians whom they considered informants and collaborators of the foreign government, see Malwinderjit Singh Waraich and Gurdev Singh Sidhu (eds.), *The Babbar Akali Case Judgement: From Liberation of Gurdwaras to National Liberation* (Chandigarh: Unistar Books, 2007), 4. The term was also popular in later years at KCA, for example in the 1930s as a derogatory term for those students attending classes during student strikes, see Gurnam Singh Sidhu Brard, *East of Indus: My Memories of Old Punjab* (New Delhi: Hemkunt Publishers, 2007), 62.
177. *ਅਕਾਲੀ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸੀ [Akālī tē Pradēsī]*, 1 Feb. 1930, 1.
178. Ibid: "ਕੌਮੀ ਵਿਦਿਯਿਕ ਆਸ਼ਰਮ ਝੋਲੀਚੁਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਹਥ ਵਚਿ ਨਹੀ ਹੋਣੇ ਚਾਹੀਦੇ!" [kaumī vidiyak āśram jhōlīcukāṅ dē hath vic nahīṅ hōṇē cāhīdē!]
179. Telegram from Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, 28 Feb. 1930, IOR/L/PJ/6/1997; File 812: 'Bomb outrage at Khalsa College, Amritsar, Punjab; report from the Punjab CID; Parliamentary question and reply'.
180. 'The Khalsa College Bomb Case, Prosecution Evidence', *Durbar*, Apr./May 1930, 33–40.
181. *The Khalsa*, 3 Sep. 1930, 6; 30 Nov. 1930, 6.
182. 'The Bomb Outrage and the Sikh Press', *Durbar*, Mar. 1930, 1–3, here 1.
183. See ibid. for various examples cited by the *Durbar*.
184. *ਅਕਾਲੀ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸੀ [Akālī tē Pradēsī]*, 1 Mar. 1930, 3.
185. *ਬਬਰ ਸ਼ੇਰ [Babar Śēr]*, 27 Feb. 1930, 1f.; 2 Mar. 1930, 3.
186. *The Khalsa*, 2 Mar. 1930, 4.
187. *Durbar*, Feb. 1930, 1f.
188. Ibid.
189. Ibid., 4.
190. Cf. a speech by Henry D. Craik in *Durbar*, Apr./May 1933, p. 10.

191. SSMP, Subject File 23: 'Papers on strike in the Khalsa College including printed pamphlet—Report of the Enquiry Committee (Printed pages 45), Masand Party Pamphlet. 1937'; Subject File 24: 'Report (typed) of the Enquiry Committee on the causes of the strike along with Exhibits and other enclosure 1937', and Subject File 25: 'Correspondence and Misc. papers on Khalsa College Strike 1937'; Punjab States Archives, Patiala [hereafter PSAP], Patiala State, Ijlas-i-Khas, Basta No. 172, File No. 2055. For a short and slightly simplified overview of the conflict in 1937, see Grewal, *Master Tara Singh*, 209–12.
192. On the election, see Kripal C. Yadav, *Elections in Panjab, 1920–1947* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1987), 74–106; Satya M. Rai, *Legislative Politics and the Freedom Struggle in the Punjab, 1897–1947* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1984), 215–43.
193. Statement by Narain Singh, 2, SSMP, Subject File 24; 'Report (typed) […] on the causes of the strike […] 1937'.
194. Grewal, *Master Tara Singh*, 212; Sant Singh Sekhon, *ਸਵੈ ਜੀਵਨੀ [svai jīvanī; 'Autobiography']*, ed. by Tejwant Singh Gill (Chandigarh: Unistar Books, 2011), 189f.
195. For example, *Tribune*, 26 May 1937, 7; 27 May 1937, 2.
196. Statement by Ganda Singh, 2f., SSMP, Subject File 24; 'Report (typed) […] on the causes of the strike […] 1937'.
197. Sekhon, *ਸਵੈ ਜੀਵਨੀ [svai jīvānī]*, 190. Cf. Grewal, *Master Tara Singh*, 212. Maharaja Bhupinder Singh, too, was the object of severe criticism in *Prof. Narinjan Singh: Guru Gorakh of the Masand Party.*
198. Letter by C. Singh, Secretary, Amritsar Students Union, 2 Sep. 1937, SSMP, Subject File 21.
199. Statement by the Punjab Students Union, 9, SSMP, Subject File 24; 'Report (typed) […] on the causes of the strike […] 1937'.
200. *ਅਕਾਲੀ ਪੱਤ੍ਰਕਾ [Akālī Pattrikā]*, 22 Feb. 1937, 5.
201. For example, Letter by C. Singh, Secretary, Amritsar Students Union, 2 Sep. 1937, SSMP, Subject File 21. See also various documents in SSMP, Subject File 20: 'Khalsa College—Old Boys' Association 1937'.
202. Unfortunately, information on this institution is sparse because it came to a quick end and its buildings were taken over by the Maclagan Engineering College (today's University of Engineering and Technology) due to the Partition in 1947.
203. *ਅਕਾਲੀ ਪੱਤ੍ਰਕਾ [Akālī Pattrikā]*, 12 Jan. 1938, 5f. Cf. ibid., 20 Jan. 1938, 7f.; 26 Jan. 1938, 4.
204. Ibid., 26 Jan. 1938, 9; *Tribune*, 23 Jan. 1938, 7.
205. *Tribune*, 30 Jan. 1938, 7.
206. 'Fortnightly Report on the Situation in Punjab, first half of July 1939', 2, IOR/L/PJ/5/242.

207. 'Fortnightly Report on the Situation in Punjab, second half of January 1938', 4, IOR/L/PJ/5/239.
208. H.D Craik, Governor of Punjab, to Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy, 9 Feb. 1939, in Lionel Carter (ed.), *Punjab Politics, 1936–1939: The Start of Provincial Autonomy. Governor's Fortnightly Reports and Other Key Documents* (Delhi: Manohar, 2004), 312.
209. See, among other documents, Bhupinder Singh, Maharaja of Patiala, to Sundar Singh Majithia, n.D., PSAP, Patiala State, Ijlas-i-Khas, Basta No. 172, File No. 2055. Bhupinder Singh also corresponded with Tara Singh, who asked for the Maharaja's support and warned that otherwise the recent understanding between the Akālīs and the State might be shattered, cf. Barbara N. *Ramusack*, '*Punjab States:* Maharajas and Gurdwaras: Patiala and the Sikh Community', in *People, Princes and Paramount Power: Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States,* ed. by Robert Jeffrey (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978), 170–204, here 190f.
210. Harold Wilberforce-Bell, Resident for the Punjab States, to Bertrand Glancy, Political Adviser to His Excellency the Crown Representative, 18 Feb. 1939, IOR/R/1/1/3349, File 15(1)-P(S)/1939: 'Patiala Affairs[…]. Donation of Rupees Two Lakhs by the Maharaja to the Sikh National College […]'.
211. *Ramusack*, '*Punjab States:* Maharajas and Gurdwaras', 183–91; id., *The Princes of India in the Twilight of Empire: Dissolution of a Patron-Client System, 1914–1939* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978), 160f., 170; Grewal, *Master Tara Singh*, 187ff. Patiala State's Bhupinder and Yadavindra Singh (and particularly the former's activities, guided mainly by an interest in securing his rule over his state) are prominently featured in Ian Copland's *The Princes of India in the Endgame of Empire, 1917–1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
212. Yadavindra Singh, Maharaja of Patiala, to Harold Wilberforce-Bell, Resident for the Punjab States, 16 Feb. 1939, copy, 2, IOR/R/1/1/3349.
213. Ibid.
214. Ibid., 3.
215. *ਅਕਾਲੀ [Akālī],* 23 Dec. 1942, 1; *Tribune*, 21 Dec. 1942, 3.
216. On the so-called 'Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact', see Grewal, *Master Tara Singh*, 239ff.; Rai, *Legislative Politics in Punjab*, 290f.
217. Lit. "ਭਾਰੀ ਚਲਾਕੀ" ["bhārī calākī"], *ਅਕਾਲੀ [Akālī],* 23 Dec. 1942, 1.
218. B.J. Glancy, Governor of Punjab, to Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy, 29 Dec. 1943, in Lionel Carter (ed.), *Punjab Politics, 1940–1943: Strains of War—Governor's Fortnightly Reports and Other Key Documents* (Delhi: Manohar, 2005), 338.
219. *Tribune*, 21 Dec. 1942, 3.

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221. *Khalsa Advocate*, 15 Sep. 1904, 7.
222. Ibid., 4 Nov. 1905, 5.
223. Ibid., 16 Mar. 1907 3; 6 Apr. 1907, 3.
224. *Durbar*, Mar. 1916, 8.
225. Ibid., May 1929, 23.
226. Ibid.; *The Khalsa*, 27 Oct. 1929, 1; Jodh Singh to the editor of the *Tribune*, 7 Nov. 1937, SSMP, Subject File 20.
227. David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation. Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 329f.
228. Jodh Singh to the editor of the *Tribune*, 7 Nov. 1937, 1f.
229. Sundar Singh Majithia to Yuvraj Yadavindra Singh of Patiala, 12 Nov. 1937, 2, SSMP, Subject File 20.
230. S. Nanak Singh, 'Gen. Hon'y Secretary, KC Old Boys Association', to Sunder Singh Majithia, 6 Nov. 1937, SSMP, Subject File 20.
231. S.S. Majithia to Y. Singh of Patiala, 12 Nov. 1937, 3, SSMP, Subject File 20.
232. Cf. Renold, *A Hindu Education*, 198f.; Srivastava, *Doon School*, 178f.
233. 'New Rules of Constitution of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, passed in the Managing Committee Meetings held on 30th August & 13th September 1924 & finally adopted by the Council in its Meetings held on 26th October 1924', section 2, 3, SSMP, Subject File 3.
234. KCA, Annual Report 1949, 14.
235. *Durbar*, Nov./Dec. 1943, 36.
236. Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, 290; Renold, *A Hindu Education*, 188f.
237. KCA, Annual Report, 1905, 109.
238. *Durbar*, Dec. 1933, p.27; Ibid., Feb. 1934, 29.
239. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1917, 4; KCA, *Almanach of Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1917/18* (Amritsar: KCA, 1918), 2f.
240. For the role of debating societies at the Gurukul in Kangri, for instance, see Fischer-Tiné, *Der Gurukul-Kangri*, 232–235.
241. *Durbar*, Jan. 1926, 4; KCA, Annual Report, Report 1927, 16.
242. KCA, Annual Report, 1913, 9.
243. *Durbar*, Nov. 1913, 6.; Jan. 1915, 19; Feb. 1915, 3; Apr./May 1933, 47; Jan. 1935, 36; May/Jun. 1941, 39.
244. Ibid., Apr. 1946, 2.
245. J. Singh, *Sikh Resurgence*, 53.
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247. Ibid., Oct. 1937, 3.
248. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1917, 21.
249. Ibid., 20.
250. *The Khalsa*, 18 June 1931, 2
251. KCA, *Almanach 1917/18*, 24–39.
252. Fischer-Tiné, *Der Gurukul-Kangri*, 171.
253. KCA, *Abstract Proceedings Khalsa College Establishment Committee*, p. XXXVI.
254. *Khalsa Advocate*, 15 Oct. 1903, 3.
255. Ibid., 14 May 1906, 2. Cf. ibid., 15 Dec. 1906, 3.
256. Deol, *Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia*, 13ff.
257. Amrit Walia, 'Achievements of Sikh Education Conference', *Punjab History Conference Proceedings,* 9 (1975), 205–12, here 205–12.
258. Gurinder Singh Mann, 'Five Hundred Year of the Sikh Educational Heritage', in *Five Centuries of Sikh Tradition: Ideology, Society, Politics and Culture*, ed. by Reeta Grewal and Sheena Pall (New Delhi: Manohar, 2005), 335–68, here 350.
259. *Durbar*, Nov./Dec. 1943, 30. Cf. ibid., Nov. 1929, 21f.
260. Ibid., May 1916, 4.
261. Ibid., May 1917, 6; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1918, 10.
262. *Durbar*, May 1917, 6.
263. Cf. ibid., Oct. 1915, 2; May 1916, 10; Dec. 1916, 4; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1918, 11.
264. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1931, 14.
265. G. Singh, *A History of Khalsa College*, 88.
266. *Khalsa Advocate*, 7 Oct. 1919, 2; 14 Oct. 1919, 1.
267. *Durbar*, Apr. 1917, 2; Oct. 1917, 5; Nov./Dec. 1917, 11.
268. T. Singh, *ਮੇਰੀ ਯਾਦ [mērī yād]*, 38.
269. Rajit K. Mazumder, *The Indian Army and the Making of Punjab* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003), 247–57.
270. J. Singh, *Sikh Leadership*, 317, sums up Majithia's position as being "progressive in [socio-religious and educational] affairs yet retrogressive in the national movement."
271. Statement by Narain Singh, 2, SSMP, Subject File 24: 'Report (typed) […] on the causes of the strike […] 1937'.
272. Ibid., 5.

CHAPTER 3

Conceiving Modern Sikhism: Religious Instruction, Scientism, and Comparative Religion at Khalsa College

Introduction

Though the Khalsa College in Amritsar was founded with the aim of providing English-style education for the Sikh community, it was clear from early on to its founders that the institution should also have a distinctly Sikh character, impart religious education and advance the scholarly engagement with Sikh tradition. This was pursued in several different ways in the half-century of KCA's colonial history.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to give a comprehensive analysis of the evolution of modern 'Sikhism', Sikh theology or history as it was conceived in late colonial India through the work of many Sikh scholars, reformers and activists. However, an analysis of Khalsa College's attempts at disseminating its modernist vision of Sikh religious tenets and practice to KCA students illuminates the role the college played in this process. An examination of various key figures who were employed at the college in the period elucidates how 'modern' Sikhism was conceptualised in an educational institution oscillating between claims to 'universal scientificity' and 'communal identity'. As we will see, KCA provided two generations of scholars institutional legitimacy, social capital, and financial backing, which facilitated their influential work and crucially shaped how 'modern Sikhism' was constituted as a 'world religion' and subject of religious/theological and historical studies.

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Institutionalising 'Modern Sikhism'

The Religious Sub-committee and the Chair of Sikh Theology

To achieve its religious goals, the college authorities, which meant in the earliest days its Establishment Committee, installed a 'Religious Sub-committee' that would deal with different kinds of religious matters at the institution.[1] During the constitutive phase of the college in the early 1890s it was discussed to have representatives of the traditional Sikh orthodoxy such as the *mahant* ('head/manager') of the *Akāl Takht* or the Head-*granthī* ('reader') of the Golden Temple in Amritsar as ex-officio members of the religious committee.[2] This particular idea was later discarded; the committee consisted now of the Sikh members of the college's managing committee with the addition of a maximum number of three other selected Sikhs, such as CKD associate and poet Bhai Vir Singh, or KC's divinity professor Jodh Singh.[3] However, because the KCA Religious Sub-committee only met once or twice a year, its impact remained rather small.

A milestone for the teaching of 'Sikhism' in an institutional setting was the establishment of a chair for Sikh theology[4] in 1905. It is worthwhile to look in more detail at how this position was created and filled more than a decade after the founding of the Sikh college. In prior years, there had been discussions about the state of religious instruction and particularly the lack of 'educated' men among the college and school staff and its managerial institutions.[5] Finally, in summer 1905 the college advertised the position for a "Professor of Divinity," seeking a candidate with a "thorough knowledge of Sikh religion and comparative Theology."[6] What this position was supposed to embrace was elaborated, for example, in an article in the *Khalsa Advocate*.[7] Countering general reservations against religious instruction in schools which referred to the observation that religious education was shrinking in Western countries, the essay pointed out that when "looking up to the civilizing influence of the West"[8] with regard to education, one had to notice that educationists and thinkers such as Carlyle, Ruskin, Goethe, Emerson, or Tolstoy had "felt that the want of true religious education and spirit is the canker which is eating at the vitals of the Western Civilisation."[9] Hence, religious education in schools was seen by the *Advocate* writer as a modern and progressive concept and a necessity for both the West and India. In this spirit the professor of divinity at Khalsa College had to "combine […] breadth of view with religious fervor and [have] a liberal and an open mind."[10] Also, he was supposed to

"be imbued through and through with the knowledge and the true spirit of the Sikh Scriptures and history"[11] and should also have knowledge of "comparative theology."

Such a man, apparently, was found in the 23-year-old Jodh Singh. Although the position for KCA's theology professor was advertised publicly, in the end Jodh Singh was found through personal networks. As Jodh Singh himself recalled, it was Sundar Singh Majithia, then Honorary Secretary of the KC Council, who asked him to take the job since Sundar Singh felt it difficult to find a suitable educated teacher for religious instruction.[12] Jodh Singh had been educated in Rawalpindi, first at the Mission School, then at Gordon Mission College, where he was encouraged by Bhagat Lakshman Singh to take Sanskrit classes to better understand the words of *gurbānī*.[13] After being initiated into the Khālsā in 1898, he got associated with the Singh Sabhas and moved to Amritsar in 1902. After giving lectures in Singh Sabha and Sikh Young Men's Association meetings, he was recommended to Sundar Singh Majithia who employed him as tutor for his son. Alongside the tutorship, Jodh Singh studied mathematics at Khalsa College and graduated first in his class in both his B.A. and M.A. examinations.

Hence, in the summer of 1905 the chair for Sikh theology was added to the six original professorships (Philosophy, History, Science, Mathematics, Sanskrit, and Persian). However, to some commentators the establishment of the theology chair did not go far enough. One concern, for example, was that the religious education at the college still was inefficient because it did not constitute part of any university examinations.[14] Others used the occasion to further discuss the nature of (Sikh) theology and how it was best taught at Khalsa College, for instance, in the *Khalsa Advocate* in an article "on the Science of Theology."[15] The article heavily criticised "natural theology" that would "construct out of the intellect a theory of God"[16] but failed to explain the religious experiences of people as recorded in religious scriptures. While identifying this natural theology as a failed Western attempt to deal with religion as a science, the *Advocate* writer contrasted it with *vedānta*:

> Vedanta is such a [experience-oriented] theology and it has held its own against, and is destined to withstand, all destructive influences of modern skepticism, for, as a science, it is based upon the surest foundation. What we want is a Vedanta of the Sikhs – a scientific (or philosophical, if you like) explanation of the religious experiences of the Sikh Gurus as recorded in the

> Sikh scriptures. If no such attempt is made, mere reading of the Scriptural texts will not, we fear, produce the desired result and Sikhism, like Christianity, will fail to influence the critical intellect of the rising generation.[17]

The alternative the author favoured over "natural theology" was, once again, "comparative theology." Considered a "better and more comprehensive science," it was supposed to "explain[…] the religious experiences of different nations from a universal stand point"[18] and thus help to get rid of sectarian differences. It was hoped that Khalsa College's new divinity professor, accordingly, would add to this "new, though incomplete, science."[19]

The establishment of a chair for Sikh theology at Khalsa College in 1905 was a crucial moment that was indicative of both the state of 'modern Sikhism' and the further engagement with 'Sikhism' at Khalsa College in the following decades. Jodh Singh, who would spend forty of the next fifty years of his life at Khalsa College, did not have a specific training as a *gi̱ānī* or other traditional religious specialist and joined his position as professor as a mathematics graduate. But he was a young, apparently highly intelligent Sikh activist who had proven his competence among the Singh Sabha circles. The debate around the establishment of the theology chair also shows that Khalsa College did not look for a "mere[…] dry and hair splitting theologian,"[20] but that theology was understood as a practical subject with strong moral aims. While distancing itself from materialist and scepticist interpretations of religion, Khalsa College saw the establishment of its theology chair as a decisive step to putting Sikhism on a 'scientific' base, placing its hopes especially on the promising 'new science' of comparative theology. The term and concept of 'comparative theology'—whose knowledge was a requisite for the job as KCA's job advertisements show—is of particular interest. It shows the college's universalist and phenomenological approach that developed 'Sikh theology' in dialogue with contemporaneous Western-originated scholarly discourses on 'comparative religion', by the early twentieth century the dominant framework in which religion was discussed on an academic level. This comparative approach to religion(s) followed an evolutionary understanding of a general religious history that entailed an often hierarchical mapping of historical and living traditions that put 'universal' systems above local or so-called ethnic religions. The implication was often, that what were considered the different 'religions of the world' were expressions of a (universal) 'religion'. This, in turn, made their 'theologies'—usually at least implicitly

expected to be systematic and similarly structured as the Christian example—academically and 'scientifically' approachable and comparable.[21] So, Khalsa College's own positioning or contextualisation of its theology chair in this field elevated it from the fold and framework of being 'only' an 'Indic' (or worse: 'Hindu') religion (or worse: 'sect') while simultaneously preparing the discursive means for Sikhism's defence from Christian/Protestant attacks such as Ernst Trumpp's.

The Textbook Problem and KCA Professors as Authors

One initial problem for Khalsa College and its schemes for religious instruction was a lack of textbooks. It was regularly lamented in early reports that religious education had to be taught through oral instruction.[22] Although pioneering organisations such as the Khalsa Tract Society, founded by Bhai Vir Singh in 1894, had started to publish small, cheap booklets and tracts on religious and social topics, the Sikh publishing landscape remained rather sparse until the early 1900s.[23] This situation was lamented, for instance, by the *Khalsa Advocate,* who, already in 1903, suggested the start of a Sikh educational conference that would turn its attention to the publication of Punjabi/*gurmukhī* books, complaining that neither scientific works nor even biographies of the Gurus to be used as textbooks at Khalsa College had yet been published.[24] The problem was also acknowledged by Jodh Singh, who, shortly after starting his position, had to report of "numerous practical difficulties" for his work of imparting religious education, mostly because there were "no authenticated lives of Sikh Gurus and no authoritative Commentaries on the Sikh Scriptures."[25] According to him, this was the case because "[t]he Sikh religion up to this time ha[d] not been considered as a new dispensation."[26] Jodh Singh consequently urged the KCA council to arrange for the establishment of a "body of learned and respected Sikhs"[27] who would prepare the required historical and religious works.

Jodh Singh himself also worked to fill this gap. As one of the first results of this endeavour he published an annotated English translation of the 33 *savaiyē* in 1907.[28] The 33 *savaiyē* are a group of metric compositions found in the *Dasam Granth* traditionally attributed to Guru Gobind Singh. By describing the 'true' Khālsā, strongly condemning concepts such as *avatār* or the worship of idols by rejecting various Hindu myths and stories and stressing the omnipotence, omniscience, and limitlessness of God in Jodh Singh's annotations, the small booklet followed in a

concise form the established Singh Sabha trajectory of pushing monotheism. It was thus, albeit also meant to give insights on Sikhism to the "general public," "included in the course of studies for the B.A. classes of the Khalsa College."[29]

While the booklet also was an effort to once more emphasise the distinctiveness of Sikhism from 'Hindu' tradition, the content, of course, corresponded well with what was discussed and propagated among the Singh Sabhas' rivals from the Hindu reformist sphere.[30] Shortly after its release, the book got a review in the *Unity and the Minister*, the organ of the late Keshab Chandra Sen's syncretic and universalist New Dispensation Church. In this review, as cited in the *Khalsa Advocate* (that claimed to be surprised by so much "insight" from a Bengali), the author confirmed the narratives stressed by Jodh Singh and the Sikh reformers but indeed present among most of the religious reformists in colonial India at the time. Stating that "rationalism has caught hold of the heart of the new generation known as neo-Sikhs,"[31] the reviewer described the *savaiyē* as strictly monotheistic aphorisms and protests against idolatry. Such interpretations the *Unity* review deemed laudable but also difficult because they demanded efforts "to reconcile orthodoxy with the spirit of the age – to harmonise faith with reason."

Jodh Singh continued to write programmatic works such as *ਸਿੱਖੀ ਕੀ ਹੈ? (sikkhī kī hai?; 'What is Sikhi(sm)?'*) or *ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅਤੇ ਵੇਦ (gurū sāhib atē vēd; 'The Guru(s) and the Vedas'*; both 1911) during his first tenure at Khalsa College as well as after. His most influential book was composed during his second stay as professor of divinity at the Sikh college and before becoming its principal in 1936: *ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਨਰਿਣਯ (gurmati nirṇay, 'Treatise on Gurmat'*), published in 1932.[32] "A blueprint for modern Sikh thought"[33] whose example had been followed heavily since, the book is especially relevant for the ontological categorisation and systematisation of Sikh 'theological' concepts it provides, appropriating established Christian theological schemata.[34]

Jodh Singh wrote in the following years many more influential works in both English and Punjabi, and he continued stressing the point of publishing.[35] In 1921, he urged in his presidential address at the annual Sikh Educational Conference for the establishment of a "Khalsa Textbook Committee" which indeed was inaugurated at the conference. The committee was supposed to improve the quality of textbooks for the Khalsa educational institutions and apart from its chairman, Jodh Singh himself, the committee had also the KCA's professors Teja Singh and Bawa

Harkrishen Singh, as well as the college's later principal, Sardar Bishen Singh, among its 14 members.[36] However, a few years later the condition and availability of suitable textbooks for the instruction of Sikh religion and history was still seen as an urgent topic at the SEC, at whose 1929 edition the conference president complained about a lack of "systematic course[s] of religious instruction."[37] To counter this deficiency the president, KCA's then-principal Bishen Singh suggested to have at least the recently published *High Roads in Sikh History*, a series of three small booklets written in simple English by Khalsa College's Teja Singh, be translated into Punjabi. A lack in authoritative scholarship on Sikhism had been observed by many commentators. In an appeal to the educated Sikh youth in the *Khalsa* newspaper, Teja Singh also noted that there were still much inconsistencies in Sikhism and that "[t]he whole corpus of the Sikh principles is in a fluid state, and requires to be fixed."[38]

Teja Singh, a graduate of Gordon Mission College, Rawalpindi, had been employed at Khalsa College as professor in English, History, and Religion in 1919. He quickly became one of the most prolific authors on Sikh religion and history, publishing various overviews on Sikhism as well as translation work in English, among them his *Growth of Responsibility in Sikhism*[39] in 1918 and *Sikhism: Its Ideals and Institutions* in 1937. Another time-consuming project of Teja Singh during his tenure at Khalsa College was his *Śabadarth Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib,* an extensive commentary (*ṭīkā*) on the *Ādi Granth* on which he worked between 1936 and 1941.[40]

The area of translating and annotating the slowly crystalising canon of Sikh literature was a crucial project in which KCA's scholars played an important part. As Arvind-Pal Singh Mandair argues, what was considered a 'Sikh theology' by the late colonial Sikh reformers was produced mainly through commentaries and translations of Sikh scripture.[41] *Giānī* Bishen Singh, long-time *granthī* in KCA's *gurdwārā* as well as Religious Instructor at the institution (and not to be confused with his contemporary and namesake Sardar Bahadur Bishen Singh, KCA's principal between 1928 and 1936), in the 1920s also brought out a multi-volume simple Punjabi translation and annotation of the Ādi Granth[42] and further worked on a similar project covering the Dasam Granth.[43] In 1939 Sahib Singh, Professor of Divinity at KCA, published *ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਵਿਆਕਰਣ ['Gurbāṇī Viākaraṇ']*,[44] a grammar of the language of the Ādi Granth. Sahib Singh had first been employed by the college as Punjabi lecturer and as assistant of Jodh Singh responsible for the religious lectures, and he was promoted to instruct the B.A. classes and substitute Jodh Singh when the latter

became principal of Khalsa College in 1936. Nowadays considered a classic of *ġurbānī* grammar and in 2011 published in its seventeenth edition, upon its publication in 1939, *Gurbāṇī Viākaraṇ* was lauded by the KCA magazine as a ground-breaking work and tool for annotators and theologians in the process of "mak[ing] the interpretation of the Book a Science which so far had been subject to […] personal predilections."[45]

According to historian Gurinder Singh Mann, Sahib and Teja Singh were probably the most important pre-independence scholars on the Sikh scriptures, introducing an analytical approach to textual study that rejected much of the existing accounts that, although differing in various aspects, accepted the "evolutionary nature"[46] of Sikh scripture and started to apply methods such as form criticism to the texts.[47] Next to scholars such as Bhai Vir Singh or Kahn Singh Nabha, Teja Singh, Sahib Singh and Jodh Singh are often considered as "the basis of modern and 'orthodox' Sikh thinking."[48] They consolidated the urge of a textualism that in the colonial context of the nineteenth century had occurred in similar ways in the modern shaping of Hindu and Buddhist traditions made possible by the period's print revolution.[49] As the century saw in many ways Protestant-influenced processes of homogenisation and standardisation of what constituted 'proper' 'religion' around the globe, this included a canonisation of religious scripture that entailed the need to provide the means, that is, translations, commentaries, dictionaries, etc., for a 'scientific' analysis of these texts. It is no coincidence that the Sikh reformers longed for a 'Vedānta of the Sikhs', as the *vedānta* stood in the centre of Neo-Hindu textualist enterprises.[50] While the "thorough study of the Granth Sahib and of Philology"[51] had already been claimed one of the goals of Khalsa College when its schemes were first outlined, the textualist approach blossomed throughout the later colonial years, made possible by the institutional and academic means the college provided.

'Who Is a Sikh' and the Rahit

Visible in Kahn Singh Nabha's famous *ਹਮ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਨਹੀਂ (Ham Hindū Nahīṅ*; *'We are not Hindu(s)'*),[52] one of the core issues in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Sikh reform was the question: who is a Sikh?[53] The discussion flared up at Khalsa College on various occasions. Of course, as a private educational institution dependent on the goodwill of the government and the public in an age when the Sikh educational landscape was still quite bare, the college had to cater to a broad audience. Like the other

private colleges in the province, Khalsa College was open to young boys from every religious community. Still, the institution's students were predominantly Sikhs,[54] and from early on the institution favoured an identity that would confer to the college's name. The most effective tool for this project surely was the institution's boarding house. As the working rules of Khalsa College passed in November 1893 stated, Sikh students at the college (and school) were supposed to reside in the boarding house and those "who ha[d] not taken the *pāhul* [=Sikh 'baptism'/initiating rite] on reaching the age of 10 [should] be required to take the *pāhul* according to the Khalsa principles."[55] Further, they had to observe the *rahit* code of conduct. Although the question of admitting also *sahajdhārīs* to the Boarding House was discussed in the early years, the Khālsā-centred regulations remained strict.[56]

While the college did its best to produce a core of Tatt Khālsā-approved young Sikhs inside its walls, it was also present in public discussions of Sikh identity through the activities of its staff, especially after the institution had stabilised in the 1910s. This was apparent in a debate that sprung up once again in 1919, when the executive committee of the Chief Khalsa Diwan published a draft giving a working definition of a Sikh. The definition listed four conditions for someone to be rightfully called Sikh: faith in the unity of God and the brotherhood of man, faith in the teaching of the *Granth Sāhib* as the only means of salvation, the wearing of *kēś* (unshorn hair), and, in case of taking *amrit*, the full observation of *rahit*.[57] KCA's religious experts also contributed to the discussion. Jodh Singh, for example, criticised in a correspondence to the *Khalsa Advocate* the CKD draft as he saw it in practice reducing the definition of a Sikh to the wearing of *kēś* and consequently neglecting full *rahit* commitment.[58] In a general meeting of the Chief Khalsa Diwan in late November 1919 intended to debate the draft, both Teja and Bawa Harkrishen Singh, Jodh Singh's successor as professor of Sikh theology at KCA, were present. Both opted for the vital importance of *kēś* and its underlying concept of taking *pāhul* and being initiated to the Khālsā. As reported by the *Advocate*, the overwhelming majority at the meeting was in support of this opinion particularly stressed by Bawa Harkrishen Singh.[59]

Teja Singh laid out his position regarding the *5 K's*—the five external symbols worn by Khālsā Sikhs[60]—also in an article that was published in the KCA's *Durbar* in February 1926. In a less theological and more essayist and comparative form he presented his opinion to the audience of the college magazine in an article titled "Forms and Symbols in Religion."[61]

Stressing the collective dimension of religion, Teja referred to discipline or 'esprit de corps'—"secured by such devices as flags and drills and uniforms and armies and certain forms and ceremonies in religion"[62]—as necessary for both efficiency and appealing to enthusiasm and sentiment. As forms and symbols functioned in military contexts, so were they to do for the Sikhs "who [were] the soldiers of Guru Gobind Singh."[63] In the following years, Teja Singh kept insisting on the adherence to *rahit* and the importance of following a Sikhism as laid out by Guru Gobind Singh, especially imperative for the Sikh youth.[64] In a similar vein and supported with quotations from James Froude and Thomas Carlyle on the necessity of forms and symbols, Jodh Singh also contributed an article on "Forms in Religion" in the *Khalsa* newspaper in which he propagated adherence to the *rahit* and insisted that the wearing of *kés* alone would not make someone a Sikh, stressing the requisite of *amrit* and adhering to the disciplinary code.[65]

The Sikh reformist emphasis on the Khālsā identity also required the definition of a definite and agreeable *rahit-nāmā* fixating Sikh rituals and rules of conduct. A Chief Khalsa Diwan subcommittee, comprising of seven members including Jodh Singh, Bhai Vir Singh and Sundar Singh Majithia, in 1911 worked out such a manual but it could not get the broad acceptance the CKD had hoped for.[66] Twenty years later it was the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) that started another attempt of authoritative codification. It installed a sub-committee among whose members were Kahn Singh Nabha, Bhai Vir Singh, and Bhai Jodh Singh, and whose convener was Prof. Teja Singh. Although this *rahit-nāmā* coined *Sikh Rahit Marayada* still left a very small door open for non-*késdhārī* and non-*amritdhārī* Sikhs to be considered as Sikhs, it was a crucial step "along the road of the final merging of Sikh and Khalsa"[67] and still is considered authoritative today. Due to the eventful political development in the years leading up to the end of the Raj, the pamphlet could be published only in 1950. Most of the *rahit*, however, were already published in English in 1937 in Teja Singh's *Sikhism: Its Ideals and Institutions* as Chapters IX and X.[68]

Khalsa College, hence, took on a crucial role in building a homogenised, if not monolithic, Sikhism that distinctively favoured a (Tatt) Khālsā identity, the institution being in the position of influencing both the socialisation of its students and the public discourse.

Learning and Practicing Sikhism on Campus

Despite being heavily featured in all the initial mission statements, schemes, visions, etc., religious instruction existed in the early years of the institution only in a rather miniscule state. Although the post of a religious instructor had been created early on, it was still vacant in 1896, when the Khalsa College School had to report that the teachers were expected to provide orally some kind of religious instruction and that, for example, Bhai Niranjan Singh, originally Sanskrit teacher at the KCS, had to give instruction during his spare hours.[69] In the early period, religious instruction in the college school was restricted mostly to the learning and singing of hymns in the morning (*japujī*) and evening (*rahirās*) for the boarders and the observance and celebration of the *gurpurabs*, the Guru's death anniversaries.[70] Religious instruction in the early years apparently was considered mainly a part of moral instruction whereas its role of conveying distinct Sikh ideas was not yet pivotal. The school children had to learn "by heart a number of good chaste and moral hymns form the Granth Sahib" and "Moral training[…] combined with instruction in the Sikh religion" was supposed to "secur[e] the moral uplifting of the students."[71]

Eventually, the post of Religious Instructor(s) was created. A further 'professionalisation' in the teaching occurred in 1903/04 when the religious instructors were examined by the Religious Sub-Committee,[72] and, most importantly, when Jodh Singh was installed as the first Professor of Divinity in 1905. The requirements for religious instructors had also grown since the early days when Punjabi or Sanskrit teachers of the institution had to fill in. The desired full-time *granthī* of the college *dharamsālā* (=*gurdwārā*) was supposed to be "well up in Sikh scriptures, History and traditions."[73] Religious instructors now had to be able to "expound Guru Granth Sahib, Dasam Granth," "possess[…] thorough knowledge of Sikh History and Rehat Namas," and, again, "be well versed in comparative theology."[74]

With the establishment of a divinity chair, compulsory lectures on Sikh theology for all the college students eventually became a regular feature of the institution and a fixed part of the curriculum. Later, other competent Sikh professors on the staff joined the theology professor and regularly addressed the students on religious matters. In 1930/31 the Professor of

Divinity got a full-time assistant (Sahib Singh) who took over the duty of the lectures to the intermediate classes.[75] The college report from 1921/22 shows that the daily compulsory lectures were delivered separately to Sikh and non-Sikh students, respectively.[76] Whereas the Sikhs were given "an extensive study of Guru Granth Sahib and Sikh History," the lectures given to non-Sikhs consisted "of a more popular exposition of the tenets of Sikhism."[77]

Since the early days, religious service in the college *dharamsālā* was compulsory for the Sikh residential students who were generally more intensively exposed to the religious imprinting. In 1917, they were required to attend services in the *dharamsālā* for fifteen minutes in the morning and forty-five in the evening, reading from the Guru Granth Sāhib and reciting hymns and prayers such as *ardās* or the *asā-dī-vār*. Besides the usual services, the *dharamsālā* was also used for other, often optional forms of religious instruction, such as holding religious discourses, reciting *kathās* or studying the Ādi Granth.[78] However, the system of religious instruction apparently was dependent on incentives and compulsion. In 1928/29 the college authorities had employed *rāgīs* (professional *kīrtan* singers) for the college *dharamsālā* in order to "enliven both the morning and evening services,"[79] but in the 1930s regular attendance at the *dharamsālā* was weak. The college management tried to counter this trend by loosening its regulations regarding compulsory morning and evening attendance for resident students, introducing an optional system as well as a 'Khalsa College League Prize for the best attendance in the Dharamsala'.[80] Yet attendance kept falling and the management was quickly forced to revive the old compulsory system.[81]

The college further tried to foster its religious and Sikh side by awarding scholarships and medals to its students excelling in religious matters. The Religious Sub-Committee regularly held examinations to give stipends to students from both the school and the college.[82] In 1905, the Bhai Dit Singh Gold Medal was anonymously instituted.[83] Although initially started to promote Punjabi literature and poetry, in later years the examination mostly included topics and works on Sikh religion and history, with a heavy bias for titles from Bhai Vir Singh, the literary spearhead of the Singh Sabha movement.[84] After the death of M.A. Macauliffe in 1913, Bhagat Lakshman Singh and the Macauliffe Memorial Society Rawalpindi gifted the college with a medal in the name of the British scholar.[85] Only Sikhs were permitted to submit papers that were judged by

a committee of five Sikh KCA professors.[86] The pre-given paper topics usually dealt with the history of the Singh Sabhas themselves and often concerned specific figures from the movement such as Jawahir Singh, Bhai Takht Singh, or Sundar Singh Majithia.[87] The Chief Khalsa Diwan also regularly contributed to this by giving stipends to students that had to pass a religious test. These scholarships were quite sought after. In 1919, for example, the examinations for the CKD's two-year stipends were taken by 76 (first year) and 54 (third year) aspirants.[88] The examination included rather standard questions on knowledge on scripture and *kathās*, but it also featured more programmatic and suggestive questions. One of the tests for first year students, for example, was heavily Khālsā-centred, beginning with the litmus test of asking for the meaning and relevance of Guru Gobind Singh for the Khālsā *panth*.[89]

In February 1913, a 4th year student coming from a wealthy family in Kapurthala married the sister of Khalsa College's English and History professor, Bawa Nanak Singh. The ceremony took place on KCA's campus. While the marriage still "was performed according to old Hindoo rites," it followed the reformist trajectories of the college insofar as "many of the useless and extravagent [sic] customs were done away with."[90] The Tatt Khālsā imprint showed two years later when another wedding, the one of KCA mathematics professor Deva Singh, was celebrated on the college premises and when the ceremony, conducted by the college's *giānī* and Religious Instructor Bhai Hari Singh, was held "according to the Sikh Anand rites."[91] While during the nineteenth century an immense variation in marriage customs had been prevalent among a pluralistic Sikh tradition, the Singh Sabha reformers urged for the 'revival' of a standardised, so-called *anand* ceremony purified from any 'Hindu' influence. As part of a bigger Tatt Khālsā project of a "symbolic reformulation"[92] of Sikh tradition and paralleling the discussion on many other rituals, rites de passages and symbols, they traced this ceremony back to a distant past, when the true Khālsās adhered to the ceremonial before their corruption in the Kingdom of Lahore and under the early British Raj.[93] This endeavour was sanctioned in 1909 by the colonial state when the Imperial Legislative Council passed the Anand Marriage Bill, which validated the *anand* ceremony. Originally proposed by Tikka Ripudaman Singh of Nabha and later moved by Sundar Singh Majithia in the Imperial Legislative Council, the passing of the bill had been preceded by massive Sikh agitation through newspapers, mass meetings, and petitioning.[94]

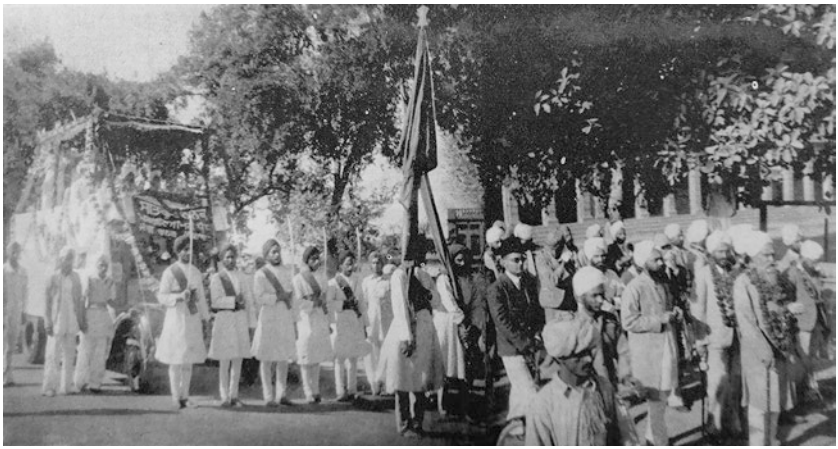

Fig. 3.1 *Nagar kīrtan* procession of KCA (*Durbar*, November 1938, p. 10)

The college's adherence to a Khālsā-centred identity was particularly evident and ostensibly celebrated without doubt in the role of the *pāhul* ceremony. As mentioned, before the institution started to open minor hostels for non-Sikh and *sahajdhārī* Sikh students from the 1930s onward, boarders had to be baptised *amritdhāri* Sikhs and, hence, the college annually conducted lavishly celebrated (eventually mass) *pāhul* ceremonies, considered "one of the most important functions of Education in this College."[95] In 1914, for example, 300 boys from the school and the college were initiated and given *amrit* under the supervision of divinity professor Bawa Harkrishen Singh.[96]

The college was thus part of a process of redefining life-cycle rituals crucial to the formation of group identity (Fig. 3.1). Older practices, seen as of Hindu origin, were replaced with particular "Khalsa rites" to generate a "new social imagination."[97] However, many if not most of these practices and rituals were not as such new or invented, but built on older practices that may have been present among parts of Sikh society during particular periods. However, their prevalence and propagation at Khalsa College was insofar central as it was conducive to their consolidation and fixation as a normative 'Khālsā order'.

Khalsa College and 'Sikhism' as a 'Rational' and 'Scientific' World Religion

Sikhism and World Religion(s)

The passages above have shown how a distinct version of Sikh theology and discipline following the reformist Tatt Khālsā enterprise was institutionalised at Khalsa College. But precisely what vision of Sikhism and what perspective on 'religion(s)' was propagated at Khalsa College—both in the classroom as well as in the publications of its influential teaching staff? The countless articles and lectures on the topic articulated in English that were regularly featured in the college's own magazine, the *Durbar*, provide many insights to this question.[98] They show how 'modern', 'rational', and 'scientific' religion (and, in extenso, Sikhism) was imagined and framed at this educational institution, and how it related to broader, even global, processes of constituting and talking about the 'religions of the world' and the Sikhs' role therein.

From 1879 onwards, German orientalist Friedrich Max Müller published his famous 50-volumes edition of the *Sacred Books of the East*, consisting of translations of various 'Oriental' religious and philosophical traditions.[99] Texts from Sikhism and the Guru lineage were not included in Müller's monumental scholarly enterprise. Neither was 'Sikhism' represented at the so called World's Parliament of Religion during the Chicago World's Fair in 1893.[100] As a commentator in a review of Bhagat Lakshman Singh's "The Life and Work of Guru Gobind Singh" still in 1909 noted, "Sikhism ha[d] yet to assert and establish its position among the great religions of the world."[101] However, only a few decades later, 'Sikhism' was regularly featured on a by now slowly getting canonical list of the various 'traditions' or 'religions of the world'.[102]

Verne A. Dusenbery has argued that 'Sikhism' found its proper entry into the 'world religion' trope only in the late 1960s which saw the emergence of a field called Sikh Studies in the Western academic framework.[103] Especially through the influential works of William H. McLeod,[104] but also through the establishment of Punjabi University, Patiala, in 1962 and Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, in 1969, the academic discussion acquired a new dynamic that put 'Sikhism' more prominently in the spotlight of international 'Religious Studies'. However, this chapter argues that the placing of 'Sikhism' into the fold of the 'world religions' was rooted in earlier developments, such as Khalsa College's interpretation of

Sikhism, which referred to 'comparative theology/religion', followed a distinctly universalist and 'scientistic' approach, and started early efforts to participate in a global discourse on religion and religious history.[105] As Tomoko Masuzawa has shown, the discourse on 'World Religions' was to a large extent a 'legacy of comparative theology' as it was favoured at Khalsa College.[106]

Scientism, Religion, and 'Scientific' Sikhism at Khalsa College

Salient at Khalsa College and in its engagement with the topic of religion was the question of the relationship between 'religion' and 'science'. So much was clear: So-called 'modern' religion had to be 'scientific', and particularly Sikhism had the potential to be such a scientific religion. The theme proved to be one of the most ubiquitous permeating KC's debate on religion and Sikhism. This is particularly traceable through multifarious essays published in the college's magazine, the *Durbar*, particularly in the 1930s, the same period when authors such as Jodh Singh, Teja Singh or Sahib Singh also wrote their above-mentioned influential works now considered classics. The theme was elaborated in texts and lectures with telling titles such as "The Advance of Science,"[107] "Science and Religion,"[108] "Modern Religion,"[109] "Modernism,"[110] or "Hearken to the Voice of Science."[111]

Of course, a rhetorical adherence to 'science', 'rationalism', or 'modernity' had been a paradigm shared by most of the various socio-religious reform organisations of the period. It was omnipresent in the writings, claims and actions of organisations such as the Brahmo and Arya Samaj, and of educationists and reformers such as Sayyid Ahmad Khan.[112] The *Khalsa Advocate*, the leading English Sikh newspaper and quasi-mouthpiece of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, acknowledged this in an article, stating, "[a]s in the case of all other denominations, rationalism has caught hold of the heart of the new generation known as neo-Sikhs."[113] Further, this was a development that did go beyond the Punjab and South Asia, but was related to what Kocku von Stuckrad has called a 'Scientification' of religion (or rather: of the discourse on 'religion'), in the last two hundred years, and particularly in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[114] Although von Stuckrad mostly dwells on European discourses, these processes of discursive change, about how the category of religion related to the rather new one of science and how a new 'professionalised' knowledge on religion crucially affected also how religious actors conceptualised their

own traditions, were also apparent in colonial contexts and South Asia in particular. Peter Gottschalk has similarly described a 'Scientism', referring to 'science' as a hegemonic discourse and a 'cultural currency' that emerged dominantly in nineteenth century in 'Western' and, through imperialism, 'non-Western' cultures and particularly South Asia.[115] Historian of religion Michael Bergunder even argued that the conflict between 'science' and 'religion' in Europe, North America and the colonies (and the countless attempts of their reconciliation) was a pivotal moment in a global religious history and the crucial final impetus for the modern understanding of 'religion'.[116] According to Bergunder, the severe rift between scientific materialism and Christianity led to a new understanding of the category of 'religion' that mainly through imperialism rapidly spread also outside of the Christian context and only hence, through its comparative and relational application and appropriation by European and non-European traditions could become the dominant paradigm. As a result, two main, not necessarily alternative but often complementary strategies of reconciliation occurred: first, claiming a categorical difference between religion and science and consequentially admitting to them different realms of knowledge, and, second, attempting to reunite religion and science into a 'scientific religion'. It is precisely in this context that Khalsa College's ardour for 'science' must be read.

However, the emphasis on the topic of science at KCA did not mean that this was a uniform discussion. The first decades of the twentieth century were characterised by a positivist view of science at Khalsa College, with high hopes in the promises of scientific and technical progress, and a striking and persistent belief in a 'beneficial imperialism' and the role of the British for the progress of the country. In a speech at the college in 1905 at Khalsa College's annual ceremony, Kahn Singh Nabha, one of the chief ideologues of the neo-Sikh movement and author of *Ham Hindū Nahīn*, formulated this as follows: "Most of our countrymen have regarded both fire and lightning solely as subjects of worship, but through the blessings of this Raj, we have learnt the right and proper use of these natural powers."[117]

This attitude coincided with contemporary curricular expectations towards the KCA. From early on, there had been demands to provide for technical education and the study of natural sciences at Khalsa College.[118] These aspirations were endorsed by the colonial government who encouraged the college to advance its endeavours into engineering, natural sciences, etc. In the 1910s the heavily government-supported KCA was able

to introduce new and advanced science classes and erect and rebuild its physics, biology, and chemistry laboratories.[119] As stated in a lengthy article in 1916, probably written by the new chemistry professor H.B. Dunnicliffe, in the college's *Durbar* magazine promoting KCA's various efforts in science, "the youth of this country [was] beginning to realize that the future of India in agriculture, commerce and industry depends on the development of science."[120]

In later years, such positivist statements apparently lost their purchase and were substituted by a more nuanced interpretation of 'science'. Particularly since the 1920s and 30s, an era shaped by post-WW1 disillusionment and the emergence of new, totalitarian, materialist, or secular ideologies around the world, more complex and also more critical engagements with the topic became apparent, especially more refined attempts to reconcile science (or 'rationalism') with religion (or 'morality') were regularly discussed, in an attempt to "harmonise faith with reason."[121] Often, the starting point was the question of the roles and relationship of religious experience and rationality, elaborated, for example, by KCA English Professor Gurbachan Singh in an article in the College magazine in 1936, when the author discussed the definition and function of so-called facts in scientific practice and a scientific understanding of religion and Sikhism in particular.[122] However, as ambivalent such debates at Khalsa College were, they did not conclude that science and religion were directly opposed to each other, and while often criticising purely materialist views, they usually refrained from a simple, dichotomic view on the relationship between these subjects.[123] Although one might assume that there were differences in the views or understanding of Sikhism and 'science' between the more radical elements among KCA's staff and their critics—for example, between Bhai Jodh Singh and Niranjan Singh who were 'enemies' during the 1937 strikes—they in fact all seem to have followed a narrative that was shared by these scholars regardless of their political affiliation.

Khalsa College professors like Niranjan Singh assured science and religion to be "in sweet harmony" as formulated in a lecture loaded with scientific or rather 'scientist' metaphors, comparisons and allusions. To Niranjan Singh the situation looked as follows:

> The youths of the country are in revolt against religion. [...] It is asserted that religion is based on blind faith and has no sanction of reason behind it and that it is in contradiction to the findings of Science. It is true that reason is the only light, the only weapon with which man can discriminate between

> right and wrong, between the real and the unreal, the passing and the permanent, and anything, be it religion or morality, that cannot stand the scrutiny of reason is doomed. But I maintain that true religion, the essentials of it, is as much grounded on as Science. I admit that religions as they exist in India to-day are a hopelessly inextricable mass of Dharam alloyed with dogmatism, superstition, bigotry, and communalism, which are absolutely antagonistic to the real spirit of religion. But just as radium is found mixed with large quantities of useless impurities, and we take extraordinary pains to recover it from that rubbish to make use of it, similarly it is our duty to recover the jewel of religion by washing off the dirt of communalism and the over-growth of superstition, because life without religion will be a continuous struggle and misery.[124]

According to Niranjan Singh, recent scientific findings by figures such as Lord Kelvin, Albert Einstein, Arthur Eddington, Louis de Broglie, or Jagadish Chandra Bose, and especially theories that described light as waves and particles, had shown that the universe was an "ocean of conscious energy in motion,"[125] a concept he recognised as present in most religious traditions. Physics professor Darbara Singh in an article titled 'Hearken to the Voice of Science' similarly defended the compatibility of science and religion. Pointing to a misled criticism of a harmful materialism caused by science that he accredited to contemporary global economic and territorial struggles rather than seeing it as an inherent attribute of science, he claimed that "India badly need[ed] a scientific religion."[126]

Jodh Singh was also deeply engaged in KCA's scientism project. An article based on one of his lectures published in November 1934 in the Durbar summarised many of his ideas.[127] Whereas he understood the conflict between science and religion as somewhat necessary to "eradicate superstitions" in existing religious belief and practices, he also understood the conflict to be already overcome. Similarly to Niranjan drawing parallels between concepts from biology, chemistry, evolutionary theory, or psychoanalysis to religious teachings, he saw particularly the explanation of consciousness as still a "dark corner" of science.[128] Still, he was convinced that "our scientific research […] ha[d] paved the way for belief in a soul."[129]

As the argument of the exceptional compatibility of religion and science was held up, the KC authors urged for a "common universal scientific religion."[130] In this universalist conception of religion they were not exceptional, but rather following a global trend in the nineteenth and early twentieth century discourse on 'religion', apparent in many of the

teachings and views of groups such as the Unitarians, Transcendentalists, or Theosophists, and prominent figures such as Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Lev Tolstoy.[131] Particularly Tolstoy apparently was a considerable influence on multiple of KCA's leading educational and religious figures. Jodh Singh, for example, became fascinated with the work of the Russian novelist after Umrao Singh Majithia, the elder brother of Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, around 1908 had gifted him various volumes of Tolstoy's work. Jodh Singh translated a few of these works into Punjabi, replacing the original Bible quotations with quotations from *gurbāni*.[132] In the 1920s Jodh passed on this passion when he gifted Sahib Singh with a copy of Tolstoy's *Religion and Morality*. The latter was encouraged by Jodh Singh to write a *gurmat* rendering of the book, similar to what Jodh Singh himself had done, that later was published in a collection of Sahib Singh's essays titled *ਧਰਮ ਅਤੇ ਸਦਾਚਾਰ* (*dharm atē sadācār; 'Religion and Morality')*.[133]

Of course, as did most universalists in the end,[134] the KC authors perceived their own particular religion as nearest to the 'universal religion' because, as was argued, Sikhism in its core was a most 'rational' system. 'Science', howsoever defined, was styled as the ideal means for the progress of both Sikhism as a community and a religion, and a scientific Sikhism, hence, as a valuable contribution to humanity's evolution. In this absolute confidence in the capability of 'science' to advance religion, KCA's Sikh authors were far from alone. The quest for a 'scientific religion' benefitting humanity permeated the intellectual and theological endeavours of Hindu organisations and reformers such as the Arya Samaj or Swami Vivekananda, or neo-Buddhist activists, both Asian Buddhists such as Sinhalese social reformer Anagarika Dharmapala and 'Western' supporters and/or converts such as Paul Carus and Henry Steel Olcott. Their argumentative strategies ranged from claiming their own tradition as compatible with to being per se 'scientific', and their points of reference could be found both in mainstream and more 'estoteric', fringe areas of late nineteenth/early twentieth century science.[135] These themes were not necessarily exclusive to Indian and Asian traditions but pervasively informed modernist religious discourse in general at that time. In a lecture held at KCA in 1935, E. Stanley Jones, one of the most famous American Protestant missionaries of the period who had come to India in 1907 and started a Christian *ashram* movement in the 1920s, was singing the same tune: Speaking about "The Gospel and the Scientific Age," he appealed for a "rational view of life and religion" in a universe governed by natural laws.[136]

As the authors in the *Durbar* did not get tired of repeating to their readership, Sikhism was the 'religion of the future'. What constituted Sikhism's extraordinary compatibility with science, according to the KCA authors and professors, was the lack of cosmological statements present in the Sikh scriptures and teachings. Sikhism would rarely deal with "single, tangible facts"[137] that might contradict knowledge from fields such as chemistry, biology, physics or geology, as Gurbachan Singh noted. Rather, it was "based on universal and all-embracing conceptions" and, therefore, "not assailable […] by the onward march of science,"[138] saving it from getting obsolete as happened to other religions as Gurbachan claimed. According to history professor Rajinder Singh, "the Gurus [did] not make any elaborate attempt to explain the *how* and *why* of creation [as] [t]hey believe[d] that any such attempt would be fruitless."[139] This alleged quality distinguished Sikhism in the eyes of its promoters from other religions and from Christianity in particular, the latter to whom was attributed to have suffered severely by the existential challenges scientific materialism posed to Christian tradition in the nineteenth century. Indeed, this conflict was a constituting moment in global religious history and particularly in late nineteenth century's reformulation of 'religion'. People in colonial and non-Western societies seized on Christianity's 'defeat' as an opportunity to portray non-Christian traditions as 'modern' religions, hence in turn influencing the new science-centric discourse on 'religion'.[140] In the form of a 'strategic occidentalism'[141] this criticism often appropriated arguments and tropes originating themselves in European and North American contestations. Albeit an aggressive comparison with Christianity was not the main argumentative thrust in KCA's scientific-cum-religious elaborations, this narrative also appeared at the Sikh institution.[142]

There were also attempts to positively define the extraordinary 'scientificity' of Sikhism. Comparing statements of the Gurus regarding 'matter' and 'mind' to recent scientific theories on 'matter' and 'force'[143] or explaining the concept of discipline in general and Sikh *rahit* in particular through evolutionary biology,[144] they tried to render the tenets of Sikh belief and practices as distinctively 'scientific'.[145] Jodh Singh's *Gurmati Nirṇay* published in 1932 was not only a 'blueprint' for Sikh theology, but also an expression and culmination of the scientism cultivated and propagated at Khalsa College. To substantiate his elaboration of what he had sketched out as the fundamental ontological categories of Sikh theology and to provide comparison to scientific concepts, Jodh Singh in the Punjabi work cited heavily from the astronomer, physicist, and

mathematician Arthur Eddington's *The Nature of the Physical World* (1928), a contemporary work of popular (philosophy of) science with many points of contact to non-materialist understandings of science that had come out only a few years before.[146] As Arvind-Pal Singh Mandair notes, works such as Jodh Singh's *Gurmati Nirṇay* "provide[d] for Sikh scholars, clerics, and politicians a transition to the category of the universal, specifically in the shape of the rapidly developing 'world religions' discourse."[147] Further, the universality of Sikhism had to be particularly based on scientistic (and soteriological) arguments, since the Sikh tradition could not (yet) point to a spatial universality of its faith.[148]

'Irrational Hinduism', the Universality of Science, and Sikh History

When the Singh Sabha and Tatt Khālsā version of Sikhism—confident in presenting itself as a distinct 'religion'—had become the accepted paradigm, the demarcations from Hinduism articulated through the paradigm of science became even more prominent at Khalsa College. Much of this mirrored established tropes of 'Sikhism' that, since the earliest European contact with its adherents, had interpreted Sikh tradition and the work of the Gurus as an Indian equivalent to the Protestant Reformation in Europe that got rid of superstitious and priest-ridden forms of religion.[149] Furthermore, it stood in dialogue with the paradigm of modernity that presupposed historical self-consciousness as its marker (Fig. 3.2). By attributing this self-consciousness to the Sikhs and by accentuating a dichotomy between a pre- or ahistorical (and pantheistic) Hinduism and a historical (and monotheistic) Sikhism, the Sikh scholars and activists could further carve out the Sikh/Hindu delineation. This argumentative strategy can be located distinctively in the works of both European scholar Max Arthur Macauliffe and Sikh reformer and KCA professor Teja Singh.[150] The narrative was also present, for example, in an editorial in the *Durbar* by Gurdial Singh, in which the author set out to "trace the growth of religious rationalism."[151] Besides narrating the (dis)continuity of 'rationalism' in European history from the Renaissance through Enlightenment to the 'Mechanical Age', he concluded that in India the "credulity of the masses had been successfully imposed by the Brahmin and the Mullah" and it was Guru Nanak who wanted "to extricate the illiterate masses from the crutches of an unscrupulous priestly class."[152] While such accounts helped further Sikhism's claim of being a distinct, historical religious

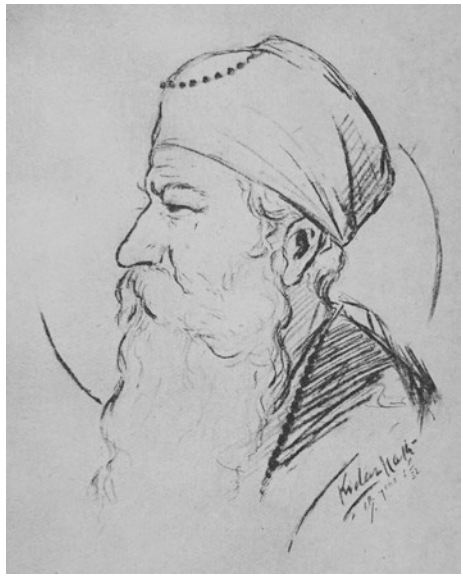

Fig. 3.2 Drawing of Guru Nanak Dev, by Kidar Nath, 4th year student (*Durbar*, April/May 1932, end page)

tradition, it also functioned as a means of incorporating Sikhism into the chronology of a general religious history as it had become the subject of a globally researched field of the comparative study of religion.[153]

However, at the same time, the above-mentioned authors did not shy away from pointing to pre-Nanak Indian religious and philosophical thought, particularly when opposing 'materialist' understandings of science, or when attempting to vindicate 'modern' science by seeing it confirmed already in ancient and 'pre-modern' systems. This rhetoric strategy, of course, was used not only among Sikh reformers, but found all across the different reformist and 'scientistic' movements in colonial South Asia and beyond.[154] It was a tool particularly present in nativist, distinctively anti-'Western' reactions to colonial representations of non-Christian religion(s) and history, in the South Asian context visible in a resort to the propagated scientificity of what was considered ancient 'Hindu/Vedic/Aryan' knowledge.[155]

While at Khalsa College the tone generally remained rather moderate and hardly nativist, the institution's representatives, too, would occasionally refer to these 'Indic' knowledge systems in debates on religion and Sikhism. Apart from excerpts from the Ādi Granth, Niranjan Singh, for

instance, also referred to "the Rishis and the religious teachers of India hundreds of years ago" when he sought to parallel scientific cosmological concepts of a "universe as an ocean of conscious energy in motion" among religious traditions, as mentioned above.[156] Jodh Singh similarly drew on "the old Indian thinkers"[157] to bolster his argument of the compatibility of science and religion. In the ancient Indian philosophical concept of *antaḥkaraṇa* he saw reflected current scientific models of the 'mind' based on the idea of the "material sameness of all atoms." He saw the three prominent human instincts, ego, sex, and herd, as diagnosed in Western psychoanalysis and described by Arthur Tansley in his popular *New Psychology*, present in the concepts of *kāma* (sex), *krodha* (anger), *lobha* (greed), *moha* (attachment), and *ahankāra* (egoism), which, while in Sikhism known as the ਪੰਜ ਵਿਕਾਰ (*panj vikār; 'five evils/vices'*), he located in "all Indian religions."[158] Psychoanalysis in general was described by Jodh Singh as a modern answer to what he deemed the central, soteriological question of religion.[159]

So, paradoxically, while older 'Indic' religious and philosophical concepts often had to stand proof of the compatibility of science and religion, it was on many occasion the explicit absence of such cosmological statements in Sikh scriptures that qualified Sikhism, in the eyes of the KC authors, as particular scientific and 'rational'. This, however, is only at first glance contradictory as it fits with the college's understanding of 'science' as something universal (and not inherently 'Western/Indian', 'materialist/non-materialist' or 'Christian/Hindu/Sikh'). This was, indeed, not an exceptional view, but rather, an essential trait of 'scientism' among elites in colonial India. As Shruti Kapila notes, these elites claimed that "Western science was not so much a threat as it was the latest entrant in a long series of forms of authoritative knowledge"[160] on the subcontinent. Due to an acceptance if not absorption of evolutionism and historicism, "the assumption of modern science in Indian public and domestic life was seamless and indeed Event-less"[161] compared to the clash between religion and science dominating in European and North American societies ('the Event'), Kapila hence argues. No rejection of religion was necessary for establishing the hegemony of science, rather, science (or 'scientism') was a "mode of enchantment for an Indian modernity without banishing God"[162] in a world of 'disenchanted [or 'scientificated'] religions'. The modern discourse on 'scientific' 'religion(s)' was the result of the clash between materialistic/naturalistic science and (Christian) religion globalised quickly through its apprehension by colonial and colonised societies.[163] To

formulate Kapila's argument somewhat differently (and to relativise the exceptionality of the Indian situation as emphasised in it), then, one might argue that in colonial South Asia and specifically Khalsa College and its context of Sikh reform struggling against its bigger communal rivals this discourse fell on a particularly fertile ground. KCA authors such as Gurbachan Singh, hence, could, in an historicist-evolutionist and universalist fashion, claim that Guru Nanak had "anticipated [scientific] ideas centuries ago" and that "only now with the broadening of our minds by contact with scientific ideas acquired in Europe"[164] could the Guru's conception of religion been duly appreciated and the Sikh religion reach its full potential.

As the reoccurring arguments regarding science and 'materialism' indicate, religion at Khalsa College was also still strongly linked with morality. Sikhism, in this regard, was frequently characterised as a particular 'ethical' and 'democratic' religion. This stood in line with classification schemes in the evolutionist 'religion' discourse that attributed mainly what were considered 'ethical religions' to the elite group of universal 'world religions'.[165] As KCA professor of history and political science Waryam Singh claimed, Sikhism was conceived by the Gurus as a "religion of action," not "one of speculation,"[166] and as other authors concurred, religious education at Khalsa College should aim at teaching ethical actions and not a formalistic and superficial religious practice.[167] Regularly, this religion-induced moral behaviour was also linked to discipline and the Sikhs' favourable relationship with the British Raj. Unsurprisingly, then, Khalsa College's religious-cum-scholarly enterprises usually met with the full support from the colonial government. The industrious Principal G.A. Wathen was particular sympathetic to (KC's interpretation of) Sikh tradition and the institution's efforts in this direction. After taking office, he was eager to improve the Sikh section of the college library.[168] The religious imprinting of his students he apparently took rather serious, for example, by installing a committee that oversaw the strict observation of the college's rules regarding the *pāhul* ceremony for resident students etc., or by himself regularly attending the daily morning prayers in the *gurdwārā*.[169]

Thus, while the college's approach to religion was one condemning what was considered 'irrational' or 'superstitious', religion still was seen as the crucial and vital element in the youths' moral upbringing. Not an option, hence, was atheism. In January 1935, for instance, the college magazine *Durbar* printed an article in Punjabi called 'ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਨਗਰ' (*prem nagar*; 'city of love'), written by a first year student named Randhir Singh.[170] A

volume later, the magazine's editors were eager to distance themselves from the essay, stating that they had "no sympathy with the views of [the article's] writer" and "[i]ts publication was entirely due to oversight."[171] The controversy of Randhir's article lay in its description of an utopian egalitarian and peaceful society in which 'religion'[172] was absent, and in remarks implicating that religion might be the root of many (if not all) societal evils. In 1943, Principal Jodh Singh found himself in a similar position as those *Durbar* editors. In the college's oft-used main hall, a poetic meeting organised by the Amritsari branch of the 'Friends of the Soviet Union' (FSU) took place, which apparently had led to some 'misunderstandings'[173] in the press. To counter these misrepresentations, Principal Jodh Singh felt compelled to have the FSU's original letter of request for using the college hall printed in the *Khālsā Samācār* newspaper.[174] In this letter the communist organisation had claimed that the symposium was intended to propagate anti-fascist feelings and assured that there would not be any anti-Sikh or anti-religious propaganda.

The institution's desistance from more radical forms of social and religious thought arose not least from its proximity to traditionally moderate parts of Sikh society. Since its founding, the main financial benefactors of Khalsa College—apart from the government—had been the Sikh princely states. This was reflected at Khalsa College on many occasions and showed in the institution's engagement with Sikh culture and history. In 1917, for example, the college tried to decorate its buildings and classrooms with "paintings of inspiring episodes of the Sikh History."[175] To achieve this, the principal sent a request to the Sikh princes to provide the college with portraits of themselves and their princely ancestors.

From early on the Sikh princes had understood their role towards the Sikhs' premier educational institution as one of patronage, imperative due to the princes' claim of being 'leaders' of the community. This was perpetuated also with respect to the Khalsa College's scholarly endeavours once the college had established itself as *the* scholarly authority. For the Ādi Granth grammar that Sahib Singh prepared in 1939, for example, the Khalsa College professor received the sum of Rs. 500 as *khilat*[176] from the Patiala *darbār*.[177] After the release of the three first books of the 1930 founded Sikh History Research Department (SHRD) at KCA, the department sent copies to the Maharajas of Kapurthala, Jind and Faridkot. Appreciating the college's efforts, the princes gifted the department's fund with donations of Rs. 100 (Kapurthala and Faridkot) and 500 (Jind), respectively.[178]

This relationship and the consequential direction of Khalsa College's historiographical endeavours get clearer when compared to efforts by the rivalling Sikh National College, for instance. Whereas Ganda Singh was travelling through the whole of India, gathering source material mainly related to the Sikh Empire and eighteenth-century Sikh military and political history, historiography at the Sikh National College apparently had a rather different trajectory. Lacking the financial backing of Khalsa College, the Akālī institution in Lahore followed a different approach. In 1943 it asked its supporters in the *Akali* newspaper to send historical material like old newspapers, tracts, pamphlets, etc. to the college's history research department.[179] Its areas of historical interest differed accordingly. It was not the distant and pre-colonial history of the Gurus or Sikh empires and military conquests that stood in the focus of the SNC's historiographical enterprises, but rather topics such as the Indian Rebellion in 1857, the Kooka uprising of 1873, the Komagata Maru Affair during the Ghadar Movement, or, least surprisingly, the Akali Movement.[180] Where it did correspond with Khalsa College's trajectory was in an interest in the Singh Sabha Movement—which of course can be seen as the origin of both Khalsa College (or the CKD, respectively) and the Akālīs. Khalsa College, on the other hand, mostly refrained from dealing with more recent and delicate historical matters. As the Khalsa College Historical Association, a result of various attempts to promote historical study at Khalsa College during the 1930s, in its inaugural meeting in 1932 stated, it "intend[ed] to confine itself to purely literary and academic subjects and [would] not dabble in politics."[181]

A culmination of Khalsa College's historiographic-cum-social endeavours can be seen in the celebration of the centenary of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death in 1939. Not only did the college's Sikh History Research Department publish a volume on the celebrated Sikh ruler,[182] KCA also hosted a lavish celebration at the institution. While the centenary was celebrated in different forms also at other institutions and places in Amritsar or Lahore,[183] Khalsa College's *tamāshā* ('spectacle') was the most impressive. In the run-up of the celebrations, the management of Khalsa College had sent out invitations to "descendant[s] of […] famil[ies] which held a very high position in the Durbar of the Sher-i-Panjab,"[184] whom the Honorary Secretary of KC encouraged to show up in historical dresses and bring with them documents or relics of historical value to exhibit at the celebration. This call was mirrored also publicly in advertisements and articles in newspapers.[185] The celebration was held on 25 June.[186] Besides

a religious programme it also consisted of an exhibition with a display of multifarious material from the Maharaja's period. In the afternoon the college hosted a big *darbār* with space for 2000 persons. Seated on the *darbār*'s stage were representatives from princely states such as Patiala, Nabha, Faridkot, Kapurthala, Jammu, Kashmir, and Bahawalpur. Parts of the celebration were even broadcast on the radio.

While the local and political heritage of the Sikhs in Punjab constituted a crucial part in Khalsa College's interpretation of religion and modern Sikhism, there was also another trajectory that structured the institution's endeavours in this regard: the urge to place and represent Sikh tradition and theology among the world('s) religions.

Conferences and Global Outreach: Sikhism Among the World('s) Religions

In early 1909 the Vivekananda Society, in the spirit of the World's Parliament of Religion held in Chicago in 1893, invited delegates from the different communities of Indian society to a Convention of Religions to be held in Calcutta.[187] In March of that year, the *Khalsa Advocate* urged the Chief Khalsa Diwan to send a suitable person to Calcutta to represent there Sikhism among other "representatives from the religious world."[188] This representative was supposed to be Bhai Jodh Singh who, although he eventually could not participate in person due to the Sikh Educational Conference taking place simultaneously, wrote a paper titled "Thesis of Sikhism" for the convention.[189] Much of this thesis was an elaboration on the nature of the "God of Sikhs […] about Whom we learn in the Sikh Scriptures," whom Jodh was eager to define in strictly monotheistic terms distinguishing Sikh faith from Indic polytheistic systems. Vindicating the relative absence of cosmological statements in the Sikh scriptures, Jodh's thesis set Sikhism in an universalist/deistic approach next to other religions of the world that were in the eyes of KCA's professor of divinity all expressions of the existence of the one God. One of the aims of the essay, locating Sikhism in the history of religion(s), returned in the final part of the paper where Jodh Singh pointed to the universal presence of the figure of the 'Guru' (as the incarnation of a deity, a Buddha, a son of God, a prophet, etc.) in all religions. Jodh claimed that "[f]rom the study of comparative theology one comes to the conclusion that the necessity of a Guru has been felt from the very outset in all religions."[190] After being printed in the *Advocate* in May 1909,[191] Jodh Singh's thesis was published in

pamphlet form by the Khalsa National Agency a month later.[192] This version was intended for broad circulation, apparent in its price being only one *anna* (1/16 of a rupee) or, if purchased for free distribution, 12 *annas* for 25 copies. While there also had been other (Calcutta-based) speakers talking about Sikhism at the three-day convention in Calcutta, Jodh Singh's paper apparently was seen as the most authoritative and was included in the published proceedings of the convention, placing "Sikhism" next to "Israelitism," "Zoroastrianism," "Buddhism," "Brahmoism," "Christianity," and "Islam."[193]

Over the next decades, Jodh Singh and other KC scholars continued to attend various religious conferences with the same comparative and dialogic approach. Especially the interwar period witnessed an increase of religious internationalism and the presence of many corresponding meetings, conventions and conferences.[194] Often, these engagements by KCA staff also opted at reaching an audience outside the confinements of Punjab or India. One of Jodh Singh's conference speeches held in the 1920s, for example, made it into a booklet titled *The Message of the Sikh Faith*, which was published around 1929 by Sant Teja Singh (not to be confused with KCA's professor Teja Singh who wrote an introduction to the booklet) and the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan in Stockton, CA. The publication was intended to "expound to the western world the Ideal of Guru Nanak"[195] and it followed the common trope of a universal and scientific Sikhism. While Teja Singh in the introduction emphasised that "all human beings have in their holy of holies a spark of the Divine"[196] and that "religion […] is a scientific pursuit,"[197] Jodh Singh defined both religion and Sikhism as "realizing the universal Divine in its infinite harmony"[198] and noted that religion through religious men from different traditions increasingly "think[ing] systematically" was "developing into a science."[199]

Also in 1929, Harbans Singh, then an employee of KCA's agriculture department, later to become a professor, published a booklet titled *Something about Sikhism*.[200] With an introduction by Albert E. Suthers, Professor of Comparative Religion at Wesleyan University in Ohio, the book featured short, translated extracts from Sikh scripture arranged under headings such as "Conception of God," "He is omnipotent/omniscient/omnipresent/etc.," "His Worship," "Monotheism," or "The Immortality of the Souls." A revision of the work of Harbans Singh, who in the 1930s went to the USA for advanced studies in agriculture at Iowa University (see Chap. 4), was published in 1941 as *The Message of Sikhism*.

As it noted, already the first edition had been published "in large numbers mostly for use in foreign countries where it was found to be useful to the scholars and those who wished to acquaint themselves with the basic tenets of Sikhism."[201] *The Message of Sikhism*, too, was directed at a foreign audience, this time mainly the Malay States and Eastern Asia. As a reviewer in the *Khālsā Samācār* noted, the revised version was "a great service both to [Sikhism] and to the students of comparative theology" and it revealed the "fundamental conceptions that lie at the bases of the Sikh reformist movement."[202]

Around the same time *The Message of the Sikh Faith* and *Something about Sikhism* were published, Jodh Singh wrote a paper for another Calcutta version of the Parliament of Religions. Picking up similar topics as in *The Message of the Sikh Faith*, in an essay titled "Present-Day Indifference to Religion"[203] he set out to answer the question of what religion might offer to the advancement of modern society. The model to follow in this project was science:

> Through the study of various branches of science we are learning more and more of the natural phenomena and are harnessing what we call forces of nature more and more for serving ends that will increase enjoyment of life. By the study of Sociology, Politics, Law and other cognate sciences we are trying to discover such rules of human conduct as will make not only individuals happier but will raise society as a whole in the sphere of happiness.[204]

In Jodh's eyes, religion—particularly in the form of a this-worldly, undogmatic Sikhism—was also scientific, since "religious truths" paralleled "facts in other branches of knowledge"[205] because they were subject to verification by experiences of the individual when freeing themselves from egoism and devoting themselves to God. As in science, these "facts" were universal, and to Jodh Singh, especially Sikhism was proof of this. As he noted, the Sikh Gurus incorporated teachings (i.e. "religious truths," "facts") from other religious traditions and figures, such as Kabir or Farid, into their scriptures, thus paralleling science as "scientific men can quote from other scientists" and "religious truth like other scientific facts were not the property of one creed or one race."[206] Full of KCA's typical scientism and universalism rhetoric, Jodh Singh's essay also connected to trends among the contemporary scene of religious internationalists, where the topic of religion as a force for secular improvement and international cooperation had started to rival soteriological matters. In the interwar period this was

particularly evident in (inter)religious peace work.[207] Jodh Singh likewise attributed to religion the potential to "turn swords into plough-shares and spears into pruning hooks, and nullify the hatred that is growing between white, brown, yellow, and black races."[208] The same spirit was followed at the World Conference for International Peace through Religion, an initiative by the American missionary and social gospel advocate Henry A. Atkinson, to whose 1930 edition Khalsa College professor Teja Singh was invited.[209]

Teja Singh was another representative of Khalsa College who used the opportunities of travelling and lecturing to disseminate his (and Khalsa College's) vision of Sikhism and religion. In summer of 1935[210] Teja Singh travelled to Southeast Asia, where he gave an extensive series of lectures: 300 speeches in two months in various places such as Penang, Kuala Lumpur, and Bangkok.[211] Most were organised by local Sikh associations and delivered in Punjabi to the Sikh diaspora. His speeches' topics apparently were more moral than theological but conformed to the themes he expounded at Khalsa College, again oscillating between universalism and Sikh particularism with topics such as 'the unity of mankind' or 'the Sikhs' part in Indian history'. In the evenings, the KC professor also delivered speeches in English in Rotary Club halls or other public venues.[212] These lectures attracted the attention of non-Sikhs, too. They were heavily featured and reported in local English newspapers and occasionally even broadcasted on the radio.[213] On other events, such as the International Faiths Conference in Wardha hosted by the Federation of International Fellowships, Teja Singh once more "represented the Sikh view,"[214] here on topics such as mass conversion, missionary propaganda, or religious instruction in educational institutions.

Other Sikh scholars representing Sikhism around the globe followed the topics as emphasised at KCA. Sher Singh who in 1917 had worked as chemistry professor in the college, lectured at the World Fellowship of Faiths conference held in Chicago in 1933. He, too, was convinced that "[s]piritual experience […], like science, is proved by experimentation."[215] Comparing concepts such as the Sikh *nām* ('name'/'qualities' of God), the Christian *Holy Ghost* or the Greek *logos*, he pointed to a common universal or 'transcendent' religion which the Sikh Gurus had advocated. According to Sher Singh, in such an interpretation of religion "lieth the faith for expanding nationalism into internationalism and both together into universalism."[216]

The efforts of Sikh writers like Sher, Jodh, or Teja Singh led to 'Sikhism' by the 1930s and 1940s being accessible and apt for the use and interpretation of international religious comparatists and slowly finding entry into the world religions discourse. Indicative of this process and KCA's role in it was, for example, the publication of the *Gospel of Guru Granth Sahib Ji* by Duncan Greenlees in 1952. The East Africa-born English educationist and theosophist Greenlees who spent a considerable part of his life in India published between 1949 and 1966 the "World Gospels Series," an enterprise hoped to function as a "useful little reference library of the world's religious literature" in "cheap, handy and attractive form."[217] The book acknowledged Sikhism in theosophist and universalist fashion as one of many expressions of a universal divine, and put it "as so pure and spiritual a Religion […] among the religions of the world."[218] At the same time, it rather strictly affirmed the modern Sikh narratives elaborated in the paragraphs above, unequivocally accepting the distinctiveness and originality of Sikhism[219] or favouring a rather strict definition that interpreted only *késdhāris* as "real Sikhs."[220] Considering Greenlees' sources and informants, this surely is no coincidence. Relying heavily on the works of Macauliffe, professors Sahib Singh and Teja Singh, and making extensive use of Bishen Singh's translations and commentaries, it was "to the well-known Sikh scholar, Bhai Jodh Singh, M.A., Principal of the Khalsa College, Amritsar,"[221] to whom Greenlees had sent his manuscript for review and who had made "frequent suggestions and several emendations"[222] to the text.

Another such example is *The Sikhs in Relation to Hindus, Moslems, Christians, and Ahmadiyyas: A Study in Comparative Religion* by the American missionary John Clark Archer. Archer, the 'Hoober Professor of Comparative Religion' at Yale University, had visited Khalsa College in 1937.[223] Referencing Ganda Singh's bibliographic work on Sikh Studies and history as the most comprehensive so far, it was to "Bhai Jodh Singh and the Khalsa College of Amritsar, its staff, students and resources,"[224] to whom Archer felt most indebted in writing his comparative study. Another American missionary-cum-scholar who relied on Ganda Singh's bibliographic work on Sikhism and Punjab was Clinton H. Loehlin, who published *The Sikhs and their Scriptures* in 1958.[225] Loehlin even dedicated his book to Ganda Singh, a "Scholar, Counsellor, and Friend" and, according to the American, the "[Sikhs'] leading historian."[226] He also cited heavily from Teja and Jodh Singh in his book, even including a paper by Jodh Singh as a separate chapter about "Theological Concepts of Sikhism."[227]

The American missionary background of both these writers is no mere coincident. Liberal Protestant missionaries, especially from the USA, were at the forefront of the study of 'world religions' in early and mid-twentieth century where Western authors such as Loehlin, Archer, Robert E. Hume or Edmund Davison Soper were (partially) overcoming older polemical engagements with non-Christian religious traditions.[228]

In the 1950s UNESCO entrusted the Sahitya Akademi (Indian Academy of Letters) with the translation of passages from the Sikh scriptures, published in 1960 as *Selections from the Sacred Writing of the Sikhs* with a dedication to Bhai Vir Singh.[229] The translation committee, chaired by S.B. Teja Singh, retired Chief Justice of High Court and later rector of Khalsa College, and convened by Trilochan Singh, a representative of a newer, post-independence generation of Sikh scholars, consisted of four persons: theologian Kapur Singh, journalist Kushwant Singh (mostly responsible for polishing the English), and the two former professors of divinity of KCA, Bhai Jodh Singh and Bawa Harkrishen Singh.

As these examples show, Khalsa College and its associated scholars and educationists were significantly involved in formulating an interpretation of 'Sikhism' that was compatible with contemporary discourses of 'modern religion'. By adhering to strategies of 'universalism' and 'scientism', Sikhism could be deemed as both a 'world religion' and its own particular system distinct from other Indian traditions. Through this approach, Khalsa College played a crucial role in conceiving and establishing a modernist understanding of Sikhism that was (and is) both authoritative and adaptive.

Conclusion

In December 1928 KCA hosted a "great Panthic gathering," a "meeting of representative Sikhs" from different "Panthic bodies" which was held in the college's *gurdwārā*. In advance, the college had issued six hundred invitations to different Sikh organisations, and four hundred delegates, beside visitors, came to discuss the matter of Sikh missionary work. As the *Durbar* noted, the last similarly representative meeting had been held in 1920 before the Akāl Takht.[230] Further, Khalsa College multiple times was the venue of the annual Sikh Educational Conference during the last few decades of British India.[231] As summaries on the evolution of Sikh Studies show, it was particularly scholars that worked out from the Khalsa College sphere that dominated the scholarly discourse in the late colonial period

after the initial phase of Sikh responses to Western representations of 'Sikhism' at the turn of the century.[232] Before the 1960s, Khalsa College was "the only place which provided a broader institutional base for the development of this field of study [=Sikh Studies]."[233] Hence, it is not too farfetched to agree with Reverend George D. Barne, Bishop of Lahore, who at KCA's annual function in 1936 lauded the college to be "the accepted authority on historical and spiritual matters connected with the Sikh religion."[234]

Khalsa College from early on favoured a religious practice and atmosphere that reflected a distinct version of Sikh identity. As an educational institution, the college was a decisive driver in the institutionalisation and standardisation of its interpretation of 'Sikhism'. While it rather literally disciplined its students to be 'proper' citizens and Sikhs, the institution also contributed to 'disciplining religion'[235] on a meta level, constituting and fixating both orthodoxy and orthopraxy. This was most visibly achieved, for example, through the establishment of a chair of Sikh theology/divinity, the scholarly, academic and popular work of KCA's staff, and the social, ritualist and symbolic imagination on campus. As a colonial, 'Anglo-vernacular' institution, Khalsa College was in constant dialogue with the coloniser, its communal rivals and the global community of religious scholars, engaging with multiple and multifarious concepts of 'modernity'. This showed in its appropriation of the paradigms of scientism and universalism that were instrumental in making the KC authors' and staff's vision of 'modern' Sikhism compatible with a canonised concept of proper 'world religion(s)' but also suited the institution's educational needs and claims. 'Science' was the structuring motif in these debates, and the college representatives were eager to declare the conformity of 'religion' in general and 'Sikhism' in particular with what was seen a not necessarily materialist and naturalist 'science'.

While its interpretation of religion often drew on contemporaneous discussions on 'modern', 'scientific', and 'universal' religion, global and South Asian, it simultaneously faced the task of reconciling these with its claim of representing a distinct and 'national' tradition called Sikhism. Khalsa College's historicist approach put the history of the Gurus and their adherents in a past dictated by a narrative of religious history leading from 'superstition' to 'modernity'. At the same time, its historiographic endeavours catered both to the institution's claim of being the prime academic institution responsible for 'true' and 'scientific' Sikh historiography, and, in its topics and trajectory, to KCA's main benefactors and the

college's role as an embodiment of a particular militaristic, moderate, and Khālsā Sikh identity.

Notes

1. 'Rules for the Working of the Khalsa College, passed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council of the Khalsa College held at Lahore on 26th November 1893', para. 197, p. xx, in KCA, *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Late Khalsa College Establishment Committee and of the Council of the Khalsa College* (Lahore: Victoria Press, n.d. [c. 1896/97]).
2. General Meeting KC Establishment Committee, 16 Nov. 1891, in KCA, *Abstract Proceedings Khalsa College Establishment Committee*, p. xiii.
3. 'The Khalsa College, Amritsar, Rules of Constitution [...] 1924', 9, Rule 55, Punjab States Archives, Patiala [hereafter (PSAP]), Patiala State, Ijlas-i-Khas, Basta No. 16, Files No. 220; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1908/09, 7.
4. The sources switch between calling the position 'Professor of Sikh *Theology'* and '*Divinity'*.
5. *Khalsa Advocate*, 15 Mar. 1904, 6
6. Ibid., 15 July 1904, 8.
7. 'Religious Education in the Khalsa College', *Khalsa Advocat*e, 15 Jan. 1905, 3ff.
8. Ibid., 3.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., 4.
11. Ibid.
12. Interview with Bhai Jodh Singh, recorded by Dr. Hari Dev Sharma, Ludhiana, 21 Dec. 1974, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi [hereafter NMML], Oral History Project, Transcript No. 258, 10.
13. On Jodh Singh's biography, see Joginder Singh, *Sikh Leadership: Early 20th Century* (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1999), 223ff.; Ganda Singh (ed.), *ਡਾਕਟਰ ਭਾਈ ਜੋਧ ਸਿੰਘ [ḍākṭar bhāī jōdh singh; 'Dr. Bhai Jodh Singh']* (Patiala: Khalsa College, 1962); Interview with Bhai Jodh Singh, NMML, Transcript.
14. *Khalsa Advocate*, 21 Apr. 1906, 5.
15. Ibid., 10 June 1905, 4
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid. In this focus on religious 'experience' the *Khalsa Advocate* writer was not alone; a similar conception of religion was, for example, present

in the both F. M. Müller's and Swami Vivekananda's thoughts on a science of religion or religion as science, respectively, according to Thomas J. Green a strategy that made religion "seemingly invulnerable to scientific or historical criticisms which could pick holes in scripture, but which could hardly touch the inner sense of the Infinite," Green, *Religion for a Secular Age: Max Müller, Swami Vivekananda and Vedānta (*New York: Routledge, 2016), 51. On the role of 'experience' in conceptions of religion among earlier European and Indian writers such as Friedrich Schleiermacher or Keshab Chandra Sen, see ibid., 75ff., and on 'experience' (or: the 'inward') as one of the crucial elements in the constitution of the modern understanding of 'religion', see Michael Bergunder, "'Religion' and 'Science' within a Global Religious History," *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, 16:1 (2016), 86–141, here 97f.

20. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1904/05, 124.
21. On the field of 'comparative theology' as discussed by Christian scholars in the second half of the nineteenth century and on its relation to 'comparative religion', see Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions, or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 22f. and Chapter 2. For a comprehensive overview on the emergence of 'comparative religion', see, although slightly dated, Eric J. Sharpe, *Comparative Religion: A History* (London: Duckworth, 1975); also Hans G. Kippenberg, *Discovering Religious History in the Modern Age* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).
22. Khalsa College School (KCS), *Annual Report,* 1893/94, p. iv; KCS, *Annual Report*, 1894–96, 13, both in KCA, *Abstract Proceedings Khalsa College Establishment Committee.*
23. Norman G. Barrier, *The Sikhs and their Literature: A Guide to Tracts, Books and Periodicals, 1849–1919* (Delhi: Manohar, 1970), pp. xxiii–xxxiv; with an emphasis on journalism, see also Joginder Singh, *Punjabi Journalism (1900–1947): Issues and Concerns* (Patiala: Punjabi University, 2012), 1–26.
24. *Khalsa Advocate*, 15 Oct. 1903, 4.
25. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1905/06, 17.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Jodh Singh, *33 Swaiyas, from Dasam Granth (B.A. Course of Religious Instruction of the Khalsa College), Translated into English and Annotated* (Amritsar: Khalsa National Agency, 1907); cf. *Khalsa Advocate*, 7 Sep. 1907, 6.
29. *Khalsa Advocate*, 7 Sep. 1907, 3.

30. Still the most comprehensive work on Hindu reformism in Punjab; Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), on the early relationship between Arya Samajis and Sikh reformers, see 135–139.
31. *Khalsa Advocate*, 12 Oct. 1907, 2.
32. Jodh Singh, *ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਨਿਰਣਯ (gurmati nirṇay, 'Treatise on Gurmat')*, (Amritsar: B. Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, 2003 [1932]).
33. Arvind-Pal Singh Mandair, *Religion and the Specter of the West: Sikhism, India, Postcoloniality, and the Politics of Translation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 238.
34. Ibid., for an extensive analysis of parts of the work, 259–271; idem., *Sikhism: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 89; William H. McLeod, 'A Sikh Theology For Modern Times', in *Sikh History and Religion in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Joseph T. O'Connell et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1988), 32–43, here 32f.
35. For an overview of Jodh Singh's works, see Jasbir Singh Sarna, *ਅਦਬਨਾਮਾ, ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ [adabnāmā, khālsā kālaj ammritsar; 'Adabnama, Khalsa College, Amritsar']* (Srinagar: Sant & Singh Publishers, 2017), 37f.
36. CKD, *ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਚੀਫ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦਵਾਨ ਦੀ ਚੌਧਵੀ ਵਾਰਸਕ ਦੀ ਰੀਪੋਰਟ [aijūkēsanal kamēṭī cīf khālsā divān dī caudhvīṅ vārsak dī rīpōrṭ; 14th Annual Report of the CKD's Educational Committee*], 1921, 17f.
37. Speech by Bishen Singh at the 20th Sikh Educational Conference, Sargodha, 1929, 11, in *ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨਗੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਨ, ਸਖਿ ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਾਨਫਰੰਸ [pradhāngī bhāsan, sikkh aijūkēsanal kānpharans; 'Presidential Speeches, Sikh Educational Conference'*], Pt. 1, ed. by Bhag Singh Ankhi (Amritsar: Chief Khalsa Diwan, 1990).
38. *The Khalsa*, 27 Nov. 1932, 5.
39. For a discussion of this book as an example of the typical Singh Sabha narrative of the Sikhs' development as a 'nation' in demarcation to the 'Hindus', see Mandair, *Religion and the Specter of the West*, 208–212.
40. Pashaura Singh, *The Guru Granth Sahib: Canon, Meaning and Authority* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 242. For an overview of Teja Singh's works, see Sarna, *ਅਦਬਨਾਮਾ [adabnāmā]*, 54f.
41. Mandair, *Religion and the Specter of the West*, 212.
42. *Durbar*, Feb. 1929, 26.
43. Ibid., Jan./Feb. 1940, 62f.
44. Sahib Singh, *ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਵਿਆਕਰਣ [gurbāṇī viākaraṇ; 'Grammar of Gurbānī']* (Amritsar: Rabbi Pustakavali, 1939).
45. *Durbar*, Oct. 1939, 28.
46. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 26.
47. P. Singh, *Guru Granth Sahib*, 26.

48. Mandair, *Religion and the Specter of the West*, 208.
49. Christopher A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p.35; Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and 'the mystic East'* (London: Routledge, 1999), Chapter 3; Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), Chapter 5; Masuzawa, *Invention of World Religions*, 210–220; Brent Nongbri, *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2013), 111f.
50. Brian A. Hatcher, *Bourgeois Hinduism, or Faith of the Modern Vedantists: Rare Discourses from Early Colonial Bengal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Green, *Religion for a Secular Age*.
51. 'General Outlines of the Scheme for the Proposed Khalsa College, approved at a meeting held on the 23rd February 1890', p. iv, in KCA, *Abstract Proceedings Khalsa College Establishment Committee*.
52. Kahn Singh Nabha, *ਹਮ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਨਹੀਂ [ham hindū nahīṅ, 'We are not Hindu(s)']* (Amritsar: Khalsa Press, 1898).
53. On Kahn Singh's pamphlet see Kenneth W. Jones, 'Ham Hindu Nahin: Arya-Sikh Relations, 1877–1905', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 32:3 (1973), 457–75; J.S. Grewal, 'Nabha's Ham Hindu Nahin: A Declaration of Sikh Ethnicity', in *Sikh Identity: Continuity and Change,* ed. by Pashaura Singh and N. Gerald Barrier (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999), 231–254.
54. The share of 'Sikhs' among the college's students fluctuated throughout the years, but, according to the college's own statistics, usually was around two third: for example, 115 of 175 in 1910, 352 of 529 in 1922, and 690 of 986 in 1933; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1909/10, 26; 1921/22, 23; 1932/33, *Durbar*, Apr./May 1933, 4. In KCA's collegiate high school the percentage was even higher; in 1919, of 704 boys 90 percent were Sikhs, 427 of them boarders; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1918/19, 18.
55. 'Rules for the Working of the Khalsa College, passed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council of the Khalsa College held at Lahore on 26th November 1893', para. 197, p. xxxiii, in KCA, *Abstract Proceedings Khalsa College Establishment Committee*. See also Ganda Singh, *A History of the Khalsa College, Amritsar* (Amritsar: Khalsa College, 1949), 29.
56. See 'Council Meeting Khalsa College Establishment Committee, 21 Apr. 1895', in KCA, *Abstract Proceedings Khalsa College Establishment Committee*, p. XLII. In later years, from the 1930s onwards, the rapidly growing college also started to open hostels for non-Sikh and *sahajdhārī* Sikh students.

57. *Khalsa Advocate*, 14 Oct. 1919, 3f.
58. Ibid., 18 Nov. 1919, 3.
59. Ibid., 2 Dec. 1919, 2.
60. Cf. Chap. 2, footnote 17.
61. *Durbar*, Feb. 1926, 20–24.
62. Ibid., 21.
63. Ibid., 23.
64. 'To Sikh Youths' by Teja Singh, *Durbar*, Dec./Jan. 1929, 1ff.
65. *The Khalsa*, 21 Dec. 1930, 12.
66. William H. McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa: A History of the Khalsa Rahit* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 171ff. See also Harjot S. Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition* (Delhi/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 343f.
67. McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 179.
68. Teja Singh, *Sikhism: Its Ideals and Institutions* (Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co, 1937).
69. KCS, *Annual Report,* 1894–96, 13.
70. Ibid.; KCS, *Annual Report*, 1893/94, p. iv; 'Prospectus of the Khalsa College Boarding House, Amritsar', 1896, 4f., in KCA, *Abstract Proceedings Khalsa College Establishment Committee.*
71. KCS, *Annual Report* 1894–96, 13ff.
72. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1903/04, 45.
73. Job advertisement for a "full time Granthi" for the KC Dharamsala, in *Khalsa Advocate*, 9 Feb. 1907, 6.
74. Job advertisement for a "religious Instructor for the Khalsa Collegiate School Amritsar" in *Khalsa Advocate*, 16 Jan. 1909, 6.
75. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1930/31, 13; 1935/36, *Durbar*, June 1936, 16.
76. Ibid., 1921/22, 16.
77. Ibid.
78. See for example ibid., 1916/17, 25; 1921/22, 16; 1928/29, 22
79. Ibid., 1928/29, 22.
80. *Durbar*, Mar. 1939, 63; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1937/38, 12; 1938/39, 14; 1939/40, 12.
81. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1940/41, *Durbar*, Mar. 1941, 36.
82. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1905/06, 6; 1908/09, 7.
83. Ibid., 1904/05, 9.
84. *Durbar*, June 1938, 18; May/June 1941, 42; May/June 1944, 36.
85. Tadhg Foley, 'Dining alone in Rawalpindi? Max Arthur Macauliffe: Sikh scholar, reformer, and evangelist', *Journal of the Irish Society for the Academic Study of Religions*, 4:1 (2017), 7–32, here 29; *Durbar*, June 1929, 1ff.

86. 'Draft Rules for the Administration of the Macauliffe Memorial Trust', n.D., Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, Sundar Singh Majithia Papers [hereafter (SSMP)], Printed Material 2.
87. *Durbar*, Oct. 1934, 33; June 1938, 17; May/June 1941, 41; Dec. 1945, 54.
88. CKD, *ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਚੀਫ਼ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦਵਿਾਨ ਦੀ ਬਾਰ੍ਹਵੀ ਰੀਪੋਰਟ [aijūkésanal kamēṭī cīf khālsā divān dī bārhvīṅ rīpōrṭ; 12th Annual Report Education Committee CKD]*, 1919, 5.
89. 'ਧਾਰਮਕ ਵਦਿਯਾ ਦੇ ਇਮਤਹਿਾਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਪਰਚੇ ਜੋ ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੇ ੧੯੧੯ ਵਚਿ ਲਏ, ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਦੇ ਫਸਟ ਯੀਅਰ ਦੇ ਇਮਤਹਿਾਨ ਦਾ ਪਰਚਾ (ਅ)' [*dhārmak vidyā dē imtihānāṅ dē parcē jo aijūkésanal kamēṭī nē 1919 vic laē, khālsā kālaj dē phaṣṭ yīar dē imtihān dā parcā* (ਅ); 'religious education examination sheet taken by the educational committee in 1919, examination sheet for first year [students] of Khalsa College', (ਅ) [part 'a']], in CKD, *ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਚੀਫ਼ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦਵਿਾਨ ਦੀ ਬਾਰ੍ਹਵੀ ਰੀਪੋਰਟ [aijūkésanal kamēṭī cīf khālsā divān dī bārhvīṅ rīpōrṭ]*, 1919, 76f.
90. *Durbar*, Feb. 1913, 3.
91. Ibid., Apr. 1915, 7.
92. Oberoi, *Construction of Religious Boundaries*, 345.
93. Ibid.; idem, 'From Ritual to Counter-Ritual: Rethinking the Hindu-Sikh Question, 1884–1915', in *Sikh History and Religion in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Joseph T. O'Connell et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 136–158. For a typical narration of this 'ritual degeneration' (including marriage rituals and the Anand ceremony) in KCA's own *Durbar*, see an editorial titled "Balanced Growth of Sikhism," *Durbar*, Dec. 1925, 7.
94. K. S. Talwar, 'The Anand Marriage Act', *Panjab Past and Present*, 2 (1968), 400–10; Oberoi, 'From Ritual to Counter-Ritual', 144–6.
95. *Durbar*, Nov./Dec. 1917, 9.
96. Ibid., Nov. 1914, 4.
97. Oberoi, *Construction of Religious Boundaries*, 336–341.
98. Although the *Durbar* also had a small section devoted to Punjabi (and Urdu), such reflections on 'religion' and/or 'Sikhism', often based on professorial lectures delivered to the students, were usually found in English, while the Punjabi section mainly was concerned with literature and poetry.
99. Masuzawa, *Invention of World Religions*, 261f; Nongbri, *Before Religion*, 112f.
100. Dorothea Lüddeckens, *Das Weltparlament der Religionen von 1893. Strukturen religiöser Begegnung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2002); Richard Hughes Seager, *The World's Parliament of*

Religions: The East/West Encounter, Chicago, 1893 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

101. *Khalsa Advocate*, 19 June 1909, 7.
102. Cf. Robert Ernest Hume, *The World's Living Religions: An Historical Sketch* (New York: Scribner, 1924); John Clark Archer, *Faiths Men Live By* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1934); Alban Gregory Widgery, *Living Religions and Modern Thought* (New York/London: Round Table Press, 1936); Jack Finegan, *The Archaeology of World Religions: The Background to Primitivism, Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Shinto, Islam, and Sikhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952).
103. Verne A. Dusenbery, 'Nation or World Religion?: Master Narratives of Sikh Identity', in *Sikh Identity: Continuity and Change,* ed. by Pashaura Singh and N. Gerald Barrier (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999), 127–146. See also Mark Juergensmeyer, 'The Forgotten Tradition: Sikhism in the Study of World Religions', in *Sikh Studies: Comparative Perspectives on a Changing Tradition,* ed. by Mark Juergensmeyer and N. Gerald Barrier (Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union, 1979), 12–23.
104. In particular: William H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968).
105. I do neither argue for the existence of distinct 'world religions' as homogenous and essential entities, nor is this passage meant to support the term's use as an analytical category in Religious Studies. The term here describes the historical discourse of the concept of a group of 'universal', 'big/global' or 'living' religious traditions defined by a set of common attributes (e.g. scripture, 'theological', preferably monotheistic and/or universal concepts, religious experts, life-cycle rituals, etc.) conceived by a mainly Protestant-influenced debate defining 'proper' religion in nineteenth and early twentieth century to which, as the KCA example shows, many religious groups aspired to adhere. For a critical analysis of the usefulness and limits of the term from, see Timothy Fitzgerald, 'Hinduism and the 'World Religion' Fallacy', *Religion*, 20:2 (1990), 101–118; from the perspective of its didactic use, see Christopher R. Cotter and David G. Robertson (eds.), *After World Religions. Reconstructing Religious Studies* (London: Routledge, 2016). On the historical genealogy of the term, see Tomoko Masuzawa, *Invention of World Religions.* On the somewhat broader, but related critique of 'religion' as a category *sui generis*, see Russell T. McCutcheon, *Manufacturing Religion: The Discourse on Sui Generis Religion and the Politics of Nostalgia* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); also Nongbri, *Before Religion*.
106. Masuzawa, *Invention of World Religions*, Chapter 2.
107. *Durbar,* May 1916, 1–3.

108. Ibid., Apr./May 1933, 17–28; Nov. 1934, 9–18.
109. Ibid., Mar./Apr. 1937, 19.
110. Ibid., Feb. 1934, 25–27.
111. Ibid., Apr./May 1934, 18–22.
112. Van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters*; Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements*. On specific traditions, see, from the abundance of literature available, for example David Kopf, *The Brahmo Samaj and the Shaping of the Modern Indian Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India, 1860–1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); Christian Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1978); S. Irfan Habib, 'Reconciling Science with Islam in Nineteenth Century India: Sir Syed and Jamaluddin Afghani', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 34:1 (2000), 63–90; David L. McMahan, *The Making of Buddhist Modernism* (New York/London: Oxford University Press); Donald S. Lopez Jr., *Buddhism & Science: A Guide for the Perplexed* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
113. *Khalsa Advocate*, 12 Oct. 1907, 2.
114. Kocku von Stuckrad, *The Scientification of Religion. A Historical Study of Discursive Change, 1800–2000* (Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).
115. Peter Gottschalk, *Religion, Science, and Empire: Classifying Hinduism and Islam in British India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 33–38.
116. Michael Bergunder, '"Religion" and "Science"'.
117. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1904/05, 43.
118. For example, John Campbell Oman, 'Khalsa College. Suggestions by Professor J. Campbell Oman, Government College, Lahore in regard to the Courses of studies which should be prescribed for adoption in the Khalsa College by the Council of that Institution', 5 June 1896, in KCA, *Abstract Proceedings Khalsa College Establishment Committee*. See also Chap. 4.
119. *Durbar*, Nov. 1914, 2; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1917/18, 12.
120. 'The Advance of Science' by 'H.B.D.', *Durbar*, May 1916, 1ff.
121. *Khalsa Advocate*, 12 Oct. 1907, 2
122. 'Some Basic Conceptions of Sikhism' by Prof. Gurbachan Singh, M.A., *Durbar*, Dec. 1936, 4–9.
123. For example, see 'Religion' by Kartar Singh Gill, *Durbar*, Nov. 1939, 25–28.
124. 'Science and Religion' by Prof. Narinjan [sic] Singh, M.Sc., *Durbar*, Apr./May 1933, 17–28, here pp. 17f.
125. Ibid., 23.

126. 'Hearken to the Voice of Science' by Prof. Darbara Singh, M.Sc., *Durbar*, Apr./May 1934, 18–22, here 21.
127. 'Science and Religion' by Jodh Singh, *Durbar*, Nov. 1934, 9–18; Mar. 1934, 53.
128. Such statements are exemplary of a criticism of a purely materialist understanding of science that often was simultaneously present in the scientistic discussion at KC and which is reminiscent of attitudes in the scientific establishment after the initial clash between materialistic science and Christian theology that tended to reject an "unrestricted epistemological optimism of science," see Bergunder, '"Religion" and "Science"', 94.
129. Jodh Singh, 'Science and Religion', 16.
130. Narinjan Singh, 'Science and Religion', 27.
131. Daniel Moulin, 'Tolstoy, Universalism and the World Religions', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 68:3 (2017), 570–87. Widely known is, of course, the big influence Tolstoy had on M.K. Gandhi, see Anthony J. Parel, 'Gandhi and Tolstoy', in *Meditations on Gandhi*, ed. by M. P. Mathai, M. S. John, and Siby K. Joseph (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2002), 96–112. On the universalist understanding of modern Neo-Vedānta, see King, *Orientalism and Religion*, 135–142.
132. Interview with Jodh Singh NMML, Transcript, 14f.; G. Singh, *ਡਾਕਟਰ ਭਾਈ ਜੋਧ ਸਿਘ [ḍākṭar bhāī jodh singh]*, 38. Apparently, his huge Tolstoy collection even drew suspicion from the C.I.D. when Jodh Singh was considered potentially disloyal around 1910, see ibid., 42.
133. Sahib Singh, *ਮੇਰੀ ਜੀਵਨ ਕਹਾਣੀ [mērī jīvan kahāṇī; 'My Life Story'],* (Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2009 [1977]), 127; G. Singh, *ਡਾਕਟਰ ਭਾਈ ਜੋਧ ਸਿਘ [ḍākṭar bhāī jodh singh]*, 102.
134. For the examples of F.M. Müller and Swami Vivekananda, see Green, *Religion for a Secular Age*, 55–59; cf. also Michael Bergunder, 'Saiva Siddhanta as a universal religion: J. M. Nallasvami Pillai (1864–1920) and Hinduism in colonial South India', in *Ritual, Caste, and Religion in Colonial South India,* ed. by Michael Bergunder, Heiko Frese, and Ulrike Schröder (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2010), 30–88, here 54.
135. David L. McMahan, 'Modernity and the Early Discourse of Scientific Buddhism', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 72:4 (2004), 897–933; here 900–18; Green, *Religion in a Secular Age*, 49–78; Bergunder, "'Religion' and 'Science'," 109–117.
136. *Durbar*, Jan. 1935, 37. Jones returned for another lecture in 1939, *Durbar*, Nov. 1939, 48.
137. 'Some Basic Conceptions of Sikhism' by Prof. Gurbachan Singh, M.A., *Durbar*, Dec. 1936, 4–9, here 6.
138. Ibid., 5.

139. 'The Fundamentals of Sikhism, based on a lecture by Prof. Jodh Singh' by Prof. Rajinder Singh, *Durbar*, Dec./Jan. 1929, 22f.
140. Bergunder, '"Religion" and "Science"', 109f.; On the example of the discourse on 'Scientific Buddhism' as an inverse reflection of Christianity's deficiencies, see McMahan, 'Modernity and the Early Discourse of Scientific Buddhism'.
141. James E. Ketelaar, 'Strategic Occidentalism: Meiji Buddhists at the World's Parliament of Religions', *Buddhist-Christian Studies*, 11 (1991), 37–56.
142. Particularly present, for example in 'Some Basic Conceptions of Sikhism' by Prof. Gurbachan Singh, M.A., *Durbar*, Dec. 1936, 4–9.
143. Ibid.
144. 'Character and Rahat' by Kartar Singh Gill, *Durbar*, Nov. 1938, 10ff.
145. The urge to explain religious practice/symbolism in 'scientific' terms can also be interpreted as an answer to the dominant essentialist attitude toward 'proper' religion that would devaluate 'contingent' aspects of religion, cf. Green, *Religion for a Secular Age*, 53.
146. As Jodh Singh in his introduction noted, not every scientist might necessarily have the exact same opinion as Eddington (and Arthur G. Tansley whose *New Psychology and its Relation to Life* (1920) he also quoted), but that their work followed recent findings and was representative of the general direction current research was heading, see *Gurmati Nirṇay*, p. ਵf. Eddington and the botanist and amateur psychoanalyst Tansley were also referenced in Jodh Singh's 1934 lecture and *Durbar* essay on 'Science and Religion'.
147. Mandair, *Religion and the Specter of the West*, 238.
148. On defining a 'world religion's' universality as a matter of its 'character', rather than 'spread', see Nongbri, *Before Religion*, 126f.
149. Tony Ballantyne, 'Resisting the "Boa Constrictor" of Hinduism: the Khalsa and the Raj', *International Journal of Punjab Studies*, 6:2 (1999), 195–217.
150. Arvind-Pal Singh Mandair, 'Time and religion-making in modern Sikhism', in *Time, History and the Religious Imaginary in South Asia,* ed. by Anne Murphy, (New York: Routledge, 2011), 187–202, here 190–5.
151. *Durbar*, Nov. 1934, 1. For a similar article on Sikhism as a 'rational' and 'universal' religion transcending Hindu and Muslim superstitions, see 'Guru Nanak, the Regenerator of Faith' by Shiv Kumar Sharma, VI year, *Durbar*, Nov. 1932, 22.
152. Ibid., 5.

153. Cf. on the emerging understanding of a 'general religious history', Bergunder, "'Religion' and 'Science'," 107–109, on similar processes among 'Hinduism', 111.
154. Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 363; McMahan, 'Modernity and the Early Discourse of Scientific Buddhism', 901; Lopez Jr., *Buddhism & Science*, 23.
155. Harald Fischer-Tiné, '"Deep Occidentalism"?—Europa und der Westen in der Wahrnehmung hinduistischer Intellektueller und Reformer (ca. 1890–1930)', *Journal of Modern European History*, 4:2 (2006), 171–203. Fischer-Tiné builds in his essay on the concept of 'nativism' ("Nativismus") as it had been elaborated by German ethnologist Wilhelm Mühlmann in 1960s. See also Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 86ff.
156. 'Science and Religion' by Prof. Narinjan Singh, M.Sc., *Durbar*, Apr./May 1933, 23.
157. 'Science and Religion' by Jodh Singh, *Durbar*, Nov. 1934, 16.
158. Ibid., 18.
159. On psychoanalysis in colonial India see Christiane Hartnack, *Psychoanalysis in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001); Kris Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement: German and Indian Intellectuals across Empire* (Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 2014), 211–37; Shruti Kapila, 'Freud and His Indian Friends: Psychoanalysis, Religion, and Selfhood in Late Colonial India', in *Psychiatry and Empire,* ed. by Megan Vaughan (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 124–152.
160. Shruti Kapila, 'The Enchantment of Science in India', *Isis*, 101:1 (2010), 120–132, here 130.
161. Ibid., 129.
162. Ibid., 131.
163. Michael Bergunder, '"Religion" and "Science"'.
164. 'Some Basic Conceptions of Sikhism' by Prof. Gurbachan Singh, M.A., *Durbar*, Dec. 1936, 4–9, here 5f.
165. Nongbri, *Before Religion*, 128f.
166. 'Democracy in Sikhism', lecture at the YMCA hall in Lahore by Waryam Singh, in *The Khalsa*, 28 May 1932, 3ff.
167. See, for example Justice Teja Singh's address at the 1944 KCA convocation ceremony, *Durbar,* Mar./Apr. 1944, 42f.
168. *Durbar*, Mar. 1916, 29.
169. Bishen Singh, *ਪ੍ਰਰਿਨਸੀਪਲ ਸਾਹਬਿ ਵਾਦਨ ਅਤੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ [prinnsīpal sāhib vādan atē khālsā kālaj; 'Principal Sahib Wathen and Khalsa College']* (Amritsar: Wazir-i-Hind Press, n.d.), 1, 6.
170. *Durbar*, Jan. 1935, Punjabi section, 5f.

171. Ibid., Feb. 1935, 40.
172. "ਮਜ਼ਹਬ"; '*mazhab*'.
173. "ਗਲਤਫਹਮੀ"; '*galatphahimī*'.
174. *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 8 July 1943, 5.
175. *Durbar*, Oct. 1917, 7f.
176. An honorific gift, originally a ceremonial robe.
177. *Durbar*, Mar. 1941, 73.
178. Ibid., Apr. 1936, 59.
179. *ਅਕਾਲੀ [Akālī]*, 14 Nov. 1943, 4.
180. Ibid.
181. *Durbar*, Jan. 1932, p 44.
182. Ganda Singh (ed.), *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: First Death Centenary Memorial* (Amritsar: KCA, 1939).
183. *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 6 July 1939, pp. 4ff.
184. Letter by Sundar Singh Majithia, 20 May 1939, SSMP, Subject File 28.
185. *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 15 May 1939, 9; 8 June 1939, 4.
186. For a detailed account of the event see *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 29 June 1939, 1–4.
187. Vivekananda Society (ed.), *Proceedings of the Convention of Religions in India* (Calcutta: The Vivekandanda Society, 1909).
188. *Khalsa Advocate*, 6 Mar. 1909, 5.
189. Ibid., 3 Apr. 1909, 4.
190. Ibid., 1 May 1909, 3. On Jodh Singh's understanding of the 'Guru' concept whose Sikh meaning (being a messenger revealed to lead to 'true' religion) he was eager to distinguish from a 'Hindu' understanding, see Mandair, *Religion and the Specter of the West*, 266f.
191. *Khalsa Advocate*, 1 May 1909, 2f.
192. Ibid., 19 June 1909, 2.
193. Vivekananda Society, *Proceedings of the Convention of Religions in India*, 207–15.
194. Abigail Green (ed.), *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 12.
195. Jodh Singh, *The Message of the Sikh Faith*, ed. by Sant Teja Singh (Stockton, CA: Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society, n.d. [c. 1929]), 5
196. Ibid.
197. Ibid., 7.
198. Ibid., 21.
199. Ibid., 19f.
200. Harbans Singh, *Something about Sikhism* (Amritsar: Sikh Religion Information Bureau, 1929).

201. Idem, *The Message of Sikhism* (New Delhi: Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, 1968 [Penang/Lahore 1941]), p. vii.
202. *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 26 Feb. 1942, 6.
203. *Durbar*, Feb. 1929, 1–7.
204. Ibid., 1.
205. Ibid., 6. This, again, reminds us on Müller's and Vivekananda's ideas that urged for a 'scientific' comprehension of religious experiences, see Green, *Religion for a Secular Age*, 74f. As Müller's case indicates, the rhetorical conflation of religious experiences and scientific facts was distinctively present in late nineteenth-century liberal Protestant theology and its reinterpretation of 'religion', see Bergunder, "'Religion' and 'Science'," 106.
206. Ibid. This quote also is reflective of the attitude dominant at Khalsa College vis-à-vis 'Western' science which was indeed not perceived as something inherently 'Western' but 'universal', as will be seen in Chap. 4 on rural development.
207. For the example of American Christian interwar pacifism (and its critics), see Andrew Preston, *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 297–314.
208. *Durbar*, Feb. 1929, 3.
209. Ibid., Feb. 1930, 24.
210. Teja Singh in his autobiography (see next footnote) dates his journey to Southeast Asia to 1936; according to the *Durbar*, however, it must have been in 1935, see 'Khalsas from abroad', *Durbar*, Oct. 1935, 29.
211. Teja Singh, *ਆਰਸੀ [ārsī; 'Hand Mirror']* (Amritsar: Lok Sahitya Prakashan, 2017 [1952]), 102–110.
212. Ibid., 103f.
213. Ibid.; 'Khalsas from abroad', *Durbar*, Oct. 1935, 29.
214. *Durbar*, Jan. 1936, 52.
215. Sher Singh, *If Gruru Nanak came to America, what would he do, say & advocate? A Paper presented to the World Fellowships of Faith, June to November 1933, Chicago* (Tarn Taran: The Sikh Religious Tract Society, 1933), 1. On Sher Singh cf. Sarna, *ਅਦਬਨਾਮਾ [adabnāmā]*, 51f.
216. Ibid., 33.
217. Duncan Greenlees, *Gospel of Guru Granth Sahib Ji* (Adyar: Theosophical Publishing House, 1952), p. vf. It is no coincidence that it was a theosophist that grouped 'Sikhism' among the modern 'world religions'. Michael Bergunder has argued to reconsider theosophy as a crucial player and indeed nodal point of modern global religious history, since in theosophy the crucial main aspects of the 'modern' discourse on 'religion', comparison, universalism and scientism, intersected. See Bergunder, '"Religion" and "Science"', 118–21.

218. Greenlees, *Gospel of Guru Granth Sahib Ji*, p. x.
219. Ibid., p. clxiii-clxxiv.
220. Ibid., p. clviii, clxxxi.
221. Ibid., p. x.
222. Ibid.
223. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1937/38, 4. Archer also included 'The Sikhs and their Religion' in his influential *Faiths Men Live By* (1934).
224. John Clark Archer, *The Sikhs in Relation to Hindus, Moslems, Christians, and Ahmadiyyas: A Study in Comparative Religion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), p. viii.
225. Clinton Herbert Loehlin, *The Sikhs and their Scriptures* (Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1974 [1958]). Loehlin's work on Sikhism connects also to the later shift in Sikh Studies, as H.W. McLeod's and Loehlin's paths crossed in the mid-1960s at Baring Union Christian College, Batala, before McLeod published his influential *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* in 1968, see Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion* (Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2004 [1991]), 69–83.
226. Ibid., 129.
227. Ibid., Chapter 7.
228. Grant Wacker, 'Second Thoughts on the Great Commission: Liberal Protestants and Foreign Missions, 1890–1940', in *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880–1980*, ed. by Joel Carpenter and Wilbert R. Shenk (Grand Rapids MI: B. Eerdmans 1990), 281–300, here 299f.; David A. Hollinger, *Protestants Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World But Changed America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 320; Harald Fischer-Tiné, 'Third-Stream Orientalism: J. N. Farquhar, the Indian YMCA's Literature Department, and the Representation of South Asian Cultures and Religions (ca. 1910–1940)', *Journal of Asian Studies*, online January 2020.
229. UNESCO (ed.), *Selections from the Sacred Writing of the Sikhs*, transl. by Trilochan Singh, Bhai Jodh Singh, Kapur Singh, Bawa Harkrishen Singh, Khushwant Singh, rev. by George S. Fraser (UNESCO Collection of Representative Works: Indian Series) (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960).
230. *Durbar*, Dec./Jan. 1929, 27.
231. In 1910, 1925, 1931, and 1938.
232. See, for example, J. S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretations of the Sikh Tradition* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1998), 82–88.

233. John C.B. Webster, 'Sikh Studies in the Punjab', in *Sikh Studies: Comparative Perspectives on a Changing Tradition,* ed. by Mark Juergensmeyer and N. Gerald Barrier (Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union, 1979), 25–32, here 25.
234. *Durbar*, June 1936, 11.
235. Cf. King, *Orientalism and Religion*, Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 4

Teaching Development: Scientific Agriculture and Rural Reconstruction at Khalsa College

Introduction

By 1930, the Khalsa College in Amritsar (KCA) offered a B.Sc. class in agriculture equivalent to the courses taught in the Government Agricultural College in Lyallpur, had a big demonstration farm and run a co-operative society with a dairy on its campus. The college saw itself as a model rural colony at the forefront of a highly topical discourse on 'scientific agriculture' and 'rural reconstruction' that intersected with pervasive discussions on 'useful education' and 'rural India' in the first half of the twentieth century.

This chapter analyses the introduction, development and perception of various schemes in agricultural education and other rural concerns at Khalsa College, with a focus on, first, the period of KCA's last English principal, G.A. Wathen and, second, an era after 1924 that continued and also advanced many of the previous activities. These activities were distinctively shaped by the political and organisational circumstances of the late colonial period, when the Sikh college looked for ways to reinforce its claim of being a leading institution in 'modern' and 'scientific' agriculture

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essential for the 'development' and 'uplift' of the community, province and country. As the college envisioned modernity and development in diverse ways, the evolution and negotiation of its schemes related to broader regional, national, and transnational discourses on rural development.

Village India, Punjab Administrative Paternalism, and Khalsa College as a Rural Reconstruction Enterprise, 1915–1924

Agriculture at Khalsa College, the Rural Sikh, and 'Village India'

In June 1896 John Campbell Oman, professor at Government College, Lahore, and later himself principal of Khalsa College, outlined a list of "Suggestions […] in regard to the Courses of studies which should be prescribed for adoption in the Khalsa College by the Council of that Institution."[1] He urged for 'technical' and 'practical' subjects as distinct and distinguishing features of the institution, stating that to him "there [was] no technical subject more important to the people of India"[2] than agriculture. Accordingly, Oman recommended a quick introduction of agricultural classes up to the B.Sc. level and suggested schemes in practical and experimental farming and horticulture. Agricultural education, he wrote, would be "directly useful in the after-life"[3] of especially the students from land-owning families, and would also benefit the administration by providing much needed experts in scientific agricultural knowledge. However, as was the case with many of Oman's ambitious proposals, little was actually done regarding the subject of agriculture in the first two decades of the college's existence.

The notion of 'useful' knowledge and agricultural education once again became relevant and more concrete in the early twentieth century, when the government's grip on the institution tightened. Sikh activists in communal newspapers and public events such as the Sikh Educational Conference sought ways to improve Khalsa College and Sikh educational institutions in general. Sikh publications such as the *Khalsa Sewak* and the *Khalsa Advocate* wrote on the subject and urged that the Sikh educationists should stop wasting money and time on institutions whose education

only aimed at government service, and to invest rather in manual, agricultural, and industrial education.[4]

Although dependence on government service was a common concern at the time, these complaints were rarely based on anti-government rhetoric. Rather, they were part of a shared imperial discussion on 'useful' education that had diagnosed similar problems, as, for example, was apparent in the foundation of the governmental Agricultural College in Lyallpur in 1909. For instance, Harnam Singh, the Assistant District Inspector of Schools of Lyallpur district, complained at the 1915 Sikh Educational Conference that the 'old' type of education only resulted in a never-ending growth of unproductive graduates and consumers who had trouble finding employment in the colonial administration. Singh lamented that these generations had lost touch with the professions of their parents and expressed his fear that their discontent was a danger to both society and the government.[5] An article in the *Khalsa Advocate* in September 1913 raised similar concerns. The current system of education was accused of "promot[ing] poverty, physical degeneracy, indolence and material discontentment."[6] The Sikhs, in contrast, were supposed to be an agriculturist people with an "active habit" and a "martial spirit." This distinct character, according to the author in the *Advocate*, distinguished the Sikh from, for example, the Bengali.

At the heart of such statements lay both a conservative and a critical view of the social and economic transformations that the nineteenth and early twentieth century had brought, as well as particular images of 'the Sikhs' as a distinct people. Demands for a more 'useful', 'practical', or 'agricultural' orientation of the Sikhs' biggest educational institution merged with notions of the Sikhs as a particularly rural community. As the *Jat* Sikh had become the epitome of the 'true' Sikh and the Sikh had become the epitome of the 'true' Punjabi in colonial rhetoric, agriculture increasingly came to be seen as the 'habitual' occupation of the Sikh. Such images to some extent had their justification in actual occupational structures in the province, but were reinforced and solidified as a topos mostly in the late nineteenth century as ambitious colonisation projects in central Punjab saw many Sikh agricultural families settling in the region.[7] Positive portrayals of the loyal Sikh, which had already dominated the imperial martial races discourse since the mutiny of 1857, merged with Victorian romantic ideals about rural life and the yeoman.[8] As the sometimes negative results of a modern industrial and urban life became apparent in the middle and late nineteenth century in Britain, nostalgic images of a

simpler, more harmonious and morally superior past in the English countryside and rural society came to be *en vogue*.[9] The English yeoman—and his Indian equivalent, the Punjabi (*Jat* and/or Sikh) farmer—were deemed the symbol of this rural ideal, characterised by loyalty to king and country, a heritage of military service, as well as an independent and practical spirit. Indeed, this projection of English character ideals onto various North Indian communities was one of the cornerstones of the imperial martial races theory.[10]

Many of these imaginings of the Sikh correlated with the general and widely accepted trope of India as 'a land of villages'.[11] Imaginings of the village as the basic and central unit of South Asian society had dominated analyses of South Asian societal and economic structures since the earliest decades of British colonisation on the subcontinent, and were articulated and consolidated by the 1860s by the influential British jurist, Henry S. Maine.[12] By the late nineteenth century, the Indian countryside and villages had become objects of increased interest to various groups from colonial administrators to Christian missionaries, including Indian nationalists, private philanthropists, and (often communal) voluntary associations.[13] Their reasons for highlighting and intervening in village life could and did differ, and ranged from economic concerns about agricultural productivity, to missionary intentions or political agendas. However, they all shared the view that rural India was core to the country's development. Being able to speak for the rural masses and conveying their material and moral improvement broached the question of the legitimacy of rule in the subcontinent, especially after a severe series of famines in late nineteenth century colonial India had fuelled contestations of power. For most of the nineteenth century an official agricultural policy had been missing and scattered private enterprises dominated. The turn of the century saw an inflation of both official and private concerns with agricultural improvement or agricultural education that led, for example, to the establishment of various agricultural colleges in the Presidencies and in North India and to the creation of the Agricultural Research Institute in Pusa, as well as to civil middle class initiatives such as the establishment of various agricultural societies.[14]

By the 1920s and 1930s, concepts of 'rural reconstruction', 'village uplift', or 'rural development' had become highly fashionable terms in a transnational discourse on expert-led, structured initiatives for the betterment of rural populations' lives. Particularly in the interwar period this kind of rural reconstruction, understood as a holistic programme touching

upon various topics such as agriculture, education, health or social reform, became part of the agendas of both states and non-state associations in many parts of the world, from Asia to the Middle East and North America, where village life was seen to be 'in a critical need of modern knowledge'.[15] One such place was 'Village India', where such enterprises, often in continuation or discussion to earlier enterprises, were demanded and conducted by a wide array of state and civil agents from national and transnational and international backgrounds. In the Punjab province this discourse on rural reconstruction was particularly strong among the administrators.

Rural Paternalism in Punjab and G.A. Wathen

The 'officialisation' of Khalsa College in 1912 brought many changes to the institution, especially regarding funding and finances. Many direct conditional or unconditional government grants allowed the college to invest in an unprecedented manner. Most of the changes came after Principal Richard Wright was replaced with Gerard A. Wathen in 1915. Wathen expanded the college and its campus in various directions using the substantial financial means provided by a government eager to "improve" the now unofficially officialised institution. He focused particularly on many initiatives concerning agricultural and rural matters.

The Punjab province with its paternalistic school of administration became particularly prominent in the movement to improve rural society and the economy as soon as these became recurring themes among both government officials and non-state activists. While the Indian south had more private enterprises, in north India most initiatives were carried out by government officials.[16] Since its integration into British India, the Punjab had seen significant colonial interventions into the agrarian structures of the province—apparent, for instance, in the extensive canal colonisation schemes conducted in the 1880s and 1890s[17]—a transformation in its scope and effects on Punjabi landscape, economy, culture, and society so substantial that it has been described as a 'great agrarian conquest'.[18] Accordingly, when 'rural reconstruction' had become a nationally and globally debated issue in early twentieth century, the Punjab's Indian Civil Service (ICS) was especially endowed with 'reconstructionists'.[19] The most prominent reconstructionist initiative was, without doubt, Frank Lugard Brayne and his 'Gurgaon Experiment'. Brayne, who had become District Officer in 1920 of the Gurgaon district in southeast Punjab close

to Delhi, launched an ambitious village uplift project in the district that focused on four areas: improving farming, reducing 'wasteful customs', improving health, and educating women.[20] Although the experiment in retrospect is judged more or less a failure, the Gurgaon project was seen by contemporaries as a model initiative to be followed. Brayne, despite regularly complaining that his work did not receive the attention it deserved, was deemed a reliable authority on rural uplift and appointed as Special Commissioner of Rural Reconstruction of the Punjab Province in 1933. Many other ICS officials from the Punjab cadre were similarly interested in the uplift of the Punjabi village and peasant. Among them was Malcolm Darling who wrote various books on the subject and in the late 1920s rode extensively through the province to interact directly with his main object of interest, the Punjabi peasant.[21] Although the approaches of these officials to dealing with the villagers might have differed to some extent, they all shared a distinct paternalism that was characteristic of the Punjab type of colonial administration.[22]

G. A. Wathen's ambitious array of projects, many of them related to rural concerns and initiated soon after he was installed as principal of Khalsa College, must be seen in the same context. The educational institution in the Wathen era is aptly described as an early expression of the Punjab rural reconstruction discourse, predating even Brayne's Gurgaon project and other initiatives from the heyday of the rural development discourse of the 1930s. The additions made to Khalsa College in the Wathen years were not simply improvements of KCA's academic or material conditions or the correction of a few particular shortcomings. Rather, they constituted a striking set of innovations aimed at benefitting the college colony and thus, in extenso, Sikh and Punjab society as a whole. Initiatives such as a demonstration farm, a co-operative society, vocational training, and the improvement of the college colony's inhabitants' health were ventures central to the core concerns of rural and village reconstruction as stressed by reconstructionists such as Brayne and Darling, but also by private enterprises such as the YMCA and nationalist activists such as Rabindranath Tagore and Mohandas K. Gandhi.[23]

Gerard A. Wathen, principal of Khalsa College between 1915 and 1924, had been part of the distinctly paternalistic administration of the Punjabi cadre of the ICS, just like the other more famous rural advocates mentioned earlier, Frank Brayne and Malcolm Darling.[24] Before arriving in India and the Punjab in 1905, this son of a clergyman had graduated from Peterhouse College in Cambridge, been to Universities in Paris and

Bonn, and done archaeological research as an undergraduate student in Anatolia and the Balkans. He then taught in Lahore at the Central Model School and the Government College, was curator at the Lahore Museum, and finally was Inspector of Schools for the Punjab Education Department shortly before being chosen as the principal for the recently governmentally 'improved' Khalsa College in 1915.[25] Wathen was a close friend of Malcolm Darling and part of a small circle who met each Christmas at the small princely state of Dewas in Central India, where Darling was tutoring the state's young ruler.[26] As part of Darling's Dewas Group, Wathen interacted with liberals and intellectuals with progressive views on matters such as politics, religion, gender, and education, a group consisting of people like the novelist E. M. Forster or Malcolm Darling himself, which saw itself to some extent as outsiders in Anglo-India. Wathen was a "fellow spirit"[27] of Darling and his circle of friends, a "staunch Liberal"[28] as his son recalls it. Not too fond of a shallow Anglo-Indian society and quite receptive to Indian and particularly Sikh customs and beliefs, his style of teaching was characterised by a close, amicable, even jovial relationship to his Indian and later also English pupils, regularly talking to them and advocating a stimulating and wholesome intellectual and practical education suitable to the needs of the individual student.[29] The pedagogical outlook of his later tenure as Headmaster of the Hall School in Hampstead has been described as quite progressive and unconventional in various areas. For instance, he experimented with methods such as Helen Parkhurst's Dalton System and Charlotte Mason's Ambleside/P.N.E.U method, both examples of the late nineteenth/early twentieth century progressive education discourse, propagating holistic, individualistic and self-reliant learning.[30] On the other hand, Wathen was also known for his rather authoritarian character, focus on discipline, and particularly his quasi-militaristic drill; in later years in Hampstead he was even accused of abusive teaching methods.[31] G.A. Wathen, thus, was a manifestation of his generation of Punjab administrators, combining the 'classical' authoritarian Punjab paternalism with newer, rather progressive, if not experimental views on the education and the development of Indian society.

The Co-operative Society and Its Dairy

Upon arriving in Amritsar, Wathen started the 'Query Club', where a limited number of students regularly met and discussed college economics. In late 1915 and early 1916, the Query Club was repeatedly visited by

J.A. Todd, a lecturer in economics at Punjab University.[32] In February 1916 the students of the club, under the guidance of its vice-president, Khalsa College economics professor B.R. Chatterjee, came up with a scheme for a co-operative society at Khalsa College.[33]

The scheme was ambitious. Since the KCA had nearly 1200 students and personnel and its activities were "equal to a modern state,"[34] the society was envisioned as consisting of a food store, bank, stationery store, cloth store, confectioners shop, fruit shop, tonga agency, dairy, and farming as well as a night school for all menial servants. It was supposed to break the monopoly of Amritsar's shopkeepers, benefit the college by cutting the middlemen, and help to provide cheaper and better commodities. Further, it was meant to be an educational tool for both the students and the menial staff, thus uplifting the college colony both economically and morally.[35] The society was to have members from all the branches of the Khalsa College, from the principal and teaching staff, to students of various grades, boarders and non-boarders, as well as from the school department.[36] The co-operative society was started shortly after the preliminary discussions in the Query Club, with the help of Hubert Calvert, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab, who assisted in outlining the rules and by-laws of the society.

Calvert visited Khalsa College regularly for lectures etc. He was accompanied on many of his trips by Malcolm Darling, then joint registrar of the Punjab government's co-operative department who, besides lecturing the students on the value of the co-operative movement, met his friend Principal G.A. Wathen at the college.[37] One of Calvert's lectures in the Query Club was on 'Agricultural Economics' and especially the role of the *zamīndār*.[38] The co-operation advocate lamented the *zamīndār's* ignorance of both market economics and modern cultivation methods, which resulted in perpetual debt to moneylenders. Hence, according to Calvert, it was the task of the "educated men [to] go and rouse up the cultivators to extract from the soil whatever material it can give,"[39] and it was hoped that "the youths turned out by the Khalsa College [would] make it a point to devote some of their time, after college life to studying this subject [=agricultural economics] practically which will be of so much use to the Punjab peasantry."[40]

The indebtedness of the Indian farmer had been a recurrent theme in analyses of India's economic situation by both government and non-government agents since the late nineteenth century. Economic and colonial transformations had brought a difficult transition from subsistence

based to more commercialised forms of agriculture. The average farmer, however, either could not afford production-increasing investments or was driven into the arms of moneylenders due to scarcity of capital. Disruptive events such as the Deccan Riots of 1875 made observers diagnose peasant indebtedness as one of the main threats to rural society.[41] In the Punjab the matter of rural indebtedness became a particularly stressful burden for the colonists in the canal colonies, which in 1900 led to the introduction of the highly controversial Land Alienation Act. Its purpose was to stop the alienation of land from indebted farmers to moneylenders by differentiating Punjabi society into 'agricultural' and 'non-agricultural' tribes and castes, the latter being restricted by the act from buying land from the former. The bill did not have the effects the legislators had hoped. Rural debt continued to increase while the only change seen was mostly in the constitution of the moneylenders: they now increasingly also came from the tribes and castes originally deemed 'agricultural' by the Government Act which after the introduction of the Act had started to take up the occupation.[42]

Co-operatives were supposed to be a further means for lessening the economic burdens of the agriculturists. Specifically, co-operative credit societies—encouraged by the Cooperative Credit Societies Act of 1904—were to assume the role of and replace the often-criticised moneylenders.[43] As Baldev Singh, Inspector of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab, noted on a visit to Khalsa College in 1926, the co-operative system was an ideal means of reducing rates of interest and was "indispensable for an agricultural country like ours."[44]

The modern co-operative had its origin in early to mid-nineteenth century England and, in the particular case of the credit co-operative, in Germany, and quickly spread around the globe and equally quickly reached India.[45] Conceived as business associations of individuals with common economic interests and characterised by principles and ideals such as self-help, autonomy, mutual aid and insurance, open membership, democratic control, low and limited interest rates, etc., co-operative societies promised to be a way for the economically weak parts of Indian society to improve their conditions and take part in business activities and investments. Co-operative societies also particularly promised to be a solution to the crucial problem of rural debt. The movement grew rapidly in British India during the first two decades of the twentieth century, and a new government act in 1912 supplemented the 1904 legislation to legally

recognise co-operative societies other than credit unions, such as consumer and supply societies like the one at Khalsa College.[46]

According to the government's co-operative department, the Khalsa College's initiative proved to be quite a success from the outset.[47] In 1918, the government's co-operative officials deemed the Khalsa College initiative advanced enough to give inspectorships to several economics graduates of the institution.[48] The KCA was a pioneer in the province in having a co-operative society on a school campus, a model that other colleges, especially in the capital Lahore, were encouraged to follow.[49] The society's successes, and its role in teaching practical business on co-operative lines to the students, were noted by many officials. In 1923, the Director of Public Instruction of Punjab suggested that every normal school in the province should have a cooperative society in the Khalsa College style.[50]

One of the key purposes of the KCA's cooperative society from early on had been the supply of healthy and nourishing food. The importance of dairy products and the provision of fresh milk was particularly emphasised.[51] The arguments behind this emphasis were based on an intertwined discourse on the 'scientifics' of both nutrition and race. The co-operative was supposed to keep the college from becoming "a machine for moulding the sons of Warriors, into weak-sighted, delicate, and touch-me-not Babus",[52] as the Query Club phrased it, and dairy products and their consumption were seen as a specific North Indian (if not Punjabi or Sikh) peculiarity, associated with the Rajputs', Pathans', and Sikhs' supposed physical superiority.[53] This rationale followed a strand in the martial races theory which for long had been only second to explanations preferring arguments of climate, heredity or race, but which had been gaining more prominence in the early twentieth century when nutritional sciences were becoming more popular.[54] Colonial nutritionists such as David McCay, Professor of Physiology at Calcutta's Medical College, had started to argue that the north Indian diet based on 'nitrogen rich' wheat and 'calcium-heavy' dairy products was far superior to the rice based ones of Bengal, Bihar or Madras. Other members from the Indian Medical Services such as Robert McCarrison followed and refined McCay's work in scientifically evaluating Indian diets for their nutritional value through laboratory and field research.[55] Results from such research were received and reviewed favourably at Khalsa College since they conveniently confirmed the institution's preoccupation with milk. McCarrison's evaluation of the "typical" Sikh diet, for example, was reprinted in the college's student magazine and ticked all the right boxes:

> It is, however, when we come to races like the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Pathans, who supplement the diet of cereals, legumes, fruit and vegetable with animal foods, especially milk and milk products, that we meet the highest degrees of physical efficiency to be found in Oriental races, or, indeed, in any races of mankind. The diet of the Sikhs is a lacto/vegetarian one. […] It would be difficult to conceive of a diet which more adequately fulfils the functions of food than that of the Sikhs. The milk which forms so important a part of it provides protein in the best and most assimilable form, as well as all those element and complexes which are deficient in the vegetable part of their food. Those who are familiar with the Sikhs will be slow to admit that for courage, manly qualities and general physical efficiency they are surpassed by any other race of mankind.[56]

Arguments about the benefits of milk on 'manly qualities' were not anything new to the Indian subcontinent. They were paralleled by an older discourse about the remedies of milk rooted in Indian spiritual-medical systems. The association between milk (and its products), 'manly' physical strength, and sexual virility, was particularly strong. For instance, milk was (and is) the key ingredient of the wrestler's diet in the practices and systems of traditional North Indian wrestling.[57] However, such lines of tradition were rarely invoked at Khalsa College. Rather, emphasis was laid on the 'modern' and 'scientific' production of dairy products and their nutritional values.

Thus, the co-operative's own dairy and the benefits of providing fresh and pure milk to the young students of the Khalsa College were regularly praised by both staff and observers as one of the initiative's main assets and a highly laudable feature of the institution in general (Fig. 4.1).[58] The ability to obtain "hygienic and wholesome milk, butter etc., scientifically prepared and untouched by hand"[59] distinguished the college dairy's efforts in the eyes of its promoters. The students of the institution also elaborated on the topic in pieces for the college magazine such as 'Drink Milk and Sleep Well'[60] or 'Place of Milk in Human Diet'.[61] Accordingly, the dairy continued to be a main and oft-cited feature of the Khalsa College co-operative society and was later further expanded.[62]

The Demonstration and Experimental Farm

When co-operation was discussed in the Query Club in early 1916, both a dairy and a farm had been suggested as branches of the future co-operative society at Khalsa College. The former was quickly started but the

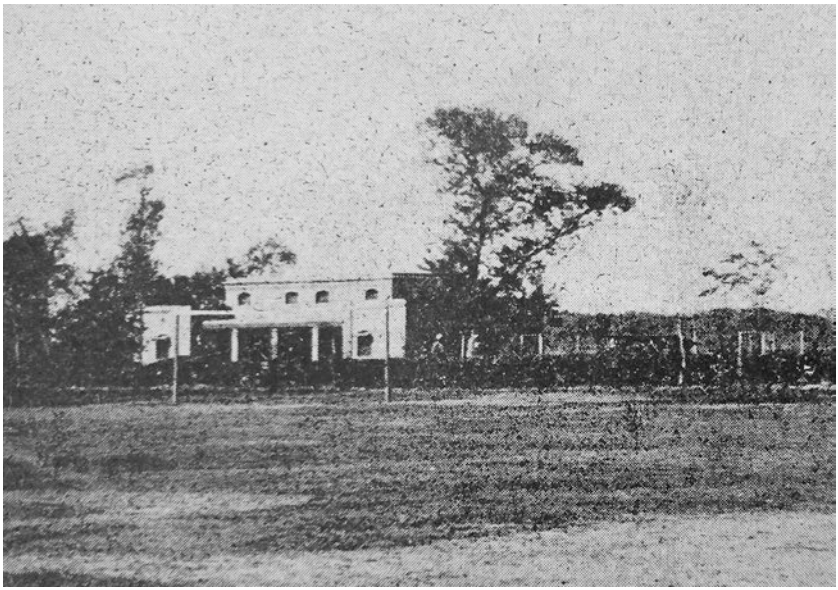

Fig. 4.1 Dairy farm of Khalsa College (*Durbar*, March 1935, p. 68)

latter did not immediately materialise. Yet G.A. Wathen's "desirable needs" as he articulated them in May 1917 in an article in the college magazine *Durbar* as well as in the institution's annual report included a "model farm," along with a wide range of demands such as work on the college buildings, material and apparatuses for science teaching, and enlargement of the college's *gurdwārā*.[63] Wathen noted that in the last year, about 50 schoolboys had visited the Agricultural College in Lyallpur and had returned "full of zeal to imitate what they saw,"[64] making it imperative to install a model or demonstration farm also at the Khalsa College campus. The administrators of Khalsa College, then still under Principal Wright, had visited the then-new Agricultural College already in 1913 and been highly impressed by its experimental farm on campus, particularly by its means for practical instruction and the "up-to-date equipment and special facilities offered for thoughtful study and scientific research work."[65]

However, although the KCA had already independently started a very small farm, the de facto initiative for a full-fledged demonstration farm came only in 1917 through collaboration with the government of Punjab. In January of that year, C.A.H. Townsend, director of the province's agricultural department, visited the Sikh college in Amritsar to prepare for the establishment of an instructional farm.[66] The Punjab government was heavily invested in the construction of the demonstration farm. About 50 acres of land neighbouring the college premises were supposed to be purchased by the government and handed over to the KCA for use.[67] The demonstration farm in its early years operated under a rather unusual arrangement that showed the heavy investment of the Punjab officials. The province's agricultural department counted the new Khalsa College farm among its directly run demonstration farms which in sum constituted the "centre of [the department's] activities."[68] Although called a "private farm,"[69] it was also "expected to be under the control of the [Agricultural] Department."[70] In charge was an agricultural assistant from the department whose services had officially been lent to the college. The assistant lectured the boys in agriculture and parts of the land of the farm were reserved as a practice area for classes.[71] Besides educating the students and schoolboys, the farm was also used for experimental crop growing, as this was also the main purpose of regular government farms.[72]

The improvement of crops had been the main thrust behind most of the agricultural experiments conducted already in the nineteenth century before the consolidation of official agricultural policies. In a phase of a commercialisation of agriculture and a colonial interest in increasing productivity and, thus, land revenue in British India, soil and crop experiments constituted the main direction in early endeavours of advancing agricultural knowledge on the subcontinent.[73] The Punjab canal colonies, made possible through vast irrigation schemes in late nineteenth century, similarly benefitted from the introduction of improved crops, leading to a commercialised production. At Khalsa College, which catered heavily to the province's *zamīndārī* class, the role of its experimental farm might surely be interpreted at least partly as inspired by similar motives.

However, as the innovations during the Wathen years followed the rationale of an integrated rural reconstruction, it would be reductive to see the college's farm only from a productionist perspective. Rather, the farm's purpose—not surprisingly for a college—was primarily an educational one, with the ambition to enable the students and schoolboys with experiences in practical agriculture. The recently started agricultural classes

of the school department, which so far "ha[d] been too much given to mastering a small text book," would thus benefit from "the one great teacher of agriculture, Mother Earth herself."[74] Wathen's intention, as he stated it in his annual report of 1916/17, was to have "[e]ach [school] boy […] required to work his own plot, to plough, to sow, to hoe and irrigate it himself."[75]

In June 1917, the first All-India Conference on Agricultural Education was held in Simla, following a similar informal meeting a year before in Pusa. One of the main questions discussed in Simla was whether agriculture should be taught in regular schools or whether distinct agricultural schools and colleges were preferable. When delegates critical of the teaching in regular schools drew attention to the aversion that many students and schoolboys—many of them from among the professional classes—had towards practical and agricultural work, C.A.H. Townsend, director of the Punjab Agricultural Department, pointed out that in the Punjab agriculture was accepted, even respected much more than in other parts of India.[76] Henry Sharp, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, had himself experienced the difficulties of agricultural instruction in Bengal, but was able, at the All-India conference, to recount a rather promising attempt taking place at the high school of the Khalsa College in the Punjab.[77] In 1919, the Punjab government released a circular on agricultural education in the province.[78] It had worked out a scheme in response to the recommendations of the 1917 All-India conference at Simla that was approved and granted Rs. 469,000 by the central government. Regarding secondary education, it had concluded that agricultural education should be taught as a practical subject in regular schools and not in specialised agricultural schools as had been suggested at the All-India conference in Simla.

In view of these government policies, it is not surprising that the Khalsa College's effort in agricultural education and particularly initiatives such as the demonstration farm met with much praise in official circles. Wathen's ambitious schemes were approved and lauded by various tiers of the British Indian provincial and central governments. At the annual prize distribution ceremony of the Khalsa College in early 1919, before announcing the unconditional grant of Rs. 300,000 to the institution (see Chap. 5), the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, Michael O'Dwyer, listed three features of the KCA that, according to him, differentiated the Sikh institution from an average college. Besides the emphasis on physical training and the military, the lieutenant governor singled out both the "wonderful spread" of

the co-operative movement at the institution and its "close connection with agriculture"[79] including the demonstration farm. Approval from the highest spheres came when Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy of British India, paid an informal visit to the college in April 1917. Amidst the early preparations for the college farm and the co-operative society, the Viceroy urged the students to be "apostles of Scientific Agriculture"[80] and hoped to see a further spread of demonstration farms in the country.

The diffusionist uplift narrative behind Chelmsford's mission call was one shared by many observers, the missionary zeal a characteristic shared by many 'reconstructionists' of the time in their supposedly secular rural reconstruction work.[81] C.A.H. Townsend's auspicious visit in early 1917 had led commentators to appeal to Khalsa students to become "missionaries, conscious or unconscious, of the most scientific methods of agriculture," and made them hope that the influence of the new demonstration farm would be "felt in every village throughout the Punjab which has been wise enough to send its sons to the Khalsa College."[82] Sundar Singh Majithia was also confident in the missionary potential of its agricultural schemes. He wanted the province's "future Zemindars to realise the advantages of taking the help of science in their fields, and [to be] able to discard the primitive implements of agriculture for more improved ones that are now available thereby, tending to their weal and prosperity."[83] Similar hopes were articulated in the 1916/17 annual report of the college, which added, "these pupils if they cannot convert their fathers into a belief in modern methods will certainly adopt those methods when their own turn comes."[84] Indeed, the claims that the KCA would function as a relay station for the dissemination of agricultural knowledge were not only faint hopes but did materialise to some extent. In 1924/25 the province's department of agriculture was able to report that the Khalsa College's demonstration farm was visited by "scores of farmers from the surrounding villages"[85] who could benefit from the farm's work as a field laboratory, the latter thus providing service in agricultural extension.[86]

Next to the missionary or extension approach, it was the alleged 'scientificity' of the agricultural knowledge gathered and diffused at the institution that dominated the discourse on the college's agricultural schemes. The college's claim to impart 'modern' and 'scientific' agricultural knowledge to its pupils was most important in its representations to the public. The 1917/18 prospectus of the collegiate high school, for example, mentioned agricultural education as the first of the institution's various 'special

topics',[87] priding itself on having a graduate from Lyallpur college as agricultural instructor and urging for new and 'English'[88] means of farming.

After the first couple of years of the college farm's existence, the authorities reported that the farm was functioning well. In 1921 it was even able to gain a net profit of Rs. 1000 for the institution. The 50-acre-farm had been divided into three blocks, two irrigated by tube-well and one by *barāni* (traditional rain-fed irrigation system). Besides comparative tests of important crops, the farm provided separate practice areas where students (around 150 in 1921/22) were taught vegetable growing and the practical handling of implements.[89]In 1923 KCA was allowed by the Punjab University to open F.Sc. classes in agriculture, thus extending its agriculture profile to the college department where previously agriculture had only been available as a professional subject. In May, the college was able to secure the services of Lal Singh, M.Sc., a graduate from the University of California, two thirds of whose salary was paid by a grant from the government.[90]

As was the case with the agricultural classes in secondary education at the Khalsa College High School, allowing agriculture to be taught as an additional subject in the general F.Sc. college course alongside other science classes was supposed to be a further step in increasing the acceptance of an academic teaching of agricultural knowledge. Being able to study agriculture only as a professional subject at the KCA, as had been the case so far, was "not the method of spreading agricultural education which is so vitally important to the economic uplift of the country,"[91] according to the new Professor of Agriculture at the college. With the introduction of agriculture as part of the F.Sc. course, students were now able to combine an education in scientific agriculture with the study of other branches of science, without having to specialise only in agriculture and thus severely limiting their options. Lal Singh argued in a statement on the adjusted F.Sc., which had also been announced in the province's biggest newspaper, the *Tribune*, that the new arrangements would be especially beneficial to sons of landed proprietors who were unable to commit to an intensive study of only agriculture but were still anxious to learn about scientific farming.[92]

Campus, Health, Extension: Uplifting the Khalsa College Colony

The farm and the co-operative society with its dairy were probably the most visible and talked about results of the Wathen era efforts. However,

they were accompanied by various other measures that can be interpreted as parts of a broader programme of uplifting the college colony. Many of these initiatives did have a distinct educational aim. Here, various aspects of rural reconstruction corresponded in their holistic approach with ideas from contemporary discourses on new or progressive education which in the same period were discussed globally and also influenced (and were influenced by) educationists on the South Asian subcontinent.[93]

Shortly after taking office, G.A. Wathen initiated various 'expeditions' to improve the vast college premises. He had the many college grounds better irrigated, the compound walls strengthened, and, in 1916, electrical light introduced on the college campus.[94] Much of this was accomplished by including the students and teaching staff of the institution in the manual work. These attempts in breaking down reservations about manual work corresponded with contemporary discussions on promoting manual and vocational education and self-sufficiency through manual labour. An emphasis stressed by various forefathers of new education such as John Ruskin or Lev Tolstoy, these discussions and efforts were most prominent in M.K. Gandhi's propagation of hand-spun cloth and the *charkhā* (spinning wheel). They also formed the background for other initiatives like, for example, village industries schemes at the Martandam Rural Demonstration Centre, which had been started in 1921 in the Southern Indian state of Travancore by Duane Spencer Hatch, an American YMCA secretary.[95] At KCA, Principal Wathen, who lauded the "admirable effects" of "the recent revulsion against a purely literary education,"[96] also started a "Labour Board" on the college campus. Under the board's auspices cloth was woven, carpets were made and furniture was repaired. During Wathen's tenure, there were also *Sloyd* classes taught at the school department.[97] *Sloyd*, a pedagogical system for manual work, had originated in Sweden (as *Slöjd*; 'handicraft') in the second half of the nineteenth century and was quickly adopted in educational institutions and schemes in England.[98] With its goal of educating both the mind and the hand, the system corresponded well to the holistic approach in the Wathen years.

Another Wathen initiative following this approach was the Coats Off Society. This society was meant to bring the students closer to manual labour while simultaneously inoculating sympathies for civil and social service. It was used on various occasions for actually putting into practice many of Wathen's ambitious plans for the College colony. For example, when the land for the demonstration farm was purchased, the society

helped prepare the land for cultivation.[99] "Tutorial detachments" tried to disseminate the society's manual labour approach on the campus, the latter which under Wathen was further 'uplifted' by making seemingly useless land ready for the plough and using the retrieved bricks for walls, barricades and brick drains.[100]

Another area of improvement targeted by Wathen was health. The principal introduced a daily militaristic morning exercise that focused on stretching, bending, and Swedish drill.[101] Every morning after being woken up by Wathen and his "whistles sharp and shrill"[102]—"an instrument of terror to all the slackers"[103]—the residents of the boarding houses started the day with compulsory service at the college *gurdwārā* and afterwards gathered outside in line and repeated the body exercises as demonstrated to them. In later years, the daily 20–30 minutes of "Wathen exercises"[104] became one of the most distinguishing and memorable features of Wathen's tenure. Distinctive of Wathen's initiatives, not only the students but also the staff was supposed to take part in the exercises.[105] Usually, the physical morning routine was completed by a dip in the recently erected (government-sponsored) college swimming pool.[106] The swimming tank was also used to teach pupils how to swim, for which the services of an English sergeant of the Somersetshire Light Infantry were engaged.[107] The morning dip was held for health reasons in particular. Once out of the water, the boys did rubbing and breathing exercises. The disappearance of diseases, as well as the better general health and physique of the boarders in relation to the non-boarders were attributed to these exercises.[108] The morning dip and exercises to this effect were part of a set of other health related measures introduced. These consisted, for example, of protection against flies and mosquitoes, food inspection (and, of course, providing pure milk), medical examinations, and hygienic measures.[109]

As is apparent in various examples, Wathen's innovations were not restricted to giving the individual student an appropriate and sound education but were characterised by the urge to improve the general conditions of the college colony and its surrounding rural society as a whole. He also attempted to involve his students' parents in the education of their sons, and even reached out to the adults directly in another example of this approach. On 4 March 1917, the Khalsa College hosted a "parents day" for the first time.[110] About 150 persons attended the event, which started early in the morning with the students' regular daily routine of prayer and physical exercise.[111] The institution's aim of educating the whole society was implemented through lectures and experiments conducted by the

science staff of the college. The audience reportedly particularly eagerly received the lecture on "the benefits of agriculture," because it was "full of very useful and valuable information, so essential for every agriculturist."[112]

Summary: Wathen, Khalsa College, and Rural Reconstruction in the Punjab

Only a few years following the nomination of G.A. Wathen as principal of the institution, Khalsa College had on (or next to) its premises a highly lauded demonstration and experimental farm, a profitable co-operative society with a dairy, as well as an improved campus with electric lights, multiple new playing and marching grounds, a swimming pool and many other features. Embedded in a narrative highly receptive to such schemes—that of the rural and agricultural Sikh—and with substantial assistance from the Punjab administration, many of the various innovations between 1915 and 1924 aimed at rural concerns in particular, improving both the individual student, the college colony and its rural surroundings. Khalsa College thus in this period became an early but prime example of the distinctive paternalistic Punjab rural reconstruction discourse. By targeting particularly the *zamīndārs*' sons as the mediators of the college's rural visions, the KCA resembled the approach of Frank Brayne. In his Gurgaon experiment, Brayne focused his efforts on the rural elites, whom the rural uplift advocate had chosen to figure as the leaders and bearers of his ambitious plan, modelling their role in his plans on his own understanding of the English gentry.[113]

While the colonial government during the Wathen years was willing to financially assist Khalsa College to an unprecedented extent, many of the enterprises undertaken in this period were intended to make the college colony (and, again, the Punjabi farmer by extension) economically more independent and self-sustaining. Both the college farm and the co-operative store, in addition to their educational and scientific value, regularly generated profit. In early 1918, when the various agricultural schemes were slowly starting, Wathen saw those schemes converging towards an integrated means of rural economic uplift, hoping in his annual report for Khalsa College to "develop a school of rural economics"[114] in the future. Accordingly, under Wathen, the college's library was supplemented with many books on agricultural economics or economic botany.[115]

However, G.A. Wathen's ambitious drive was slowed rather quickly in the 1920s by various turbulent events in the wake of a reorganisation of Khalsa College in 1920 that removed much of the formal influence the colonial authorities had through the college's constitution. Given Wathen's commanding nature and urge to unimpededly introduce his multifarious initiatives, it is not surprising that when Wathen resigned from the Sikh college, it was mostly due to disagreements between Wathen and the college's Managing Committee regarding the extent of powers of the principal.[116] Yet, as will be shown below, agriculture remained highly relevant for the college authorities even after the departure of the last European principal of the KCA. Khalsa College's positioning within the discourse on rural development was further negotiated and expressed under the changing circumstances of a now abundant and more explicitly national and international dialogue.

Khalsa College and (Trans-)National Rural Development in Late British India and Beyond, 1924–1960

The Royal Agricultural Commission and Rural Development in India and Punjab

A crucial juncture in British Indian imperial agriculture policy was the Royal Commission of Agriculture inquiry, conducted in British India between 1926 and 1928. In the commission's review of evidence in the Punjab, the Khalsa College was once again singled out when agricultural education was discussed. David Milne, Punjab province's director of agriculture, highlighted the college's 50-acre farm and its laboratories in his statement to the commission. However, Milne also saw various drawbacks in the teaching of agriculture in arts colleges such as the Khalsa College (it was still formally considered thus). At the same time, in naming them, he coincidentally indicated the areas in which the Khalsa College had in fact been proven successful. Milne doubted the ability of many arts colleges to acquire sufficiently qualified teaching staff. He also feared that many (especially city) schools and colleges lacked space and land for appropriate demonstration and practising farms, modern apparatuses, and laboratories, as well as other research facilities such as herbaria or libraries.[117] In 1928, when the report of the Commission was published, Khalsa College

and the Agricultural Institute at Allahabad (set up in 1910 by the Welsh missionary and early rural development advocate Samuel Higginbottom) were supposedly still the only private colleges in India where agriculture was taught.[118] Furthermore, Khalsa College remained one of only a few private institutions in the Punjab with a demonstration farm equipped for field and demonstration work as the province's agricultural department had imagined and recommended it.[119]

Khalsa College thus represented the successful efforts in agricultural education in the Punjab for the commission, while the Punjab itself was accounted a model for other parts of the country to follow. In the wake of the Royal Commission, the central government recommended that the 'Punjab Scheme' of agricultural education should be adopted in all of India's provinces. This meant that agricultural instruction in regular schools was to be preferred over separate agricultural schools as had been previously tested in other parts of India, especially over the 'Loni scheme', a set of experimental agricultural vocational schools that had been started in the Bombay presidency.[120] The province itself also reviewed its agricultural education schemes in 1927/28. With input in the form of lengthy notes and terms of reference also from the Khalsa College associates A.C.C. Hervey, principal of the Intermediate College Ludhiana and professor of history at Khalsa College during the Wathen years, and Bishen Singh, from 1928 to 1936 himself principal of the Sikh college in Amritsar, the commission again spoke favourably about the impact of demonstration farms in high schools.[121] Indeed, practical agricultural education was slowly gaining popularity in the province in the wake of the various commissions. In 1933 the Punjab's educational report could tell that there were now 87 farms and 104 garden plots attached to high and middle schools.[122]

Endeavours to 'improve' Indian agrarian society had—in correspondence with views of India as the 'land of villages'—been discussed in British India since the Permanent Settlement in Bengal in 1793.[123] In the wake of severe famines in the 1860s and 1870s, the colonial state began to enquire on a large scale into agricultural matters and to formulate an official agricultural policy, first aimed mostly at building corresponding administrative departments and educational and research institutions.[124] Influenced also by global trends and projects that ranged from the American South to Republican China,[125] 'rural reconstruction' and 'village uplift' became ubiquitous programmatic buzzwords increasingly after World War I and in India the debate was further stimulated by the findings

of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. Thus, by the 1920s and 1930s, the extensive if not all-encompassing uplift of 'the rural' became the increased focus of systematic policies in a development discourse now accelerated and intensified by competition and the intermingling of imperial and national development regimes, as visible in the many concurrently running projects by reconstructionist such as Darling and Brayne or Tagore and Gandhi.[126]

As in other parts of India,[127] occasional village improvement schemes had already been debated and executed in the Punjab for a couple of decades, as shown by the examples of Wathen's tenure at Khalsa College or even earlier attempts like the Christian Missionary Society's Christian village system in the province's canal colonies in late nineteenth century.[128] However, the topic, following national and international trends, gained prominence in the province in the late 1920s, with, for instance, its Education Department reporting separately on "what is general known as 'village uplift'"[129] in its annual accounts. Laying a heavy emphasis on 'propaganda work', the department initiated extensive schemes in the province's villages, consisting of not only magic lantern lectures, movie screenings, dramatic performances, village libraries, but also of games and athletic tournaments, mass vaccinations, the building of wells, and manure pits. These measures were not only conducted by department workers but also were carried out by teachers and pupils of schools following the education department's lead.[130]

'Education' in a broad sense, not surprisingly, was considered a keystone of rural uplift. In the early 1930s Punjab's Education Department reported of increased cooperation with the recently started Department of Rural Reconstruction.[131] The teaching of agriculture in schools thus assumed more than 'only' an educational role, and was now seen in the broader paradigm of rural reconstruction. Accordingly, the Punjab commission in 1928 could emphasise the particular "indirect value" of school farms, "in that the propaganda of the Agriculture Department can be directed to [the students] and through them to the zamindars,"[132] despite only small numbers of students actually going back to the land after graduating. In 1932, as a means for the "ruralisation of education in village schools […] essential both for educational and economic reasons,"[133] the education department again revised its schemes for rural schools and made "Rural Science" a composite subject including the topics of agriculture, village sanitation, and rural economy, which became compulsory in vernacular middle schools.

Perceptions of Rural Reconstruction: The Nation and Cultural Synthesis

Khalsa College joined directly this now vibrant discourse on rural reconstruction on many occasions. After Wathen returned to England and the government withdrew much of its direct investment in the institution, the college did not break with the uplift narrative. On the contrary, it continued and improved many of the schemes started in the last ten years and further strengthened its academic and practical profile in agriculture. What G.A. Wathen implicitly but practically had started before the rhetorical heydays of the corresponding term, Inder Singh, Professor of Agriculture, thus verbalised in a summary of the Khalsa College's agricultural activities in 1934:

> "[W]e are sort of a colony in a rural area and all that the government wants for *rural reconstruction* in the Punjab, can be seen in its typical stage at Khalsa College. The ideal idea of rural reconstruction on the part of the Government is a genuine attempt to deal with a real need, an effort to keep pace with the times, and endeavour to bring comfort, efficiency and all the human values to people who are badly in need of them and who cannot of their own accord obtain them."[134]

The topic was also picked up in an editorial of the college magazine *Durbar* in 1934.[135] Defining rural reconstruction as "making the village worth living by removing its unhealthiness and dullness," the author represented it as an enterprise demanding action by both government and "leaders of thought in India"[136] like Rabindranath Tagore, whose project in Shantiniketan figured as a positive example of the movement. For the main features of reconstruction, the author singled out rural education, economic uplift, and the introduction of co-operative organisations—an accurate depiction of much of Khalsa College's own efforts since and after Wathen's 'improvement' initiatives. T. D. Bedi, an agricultural expert in the Indian Civil Service, lectured at the college in 1936 on the "imperative need of India [which] was the rural uplift."[137] He, like many before and after him, favoured a diffusionist approach, educating the villagers' sons (and daughters), and using "the scientific methods of farming"[138] for ameliorating their economic conditions. The hope in the role of the youth was high. In the February 1936 issue of the *Durbar,* Jogindra Singh, an eminent Sikh public figure and member of the Khalsa College Managing Committee, suggested setting up a uniformed Sikh 'Youth League'

consisting of Sikhs from all sects and types. Members of the League were supposed to go to the villages to make every man and woman literate and lead them "along the paths of Sikhism."[139] Combining both Sikh missionary and national development aspirations, Jogindra urged the youth to "work for the economic development of [the] country' through the 'breaking of barriers and broadening the path of reforms."[140]

As these examples indicate, 'development' was negotiated at Khalsa College at various referential levels. Historian David Ludden has argued that in the 1920s a more nationalistically oriented development regime emerged in British India, competing with as well as complementing the older colonial (or rather, imperial) one and being dominated by nationalist forces that focused their critique on broader economic issues.[141] While Ludden stresses the maturation of British India as a distinctive national economy within the Empire by 1920 as the rationale behind his rather rough periodisation, its chronological distinctions are still helpful to illustrate the shift in the development discourse as visible at Khalsa College. The institution after Wathen continued to pay tribute to the imperial, state-driven rationale of development and even the paradigm of a 'benevolent imperialism', as apparent in Inder Singh's statement. Its rooting in a particular version of Sikh culture also regularly manifested, as visible in Jogindra Singh's remarks. However, the impact of an emerging national regime also showed in an increased addressing of concerns on a national level. This rhetorical shift was accompanied—or in some ways propelled—by an actual decrease of the Punjab government's investment in Khalsa College, after the events in the early and mid-20s.

The withdrawal had concrete effects on the college's agricultural schemes. The administration did not suddenly take an adversarial stance towards the institution: government officials still regularly praised the work done there, for example, and it continued to receive the annual government grant for an agriculture professor, introduced with Lal Singh, in the following decades.[142] However, the preeminent role played by the college faded. This became apparent to the management of the institution in 1931/32, when the college's students in Amritsar were not considered as part of an experimental scheme for the Lyallpur and Montgomery canal colonies implemented in colleges in the province' capital of Lahore as well as in the Lyallpur Agricultural College. Only after KCA representatives had vocally complained, the colonial authorities included students from the Sikh college in further expansions of the schemes.[143]

The shift in the Khalsa College's development and uplift narrative following these changing circumstances was particularly evident in the increased show of interest in Indian institutions that promised similar schemes of regeneration as the Amritsari college. The Khalsa College's own position in this discourse can be deduced by comparing accounts of two different institutions aiming at 'national regeneration' published around 1930 in the college magazine, the *Durbar*. These institutions, both visited by Pritam Singh, professor at Mohindra College, Patiala, and active in the Punjab/Sikh education milieu, were the Gurukul Kangri close to Haridwar, founded by the Arya Samajist Swami Shraddhanand, and the educational and rural reconstruction schemes in Shantiniketan of Rabindranath Tagore.[144] While the experiments in Haridwar received mixed marks, Tagore's approach to pedagogy and agriculture in Shantiniketan were received well by Pritam Singh.[145] Not surprisingly, the article on Shantiniketan highlighted many traits reminiscent of the college in Amritsar, thus being somewhat of a projection of what was deemed to be the Khalsa College's own distinguishing features and ideals. While Tagore's educational experiments, in contrast to KCA, deliberately stayed outside of the formal British Indian education system, they resembled in many ways the Sikh college's approaches. Tagore himself was of rather liberal and cosmopolitan religious views. Influenced by English agriculturalists, he had experimented with rural uplift schemes on his family's estate in Bengal already in the early 1900s. When he started an Institute of Rural Reconstruction in Shriniketan (adjacent to Shantiniketan) in 1922 as part of his broader educational schemes, the Nobel laureate put in charge Leonard K. Elmhirst, an Englishman who had worked in India earlier for the YMCA and as a secretary of the agronomist Sam Higginbottom. Higginbottom had recommended Elmhirst to Tagore, and the latter two met in 1921 in the USA where Elmhirst was studying agricultural science at Cornell University.[146] The rural schemes in Shriniketan included experiments on seed and soil improvement and the introduction of various new technologies and scientific methods. In contrast to Gandhian and other nationalist approaches, Tagore and Elmhirst did not seek alternatives to but embraced mechanisation and industrialisation. Further, while considered a means to national regeneration, Tagore's schemes remained mostly non-political.[147]

The institution's aspiration of bringing together "East" and "West" was reviewed as the most positive and promising feature of Tagore's undertaking by the KCA correspondent in 1930. The ideal of

development through the rural and the inclusion of the 'modern' and 'scientific' corresponded well with the Khalsa College's own vision of a rural India, which in many ways carried on the Wathen legacy on the lines of the colonial and administrational rural reconstruction topos. Further, Pritam Singh was impressed by the natural setting of the institution, which was located "away from the distractions of a busy town" and gifted with "a beautiful landscape all round."[148]

The Gurukul in Kangri, on the other hand, was reviewed more critically.[149] Once again the institution's peaceful rural location at the Himalaya foothills and its "healthy and open surroundings,"[150] its experimental character and spirit of simplicity, and the students' physical and mental freshness were appreciated. However, the observer writing for the Khalsa College's *Durbar* considered its general outlook on education and knowledge severely flawed:

> "Too much emphasis[…] is laid on the revival of Vedic Culture and the study of Sanskrit, and very little is being done in the way of assimilating all that is noble and good in the Islamic or the Christian Cultures. […] The one great drawback […] is the extreme narrow nationalism which practically shuts out all ideals of the international or the broader humanitarian type. Times, however, are changing fast and whatever may be said for the possibilities of a revival of the ancient Aryan culture, no educational institution in India at present can afford to neglect or ignore the salutary effect which new light or learning of western arts and crafts is likely to have on the Gurukulas of today."[151]

Such statements were mirrored in articles on the Khalsa College's own outlook. An editorial of the *Durbar* in 1931 spoke out in favour of elevating the Khalsa College to the status of a university. The institution in Amritsar, the author noted, would then probably be the "only University in India fostering with care the Muslim as well as the Hindu [and, of course, Sikh] types of culture and moulding them together with the best from the West in order to evolve a new synthesis which alone can satisfy the needs of the fast-evolving nation."[152]

However, what these "Indian types of culture" in terms of rural development and agrarian science consisted of was rarely elaborated at the Khalsa College. Besides possibly the comparative use of *barāni* irrigation, the sources do not show any specific considerations of methods and practices understood as 'traditional' or 'indigenous' in the college's

agricultural schemes, neither rhetorical nor practical. While the 'national' became a more relevant frame of reference in the last decades of the British Raj, the belief in the universal applicability of 'rural science' and 'scientific modernity' remained. However, much of previous, now waning hopes in a 'beneficial imperialism' had to be substituted with visions of a synthesis of 'West' and 'East' in the legitimatory approach of an institution that was dominated by moderate forces (guided by both loyalist and communal interests) who shied away from radical nationalist interpretations and schemes. The KCA thus had to cope with various perspectives: the one of its loyalist, moderate and often land-owing and aristocratic management circle in view of a changing governmental interest in the institution, the one from the growing Indian national movement, as well as a Sikh communal one trying to demarcate itself from a broader Hindu tradition and to articulate a particular 'Sikh modernity'.

Expansion of Agricultural Schemes at Khalsa College

Consistent with the institution's multi-layered rural development perspective, Khalsa College tried to further enhance the institution's profile in teaching agriculture in the mid- and late 1920s. Agriculture was considered a distinctive feature important to the progress of the community and the province not only by the college's management but also by the broader Sikh public. In 1928 the Sikh Educational Conference urged that a B.Sc course in agriculture be started,[153] a demand repeated again the next year.[154] The college management responded by adding to the recently introduced agriculture courses in the F.Sc. now also a fully-fledged B.Sc. class.[155] According to the Khalsa College's principal, Bishen Singh, the introduction of such a course at Amritsar would relieve the Agricultural College in Lyallpur but also be most helpful to the *zamīndārs* of the province.

The need for such a class was also seen in the alleged discrimination against Khalsa College students in the admission process for the Lyallpur Agricultural College. There were complaints in 1929/30 that the agriculture intermediate graduates from the Khalsa College only got restricted admission to the III year programmes at the Agricultural College, unlike in previous years when they could immediately join the course.[156] The problem was solved in the summer of 1931 when the authorities allowed the Khalsa College to offer its own agriculture B.Sc. course. The college in Amritsar thus became the only college in the Punjab besides the

Agricultural College in Lyallpur that offered a full agricultural degree class.[157]

In 1932 Prof. Inder Singh, head of the department of agriculture at Khalsa College, summarised the college's efforts in agriculture in a lengthy article in the *Durbar*.[158] The article was also supposed to be distributed at the annual Sikh Educational Conference to promote the KCA's recently started B.Sc. agriculture classes.[159] In it, he eagerly advertised the college's distinguished 'scientific' and 'modern' approach which equalled in its emphasis on the improvement of crops and livestock the schemes of most of its reconstructionist contemporaries. "Elaborate science laboratories," a "scientific model Farm fully equipped with most up-to-date appliances and machinery," a "perfect Nursery of seven years established reputation," as well as a new model dairy and up-to-date poultry farm with improved breeds were thus lauded by Inder Singh as highlights.[160] Besides the educational aspects, he also formulated the college's claim of being an exemplary rural colony, stating that the institution's agricultural section was also "endeavouring to make the college a self-sufficing unit."[161] Again, modern means of agriculture and education would enable the agriculturist to improve its conditions: "Fertility is and must be in the soil but it is still more in the intelligence of the man who handles the soil, as the real fertility of the land is the progressive skill of the husbandman."[162]

An updated version of this account by Inder Singh followed in 1934.[163] In this update, Singh stressed the fact that the Khalsa College B.Sc. in agriculture was equivalent to the one offered by the Agricultural College in Lyallpur. He further advertised that agricultural education would benefit the province' and the country's economy and progress. Hence, Inder Singh noted, the college's "efforts ha[d] been mainly directed towards meeting the demand of the public for agricultural training."[164] However, agriculture had to be "rightly understood and scientifically practised" to be most beneficial to the country, and would be taught at Khalsa College accordingly. For this, it was imperative to inculcate the young generation with the right type of modern education to replace the older unscientific practices and traditional modes of knowledge transmission that still dominated the contemporary rural landscape, according to Inder Singh:

> "The agriculture of this country is in the hands of the ignorant peasant to whom the practice of agriculture has been handed from father to son. If the prosperity of this country is at heart, it is the duty of India's educated and practically minded youth to replace the ignorant farmer."[165]

The 'ignorance' and 'apathy' of the cultivator was a common trope in the rural reconstruction discourse. Both colonialist and nationalist agents of village uplift—from Brayne to Gandhi—shared the paternalist attitude that the common villager was himself not capable of improving his conditions and thus in need of mediators.[166] While Frank Brayne counted on the 'rural leaders' and Duane S. Hatch and Mohandas Gandhi opted for (socially diverse) trained village workers or *gram sevaks* ('village servants/volunteers'), in the vision of Khalsa College it was the educated sons (particularly of the *zamīndārī* class) who were to take on this role.

The subject of agriculture, as Inder Singh described it, consisted of four individual branches, namely farming, horticulture, animal husbandry, and forestry. The first three were taught at Khalsa College. However, the agriculture professor also emphasised the "sidelines" touched by the "science of agriculture," mentioning 16 subjects from fruit gardening and preservation, dairying industries, fodder preservation, silk and wool industry, and bee-keeping, to growing spices, growing of fibre and manufacture of ropes, mats, etc.[167] The list had already been included in the first version of the essay and can be seen as an expression of the college's intention to provide a more 'holistic' type of education that would benefit the agriculturalist and rural society as a whole. Further, it corresponded well with the advocacy of village and cottage industries that was shared by many agents of rural uplift who attributed to such enterprises the potential of achieving both rural self-sufficiency and economic reconstruction.[168]

The scope of the college's schemes in the early 1930s became somewhat broader compared to the Wathen years. 'The economy' turned into a more relevant point of reference in the context of the on-going depression, and the concept of development assumed a more comprehensive form by including more 'national' concerns such as economic dependence on foreign countries and self-sufficiency. Yet, now also tackling 'the industry', the Khalsa College's outlook on national economic progress differed substantially from the distinct anti-industrial attitude of the Gandhian strain in nationalist development rhetoric. It considered mechanisation and industrialisation not as evils, as M.K. Gandhi often did when formulating his critique of Western civilisation and outlining his own contrasting visions of a simple, harmonious and self-sufficient Indian village life.[169] Rather, at Khalsa College industrial progress was seen as a necessary and complementing factor of a 'modern' national economy. The basis of India's development in Inder Singh's conception, however, was still agriculture, the "*sine qua non*" in a "backward country like India,"[170] as

developing agricultural resources would automatically lead to the growth of manufactures. The economic impetus became further apparent in Inder Singh's 1934 text as he—although rather reluctantly since this pragmatism challenged the holistic uplift paradigm—listed the many concrete employment options in various related branches of the administration or in private enterprises available to an agriculture graduate. The college magazine commended the start of a "Fruit Preservation Class" in the botany department of the KCA in 1939 with a similar reference to the national economy. The *Durbar* praised its establishment for its potential to not only absorb the unemployed but also "to prevent the flow of Indian wealth into foreign countries."[171]

Punjab was not forgotten in the schemes but rather still constituted the local starting point of Khalsa College's rural reconstruction ideal. Inder Singh in his 1934 review praised the location of the Khalsa College in Amritsar, which lay in the centre of the province, and once more presented the institution as a 'model colony' of ideal rural Punjab: "All the typical aspects of rural practices, for example, irrigation by canals, wells and *barāni*, are met with in their perfect form [at Khalsa College]. Fruit-growing is practised to a very large extent, flower and vegetable-growing is also at its best in this one of the oldest and most thickly populated districts of the province."[172] Due to the central location of the college in the Punjab, its students could be empirically shown the difficulties of everyday farming and cultivation. At the same time, this outlook was supposed to be universal, as Inder Singh indicated again in his final statement of the essay: "I wish strongly to press the claim of the rural areas upon time and interest of the [sic] India's youth."[173]

As apparent, a trait prominent in the Wathen period—the aim of reaching not only the Khalsa College's students but also the broader public—was upheld also in later years as it was crucial in the narrative of uplifting rural society as a whole. Following an extension/demonstration approach shared by many reconstructionists (and reminiscent of the scientism as described in Chap. 3), the KCA in 1937, for instance, hosted a grand "Scientific Conversazione" on the final day of its well-established annual Khalsa Schools (Games) Tournament.[174] As the name implies, its purpose was to demonstrate the scientific side of the college to the parents of the students and other visitors, with exhibitions in its chemistry, biology and physics laboratories. The exhibition, which was visited by 2000 persons according to the college's own statements, also featured the demonstration of agricultural implements, dairy machines, and many varieties of

improved seed, all of which was supposedly a great source of attraction and showed the "great educative, aesthetic, and instructive value for the public"[175] of the conversazione.

Partly in view of the hopes of elevating the KCA to a university, in the late 1930s the college management intended to further enlarge the college's agricultural resources, adding another "dairy on commercial lines in order to interest the students in the industry," another model farm and garden, and a mechanical workshop.[176] The "Agricultural Station," as the new farm was named, quickly became self-supporting and soon produced increasing amounts of food crops due to improvements in irrigation techniques.[177] Further, the new farm also followed the agricultural department's experimental approach with steps to "establish a big garden over an area of about 16 acres containing best world varieties of all kinds of fruits."[178]

Khalsa College's efforts in extending its agricultural schemes (Fig. 4.2) were duly noted. In 1947, when the partition of the subcontinent left the Government Agricultural College, Lyallpur, in the newly formed state of Pakistan, its Indian successor institution was shifted to the campus of Khalsa College in Amritsar. However, since the campus also figured as a refugee camp in the aftermath of the violent population exchange

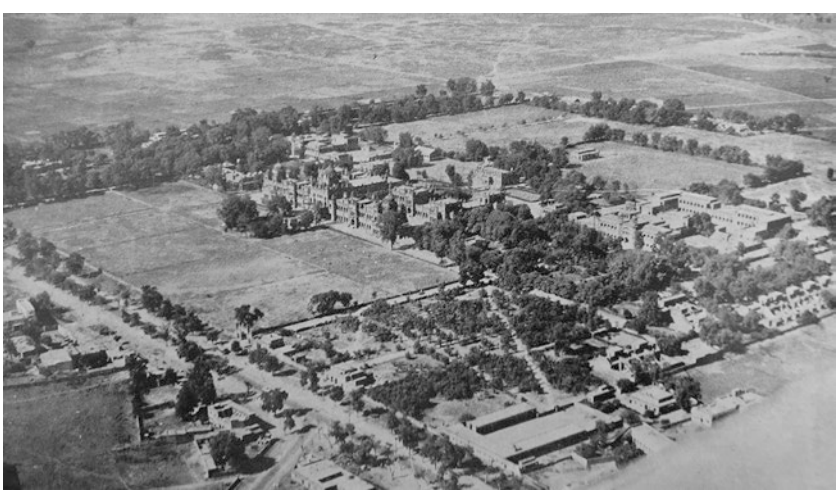

Fig. 4.2 Khalsa College colony (KCA, *Souvenir. Khalsa College Golden Jubilee, 1897–1947,* Amritsar: KCA, 1949, p. 8)

following the partition, the agricultural college was later relocated to the buildings of the Malwa High School in Ludhiana.[179]

Global Outreach: Khalsa College and the World of Development

In 1923 G.A. Wathen was sent to London to the Imperial Education Conference as a delegate for British India and the Punjab. There he lectured on "The Punjab Problem" and how agricultural education was supposed to benefit the dominantly rural province in North India.[180] He presented the acceptance of academic instruction of agricultural knowledge among the farmers as a success story that had only been accomplished in the last decade. Wathen also traced back this change to some extent to the experiences of many Punjabi farmer-soldiers in France during World War I, where they had seen "that in a country where all can read and write the moneylender's power is diminished."[181] Educating farmers' sons had reduced the tendency of educational institutions to produce educated but urbanised citizens who rarely went back to their fathers' villages after graduation. Wathen was not the only participant to address the topic of agricultural education at the imperial conference. Agriculture and rural education understood as a means of 'development' had become a topic seen as both relevant to white settler colonies such as Canada, South Africa, and Australia and important to the "Education of Non-European Races."[182]

While in this case it was a distinct imperial setting, the example of the Imperial Education Conference gives a glimpse of the internationalism permeating the discourse on agricultural development at the time, which also became more conspicuous at Khalsa College from the 1920s. The reduced governmental involvement in the early and mid-20s led the college management to consider other ways of maintaining its claim to a pioneering role in disseminating modern and scientific agriculture, a claim that was ubiquitous in and nourished by the institution's modernity paradigm. One answer to the altered circumstances seems to have been found in an increased global outreach of the college, which was congruent to the general rise of a global internationalism in the interwar period, a global internationalism that also informed the rural and economic development discourse.[183]

This approach had already started with the employment of Lal Singh as the first professor of agriculture at Khalsa College in 1923. Lal Singh had lived and studied for ten years in the USA before beginning his work in

Amritsar. The "distinguished scholar and a specialist in his subject of Horticulture"[184] studied at the University of California's Agriculture College in Berkeley/Davis where he also did practical research on citrus fruits at its experiment station.[185] Deeply engaged with the Indian diaspora community on the North American west coast, he also served as Honorary Secretary of the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society.[186] After leaving Khalsa College in 1927, Lal Singh had an impressive career in the field of agriculture. He became fruit specialist to the Government of Punjab and fruit adviser to the Government of India, and was responsible for the introduction of many new fruits on the subcontinent. After research visits on agro-horticulture to Palestine, Italy, France, Germany and the UK in the 1930s, he became the first Director of Agriculture of the new Indian state of Punjab after independence, and initiated a scheme for co-operative garden colonies in the state.[187]

As the outlook of the Khalsa College increasingly went beyond the borders of the Punjab, it found new objects of comparison and contestation not only in Kangri or Shantiniketan but also on the other side of the globe. As Subir Sinha shows, other than the—not necessarily mutually exclusive—imperial or national development regimes, the late-colonial rural development discourse was also shaped by a distinct *transnational* development regime containing of "transnational flows of power, ideas, interests, and expertise[…]."[188]

In 1932 Harnam Singh contributed an article to the *Durbar* magazine on the commendable system of agricultural education in Denmark. Harnam, a professor of philosophy at the KCA, had himself lived in Europe for six years, a substantial amount of it in the small Scandinavian country. According to Singh, besides a strong governmental emphasis on co-operation, "Denmark's pre-eminence in the world of agriculture [could] be attributed to her peculiar and well-adopted system of education."[189] Harnam Singh reviewed this system very favourably in his account. He lauded the Danish compulsory rural elementary schools where both religion and gymnastics played an important role in the pupil's education, and where the children were taught "to be rural minded"[190] by teachers also trained in rural life. Singh was impressed by the complementary existence of various types of rural-oriented secondary and tertiary educational institutions that were often equipped with farms and dairies, including the People's High Schools, Agricultural High Schools, Rural Schools of Household Economics, Special Schools for Small Holders, and the University of Copenhagen and the Royal Agricultural and Veterinary

College. Exceptional in Harnam's eyes was also the close collaboration between the Agricultural College and the farms, and the former's experimental stations and educational tours. Denmark with its reformist educational system in the interwar period had in many regards been a poster child in the international debate on modern agricultural science and economics, and was seen by many as a 'perfect' or 'utopian agrarian society'.[191] This international background of the debate was also visible in Harnam Singh's article: the Khalsa College professor cited the Australian educationist Frank Tate and his "lessons from rural Denmark"[192] and referred to a volume on "Educational Advancement Abroad," a collection of essays on educational reform in various countries—from France and Scandinavia to Japan and India—originally published in Oxford University's *Journal of Education and School World*.[193]

In Inder Singh's 1934 advertisement for Khalsa College's agriculture schemes, mentioned earlier, the professor praised the institution particularly for recruiting staff that had graduated abroad.[194] Indeed, the college expressly looked for staff "possess[ing] European academic qualifications,"[195] as visible in its employment advertisements, a strategy that was extended and formalised in a meeting of the college's managing committee in June 1932. The committee resolved to select a "good Sikh scholar" every year to be sent to a foreign country for higher studies. The college would pay his expenses in return for which the scholar was committed to return to teach at the Khalsa College after finishing his academic stay abroad. The management's hope was that the "Professors so selected [would] be life-sewaks [*servants]* of the college."[196] Indeed, the college management staffed its departments with many professors having graduated in foreign institutions. While still a lot of the college's foreign educated staff had studied in the metropole in London or at Oxbridge, especially in the college's economics and agriculture department many graduates from American institutions were employed, as, for example, showed in a message of Principal Bishen Singh in *The Khalsa* newspaper in 1931.[197] A few detailed examples of such academic travellers and knowledge mediators and their careers might elucidate the shape of the international development discourse and its particular expression at Khalsa College. It will also provide insight into the impact such figures had on the institution, the province, and beyond.[198]

Hardit Singh Dhillon, head of the KCA's economics department in the 1930s and 40s, studied for some time in the USA, first in Idaho and later in California, where he received his Ph.D. in 1933 with a thesis on "the

industrial future of India."[199] In Amritsar he wrote for the Khalsa College magazine about his experiences in the USA and on "American College Life."[200] Consistent with the Khalsa College's outlook on practical and useful knowledge, one of the features of American culture especially appreciated by Hardit Singh was that "[i]n no other country of the world […] the dignity of labour [is] so high as in America"[201] and that the American students did not shy away from manual and menial work. Hardit's stay abroad and his experiences outside the subcontinent seem to have left a lasting impression on him. In 1941 he wrote a book titled *ਪੂਰਬ ਅਤੇ ਪੱਛਮ [ʻpūrab atē paccham'; ʻEast and West']*, a comparison of "the western and eastern civilisations" written in simple Punjabi.[202] Directed at a young readership, the book dealt with topics such as "culture and conduct," "woman and society," "marriage," "home," "society," "business," "politics," or "religion."[203] In 1954, Hardit also published an extensive travelogue of his stay in America, again in Punjabi and again particularly directed at the youth and those interested in pursuing higher academic studies in the USA.[204]

In 1937, Harbans Singh Mann from the college's agricultural department left for the USA where he was supposed to advance his studies of modern agriculture at the Iowa State University, "the biggest University for Agriculture in the world."[205] He later came back to Khalsa College and its department for agriculture as the college management had envisioned in their 1932 policy. In 1942, he published a Punjabi rendering of the American writer (and critic of colonialism) Pearl S. Buck's novel *The Good Earth*, a work originally set in China dealing with man's relationship with nature and the land, advocating a simple, rural lifestyle under the title *dhartī mātā* (ʻ*Mother Earth*').[206]

It was by no means a coincidence that the USA in particular became both a destination for academic training and regular point of reference in the Khalsa College's agricultural discourse. For many Sikhs and other Punjabis, the American west coast had been a preferred destination for work migration since the early twentieth century.[207] However, the USA's relevance in agricultural, economic and development matters went further and was connected to the general ascent of the country to the status of a 'great power' after World War I. Coincidently, the USA also came to be seen as the epitome of global modernity. In India, as in other places, this translated into a bias for many things American, like Hollywood movies, Jazz, and Ford automobiles, but also, for example, American ideals of democracy, fitness, beauty, and masculinity.[208] The emergence of the USA

as a powerful economic, political, and cultural player, and the global perception of this process, was also traceable at the Khalsa College in Amritsar, where, for example, Dr Edmund D. Lucas from the Lahore Foreman Christian College in 1940 gave a guest lecture on "the economic and political position of America."[209]

The USA also became a model in agricultural matters. Already the US-trained Lal Singh, the first professor of agriculture at Khalsa College, lectured on agriculture and the USA. In a lecture held in the Government High School, Jalandhar, in October 1924, for example, he elaborated on the rapid advancement of agriculture in America which he attributed mainly to the role of educated specialists trained in multifarious fields of agriculture and rural economics.[210] This, according to the professor, had enabled American agriculturists to cultivate their land productively. Farmers in the US were thus happy, prosperous and contented, and farming was considered a highly dignified profession to which the "best brains" of the country were devoted. As Lal Singh noted, and repeated in lectures on other occasions,[211] all this was lacking in India and hence he stressed the need to emulate the American model. Inder Singh, in the 1930s director of Khalsa College's agriculture department, saw the USA as equal to countries such as France or Germany in being an example of a both agricultural and industrial state, a description he also imagined for India to achieve.[212] Inder Singh also referred to the American botanist and representative of American agrarianist ideology, Liberty H. Bailey (1858–1954), in his review of the Khalsa College's own agricultural endeavours, and declared that "America's advancement [was] mainly due to the improvements of its agricultural resources."[213]

Such statements and the striking silence in the college sources of demands for an 'Indian' way of the country's development suggest that at Khalsa College the view of India's economic future was rarely one that sought to 'modernise' but not 'westernise', a paradigm prevalent in many nationalist and indigenous perceptions of a universal 'modernity'. Rather it was one that did not shy away from opting to follow a foreign path, particularly an American one.[214]

Since the early twentieth century, foreign non-British actors and organisations played a distinctive part in India's rural development discourse. American actors, protestant missionaries, philanthropists, and foundations such as the YMCA and the Rockefeller Foundation especially were present in the subcontinent.[215] Driven by ideas of the 'social gospel', they emphasised social service instead of aggressive proselytisation as a subtle but

effective means of spreading the Christian message. Following this mission, such institutions started projects and agricultural missions in countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Accordingly, many missionary-turned-reconstructionists active in India had been trained in agricultural science in American universities. Prominent exponents of this trend were, for example, the Allahabad Agricultural Institute's Sam Higginbottom and Duane Spencer Hatch from the Martandam Rural Demonstration Centre in the Southern Indian state of Travancore.[216] The presence of a number of American-trained academics of economy and agriculture at Khalsa College, thus, can be seen as another example of the hitherto understated influence of American expertise in India's late colonial rural development schemes.[217] At the same time, the Khalsa College was not only a passive recipient of America's knowledge output; rather, the KCA actively made use of this new option after it increasingly stood on its own after the governmental withdrawal in the mid-1920s.

The career of Harbans Singh Mann, another Khalsa College alumnus and namesake of the above-mentioned agriculture professor, represents the growing relevance of the US to the development discourse. A look at the academic and professional careers of H.S. Mann and others will provide a glimpse into the transition of the development discourse from a colonial to a post-colonial cold-war setting and into US foreign development investments in early post-colonial South Asia as well as the beginnings of the transforming Green Revolution.[218] Further, this will lead us onto the question of the wider impact of Khalsa College's rural schemes, which will be elaborated on at length in the subsequent section.

H. S. Mann received his B.A. in 1936 after five years of undergraduate studies at Khalsa College. He got his M.A. in Economics from Punjab University in 1941 and worked as a Lecturer in Agricultural Economics in various government colleges in the following years. In 1960, Mann was able to study at the Ohio State University thanks to a fellowship of the Council on Economic and Cultural Affairs Inc., New York, an institution funded by the Rockefeller family and later more aptly renamed as the Agricultural Development Council.[219] Here he wrote his dissertation on co-operative farming in the Punjab, according to him a topic of huge importance for "developing countries which are engaged in the task of planned economic development" and which were considering "the future pattern of their agrarian economies."[220] During his Ph.D. research, Mann was advised by Russell O. Olson, an expert from the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (F.A.O.), Land Use and Farm Management

Branch, who himself had been assigned as a group leader of the Ohio State University Agricultural Education and Research Mission to India in the Punjab between 1955 and 1960.[221] Shortly after finishing his dissertation in Ohio, H.S. Mann joined the F.A.O. and conducted research and surveys on agricultural activities in Ethiopia.[222] In the 1950/60s the first prime minister of postcolonial India, Jawaharlal Nehru, inheriting colonial aspirations of rural and village uplift, initiated his nation-wide Community Development Programs.[223] Harbans Singh also joined the discussion and later, in 1966, he published an "Analysis of Some Problems of Community Development in India."[224]

The Ohio State University (OSU) in Columbus, USA had been a cooperation partner for various agricultural education institutions in Northwest India since 1955 under cooperation schemes between the governments of India and the USA.[225] OSU helped in establishing the Punjab Agricultural University in Ludhiana in 1962 (constituted partly out of Lyallpur's Indian heir, the Government Agricultural College in Ludhiana). It remained the Punjab's (and later also Haryana state's) partner in the further programmes in the region conducted by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) , providing academic and technical assistance in the Indian agriculture universities and enabling Indian students to pursue higher studies in the US.[226] Various Khalsa College alumni who had graduated in the late colonial period were able to participate in these programmes and benefit from these institutional ties; they often went on to have impressive careers in both the Punjab and India's administration and their agricultural development schemes. Many of these US trained Punjabi graduates also took part in the growing international theatre of 'development' in the post-Independence Cold War setting.

Bishen Singh Samundri, for example, finished his F.Sc. in agriculture at Khalsa College in 1933 and shortly after started working for the Agricultural College in Lyallpur.[227] He continued his work at the Lyallpur college's Indian successor institution in Ludhiana after partition, and in 1957 was able to go to Ohio thanks to a scholarship, where he graduated with an M.A. in Agricultural Education.[228] Being responsible for agricultural extension as professor back at the Agricultural College in Ludhiana, he became principal of the Khalsa College in 1964 and the first Vice-Chancellor of the newly founded Guru Nanak Dev University in Amritsar (neighbouring Khalsa College) in 1968.

Kharak Singh Mann took a similar academic route. After obtaining his B.Sc. (Agriculture) degree from Khalsa College in 1942, Kharak was

employed by the Lyallpur (later Ludhiana) agricultural college for two decades.[229] He left for Ohio in 1961, where he got an M.Sc. in Agricultural Economics and later the Ph.D. degree with a thesis on "The Expected Shifts in Cropping Pattern of the Punjab (India) Resulting from the Introduction of Highyielding Varieties of Crops" in 1967.[230] Remembered as a central figure in the research and academic programmes leading to the 'green revolution' in Punjab and India, Kharak Singh Mann worked in the next few decades on projects at the provincial, national and international level, and provided his expertise to F.A.O. missions in Ghana, Yemen, Iran, Libya, or Zambia or at the headquarters in Rome.[231]

The early Cold War Punjab-USA connection in agriculture was visible not only in the later careers of the Khalsa College's alumni but also at the institution in Amritsar itself. Already in 1953, two agriculture students of the KCA were among 31 Indian students sent to the USA, as part of the International Farm Youth Exchange Project carried out by the US Department of Agriculture and the National 4-H Club Foundation.[232] When the USAID-Ohio-Punjab agricultural cooperation programme ran in the 1960s, T. Scott Sutton, Associate Dean, College of Agriculture & Home Economics, OSU, and Wilbur W. Wood, Director Extension Education, OSU, visited also the Sikh college in Amritsar.[233]

Alumni and Legacy: Khalsa College and Its Students in the Punjab

The previous sections have examined the rhetoric of both the Punjab administration and the Khalsa College, the latter's self-representation and practical efforts in advocating for agricultural education, as well as the college's transnational connections beyond the geographical and chronological borders of the empire. It seems appropriate to ask now what more immediate impact the often-cherished agricultural schemes at Khalsa College had in late colonial Punjab. Of course, this endeavour is not simple, as it would require a systematic analysis of the college's high- and low-profile alumni and their careers, a venture not possible with the available data. However, scrutinising some of the few numbers and anecdotal accounts at hand provides some insight in the probable effects of the college's schemes.

In terms of student enrolment, the roll numbers available suggest that the Khalsa College's agriculture schemes were rather successful. The B.Sc. classes introduced in 1931 had some initial difficulty in attracting students

due to the economic situation, as was the case at many educational institutions at the time. In view of the supposedly suffering *zamīndārī* and agricultural classes, the management of the Khalsa College addressed the problem by implementing relief measures and lowering various fees.[234] Since its earliest days having claimed to draw its students particularly from the agricultural classes, the KCA—if we give credit to its own statements—indeed seems to have been successful in attracting the sons of *zamīndārs* and landed agriculturists to the institution, when its agricultural schemes had gathered pace.[235]

While the general rolls kept steady in the following years, the agricultural side of the institution grew in numbers. From the mid-1930s onward, the various intermediate and B.Sc. agriculture classes together accounted for 10 to 20 percent of all the students (around 900–1000) of the originally arts dominated college.[236] In 1938, the college's annual report proudly stated that boys came to study agriculture at the Sikh college in Amritsar even from distant places such as Bengal, Assam or Cochin.[237] Two years later, the college had to restrict admission to its 1st year F.Sc. class in agriculture.[238]

Analysing what happened to the students once they finished their studies proves to be a more difficult task. Claims and reports from the college's own publications are difficult to verify. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that the Khalsa College's agricultural schemes did have an impact, whether directly on its students' employment or more indirectly on their farming. In its report for the year 1939/40 the Khalsa College was proud to state that "[u]pto this time all the students who have taken the B.Sc. Agr. degree from this College have been getting employment."[239] The college sources show graduates finding work in various branches of the government such as the province' agricultural department, in the military as food inspector, or in research institutes such as the Nutrition Research Laboratories in Koonoor.[240] Many of the college's agriculture graduates also came back to the Khalsa College to work. From the late 1930s onward, there was a steady circulation of Old Khalsas in the institution's agriculture department.[241]

One of the more prominent examples of such a career—besides the American-educated ones mentioned in the previous section—was Harbhajan Singh (1916–1974), who was almost the prototype of what the Khalsa College imagined its students to be. Coming from a rural *Jat* background with an early education from a Khalsa school, he passed his B.Sc. at Khalsa College in 1936. After getting his master's degree from Agra

University in 1938 he became an associate of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi, in 1940. After a remarkable career at the institute he was appointed Head of the Division of Plant Introduction in 1962. During his scientific assignment, he was responsible for the collection, improvement, and introduction of various vegetables obtained in India, Sikkim, and Nepal, but also from distant countries such as Ghana, Australia, and the USA. In 1971 he received the Padma Shri award conferred by the President of India for his important work on agriculture.[242]

Of course, singling out individual success stories can only show a limited (if not distorted) picture, and the college's own reviews of their graduates' success must been taken *cum grano salis*. However, praise for the impact of Khalsa College's agricultural efforts in the late colonial period also came from outside the college community. When the discussions were going on about introducing an agriculture B.Sc. at Khalsa College, the newspaper *The Khalsa* reviewed the impact of the Amritsar college's agriculture scheme. According to the Sikh newspaper, Sikh students who had previously studied at Khalsa College were the most successful in Lahore's Punjab university B.Sc. examinations, and consequently were most often employed by the government's agricultural department after graduation.[243]

Malcolm Darling also at least anecdotally confirmed some claims about the success of the Khalsa College, indicating also on an impact of the schemes beyond graduates getting government jobs. On his horseback travels through Punjab, the rural uplift advocate and ICS official spoke with many agriculturists whom he—following the paternalist, derogatory trope of the 'ignorant villager'—quickly categorised as either intelligent or "typical village idiots."[244] In 1931 at Nowshera he met a *Jat* whom he saw as an example of how education might positively affect a farmer. The peasant was an alumnus of the Khalsa College School and, according to Darling, was of "that uncommon Indian peasant type, a farmer who wants money for *development*."[245] Darling applauded the *Jat* farmer having carefully invested only after reflecting on his farm's long-time development instead of borrowing money. He also praised the latter's use of "a Meston plough" and cultivation of "Molisoni cotton, Coimbatore cane (No. 223), and Punjab 8 A wheat,"[246] all of which was understood by the Anglo-Indian official as means of modern and progressive agriculture. Other former students of Khalsa College also confirmed Darling's views about the benefits of a sound education for agriculturists. They represented the ideal cultivators in scientific and economic farming by having urged for the

introduction of improved implements and seeds[247] and keeping written accounts of their agricultural enterprise.[248]

Malcom Darling's accounts also show that G.A. Wathen's ambitious schemes made a lasting impression outside the Amritsar college campus. During a trip through the Punjab in 1930/31, Darling reported of a Khalsa High School in Sirháli whose headmaster was a "firm believer in self-help and the methods of a well-known and most successful English principal [=Wathen], whose pupil he was at the Khalsa College."[249] Accordingly, the headmaster had started several initiatives reminiscent of the KCA's Wathen years. With help from the school's pupils, he cleared bricks from the school premises, converted a pond into playing grounds, and added an 8-acre school farm. Even the boys' daily time-table closely followed the routine drawn by Wathen at the Amritsari institution, with an early bath, prayers in the *gurdwārā*, drill and physical exercise in the morning,[250] and an hour for games (hockey, football(hockey, etc.) after the afternoon classes. The Sirháli Khalsa High School was also singled out in the 1930/31 report of the Co-operative Societies in the Punjab. Its success was attributed to its Khalsa College alumnus headmaster, and the report (whose information probably came from Darling) mentioned the high school's profitable co-operative supply society most favourably.[251] Other Khalsa schools were strikingly often similarly highlighted in these reports,[252] indicating the Khalsa College's role as an example to be followed especially by its Khalsa sister institutions.

Conclusion

Rural improvement and agricultural education were crucial issues in Khalsa College's various schemes during the colonial period. While the Wathen years at Khalsa College can be understood quite particularly as an expression of typical Punjabi state paternalism—supplemented with ideas from the contemporary progressive education sphere and always rhetorically legitimised by the topos of the Sikhs' rural character –, KCA's later emphasis on rural economic development was negotiated in a discourse on "development [that] exceeded the relation between coloniser and colonised" and included "[t]ransnational forms of power—of universities, experts, foundations, philanthropists, missionaries, voluntary associations."[253] This was visible in particular when the college's outlook in the late colonial period shifted from an Imperial or British-coined framework to a more transnational one, substituting (largely unfulfilled) imperial

promises of progress with an attraction to American modernity. Kick-started by a distinct governmental initiative, the college's management and benefactors carried on a steady dialogue with experts from the colonial administration. This conversation was later—when the colonial government had lost much of its direct influence over the institution—joined by global, particularly American (or American educated), voices, touching even the early phases of Cold War development politics. The college competed in a 'development market', brokering knowledge through transnationally oriented and even transnationally mobile actors.

While various attempts at 'improving' agriculture and rural communities had been made in British India in late nineteenth and early twentieth century, by the 1920s, many of these enterprises competing with the Sikh college had taken on a particular nationalist rationale. Since rural uplift was a concern mostly seen as (at least inherently) 'not political', as Benjamin Zachariah has argued,[254] Khalsa College's schemes and their justifications could and did oscillate between imperial, national and communal interests. KCA could thus pose as a model of governmental rural reconstruction schemes, while at the same time declaring itself an apostle of national rural and economic regeneration. It positioned itself as an option for providing 'modern' and 'scientific' means for the improvement of its students, their rural surroundings, and the wider community (sometimes defined as Sikh, sometimes as Indian) as a whole. Comparing itself to more outspoken national initiatives, and—as a Punjab and Sikh institution 'naturally' or 'habitually' drawn to the rural—claiming to be the perfect representative and voice of 'Village India', it could stylise the college colony as its own small, self-reliant, and internally interdependent social and economic unit, thus paralleling the running trope of the Indian village as a 'microcosm' of India as a whole—however 'developed' according to what was understood to be among the lines of a global and universal rural modernity.

As the college management's persistent loyalism and the institution's emphasis of a distinct Sikh identity kept it mostly away from radical anti-colonial politics and broader Indian nationalist aspirations and rhetoric, the KCA set its hope on a 'modern science' understood as culturally neutral and universal tool for development. It readily acknowledged agricultural scientific advancements made in many European or North American countries as examples to follow but did not see science as something inherently 'Western'. Consequently, there was no pressing need to reconcile it with 'Indian' or 'Eastern' traditions or methods. This attitude made

it easy for the institution in the interwar period to orient itself more towards American promises of rural modernity and thus keeping its trust in 'Western' examples of scientific progress without having to accept a purely British/imperial dominance.

Although it differed in its lack of attempts at 'indigensation' and similar processes from more nationalistically inclined institutions, the KCA's actual schemes paralleled them in many ways. In particular, they followed a rural reconstruction discourse shared by both nationalists and the colonial state that kept laying emphasis on elite-led and expert-driven approaches—programmes "for but not from 'the masses'."[255] Although the college occasionally ventured into typical reconstructionist extension schemes, it was hardly the often denigrated common cultivator who stood in the spotlight of KCA's efforts. Being an educational institution, its paternalist visions were rather centred on the diffusionist role of the college's graduates, the bulk of whom were the sons of *zamīndārs*. The education imparted on them, however, was to be a holistic one, touching upon various fields prominent in the broader contemporary discourse on rural reconstruction such as scientific agriculture, rural economics, vocational education and cottage industries, social service, nutrition or health.

Notes

1. 'Suggestions by Professor J. Campbell Oman, Government College, Lahore in regard to the Courses of studies which should be prescribed for adoption in the Khalsa College by the Council of that Institution', in KCA, *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Late Khalsa College Establishment Committee and of the Council of the Khalsa College* (Lahore: Victoria Press, n.d. [c. 1896/97]).
2. Ibid., 2.
3. Ibid., 4.
4. *Khalsa Advocate*, Amritsar, 24 Jan. 1914, Selections from the Vernacular Newspapers published in the Punjab [hereafter SVNP], 1914; India Office Records, British Library, London [hereafter IOR]/L/R/5/195; *Khalsa Sewak*, Amritsar, 11 June 1913, SVNP, 1913, IOR/L/R/5/194.
5. Harnam Singh, *Imperial Necessity of Bread-earning Education* (Amritsar: Sikh Educational Conference, 1915).
6. *Khalsa Advocate*, 9 Sep. 1913, 2.
7. Imran Ali, 'Canal Colonization and Socio-economic Change', in *Five Punjabi Centuries: Policy, Economy, Society and Culture, C. 1500–1990—Essays for J. S. Grewal*, ed. by Indu Banga (New Delhi: Manohar, 2000),

341–57. According to Ali, preference for colonisation was given particularly to Sikh Jat families not least due to the rural elites' role in the colonial military.

8. Brian P. Caton, 'Sikh Identity Formation and the British Rural Ideal, 1880–1930', in *Sikh Identity: Continuity and Change,* ed. by Pashaura Singh and Norman G. Barrier (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999), 175–94.
9. Caton, 'Sikh Identity Formation and the British Rural Ideal'; Corinna R. Unger, *Entwicklungspfade in Indien: Eine internationale Geschichte 1947–1980* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015), 30.
10. Ibid.
11. S.S. Jodhka, 'Nation and Village: Images of Rural India in Gandhi, Nehru and Ambedkar', *Economic & Political Weekly*, 37:32 (2002), 3343–53; Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), Chapter IV: Village India, Living Essence of the Ancient, 131–61.
12. Ibid., 137–40.
13. Deepak Kumar, 'Science in Agriculture: A Study in Victorian India', in *Tilling the Land: Agricultural Knowledge and Practices in Colonial India*, ed. by Deepak Kumar and Bipasha Raha (Delhi: Primus Books, 2016), 20–48, on agricultural education in particular, 30–6.
14. Srabani Sen, 'Scientific Enquiry in Agriculture in Colonial India: A Historical Perspective', *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 45:2 (2010), 199–239. On the perceptions of modern agriculture for example among the Bengali and Hindi *literati*, see Arnab Roy, 'Contextualizing Modern Science in Agriculture in Colonial Bengal, 1876–1928: A Case of Productionist Discourse', in *Tilling the Land: Agricultural Knowledge and Practices in Colonial India,* ed. by Deepak Kumar and Bipasha Raha (Delhi: Primus Books, 2016), 49–70, and Sandipan Baksi, 'Modernizing Agriculture in the Colonial Era: A View from Some Hindi Periodicals, 1880–1940', in *Tilling the Land*, 71–98.
15. Nicole Sackley, 'The Village as Cold War Site: Experts, Development, and the History of Rural Reconstruction', *Journal of Global History*, 6:3 (2011), 481–504, here 484.
16. Apart from the Punjab, this was visible, for example, in the Sindh region where the government in the 1920s and 30s promoted and conducted extensive colonization, irrigation and dam construction projects that were supposed to support the legitimacy of colonial rule through the idiom of (agricultural) development, see Daniel Haines, *Building the Empire, Building the Nation: Development, Legitimacy, and Hydro-Politics in Sind, 1919–1969* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), Chapters 1 & 2.
17. Islam, M. Mufakharul, *Irrigation, Agriculture and the Raj: Punjab, 1887–1947* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1997). For the impact of these agri-

culture and colonisation policies on the Sikh community, see—although he probably overstates the governmental role in Sikh identity formation—Fox, *Lions of the Punjab: Culture in the Making* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) Chapters 2ff.

18. Neeladri Bhattacharya, *The Great Agrarian Conquest: The Colonial Reshaping of a Rural World* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2018).
19. Benjamin Zachariah, *Developing India: An Intellectual and Social History, c. 1930–50* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 113f.
20. V.P. Pande, *Village Community Projects in India: Origin, Development and Problems* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1967), 135–46; Clive Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes: Mind of the Indian Civil Service* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), Chapter 4: Experiments with Uplift.
21. Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes*, Chapters 6 & 7; Atiyab Sultan, 'Malcolm Darling and Developmentalism in Colonial Punjab', *Modern Asian Studies*, 51:6 (2017), 1891–1921.
22. Ibid.; Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism, 1885–1947* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Ian Talbot, 'British Rule in the Punjab, 1849–1947: Characteristics and Consequences', *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History*, 19:2 (1991), 203–21.
23. Pande, *Village Community Projects in India*, Chapter IV: Forerunners of Community Projects in India; Jodhka, 'Nation and Village'; Deepak Kumar, 'Tagore's Pedagogy and Rural Reconstruction', in *Shantiniketan—Hellerau: New Education in the 'Pedagogic Provinces' of India and Germany,* ed. by Michael Mann (Heidelberg: Draupadi-Verlag, 2015), 309–30.
24. Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes.*
25. John A. Venn (ed.), *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, Part II, Vol. VI (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 364.
26. Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes*, 180f.
27. Ibid., 180.
28. Mark Wathen, *Banker, Soldier, Farmer, Priest: Personal Memories* (Dunkirk: Barnwell Print, 2009), 14. See also Kim A. Wagner, 'Fear and Loathing in Amritsar: An Intimate Account of Colonial Crisis', *Itinerario,* 42:1 (2018), 67–84, here 75.
29. Ibid.; Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes*, 180; Paddy Heazell (ed.), *One Hundred Years in Hampstead: The Story of the Hall School 1889–1989* (Hampstead/London: The Hall School, 1989), 63ff; Bishan Singh, *ਪ੍ਰਿੰਨਸੀਪਲ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਾਦਨ ਅਤੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ [prinnīspal sāhib vādan atē khālsā kālaj; 'Principal Sahib Wathen and Khalsa College']* (Amritsar: Wazir-i-Hind Press, n.d.), 1–8. This, again, puts Wathen close to what has been

coined by Clive Dewey as Malcolm Darling's 'Cult of Friendship', or connects to similar Anglo-Indian attitudes described by Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2006), as 'Politics of Friendship', although counting Wathen among Leela Gandhi's anti-colonialists and radicals would surely go too far and hardly be justified by the only fragmentarily available sources.

30. Heazell, *One Hundred Years in Hampstead*, 57f. Besides the schemes mentioned in the following passages, available Khalsa College sources hint only at a few other traces of contemporary progressive/new education methods in the Sikh institution during Wathen's tenure. These show for example in a group/tutorial system, Wathen's introduction of a "special method of teaching English" (KCA, *Annual Report*, 1916/17, 22), see also Heazell, *One Hundred Years in Hampstead*, 58, on Wathen 's emphasis on English as Headmaster at the Hall School, and indirect references through other members of the professorial staff. See *Durbar*, Apr. 1915; 2; Mar. 1917, 20–28.
31. Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes*, 181; Nicola Beauman, *Morgan: A Biography of E.M. Forster* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1993), 277.
32. *Durbar*, Feb. 1916, 3; Mar. 1916, 21f.
33. Ibid., Feb. 1916, 'Read in the Query Club', by K.S. Sandhu, 22–6.
34. Ibid., 22.
35. Ibid., 26.
36. *Durbar*, Apr. 1916, 7–10.
37. GoP, *Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies in the Punjab*, 1917/18 (Lahore: Government of Punjab, 1918), 3.
38. *Durbar*, Mar. 1918, 2f., 5.
39. Ibid., 3.
40. Ibid., 5.
41. Unger, *Entwicklungspfade in Indien*, 25ff.
42. Mridula Mukherjee, *Colonializing Agriculture: The Myth of Punjab Exceptionalism* (New Delhi: Sage, 2005), Chapter V: 'Government and Debt', 31–55; Himadri Banerjee, 'Changes in Agrarian Society in the Late Nineteenth Century', in *Five Punjabi Centuries: Policy, Economy, Society and Culture, C. 1500–1990—Essays for J. S. Grewal,* ed. by Indu Banga (New Delhi: Manohar, 2000), 333–40, here 335–8.
43. Unger, *Entwicklungspfade in Indien*, 30; Sultan, 'Developmentalism in Colonial Punjab', 1903–12.
44. *Durbar*, June 1926, 23.
45. G.R. Madan, *Co-operative Movement in India: A Critical Appraisal* (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 2007). For the imperial and international dimension of the movement, see Johnston Birchall, *The International*

Co-operative Movement (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Rita Rhodes, *Empire and Co-operation: How the British Empire used Co-operatives in its Development Strategies 1900–1970* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2012); Nikolay Kamenov, 'Imperial Cooperative Experiments and Global Market Capitalism, c.1900–c.1960', *Journal of Global History*, 14:2 (2019), 219–37.

46. Madan, *Co-operative Movement in India*, 59.
47. GoP, *Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies in the Punjab*, 1917/18, 11.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., 1918/19, 2.
50. Ibid., 1922/23, 9.
51. *Durbar*, Dec. 1915, 3.
52. Ibid., Feb. 1916, 25.
53. Although particularly significant in its appropriation in the martial races discourse, the veneration of milk was also present in broader discussions on diet, health and masculinity in colonial India, among various societal groups such as the growing professional classes or upper-caste Hindus. See Saurabh Mishra, *Beastly Encounters of the Raj: Livelihoods, Livestock and Veterinary Health in India, 1790–1920* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 103–7.
54. David Arnold, 'The "Discovery" of Malnutrition and Diet in Colonial India', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 31:1 (1994), 1–16.
55. Ibid., 14f.; Ashok Malhotra, 'Race, Diet, and Class: Robert McCarrison's Laboratory Rat Experiments in Coonoor, 1925–27', *Food Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 9:1 (2019), 17–27
56. 'The efficiency of some Indian diets (From a paper on 'Problems of Food, with Special Reference to India, read at a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts on December 5th by Lieut. Colonel Robert McCarrison, C.I.E, M.D., LL. D., D. Sc., F.R.C.P., I.M.S.)', *Durbar*, Apr. 1926, 5–8, here 6.
57. Joseph S. Alter, *The Wrestler's Body: Identity and Ideology in North India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 120–22, 148–51; Mishra, *Beastly Encounters of the Raj*, 104f.
58. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1916/17, 24; Speech by B.S. Sir Shamsher Singh at Khalsa College, in *Khalsa Advocate*, 20 Apr. 1918, 6; *Durbar*, June 1926, 4; GoP, *Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies in the Punjab*, 1917/18, 2; Khalsa College, *ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਖ਼ਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ, ਬੋਰਿਡੰਗ ਹਾਈ ਸਕੂਲ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਾਸਪੈਕਟਸ [srī ammritsar khālsā kālaj, bōrḍing hāī skūl dā prāspaikṭas; 'Prospectus of the Boarding High School, Khalsa College, Sri Amritsar'] 1917–18* (Amritsar: KCA, 1917), 16.
59. Prof. Inder Singh, 'Agriculture at Khalsa College, Amritsar', *Durbar*, Apr./May 1932, 9. The adulteration of milk was a concern that haunted

both the Indian (especially urban middle-class) public and state authorities to quite some extent in late nineteenth and early twentieth century, resulting in a rise of co-operative dairies in the 1930s in North India. See Mishra, *Beastly Encounters of the Raj*, 107–14.

60. *Durbar*, May/June 1935, article by Lakshmi Singh Nagi, III Year, 17f.
61. *Durbar*, June 1939, article by Sadhu Singh, B.Sc., 23–26.
62. Ibid., June 1926, 3–5; Apr./May 1932, 9; Mar./Apr. 1937, 27; CKD, *ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਚੀਫ਼ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦਿਵਾਨ ਦੀ ੨੨ਵੀਂ ਵਾਰਸਕ ਰੀਪੋਟ [aijūkēśanal kamēṭī cīf khālsā divān dī 22vīṅ vārsak rīpōṭ; '22nd Annual Report Educational Committee CKD]*, 1931, 57f.
63. *Durbar*, May 1916, 27ff.
64. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1915/16, 27.
65. *Durbar*, Oct. 1913, 8.
66. Ibid., Jan. 1917, 6f.
67. Ibid., 6; GoP, *Report on the Operations of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab, 1919/20* (Lahore: Government of Punjab, 1920), 17.
68. Ibid., 79.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., 80.
71. GoP, *Report on the Operations of the Department of Agriculture*, 1920/21, pp. xxxiiif.
72. Ibid., 1919/20, 80.
73. Sen, 'Scientific Enquiry in Agriculture in Colonial India'. For regional and crop-specific examples see Prakash Kumar, *Indigo Plantations and Science in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Kathinka Sinha-Kerkhoff, *Colonising Plants in Bihar (1760–1950): Tobacco Betwixt Indigo and Sugarcane* (Delhi: Partridge, 2014); Jagjeet Lally, 'Trial, Error and Economic Development in Colonial Punjab: The Agri-Horticultural Society, the State and Sericulture Experiments, c. 1840–70', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 52:1 (2015), 1–27.
74. *Durbar*, Jan. 1917, 6.
75. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1916/17, 23.
76. GoI, *Proceedings of the Conference on Agricultural Education held at Simla* (Simla: Government of India, 1917), 31.
77. Ibid., 35.
78. 'Agricultural Education in the Punjab', by J. A. Richey, 19 Feb. 1919, IOR/P/10698, GoP-P, Home (Education) A, 1919, Proc. 9, C.M. No. 77.
79. Annual Report of Khalsa College and speech of Michael O'Dwyer, both printed in the *Khalsa Advocate*, 2 Feb. 1919, 4.
80. *Durbar*, Apr. 1917, 34.

81. For an elaboration of this theme, shown through the example of the YMCA's rural reconstruction work in India and the organisation's shift to the 'social gospel' in the first half of the twentieth century, see Harald Fischer-Tiné, 'The YMCA and Low-Modernist Rural Development in South Asia, c. 1922–1957', *Past & Present,* 240 (2018), 193–231.
82. *Durbar*, Jan. 1917, 7.
83. Ibid., Oct. 1916, 20.
84. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1916/17, 23.
85. GoP, *Report on the Operations of the Department of Agriculture,* 1924/25, p. lxiii.
86. Cf. the similar 'lighthouse' function role of D.S. Hatch's schemes in Martandam, Fischer-Tiné, 'The YMCA and Low-Modernist Rural Development in South Asia', 208–214.
87. "ਖ਼ਾਸ ਮਜਮੂ਼ਨ"; 'khās majmūn', KCA, *ਬੋਰਡਿੰਗ ਹਾਈ ਸਕੂ਼ਲ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਾਸਪੈਕਟਸ [bōrḍing hāī skūl dā prāspaikṭas]*, 6.
88. "ਅੰਗ੍ਰੇਜ਼ੀ"; 'angrēzī', ibid.
89. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1921/22, 18; GoP, *Report on the Operations of the Department of Agriculture,* 1921/22, p. xlix.
90. Ibid.; 'Draft Note and correspondence on S. S. Lal Singh, Professor of Agriculture at Khalsa College 1939', Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, Sundar Singh Majithia Papers [hereafter SSMP], Subject File 29. *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਮੈਨੇਜਿੰਗ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਇਕੱਤ੍ਰਤਾ ਦੀ ਕਾਰਰਵਾਈ [khālsā kālaj mainējing kamēṭī dī ikattratā dī kāraravāī*; '*Proceedings of the Meeting of the Khalsa College Management Committee*'], 6 May 1923, 2, SSMP, Printed Material 2; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1924/25, 12.
91. *Durbar*, Nov. 1925, 20.
92. Ibid.
93. On the rather loosely defined term (and historical discourse) of 'progressive' or 'new education' which included emphasis on child-centred approaches, vocational and practical education, health and physical well-being, etc., see Kevin J. Brehony, 'From the Particular to the General, the Continuous to the Discontinuous: Progressive Education Revisited', *History of Education*, 30:5 (2001), 413–32. On an example of new education and colonial India, see Simone Holzwarth, 'A New Education for "Young India": Exploring Nai Talim from the Perspective of a Connected History', in *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-cultural Exchanges in (Post-) Colonial Education,* ed. by Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs and Kate Rousmaniere (New York, NY: Berghahn, 2014), 123–39. On progressive education in other colonial contexts (Batavia and Australia) see Joost Coté, '"Administering the Medicine": Progressive Education, Colonialism and the State', *History of Education*, 30:5, (2001), 489–511.

94. G. Singh, *A History of the Khalsa College*, 81f.
95. Pande, *Indian Village Communities*, 114–24; Fischer-Tiné, 'The YMCA and Low-Modernist Rural Development in South Asia', 212f.
96. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1922/23, 26.
97. '*ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਮੈਨੇਜਿੰਗ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਇਕੱਤ੍ਰਤਾ ਦੀ ਕਾਰਰਵਾਈ* [khālsā kālaj mainējing kamēṭī dī ikattratā dī kāraravāī]', 25 June 1922, 3; 'Report of Sub-Committee re-School, 6 June 1922; Budget Estimate of the Khalsa College, for the year 1923–24', 7, SSMP, Printed Material 2.
98. David J. Whittaker, *The Impact and Legacy of Educational Sloyd: Head and Hands in Harness* (London: Routledge, 2014), chapters 5f.
99. G. Singh, *A History of the Khalsa College*, 88.
100. GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education*, 1922/23, 31.
101. *Durbar*, Dec. 1915, 17; May 1918, 40.
102. *Khalsa Advocate*, 27 Apr. 1918, 6.
103. *Durbar*, Dec. 1915, 18.
104. Ibid., Dec. 1925, 16.
105. *Durbar*, May 1918, 40; B. Singh, *ਪ੍ਰਿੰਨਸੀਪਲ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਾਦਨ [prinnsīpal sāhib vādan]*, 1f.
106. *Khalsa Advocate*, 27 Apr. 1918, 6.
107. *Durbar*, Nov. 1915, 7; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1915/16, 21.
108. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1916/17, 24; *Khalsa Advocate*, 27 Apr. 1918, 6.
109. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1916/17, 24; *Durbar*, Mar. 1916, 22.
110. *Durbar*, Mar. 1917, 9ff.
111. B. Singh, *ਪ੍ਰਿੰਨਸੀਪਲ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਾਦਨ [prinnsīpal sāhib vādan]*, 7.
112. *Durbar*, Mar. 1917, 10.
113. Subir Sinha, 'Lineages of the Developmentalist State: Transnationality and Village India, 1900–1965', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 50:1 (2008), 57–90, here 66f.
114. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1917/18, 15.
115. *Durbar*, May 1918, p. 40.
116. 'Employment of IES officers at the Khalsa College, Amritsar; status of IES service posts attached to the college', IOR/L/PJ/6/1849, File 2664. See also Chap. 2.
117. GoI, *Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, Vol. VIII, Evidence Taken in Punjab* (Calcutta: Government of India, 1927), 152.
118. GoI, *Abridged Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India* (Bombay: Government of India, 1928), 59.
119. GoI, *Royal Commission on Agriculture*, Evidence Punjab, 159.
120. Government of Punjab, *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the Quinquennium ending 1931–32* (Lahore: Government of Punjab, 1932), 88; GoI, *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India,* 532–38; 'Report of the committee appointed to make recom-

mendations for the improvement and development of agricultural education in schools', 15 Mar. 1929, No. 4637-G., in: IOR/Mss Eur F235/491.

121. 'Proceedings of the Meeting of the Agricultural Education Committee held in December 1927, and January, February and March 1928', 20f., in: IOR/Mss Eur F235/491, 'Report of the Proceedings of the Agricultural Education Committee appointed by the Punjab Government 1927–28'.
122. GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education*, 1932/33, 16.
123. David Arnold, 'Agriculture and "Improvement" in Early Colonial India: A Pre-history of Development', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 5:4 (2005), 505–25.
124. Kumar, 'Science in Agriculture', 29–36.
125. Kate Merkel-Hess, *The Rural Modern: Reconstructing the Self and State in Republican China* (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 2016); David Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), chapters 1f.; Amalia Ribi Forclaz and Liesbeth van de Grift (eds), *Governing the Rural in Interwar Europe* (London: Routledge, 2017).
126. David Ludden, 'Development Regimes in South Asia: History and the Governance Conundrum', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40:37 (2005), 4042–51, and idem, 'India's Development Regime', in *Colonialism and Culture,* ed. by Nicholas Dirks (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 247–87.
127. Cf. for example Rabindranath Tagore's early agrarian experiments in Shilaidaha and Patisar, see Bipasha Raha, 'Transformation of Agricultural Practices: An Indigenous Experiment in Colonial Bengal', in *Tilling the Land: Agricultural Knowledge and Practices in Colonial India,* ed. by Deepak Kumar and Bipasha Raha (Delhi: Primus Books, 2016), 122–44, here 123–7.
128. Christopher G. Harding, 'The Christian Village Experiment in Punjab: Social and Religious Reformation', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 31:3 (2008), 397–418. For similar early missionary projects see Pande, *Village Community Projects,* Chapter 1.
129. GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education*, 1928/29, 19.
130. Ibid., 1931/32, 16f.; 1932/33, 17.
131. Ibid., 1934/35, 4.
132. 'Proceedings of the Meeting of the Agricultural Education Committee held in December 1927, and January, February and March 1928', p. 20, in: IOR/Mss Eur F235/491, 'Report of the Proceedings of the

Agricultural Education Committee appointed by the Punjab Government 1927–28'.

133. GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education*, 1932/33, 17.
134. *Durbar*, Mar. 1934, 41. Emphasis by M.P.B.
135. Ibid., June 1934, 1.
136. Ibid. Similar descriptions of 'the village' as 'in need of (an) awakening' ("ਜਾਗ੍ਰਿਤ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ", jāgrit dī lōṛ) were expressed for example in an article in Punjabi titled 'ਸਾਡੇ ਕਾਲਜ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਾਨ—ਪੇਂਡੂਆਂ ਦੀ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟੀ-ਕੋਣ ਤੋਂ' [sāḍē kālaj dī śān—pēṇḍūāṅ dī driśṭī-kōṇ tōṅ; 'The Glory of our College—from the Perspective of the Village/Rural'], *Durbar*, Mar./Apr. 1942, Punjabi section, 5ff.
137. Ibid., Apr. 1936, 61.
138. Ibid.
139. Ibid., Feb. 1936, 18.
140. Ibid. Serving similar goals of social work was also the Boy Scout movement, present in the schemes of many rural reconstructionists such as Hatch or Tagore, see Fischer-Tiné, 'The YMCA and Low-Modernist Rural Development in South Asia', 213f.; Pande, *Village Community Projects*, 95.
141. Ludden, 'Development Regimes in South Asia', 4045.
142. 'Draft Note and correspondence on S. S. Lal Singh, Professor of Agriculture at Khalsa College 1939', SSMP, Subject File 29.
143. *The Khalsa*, 5 May, 1932, 9; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1934/35, in *Durbar*, Mar. 1935, 62; *Durbar,* Mar. 1935, 41; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1935/36, in *Durbar*, June 1936, 29.
144. On the Gurukul see Harald Fischer-Tiné, *Der Gurukul-Kangri oder die Erziehung der Arya-Nation: Kolonialismus, Hindureform und 'Nationale Bildung' in Britisch-Indien (1897–1922)* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2003); on Tagore, see Nityananda Roy, *Tagore's Thought on Rural Reconstruction and Role of Village Development Societies* (Delhi: Abhijeet Publications, 2008); Ahmed Rafique, 'Tagore's Thoughts on Village Development and Rural Reconstruction', in *Contemporarising Tagore and the World*, ed. by Ahmed Imtiaz, Muchkund Dubey and Veena Sikri (Dhaka: University Press, 2013), 375–9; Atiur Rahman, 'Tagore's Thoughts on Rural Credit and Development', in *Contemporarising Tagore and the World*, 363–73; Kumar, 'Tagore's Pedagogy and Rural Reconstruction'; Raha, 'Transformation of Agricultural Practices'.
145. Pritam Singh, 'Shanti Niketan or House of Peace', *Durbar*, Oct. 1929, 4–9.
146. Nandini Chatterjee, *The Making of Indian Secularism: Empire, Law and Christianity, 1830–1960* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 156–62; Uma Das Gupta, 'Tagore's Ideas of Social Action and the Sriniketan

Experiment of Rural Reconstruction, 1922–41', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 77:4 (2008), 992–1004; Jodhka, 'Nation and Village'; Kumar, 'Tagore's Pedagogy and Rural Reconstruction'; Rafique, 'Tagore's Thoughts on Village Development and Rural Reconstruction'.

147. Ibid.; Kumar, 'Tagore's Pedagogy and Rural Reconstruction'; Rafique, 'Tagore's Thoughts on Village Development and Rural Reconstruction'.
148. P. Singh, 'Shanti Niketan or House of Peace', 4.
149. Pritam Singh, 'The Gurukula University', *Durbar*, Apr./May 1930, 3–5.
150. *Durbar*, Apr./May 1930, 3–5.
151. Ibid., 4f.
152. Ibid., Apr./May 1931, 3f.
153. CKD, *ਡਾਇਮੰਡ ਜੁਬਲੀ ਬੁਕ, ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਮੇਟੀ, ਚੀਫ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦਿਵਾਨ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ, ਤੇ ਸਰਬ ਹਿੰਦ ਸਿੱਖ ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਾਨਫਰੰਸ [ḍāimanḍ jubalī buk, aijūkēsanal kamēṭī, cīf khālsā divān, ammritsar, tē sarb hind sikkh aijūkēsanal kānpharans; Diamond Jubilee Book, Educational Committee, Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar, and All-India Sikh Educational Conference]* (Amritsar: Chief Khalsa Diwan, 1983), 77.
154. Ibid., 81.
155. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1928/29, 16.
156. *The Khalsa*, 13 July 1930, 6f.; *Tribune*, 27 Aug. 1930, 11; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1930/31, 5.
157. *Durbar*, Apr./May 1931, 41.
158. Inder Singh, 'Agriculture at Khalsa College', *Durbar*, Apr./May. 1932, 9–11.
159. 'Khalsa College—Agriculture, a cyclostyled note by Prof. Inder Singh 1932', SSMP, Subject File 17.
160. Ibid., 1.
161. Ibid.
162. Ibid., 3.
163. Inder Singh, 'Agriculture at Khalsa College', *Durbar*, Mar. 1934, 33–42.
164. Ibid., 34.
165. Ibid., 36.
166. Sinha, 'Lineages of the Developmentalist State', 66–71.
167. Inder Singh, 'Agriculture at Khalsa College', *Durbar*, Mar. 1934, 37.
168. See Pande, *Indian Village Communities*, 102f., 114–24; Fischer-Tiné, 'The YMCA and Low-Modernist Rural Development in South Asia', 212f.
169. Zachariah, *Developing India*, 292; Jodhka, 'Nation and Village'.
170. Inder Singh, 'Agriculture at Khalsa College', *Durbar*, Mar. 1934, 38, italics in original.
171. *Durbar*, June 1939, 35.
172. Inder Singh, 'Agriculture at Khalsa College', *Durbar*, Mar. 1934, 40.
173. Ibid., 42.

174. *Durbar*, Nov. 1937, 79.
175. Ibid.
176. Ibid., Mar./Apr. 1937, 27.
177. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1945/46, 18; 1948/49, 19.
178. Ibid., 1945/46, 18.
179. Trilochan Singh, 'Dr Kharak Singh (His Saga of Professional Achievements)', *Abstracts of Sikh Studies*, 10:4 (2008) [http://www.sikhinstitute.org/oct_2008/12-tarsi.htm, accessed 3 Apr. 2017].
180. '"The Punjab Problem"—Précis of Memorandum by Mr. G. A. Wathen', in *Report of the Imperial Education Conference, 1923,* ed. by the Imperial Education Conference (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1924), 270ff.
181. Ibid., 270. The impact of the returning soldiers' experiences in the War had also been noted by other ICS officials such as Frank L. Brayne, see Pande, *Village Community Projects*, 137, or Malcolm L. Darling, *Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village* (London et al.: Oxford University Press), 1934, 87. Cf. Santanu Das, 'Imperialism, Nationalism and the First World War in India', in *Finding Common Ground: New Directions in First World War Studies,* ed. by Jennifer Keene and Michael Neiberg (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 67–86, here 84.
182. Imperial Education Conference, *Report of the Imperial Education Conference*, 38, 42, 46–51, 112–19, 132, 259, 261, 274.
183. Sackley, 'Village as Cold War Site'; Sinha, 'Lineages of the Developmentalist State'. For the rise of internationalism in the inter-war period in general, see Ali Raza, Franziska Roy and Benjamin Zachariah (eds), *The Internationalist Moment: South Asia, Worlds, and World Views 1917–39* (London: Sage, 2015).
184. 'Draft Note and correspondence on S. S. Lal Singh, Professor of Agriculture at Khalsa College 1939', SSMP, Subject File 29.
185. University of California, *Report of the College of Agriculture and the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of California, 1921–1922* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1922), p. 184.
186. M.S. Randhawa, *A History of Agriculture in India, Vol. IV: 1947–1981* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Agricultural Research, 1986), 38–50.
187. Ibid.
188. Sinha, 'Lineages of the Developmentalist State', 58.
189. *Durbar*, Nov. 1932, 8.
190. Ibid., 9.
191. Albert L. Park, 'Reclaiming the Rural: Modern Danish Cooperative Living in Colonial Korea, 1925–37', *Journal of Korean Studies*, 19:1 (2014), 115–51′, here 124; Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), Chapter VIII: Rural Reconstruction, 318–366. On the rural ori-

ented Folk High School system, see Steven M. Borish, *The Land of the Living: The Danish Folk High Schools and Denmark's Non-violent Path to Modernization* (Nevada City: Blue Dolphin, 1991), 111–206.

192. Frank Tate, *Some Lessons from Rural Denmark: Being the Results of Observations Made During an Official Visit to Europe in 1923* (Melbourne: Education Dept., Victoria, 1924).
193. *Educational Advancement Abroad. With an Introduction Essay by F.J.C. Hearnshaw* (London: G.G. Harrap, 1925).
194. Inder Singh, 'Agriculture at Khalsa College', *Durbar*, Mar. 1934, 34.
195. *The Khalsa*, 25 May, 1930, 6.
196. Ibid., 18 June 1932, 3. Bhai Jodh Singh, as president of the annual Sikh Educational Conference, had already in 1921 suggested to start a fund that would allow Sikh students to study abroad, see speech by Bhai Jodh Singh at the 13th Sikh Educational Conference, Hoshiarpur, 1921, 8, in *ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨਗੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਨ, ਸਿੱਖ ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਾਨਫਰੰਸ* [*pradhāngī bhāsan, sikkh aijūkēsanal kānpharans; 'Presidential Speeches, Sikh Educational Conference'*], Pt. 1, ed. by Bhag Singh Ankhi (Amritsar: Chief Khalsa Diwan, 1990).
197. *The Khalsa*, 15 Oct. 1931, 1.
198. For other cases, see for example KCA, *Annual Report*, 1928/29, 14; *Durbar*, Nov. 1935, 39.
199. University of California, *University of California Bulletin*, 3rd Series, Vol. 27:9: Register of the Academic Year 1932–33, Vol. II (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933), 73.
200. *Durbar*, Mar. 1935, 9–16.
201. Ibid., 9.
202. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1940/41, *Durbar*, Mar. 1941, 31.
203. *Durbar*, Mar. 1941, 69f.
204. H.S. Dhillon, *ਅਮ੍ਰੀਕਾ ਦਾ ਚੱਕਰ [amrīkā dā cakkar; 'Circuit of/Journey to America'*] (Ambala: Attar Chand Kapur, 1954).
205. *Durbar*, Jan./Feb. 1937, 30.
206. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1941/42, 7.
207. See Juan L. Gonzales, 'Asian Indian Immigration Patterns: The Origin of the Sikh Community in California', *International Migration Review*, 20:1 (1986), 40–56; Sucheta Mazumdar, 'Punjabi Agricultural Workers in California, 1905–1945', in *Labour Immigration under Capitalism*, ed. by Edna Bonacich and Lucie Cheng (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 549–78; Bruce La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California, 1904–1975* (New York: AMS Press, 1988).
208. Babli Sinha, 'Empire Films and the Dissemination of Americanism in Colonial India', *South Asian History and Culture*, 2:4 (2011), 140–56; Bradley Shope, 'The Public Consumption of Western Music in Colonial India. From Imperialist Exclusivity to Global Receptivity', *South Asia:*

Journal of South Asian Studies, 31:2 (2008), 271–89; David Arnold, *Everyday Technology: Machines and the Making of India's Modernity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 152f.; Harald Fischer-Tiné, 'Fitness for Modernity: the YMCA and physical education schemes in late colonial South Asia (c. 1900–1940)', *Modern Asian Studie*s, 53:2 (2019), 512–59.

209. *Durbar*, Nov./Dec. 1940, 39.
210. *Civil and Military Gazette*, 23 Oct. 1924, 10.
211. *ਅਕਾਲੀ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸੀ [Akāḷī tē Pradēsī]*, 10 Apr. 1931, 13f.
212. Inder Singh, 'Agriculture at Khalsa College', *Durbar*, Mar. 1934, 37f.
213. Ibid., 35.
214. Cf. Zachariah, *Developing India*, 293f.
215. Rajsekhar Basu, 'Missionaries as Agricultural Pioneers: Protestant Missionaries and Agricultural Improvements in Twentieth-century India', in *Tilling the Land: Agricultural Knowledge and Practices in Colonial India,* ed. by Deepak Kumar and Bipasha Raha (Delhi: Primus Books, 2016), 99–121. Cf. the Pusa Institute, whose foundation in 1905 had been made possible by a donation from the American philanthropist Henry Phipps, Jr., see Kumar, 'Science in Agriculture', 35f.
216. Fischer-Tiné, 'The YMCA and Low-Modernist Rural Development in South Asia'; Chatterjee, *The Making of Indian Secularism*, 134–64.
217. Ibid.; Prakash Kumar, '"Modernization" and Agrarian Development in India, 1912–52', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, online January 2020.
218. Early US foreign aid and development policy in so called 'developing' countries such as India in Cold War, anti-communist geopolitics have been analysed and described by numerous scholars recently, see John H. Perkins, *Geopolitics and the Green Revolution: Wheat, Genes, and the Cold War* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission*; Nick Cullather, *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle Against Poverty in Asia* (Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 2010); Daniel Immerwahr, *Thinking Small: The United States and the Lure of Community Development* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015); Michael E. Latham, *The Right Kind of Revolution: Modernization, Development, and U.S. Foreign Policy from the Cold War to the Present* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 68–75; Jack Loveridge, 'Between Hunger and Growth: Pursuing Development in Partition's Aftermath', *Contemporary South Asia*, 25:1 (2017), 56–69. On continuities between colonial and post-colonial 'community development' in South Asia and the Punjab, cf. Sultan, 'Developmentalism in Colonial Punjab', 1912–17.
219. Stevenson, Russell and Virginia O. Locke, *The Agricultural Development Council: A History* (Morrilton: Winrock International Institute for

Agricultural Development, 1989), 59–78. On the Rockefeller Foundation and American rural development programmes in Asia, see Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission*; Inderjit Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); and Akhil Gupta, *Postcolonial Developments: Agriculture in the Making of Modern India* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1998), 52–62.

220. H.S. Mann, *Cooperative Farming and Family Farming in the Punjab: A Comparative Study*, Doctoral Dissertation (Ohio State University, 1962), 1.
221. Ibid., p. ii; Cf. Gupta, *Postcolonial Developments*, 61.
222. H.S. Mann, *Land Tenure in Chore (Shoa): A Pilot Study* (Monographs in Ethiopian Land Tenure No. 2) (Addis Ababa/Nairobi: Institute of Ethiopian Studies and Faculty of Law, Haile Selassie I University (with Oxford University Press), 1965); H.S. Mann and J. C. D. Lawrence, 'FAO Land Policy Project (Ethiopia)', *Ethiopia Observer*, 9:4 (1966), 286–336.
223. Cf. Sinha, 'Lineages of the Developmentalist State'.
224. H.S. Mann, *Analysis of Some Problems of Community Development in India* (Delhi: Atma Ram, 1966).
225. Willard H. Wolf, *History of the Department of Agricultural Education, Ohio State University, College of Agriculture and Home Economics* (Columbus: Department of Agricultural Education, Ohio State University, 1969); USAID, *Ohio State University Cooperating with the Punjab Agricultural University & the Haryana Agricultural University, India*, Termination Report, Terminal Report, Research and Education Programs, 1955–1964 and 1964–1973, USAID Contract/Nesa 147 [http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDAAJ857.pdf, accessed 3 Apr. 2017]; Kathleen M. Propp, *The Establishment of Agricultural Universities in India: A Case Study of the Role of USAID–U.S. University Technical Assistance*, MA thesis, College of Agriculture, University of Illinois, publ. as College of Agriculture Special Publication 15, Urbana, IL, 1968.
226. Although the wider context of these cooperation schemes has been examined exhaustively recently (see footnote 218 in this chapter), the USAID-India connection and particularly the Ohio-Punjab collaboration has not drawn much attention in these studies.
227. Harmeet Singh, 'A Multi-dimensional Colossus', in *The Tribune*, Saturday Plus (Chandigarh), 5 Dec. 1998 [http://www.tribuneindia.com/1998/98dec05/saturday/head4.htm, accessed 3 Apr. 2017].
228. Wolf, *History of the Department of Agricultural Education*, 141.
229. T. Singh, 'Dr Kharak Singh'.

230. K.S. Mann, *An Analysis of the Expected Shifts in Cropping Pattern of the Punjab (India) Resulting from the Introduction of Highyielding Varieties of Crops*, Doctoral Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1967, p. iii; USAID, *Ohio State University cooperating with the Punjab Agricultural University & the Haryana Agricultural University*, 46, 110.
231. Ibid.; T. Singh, 'Dr Kharak Singh'.
232. Kulwinder Singh Bajwa, *A Brief History of Khalsa College Amritsar 1892–2003* (Amritsar: Khalsa College, 2003), 102. See also Laurel K. Sabrosky, *An Evaluation of the Special Indian Section of the International Farm Youth Exchange Project in Pickaway County, Ohio in 1953*, Federal Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, IFYE Evaluation Report No. 3, February 1954. There was at least one Punjabi among the five exchange students placed in Ohio, see *The Circleville Herald,* 12 May, 1953, 3. However, it is not possible to tell whether he was a Khalsa College student. Working for the exchange project for OSU in 1953 was also Donald Herr, who later went to the Punjab as an expert for the USAID Research and Education Project, see USAID, *Ohio State University cooperating with the Punjab and Haryana Agricultural Universities*, 104.
233. Bajwa, *Brief History of Khalsa College*, 122.
234. *The Khalsa*, 18 June 1931, 2. See also ibid., 4 June 1931, 1.
235. *Durbar*, Nov. 1925, 20; KCA*, Annual Report*, 1926/27, 23; 1934/35, *Durbar*, Mar. 1935, 62.
236. Numbers collated from annual reports and the college magazine, *Durbar*, volumes/issues between 1930 and 1947, by M.P.B.
237. KCA*, Annual Report*, 1937/38, 1.
238. Ibid., 1939/40, 9.
239. Ibid.
240. Ibid., 1938/39, 3; 1943/44, 2
241. Ibid., 1944/45, 2; 1946/47, 3; 1938/39, 3; 1943/44, 2.
242. Randhawa, *A History of Agriculture in India*, Vol. IV, 483–9.
243. *The Khalsa*, 13 July 1930, 6.
244. Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, 86.
245. Ibid., 87. Emphasis by M.P.B.
246. Ibid.
247. Ibid., 88.
248. Ibid., 183.
249. Darling, *Wisdom and Waste*, 90.
250. In a report of the CKD's Educational Committee the morning exercises in Sirháli were even explicitly called 'Wathen drill ("ਵਾਦਨ ਡਰਿਲ", vādan ḍril), see *ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਚੀਫ਼ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦਿਵਾਨ ਦੀ ਵੀਹਵੀਂ ਵਾਰਸਕ ਰੀਪੋਟ [aijūkēsanal*

kamēṭī cīf khālsā divān dī vīhvīṅ vārsak rīpōṭ; '20th Annual Report Educational Committee CKD'], 1928, 103.

251. GoP, *Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies in the Punjab*, 1930/31, 48.
252. Ibid., 1926/27, 7; 1927/28, 10.
253. Sinha, 'Lineages of the Developmentalist State', 83.
254. Zachariah, *Developing India*, 114. As an example of the broad appeal of rural development see *ਅਕਾਲੀ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸੀ [Akālī tē Pradēsī]*, 10 Apr. 1931, 13f., where the KCA's main critics and opponents, the Akālīs, praised Lal Singh's remarks on rural development and urged to build gardens and farming plots in schools and colleges and to follow the example of other countries and particularly the example of the USA and California.
255. Sinha, 'Lineages of the Developmentalist State', 68.

CHAPTER 5

Disciplining the Martial Sikh: Physical Education, Youth Organisations, and Military at Khalsa College

Introduction

The historiographical agenda of the Khalsa College in Amritsar (KCA) focused on the era of early Sikh military conquest and tradition up until Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his Kingdom of Lahore. This historiographical framework also included a contiguous narrative that viewed the period immediately after the end of Ranjit Singh's empire as a phase of degeneration. Service in the British-Indian military and the consequent necessary physical fitness, on the other hand, were seen as a means of reviving the Sikh martial heritage.[1] Indeed, the military, quasi-militaristic youth movements, as well as sport and bodily culture played an important role at the Amritsari institution throughout the final colonial decades.

This chapter, hence, explains how in the areas of physical education, sports, and 'disciplinary' youth organisations, Khalsa College and its management found opportunities to reclaim the narratives of the manly and loyal Sikh. At the same time, it indicates how the contemporaneous

Some of the ideas on physical education in this chapter are derived in part from Brunner, 'Manly Sikhs and Loyal Citizens: Physical Education and Sport in the Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1914-1947', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 41:1 (2018), 33–50, copyright South Asian Studies Association of Australia, available online: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00856401.2018.1389235

M. P. Brunner, *Education and Modernity in Colonial Punjab*,
Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series,

physical education discourse proved to be another stage in further engaging in KCA's quest for of the 'modern' and 'scientific' Sikh. In many ways, physical education and sport were considered as corresponding with and supporting the narrative of the martial Sikh and practical schemes for military training present at the institution. As we will see, both the rhetoric and the actual schemes were at their height during the World Wars, while in the interwar period the college and its management increasingly chased after ideals that were slowly surpassed by changing political realities.

Between Play- and Battlefield: The Martial Sikh, the Manly Sportsman, and the Imperial Soldier

The Early Years: Military Visions, Manly Games, and the Games Ethic

When the Prince of Wales was touring India in 1922, he was expected to also visit Khalsa College in Amritsar. For this occasion, the college's principal Wathen proposed its governing council a schedule that looked as follows: After a welcome by the college's (desired) company of the Indian army's University Training Corps, the prince was to be shown around the college campus. There, the students would be showcasing various physical activities: the college's Boy Scouts would practice calisthenics on the parade ground, while the college and an army team would be competing in a tug-of-war match, and also a water polo game as well as a cricket and football match would be going on. Displays of the college's recent intellectual accomplishments such as its newly built chemistry or biology laboratories, for instance, were not featured in the tour. Completed, however, was the visit with a short stop at the college *gurdwārā*.[2]

As this schedule indicates, the Khalsa College's management was eager to display the institution as a stronghold of discipline, physical prowess, and sports—particularly competitive group games—and remember both the colonial authorities and broader public of the close ties the college and the Sikh community was expected to have with a normative military tradition. Such images did indeed translate practically in a variety of military schemes, especially during the two World Wars, and other quasi-military efforts and physical education programmes. However, these martial and body images were subject to much contention: The college eventually cancelled the proposed princely visit in 1922, after nationalist and Akālī

activists and students of Khalsa College had threatened to refuse entry to the royal guest.[3]

Since its inauguration, Khalsa College prided itself of the fact that the majority of its students came from military families and the landed *zamīndārī Jat* classes.[4] The college's founders had aimed to give it a distinctly militaristic flavour in its earliest plans,[5] and there apparently even had been rumours that the college might become a purely military school in the constitutive phase of the institution, an idea that was supported by Sikh rulers like the Maharaja of Kapurthala.[6] Many students were sons of soldiers and military officials and/or enlisted themselves in the Indian Army after graduating from KCA, even becoming commissioned officers, as the college proudly claimed.[7] The connection was also reflected in the Sikh historiography that began being institutionalised at Khalsa College during the 1920s and 1930s. The acceptance of a *topos* of degeneration following the end of the Sikh Empire and a subsequent revival of Sikh martiality through enlistment in the British Indian Army, respectively, followed in many ways a discourse on British masculine hegemony, which attributed only a deficient masculinity to Indians.

However, though the college authorities emphasised their inclination towards an idealised and essentialised Sikh martial tradition, little was actually done with regard to military training in the first troublesome decades of the institution. At the great conference at Khalsa College in April 1904, the Maharaja of Nabha complained about the lack of arrangements for military drill, practice in the use of arms, and riding classes.[8] The establishment of a riding class, "primarily meant for the boys of the middle class" and "boys of well-to-do parents," and "beneficial to those of our youngmen [sic] who many choose a military career"[9] kept being discussed in the following years. In 1910, KCA's managing committee approved the class but eventually the scheme was abandoned, as were other similar attempts to provide some kind of institutionalised military education over the years.[10]

Another outlet for its early martial agenda Khalsa College found in its physical regime through military-type exercises such as mass drills. The core of the college's physical education schemes lay on British 'manly games', such as hockey, football, and cricket. In Amritsar as well as in Britain, these games were expected to foster traits such as discipline, manliness, loyalty, co-operation, and sportsmanship, ideals that were tied to soldiery and the military. The 'manly games' in their modern form and their respective set of values had originated in English elite public schools

such as Eton, Harrow, or Rugby in the nineteenth century. The Victorian and Edwardian 'games ethic' associated with this type of group games demanded from the player a set of physical and mental character traits such as robustness, endurance, reliability, and esprit de corps as well as an acceptance of rules and hierarchies. These characteristics resonated well with visions of the ideal soldier.[11] The games ethic and its ideals of masculinity and soldiery were developed in tandem with and fuelled imperial ideologies. British imperialism brought it to other parts of the world, from the Caribbean to South Asia, where it was supposed to mould the local male youth into ideal imperial citizens.[12]

Indeed, Khalsa College and similar private and government educational institutions in late-nineteenth-century British India were in many ways modelled after the mentioned English elite institutions.[13] Not surprisingly, the warrior and soldier ethos as attributed to Sikhs and Khalsa College's ideal student fit well with the games ethic. Accordingly, a general, balanced fitness suited to military service was perceived as the end of physical education as taught and practised at Khalsa College. The outdoor aspects of the college's physical culture chimed with the battlefield.[14] By 1918, the campus featured 12 football, 8 hockey fields, and 3 parade and miscellaneous grounds that surrounded the college's extremely costly and pompous main building.[15] Regular military exercises, parades, and the practice and exhibition of 'manly games' complemented each other. This approach prioritising group games remained prevalent for decades, even tough by the early twentieth century a fashionable international discourse propagating 'modern' and 'scientific' body exercises had started to preach more individualistic practices.

The emphasis on games quickly became one of the core features of Khalsa College. Supporters and benefactors cited its athletic fame. Especially the Sikh princes regularly lauded the close (at least normative) connection between sports and military. The Maharaja of Patiala, Yadavindra Singh, himself an avid cricketer, encouraged the college's emphasis on games and the intention to prep up the Sikh youth and produce loyal and disciplined subjects fit to play their role in the army, a goal the royal interpreted to be in continuance with Sikh martial traditions.[16] The Khalsa College itself put considerable effort in publicising its schemes. In its own college publications and annual reports, the institution regularly and emphatically reported on matches, players, and the institution's and individual students' achievements in sports. Often, the college's reporting suggested a direct causal link between its students' participation

in competitive games during their schooling and their later success in military and civil careers.[17]

The institution's biggest tool for disseminating its visions of 'true' Sikhism, good citizen- and manly sportsmanship beyond the college's core campus, however, was the annual Khalsa Schools Tournament. Sikh primary, middle and high schools participated in this hockey and football tournament that the college in Amritsar hosted for the first time in 1916. The event was a means to reach the Sikh youth (and their parents) even before they were of college age. By the 1920s and 1930s, it was no longer "a mere festival [but] ha[d] become an institution full fledged and grown."[18] Held annually around the birthday of Guru Nanak, it featured religious festivities and included science exhibitions for its visitors. At the Khalsa Schools Tournament the college's modernist religious and scientist visions converged on a display of its sports-military ethos.

Still, though expressed through games and physical exercise, much of this militaristic ethos remained an ideal that was fulfilled only indirectly in the first decades of Khalsa College's existence. An opportunity to implement practically its martial values offered itself to the institution when the world was shaken by a military conflict in its dimensions unprecedented: World War I.

For the King, Guru, and the Empire: KCA and World War I

The advent of World War I saw the Khalsa College taking its first steps in the direction of a regular military training class. During World War I, the Indian subcontinent contributed about 1.3 million men, both soldiers and non-combatants, to the various war theatres in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East.[19] The contribution of the Punjab province to this war effort was exceptionally high: about 60 per cent of the combatants recruited in India were Punjabis.[20] A considerable percentage among them were Sikhs, and Khalsa College did its part to encourage the Sikh youth to enlist over the four years of war.[21]

In early 1918, Principal G.A. Wathen introduced a non-official military class. Soon, with help from officers from the Queen's Regiment stationed in Amritsar, KCA was able to start military training (without arms), maintaining four squads with a strength of 36 each, one comprised of the members of Khalsa College's staff.[22] Further, the college was allowed to contribute a detachment of 16 to the Punjab University Company of the Indian Defence Force (IDF) established in 1917.[23] The college and its

principal G.A. Wathen had hoped to provide a detachment of at least 64, Wathen attributing to this corps a "mutual purpose both for discipline and the sense of citizenship."[24]

Shortly after the outbreak of the War, the college authorities informed the students about the situation, promoting in particular the Indian War Relief Fund. Different members of faculty addressed the different religious communities among the students: Mathematics professor Hukam Chand spoke to the Hindus, Persian professor Murtaza Hussain to the Muslims, and (Sikh) Divinity professor Bawa Harkrishen Singh to the Sikhs. Harkrishen Singh's speech is particularly revealing. He saw Sikh destiny as being inevitably tied to the British Empire as "the British Raj had for the Sikhs an almost religious sanction"; according to him, there was "a divinity that doth hedge around the personality of the King-Emperor."[25] Consequently, Harkrishen proposed that the stream of *dasvandh*[26] should go solely to the War Relief Fund for at least one month. Pictures evoking religious and end-of-the-world feelings circulated heavily on campus. Staff and students regularly held religious services, invoking "the Grace of the Almighty on the arms of the soldiers of the Empire who are fighting for a most sacred cause against the powers of darkness."[27] It was emphasised at the KCA that it was the Sikhs' duty, as a martial race, to "draw the sword on the side of the cause of righteousness and to fight against the oppressors of the human race."[28] The prime adversary of these 'powers of darkness' was the British Empire, and "[c]ertainly the Sikhs form one of the most important factors that have ever contributed to the solidarity of the British Empire."[29] According to the Maharaja of Faridkot, they distinguished themselves in their "devotion of his Imperial Majesty the King Emperor, and in the service of the Empire."[30] Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, Michael O'Dwyer, also joined this chorus, remarking in a speech at KCA that "the flower of Sikh manhood goes forth to fight the battles of the Empire in defence of the cause of honour and right, under the leadership of British Officers."[31] S. B. Shamsher Singh, a representative of the Maharaja of Jind, summarised this intimate relationship between the 'Swordhand of India' and its colonial masters in front of the guests of Khalsa College's 1918 annual function as follows:

> The Sikh religion was founded with the avowed aim of sacrifice for a noble cause, and, gentlemen, no cause can be greater than that of the British Empire which stands for righteousness and truth. Such are the injunctions of the Guru Sahibs who prophesied that the establishment of the British Raj would inaugurate an era of material and moral progress for the people of this country.[32]

The prophecy mentioned by Singh referred to (an interpretation of) the tale of the ninth Sikh Guru Tegh Bahadur (1621–1675) who at the advent of his death had prophesied that "from the west will come my fair skinned disciples wearing helmets, who shall avenge my death, and utterly destroy my enemies."[33] Sikh leaders in late nineteenth and early twentieth century used this legend to legitimise the British rule in Punjab and particularly the Sikh military loyalty towards their foreign rulers.

Emperor, Empire, and the Gurus were the reference points to whom KCA's students were supposed to direct their devotion during World War I. These narratives mirrored the attitude dominant among the 'traditional' colonial Sikh leadership, which was represented by organisations such as the Chief Khalsa Diwan, the Sikh Educational Conference, or the Sikh princely states.[34] This nexus of loyalty was justified regularly with religio-historical arguments such as the one articulated by Shamsher Singh above. As Sundar Singh Majithia noted in 1916 in a speech at a party celebrating his appointment in the Imperial Council, "[w]e Sikhs […] naturally find great pleasure to join the Armies of the Gracious King Emperor."[35] Accordingly, the KCA's aim was "to produce true Sikhs and loyal citizens of the great British Empire, and this could only be possible if each of its students and the staff is fully conversant and imbued with the sacred teachings contained in the Guru Granth Sahib."[36] This theme was elaborated in-depth in the college magazine in a lengthy article aptly titled "A Call to Duty" written by a recent B.A. graduate of the college, Sardar Balwant Singh Chatrath. He recalled the martial history of the Sikhs from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh and stressed the Sikh ideal to fight for righteousness, citing many *gurmukhī* quotes from Sikh scripture, and came to the following conclusion:

> The tyrants are before you and it is now your duty to uphold the traditions of your ancestors. Do not forget that you are fighting for the sake of glory and righteousness, you have entered the struggle for the sake of the all-loving and beloved George, who is our 'Sarkar' ['government/sovereign'] and whose 'rayat' ['tenant/cultivator'] we are. […] hallo for Germany – where the tyrants await you to punish them; and we are quite sure that the foe will take to his heels when he will hear your proud and fine old war cry of "Siri Wahe Guru ji ka Khalsa, Siri Wahe Guru ji ki Fateh.

While you are on the field, bear in mind that you are there for the 'white race' of which Guru Tegh Bahadur spoke and do not fail to repeat-
ਦੇਗ ਤੇਗ ਫਤਹ ਨਸਰਤ ਬੇਦਰੰਗ ||
ਯਾਫਤ ਅਜ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਦਿ ਸਿੰਘ ||"[37]

Constructing (or reconstructing) modern Sikhism in the Sikh reformist milieu relied heavily on demarcating the boundaries between Sikh and Hindu tradition.[38] Following this strategy, the religiously and often ethnically charged ideal of the martial, militaristic, and manly Sikh was contrasted with an image of the 'effeminate' and 'fragile' Hindu. The idiom of the 'anti-Sikh' in this discourse became the *babu*. The stereotype of the delicate, often ethnically associated (Bengali) *babu* was regularly featured in statements and discussions at Khalsa College. He was described as delicate and weak-sighted, submissive and vain, presumptuous and impractical, bald as well as dominated by their wives.[39] The student's socialisation at Khalsa College was supposed to prevent such character traits. According to the *Khalsa Advocate*, the Sikh college in Amritsar did not produce "sneaking toadies, crouching flatterers, smooth-tongued hypocrites, self-seekers with protuberant bellies, noisy demagogues, discontented citizens, and audacious blusterers."[40]

The famous Indian novelist Mulk Raj Anand (1905–2004), himself a student at KCA in the early 1920s, remembered this atmosphere in his semi-autobiographical *Confession of a Lover*. In the novel, Anand's fictionalised alter-ego 'Krishan Chander Azad', a *khādī*-wearing Gandhi supporter from a Hindu family, gets teased by bullies on the KCA campus for his short height and small build. The bullies, who in front of Krishan damn the "Bania seditionist" (=M.K. Gandhi) and stress the loyalist attitude of Khalsa College's main benefactors, the Chief Khalsa Diwan and the Maharaja of Patiala, inform him that "little pale Babus ha[d] no place in a College of big boys […] unless they can learn to play hockey!,"[41] while the college's English principal "Walters" (=Wathen) tells him to "eat more and grow to be as tall as a Sikh boy."[42]

It was often a gendered enterprise that contrasted the image of the manly, martial, and sturdy Sikh to the effeminate, non-soldierly, and fragile Hindu.[43] As the examples from Khalsa College indicate, the discourse on tall Sikhs and feeble *babus* and bookworms centred around two main themes: 'manliness' and 'loyalty'. This connected to a broader colonial discourse on gender and British masculine hegemony in which the Indian man was attributed only a deficient masculinity on intellectual, moral, and

physical levels. Many Indian social reformers and early nationalists affirmed these tropes and felt that correcting these supposed shortcomings would help India to regain its position vis-à-vis the coloniser.[44] Loyalty, discipline, and reliability were considered key attributes in the colonial construction of normative masculinity. As evident in the 'games ethic', these traits were assumed to correspond directly with virility and physical prowess. Thus, the *babu*—often considered as a social class and phenomenon to be particularly present in Bengal—was seen as politically active because he was impractical and unathletic. In contrast to him stood the physically and ethically superior Sikh who was ready to accept the authority of 'natural leaders.'[45]

This normative link between Sikh masculinity and an enduring loyalism to the authorities found heightened expression in the charged atmosphere of World War I. Khalsa College reported about alumni and other KCA-related Sikhs who were fighting in the battlefields of Europe and Mesopotamia regularly and with pride.[46] In October 1916, for example, the college magazine proudly printed a letter the institution had received from a former student of KC stationed in France. In his letter the soldier, who declared that he was "serving the British Government on behalf of the Sikh Nation," urged Khalsa College and its students and staff to unfailingly pray for British victory in the morning and evening services as "the first and foremost duty of the Sikhs to their benign Government."[47] This type of reporting increased in early 1917 when new, more immediate opportunities for enlisting opened up for Khalsa College and its students.[48] The Punjab University in Lahore had started to raise a company of graduates and under-graduates for active service. The general response to the University's call was disappointing: only 56 recruits enlisted in what became a Signal Brigade Section. A large proportion among them, however, came from the "educated member[s] of the fighting classes,"[49] and about half from a single institution, namely Khalsa College, Amritsar. Apart from one Muslim, all the KC recruits were Sikhs, and Mangal Singh, a 3rd year student, promised in a meeting to "keep up the spirit worthy of a true hero, and prove [himself] true to the traditions of the martyrs to the Khalsa Panth."[50] Mangal Singh later returned with other KC recruits to the campus for propaganda work and the college magazine could report on his impressive 'transformation' in "gait, speech and physique."[51] The Great War took not only the students but also the faculty. The British principal and professors Wathen, Dunnicliffe and Langhorne did cavalry and military training in Lahore, an action also seriously contemplated by

Indian professors at the institution as claimed by the *Durbar*. In addition, the chemistry professors William H.F. Armstrong and Sher Singh were asked to provide their services to the Munitions Board to investigate the production of citric acid.[52]

In early 1916 the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab Province Michael O'Dwyer had assured the KCA in a speech that as long as the institution pursued its ideals of making its students "braver men in battle, more honest in duty, more healthy in body, more vigorous in mind, [and] more fervent in religion," it would be "worthy of the confidence and the support of [...] every encouragement of the British Government."[53] A year later, the Honorary Secretary of Khalsa College in his annual report referred back to such statements, hoping that after the War "the Government will recognize the claims of the Sikhs and will pay a favourable consideration to their legitimate aspirations."[54] Such considerations were not exclusive to the KCA and Sikh case. Support for the war had been viewed by many communities and groups in British India rather pragmatically as an opportunity to achieve their multifarious goals once the war ended, particularly claims of national and political emancipation. This hope led to a very broad support for the British and the War from both loyalist princes and calculating nationalists.[55] As historian Santanu Das has noted, this was not always a purely 'strategic calculation' even among the more nationalistically inclined educated middle-classes; fighting alongside the white colonial rulers was also rather idealistically perceived as a means of salvaging national or regional prestige.[56]

Indeed, in 1918, "in recognition of the services rendered by the Sikhs in the Great War,"[57] Khalsa College was given an extraordinary governmental grant of Rs. 300,000, which was announced by the departing Lieutenant-Governor O'Dwyer at KCA's prize-distribution celebration in February. Further, the institution's annual Government grant was raised by Rs. 5000. This apparently was not just a public stunt or calculated move to appease the Sikh community, but indeed an action brought about by a sincere conviction of the administration. In a letter to Delhi, Henry Craik, the officiating additional secretary to the Government of Punjab, stressed that "[Khalsa] College keeps alive the martial instincts of the Sikhs and no other College can compare with it in the number of recruits sent to the Indian Army."[58]

The Interwar Period and the Decline of Sikh Recruitment

After the end of the war, the college management and commentators demanded the continuance of military training and the start of regular military classes even though the general relationship between the Sikh public and the colonial state was rapidly deteriorating. In 1920, the 'de-officialisation' of the college in the wake of the Non-cooperation Movement was welcomed by the delegates at the annual Sikh Educational Conference—the latter as a Chief Khalsa Diwan initiative run to a large extent by the same group as the college's management. Yet, at the same conference, they drafted a resolution stressing the need of military classes at the college.[59] However, what had been accomplished during the war did not sustain. As the agitation of the radical Akālīs affected the college, plans for establishing a regular company of the Punjab University Training Corps (PUTC) at Khalsa College could not be put in action. Although the military authorities supported the scheme, and officials such as General Sidney Lawford even visited the college specifically for this purpose, the company could not be raised "because of the atmosphere of suspicion."[60] Principal Wathen deplored this, attributing the failure to a fear among students that they would be considered *jholichuks* ('collaborators') during this heated phase of anti-government agitation.[61]

Later, the events of 1921/22 were lamented as a missed opportunity, particularly when the management of the college and its benefactors such as the CKD's Educational Committee and the Sikh Educational Conference continued to lobby intensively for a University Training Corps to be formed in Amritsar.[62] KCA's first non-European principal, Rai Bahadur Man Mohan, noted in 1926 that, "No one could be keener – both by instinct and tradition – to join the P.U.T.C than the students of this college."[63] Professor of history T.H. Advani pointed out in a 1934 speech at the college that "[t]he Sikhs are a martial race, and their education without military training is incomplete."[64] Yet, Advani's and his colleagues' wishes remained unfulfilled for many years to come.

The lack of governmental interest in (or even outright reluctance towards) setting up a UTC in Amritsar can be related to the broader context of changing attitudes towards Sikh recruitment in late British India. Since the 1920s, the British Indian Government had become cautious about the recruitment of Sikhs, mainly due to the increasing anti-British sentiments within the community and particularly the overt action and rhetoric of the Akālīs as described in Chap. 2.[65] As Mark Condos has

argued, the alleged warlike nature of the Sikhs, though frequently represented as a mainstay of the Empire, had always been a dormant source of anxiety for the rulers. The Sikhs' martial attributes within the colonial imagination not only made them good soldiers but also contained the potential for seditious activities.[66] Such concerns grew after the Punjab Disturbances of 1907 as well as due to the subsequent Ghadar and Akālī movements. Simultaneously, the martial races theory was losing much of its purchase in the early twentieth century. As Gajendra Singh and others have pointed out, the martial races discourse was from its inception characterised by a distinct fluidity.[67] Cracks in a simple and conventional understanding of the theory had already appeared during World War I, increased particularly in the interwar period, and the notion of Sikhs (and also, for example, Pathans) as a martial race had been revised and was mostly abandoned by military officials by the 1940s.[68] Further, the martial attributions shifted not only between bigger groups, 'races' and religious communities but also among sub-groups. Originally, rural *Jats* had been the main focus of Sikh recruitment, but these were later substituted with members from non-agricultural and lower Sikh caste groups such as the *Mazhabī* or *Rāmghariā* Sikhs.

These changes in the patterns of recruitment presumably also affected Khalsa College and its students. As mentioned in Chap. 4, the Khalsa College authorities were eager to portray the college as the "chief representative" of "the Jat population of the Punjab."[69] How far these claims were actually true is difficult to ascertain. As far as it might deduced from occasional caste name markers in the rare student lists, they do indeed show a concentration of agricultural *Jat* groups (*Gill, Dhillon, Sandhu, Grewal*, etc.), but the composition in general still remains quite heterogeneous with a considerable number of students from non-*Jat* and/or lower caste backgrounds such as many *Āhluwāliās*, though, for instance, only a few *Rāmghariās*.[70] However, as actual student rolls and detailed information on the composition of KCA's students remain scarce, the evidence allows only cautious statements. Ganda Singh, himself part of the Sikh reformist milieu, describes in his 1949 history of KCA that the college management had accepted so-called untouchable and *Mazhabī* Sikhs to the institution and its hostels since the earliest days. The institution provided lodging in rooms attached to its *gurdwārā* to those financially unable to bear the boarding fees and a fixed percentage of "suppressed class students" were admitted free to the college, according to Singh.[71]

As a topic, 'caste' came up at Khalsa College mainly in the context of stressing the Sikh reformist narrative, usually in religio-historical references to the egalitarian ideals of the Sikh Gurus or in defences of Sikhism that framed it as particularly 'modern'.[72] Otherwise, 'caste' as a theoretical and practical issue seems to have been conspicuously absent on the KC campus at least on the level of traceable sources.[73] Whether this can be attributed to a homogenous composition of KCA's students, actual reformist/egalitarian practices and atmosphere on campus, or an indication of a disregard towards (if not active clouding of) the issue, must remain unanswered.

Apart from a general growing suspicion towards Sikh recruitment in the interwar period and the official governmental withdrawal from KCA from 1920, centralisation schemes in higher education also contributed to the lack of governmental consideration of the college's military aspirations. This process had also led to the omission of Khalsa College in governmental agricultural projects in the 1930s (cf. Chap. 4). These changes threatened the position of Khalsa College, Amritsar, vis-à-vis institutions in Punjab's capital, Lahore, and the lack of UTC presence at KCA in particular was considered "a serious handicap for all those [KC students] who would like to go in for Sandhurst and the Indian Army Service."[74] However, in spite of occasional discussions about KCA starting its own military classes, no lasting results were achieved in the interwar period.

While in terms of formal military training hardly any progress was made in the interwar period, Khalsa College found substitutes that perpetuated the image of martial 'manliness' once more in other areas of bodily culture. In significant ways, however, these went beyond simply echoing earlier schemes. Rather, they were subject to both changes in the global perception and field of physical education and political, economic and social developments in South Asia.

Re-framing the Martial Sikh: Discipline, Scientific Bodily Culture, and the Modern Sikh Soldier

Bodily Culture as a Substitute: Discipline and the Boy Scouts

The end of World War I saw increased political agitation in colonial India. At the front of this agitation was the politicised student who had come to be seen as an immediate threat for the colonial state in the wake of events

such as the anti-Rowlatt agitation and the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in 1919.[75] Khalsa College was not immune to these trends. The institution's close ties to the government on the managerial level did not prevent the emergence of radical political ideas among a Sikh youth challenged by so-called modern education and the intellectual exchange it brought to the campus. Ideological differences run through the college, often shaped by a not necessarily clear-cut generational divide between politically radical Sikhs who were critical of government actions (Akālīs and Congressites, in political terms), and the older Singh Sabha and Chief Khalsa Diwan-influenced generation of Sikh activists (often Unionists).

The nexus of military, physical activities, and discipline was considered a crucial factor in discussions on the students' behaviour. For the college's management, military, physical activities and discipline were highly connected, if not interdependent. During and after World War I, the image of the loyal and honourable young Sikh soldier, representative of the "fighting fame and the devoted loyalty of the Sikhs,"[76] dominated the discourse. As Khalsa College was praised for its role in the war, it tied itself to the image of the loyal martial Sikh who was seen as the anti-thesis to the rebellious and politically active student.[77] Conceived as a surrogate of military culture, debates on games and physical education often revolved around similar themes. The daily morning drill introduced and enforced by the English principal G.A. Wathen, for instance, became a point of contention after the Non-cooperation movement had found its way to the KCA campus and students petitioned to abolish the exercise.[78] Conversely, when the visit of the Prince of Wales at Khalsa College in 1922 had to be cancelled and the royal's tour in India was widely boycotted, the college's Boy Scouts still participated in a rally that welcomed the Prince in Lahore.[79] The debates at Khalsa College during the provincial elections of 1937 that led to two strikes by students and the eventual dismissal of members of staff who supported Congress or Akālī politicians showed similar fault lines. Despite the ongoing strike on campus, the college's football eleven went to Lahore to play its games in the university championship which the KCA team eventually won. While the college's principal publicly applauded the team's efforts,[80] the Amritsar Students Union criticised non-striking students and staff-members and dubbed them "political slaves of the Majithia party."[81]

In contrast to critical organisations such as the Students Union, the college authorities valued groups that kept preferably to social work and religious activities such as the Young Men's Sikh Association.[82] Another

'dutiful' association was the Boy Scouts. Scouting was especially esteemed because it constituted a junction between sports and military and promised to be a means of disciplining Sikh youth by inculcating not only military but also civilian values such as co-operation, social service, and good citizenship.

Initiated by Principal G.A Wathen in the 1910s, KCA established a Boy Scouts association first in its collegiate high school and later also for its advanced students on the college level.[83] The Sikh college in Amritsar was one of the earliest private educational institutions in the province of Punjab to have boy scouts.[84] British officials in India initially had been rather critical of Scouting and feared that it would bear potential for subversive activities.[85] Nevertheless, Scouting was introduced in Punjab in the late 1910 and early 1920s due to the initiative of individual British civil and military officers and with the eventual encouragement of the province' Education Department.[86]

The official Scouting movement's orientation in Punjab accommodated Khalsa College's agenda heavily: It bore a rather militaristic flavour with a strong emphasis on the physical education aspect.[87] Provincial secretary of the Indian Baden-Powell Boy Scouts Association for many years was Henry W. Hogg who also functioned as adviser on physical education to the Government of Punjab. Other main protagonists and advocates of the movement in Punjab were officials such as William Cowley, A.R.P. officer and assistant organiser to the National War Front (Youth) of India, or Frank L. Brayne, longstanding administrator in the province and rural uplift advocate (see Chap. 4). H.W. Hogg regularly visited Khalsa College in the 1930s.[88] During World War II, he lectured KCA's students on the benefits and necessities of military training in his function as squadron leader in the Royal Indian Air Force, after the military authorities and the college management had set up an Indian Air Training Corps at Khalsa College (see below).[89]

On campus, Harbail Singh, a graduate from Khalsa College and since 1931 Director of Physical Instruction at his alma mater, directed the activities of the Boy Scouts. Harbail Singh stressed both the physical and sociomoral benefits of Scouting. With his Scout troops he regularly went on long hikes and marches. According to Harbail, Scouting promoted principles such as "courage, robustness, resourcefulness, love of the beautiful in nature, sociability and co-operation."[90] Further, it encouraged the "adjustment of the individual wishes and actions to the wider interests of the group abilities needed in effective citizenship."[91] The development of

civic skills and similar propagated purposes of scouting nurtured the initial scepticism among colonial officials towards the movement. Propagating self-aid and self-reliance were significant elements of the international Boy Scouts movement. Especially in its North American form, Scouting was attributed the potential to figure as a 'school of democracy', a claim that was also tied to a correspondent discourse on modern, 'proper' physical education.[92] In India this approach to physical culture was represented especially by the American-led YMCA.

Khalsa College's Harbail Singh had experienced this culture first-hand. In 1930, the college authorities had sent him to study at the YMCA College of Physical Education in Madras[93] which was started in 1920 by the American physical educationist Harry Crowe Buck. Buck himself had been educated at the epicentre of the YMCA's physical culture discourse, the Springfield College of Physical Education in Massachusetts, USA.

Social service was a key element in KCA's scouts' activities that—apart from physical activities—included providing service at religious festivities or hosting events such as camp fires that, for instance in April 1936, "entertained the local gentry, staff and students" as well as the President of the local Municipal Committee.[94] Their outlook, however, remained politically conservative. Khalsa College's Boy Scouts were not part of Indian Scout associations that rivalled the official Baden-Powell version such as the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts or the later Hindustan Boy Scouts, but remained in the fold of the English mother organisation initiated by its founder Robert Baden-Powell in 1910. Consequently, the KCA association was lacking much of the subversive and often nationalist spin that characterised the rival Indian Scouting associations.[95] The groups not affiliated to the Baden-Powell Association were observed warily by colonial government officials.[96] Especially in the 1930s and 1940s, when communal tensions began to rise in British India and numerous youth and volunteer associations wearing uniforms and practising physical exercises emerged, warnings among the government increased.[97] Youth associations bore an ambivalent potential. Douglas Young, chief justice of the Lahore High Court and provincial Scout commissioner, at a Scout rally in Amritsar in 1938 condemned the student strikes at Khalsa College a year earlier and singled them out as a negative example of youth agitation.[98] Scouting on the other hand could—when rightly guided—figure as a bulwark against indiscipline, according to Young. Indeed, it was such an outlook that informed Khalsa College's Scouting schemes. Learning self-reliance and democracy were interpreted as a means to strengthen the good, reliable

and disciplined Sikh citizen who was ready to serve the country's lawfully constituted authorities. While this attitude ignored much of the emancipatory moment inherent in Scouting, it was supposed to benefit a strong and independent Sikh identity.

Scouting, as part of a publicly celebrated sports-military nexus at Khalsa College, quickly took on an important role in the institution's internal and external representation. College publications featured articles and group photos showing orderly and uniformed Scout troops and complementing similar depictions of the college's hockey, cricket, or football teams and, during World War II, of the college's company of the University Training Corps or the military preparatory class (see Figs. 5.1 and 5.3).[99]

These images were not confined to Khalsa College's campus. The institution's success in sports provided regular opportunities to travel and spread the institution's outlook on physical education and the 'manly' Sikh. In 1935, for instance, Harbail Singh was selected to go on a small imperial tour via Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Australia to New Zealand with the Indian Hockey Team.[100] Singh, with his impressive stature and especially his long hair and turban, drew a lot of attention and curiosity from onlookers at the tour's various stops. Harbail, "a picturesque, bearded

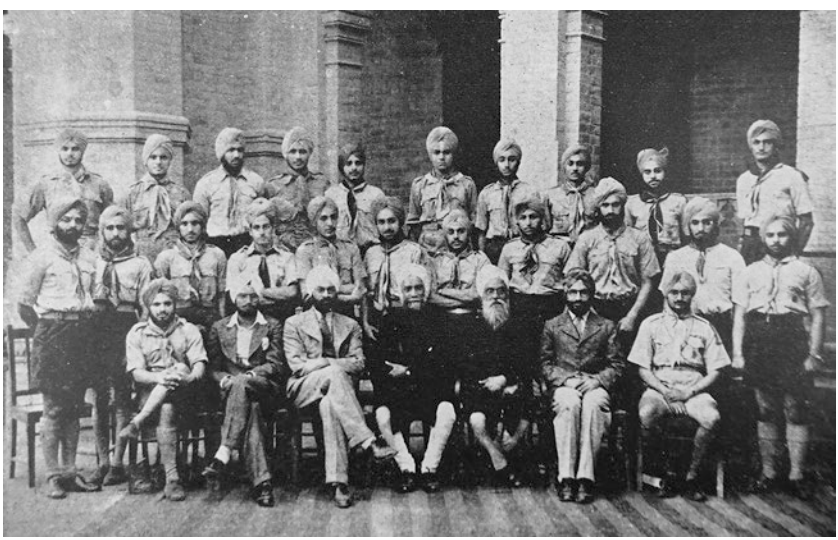

Fig. 5.1 Rover Scouts crew, KCA (*Durbar*, March 1935, pp. 16f)

figure,"[101] as he was described, was featured prominently in many local news reports during the trip, surpassing all his non-Sikh teammates (apart from maybe hockey luminary Dhyan Chand) in terms of media attention.[102] Particular attention was paid to his "unusual mode of head dress," which "caused much comment among the spectators."[103] With his beard, long hair and the turban that he wore "for religious reasons,"[104] the "tall Sikh"[105] stood out among the Indian players. Harbail Singh satisfied a craving for the 'exotic' especially among white Australian and New Zealander audiences. However, at the same time, Harbail was also a messenger of an Indian, if not particularly Sikh, modernity during his trip. Not only did the Indians' high quality hockey impress the sporting public in the host countries, Harbail Singh also gave well-attended lectures on various occasions and in different places along the tour, where he spoke on topics such as "Physical Training and the Sikh religion."[106] In a lecture he gave at New Zealand's Christchurch Technical College, Harbail referenced an ancient Indian tradition of physical culture and urged for the inclusion of sports and physical training in modern education. However, Harbail Singh did not only invoke the old: he apparently also included in his lecture very contemporary themes from the modern discursive nexus on physical culture, (new) education and 'uplift'. As part of this, he lamented a lack of "the use of [pupils'] creative facilities," speaking in favour "of the present turning to manual training and vocational guidance, and appeal[ing] for the proper use of leisure,"[107] as newspapers reported.

At the other end, Harbail Singh's trip was partially showcased as a tour of the British Empire. In a series of articles published in the college magazine, the *Durbar*, Harbail wrote about his experiences during the journey.[108] His articles that appeared as he travelled from Lahore via Ceylon to Australia, New Zealand, and back to India, gave the reader an impression of British intra-imperial unity and exchange. While Ceylon was deemed "the pearl of the Orient,"[109] it was Australia in particular, especially the modern cities of Adelaide and Sydney (the latter the "second biggest city of the British Empire")[110] that impressed Harbail the most with their various spectacles and examples of modern engineering. In Wellington, New Zealand, the prime minister and the city's mayor received the hockey players and deemed the team's journey an opportunity to "cement [the] friendship between the two wings of the British Empire."[111] In his lengthy remarks on New Zealand society in his *Durbar* travel logs, Harbail praised the 'civilising' effect of white colonisation in New Zealand on the native

Maori. Harbail lauded the exemplary educational and public health system of New Zealand which according to him was a "science wonderland" and "mainly a farming and dairying country."[112] In keeping with imperial racial imaginings,[113] Harbail viewed the Maori as descendants of the same race as Indians and saw the hockey games with the local population as an "opportunity of meeting each other again and bringing them together."[114]

The example of the Boy Scouts and Harbail Singh's hockey-related travels point to the persistency of images of discipline and loyalty to the authorities, country, and empire. The figure of Harbail in his role of Director of Physical Education and Boy Scouts leader, however, also ties to another substantial direction the discourse on bodily culture at Khalsa College took during the 1920s and 1930s; the introduction and adaption of globally circulating theories of so called 'modern' and 'scientific' physical education.

Between Manly Games and Scientific Physical Education

In the context of empire-building and keeping, bodily culture was a constitutive element around which modern negotiations of uniformity and difference revolved.[115] Sikh cultural formations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, too, were substantially structured by respective colonial discourses and fault-lines.[116] Historians have shown gender and masculinity as highly contested areas shaped by both imperial and nationalist visions and practices such as the above-mentioned games ethic, imperial militarism, or, on the other side of the imperial divide, Indian nationalist calls to recapture the masculine, 'national' body.[117] The sports ethic propagated at Khalsa College was interpreted by the college's management and supporters along similar lines, as a means of national, communal, and socio-religious regeneration and assertion. The initially particularly 'British' character of its schemes reflected the institution's strong ties to the military and the civil government. Focusing on the so-called manly games and their associated traits nurtured ideals of a martial, disciplined and loyal Sikh. This image catered to the military and landed classes and the traditional Sikh aristocracy and further fuelled the rhetoric demarcation from a 'feeble' Hinduism.

The diffusion of British team sports, sport as a vehicle for nationalism, and consequent efforts at 'indigenising' physical culture starting in the late nineteenth-century have been persistent themes in the historiography of sports in colonial India.[118] Less attention received so far has a shift in

discourses on physical education that occurred particularly in the interwar period. Influenced by transnational discussions on the role and potential of sports, the debate moved to what were considered decidedly scientific, body-centred schemes of physical education, whereas both the 'games ethic' and military-style training were increasingly met with scepticism. Non-governmental organisations such as the American-led YMCA were at the forefront of this trend in South Asia, but British Indian central and provincial state officials, nationalist and local initiatives, too, quickly adopted and adapted the new ideas.[119] At Khalsa College these influences from an emerging international discourse were felt too.[120] While many 'modern' schemes of physical education in their divergence from the classical trifecta of 'manly games' were only partially attractive to the institution, selected aspects were integrated insofar as they supplied the college's specific needs and fitted its modernist character and scientistic outlook.

In its early attempts in this direction, the college followed general outlines sketched by Punjab province' Education Department. In the late 1910s and early 1920s, the latter had started to lay more emphasis on so-called scientific physical instruction and the training of specialist physical instructors.[121] In tune with other ideas pertaining to new and progressive education and advocating integrative schooling, KCA's principal G.A. Wathen (1915–1924) already in the 1910s had introduced a (though rather militaristic) morning drill that focused on stretching, bending, and Swedish drill (gymnastics). Further, Wathen, who was an avid outdoor enthusiast, also implemented a stricter regime for the hygiene of the students, anticipating later public health schemes.[122]

However, more far-reaching advances followed after Harbail Singh had been sent to the YMCA's Madras College of Physical Education in 1930 and returned to Khalsa College to assume the position of Director of Physical Instruction. The Madras college in many ways represented the new, distinctly American outlook on physical culture that clearly departed from earlier British efforts. The institution worked independently from the colonial state and deemed much of the former's methods non-scientific and outdated.[123] The Madras college followed a distinct diffusionist approach that sought to train 'native' physical instructors and enable them to pass on their new 'modern' understanding of sports to their respective environments.

After his return to Khalsa College, Harbail Singh started to professionalise the college's sports and physical education schemes. As one of the first measures—and obviously influenced by Harbail's experience with the

YMCA—the college opened a gymnasium in 1932.[124] Further activities such as group gymnastics and calisthenics were selectively restructured and reintroduced in the curriculum in accordance with an often holistic understanding from the modern physical education discourse.[125] In Madras, Harbail Singh had studied public health, a topic he even wrote about in the MCPE's college magazine.[126] His knowledge he took with him to Khalsa College. There, Harbail stressed the importance of health, diet, and hygiene to the students and reformed earlier programmes. During his tenure as Physical Director, regular physical examinations were introduced and new classes in anatomy, physiology, personal hygiene, sanitation, athletic injuries, and massage were offered.[127]

The urge to 'indigenise' physical culture was a recurring point in the agendas of Indian nationalists in the colonial negotiation of the hegemony over the nation's body. This aim was strikingly lacking at Khalsa College. College representatives and commentators regularly lauded the fostering of English games at KCA. An interest in practices and schemes of a more 'national' or 'Indian' flavour hardly ever show up in the sources.[128] The college introduced *kabaḍḍī* (a contact team sport) and *gatkā* (a fencing martial art), both sports popular in Punjab and North India,[129] in the 1930s and 1940s, however without the nationalist rhetoric seen at other institutions. Moreover, this rather late introduction followed schemes of both the Punjab University in Lahore and the Punjab Education Department that started to propagate Indian sports in the 1920s and 1930s.[130]

Why was there not more initiative to cultivate 'indigenous' Indian or Punjabi sports and games at Khalsa College? Once more, the reason might be found in the college's catering to both Sikh reformism and loyalism. Chapter 3 has shown the limited use of tropes of 'Indic science' in the formulation of 'modern Sikhism' at KCA. This phenomenon showed also in the realm of bodily culture. Spiritual-physical systems associated with Hindu tradition such as *brahmacharya* ideals, *ayurvedic* body images, or *akhārās* provided the basis of many practices that Hindu and/or nationalist activists reconstructed and reinvented in response to the imperial discourse that deemed the Indian body inferior.[131] To a Sikh reformist sphere that was eager to distinguish a strict Sikh identity from the Indian or specifically Hindu mainstream such references were only of limited appeal. Further, these revivalist practices and youth movements often entailed subversive and anti-colonial overtones. In 1943, for instance, the Government of Punjab anxiously reported on a dangerous "'Akhara

movement' for the physical well-being of the Hindu youth" which had gained ground in Patiala.[132] Such connotations made 'indigenous' schemes and practices additionally thorny for an institution whose management stressed the continuing importance of the Sikh community's loyalty to the British authorities.

Khalsa College's bodily regime and its goals differed from contemporary initiatives also in other ways. Bodybuilding and bulking up muscle-mass was a popular theme among physical educationists at that time, in and out of India.[133] At KCA, it played only a secondary role. The college's gymnasium, for example, did not put much emphasis on the increasing of muscles, as photographs depicting students with lean rather than muscled bodies and showing a striking lack of equipment specifically for body-building imply (see Fig. 5.2).

While its establishment on KCA's campus brought new impulses and options for physical exercise, the gymnasium eventually could not compete with the aura of the 'manly games' whose group character was generally preferred over individual training. Over the years, observers complained that the college authorities neglected the gym which apparently was often more or less deserted.[134] The building of character remained paradigmatic

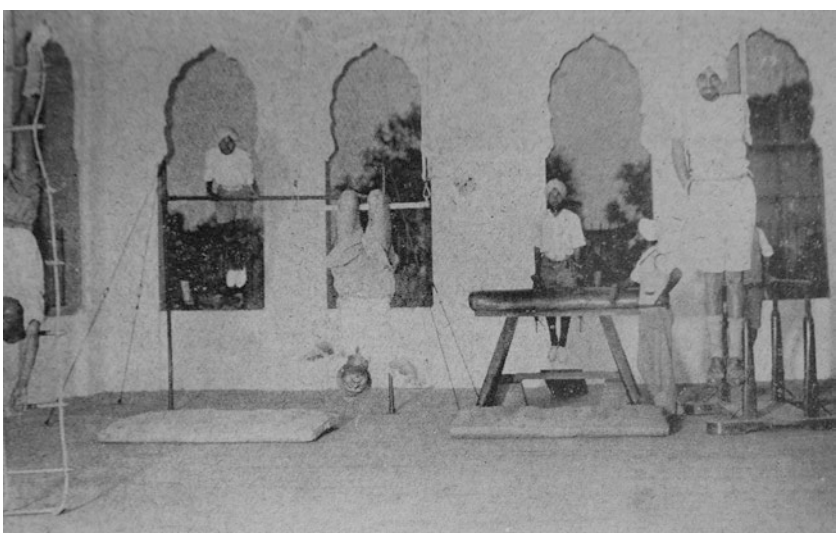

Fig. 5.2 Gymnasium of KCA (*Durbar*, March 1935, p. 72)

and overshadowed the building of the individual body for the body's sake. It was this attitude that guided Harbail Singh and other staff members when they introduced new team sports at Khalsa College, be they from American schools of physical culture such as basketball or volleyball, or—though comparably late—'sportified' versions of traditional Indian games such as the mentioned *kabaḍḍī* or *khō khō* (a tag game).[135]

Another innovation concerned the inclusiveness of its games efforts. In accordance with a new policy started by the Government of Punjab's Education Department in the 1920s that promoted "games-for-all," the college's emphasis shifted from the fostering of a few model sports teams to the conviction that every student should take part in some kind of physical activity on a regular basis.[136] Consequently, physical training for all first-year students and participation in competitive games for all boarders were made mandatory despite contemporary advocates often putting emphasis on the voluntary aspect of physical education.[137] The Education Department's promotion of mass sports was partially tied to broader schemes of village and rural uplift as described in Chap. 4. In this vein, compulsory participation was—somewhat paradoxically—considered as a means of mental and bodily relaxation.[138] The Boy Scouts movement similarly catered to an understanding of physical education as part of an integrated health effort. The scouts' physical activities corresponded well with Khalsa College's holistic approach that favoured robustness, endurance, reliability, and team work over showy muscles.[139] Even the institution's specific affinity for the 'manly games' was shared by the movement—at least by its official promoters among the administration of Punjab. Although Robert Baden-Powell himself originally had not shown much interest in team sports, Punjab's provincial Scouts secretary H.W. Hogg in 1928 explained his 'new ideas of physical culture', stressing the importance of the three major games, especially hockey, and their effects in strengthening the whole body, contrasting them to innovations such as ping pong or badminton, which Hogg deemed more suitable for girls.[140]

The emphasis on classic games did not mean that Khalsa College ignored contemporary advancements and trends. On the contrary, their 'modernity' was a constitutive feature of the new schemes under Harbail Singh. The implementation of new ideas of a science-based physical education was explicitly tied to the college's own scientistic paradigm. Like schemes for 'useful knowledge', the natural sciences, agriculture or Sikh theology and historiography, so was the embracement of current trends in physical education part of the college's quest for a 'modern' and

'scientific' Sikh citizen.[141] The introduction of a gymnasium, basketball, or mass training, for instance, met the currents of the day, and KCA was happy to include in its bodily regime innovative elements that benefitted its own approach. Especially in the 1930s and 1940s, Khalsa College's educationists increasingly pronounced and systematised the health aspect of physical exercise by introducing scientific practices such as regular physical examination, dietary schemes, and hygiene and sanitation teaching.[142]

In the realm of bodily practice, the paradigm of science found its effects also in very practical matters. An anecdote from the All-India Beighton Cup in 1939 illustrates this. Perceived as a key element in the sustenance of the students' health and physical fitness was a proper diet.[143] As addressed in Chap. 4, a special quality was attributed to milk and dairy products by referencing both scientific studies on milk's nutritional value and Punjabi/Sikh dietary customs and ideals of 'manliness'. The interplay of scientism, sports ethic, and both regional and religious identity showed when a team from Khalsa College was allowed to participate in the prestigious Beighton hockey cup in Calcutta. During the tournament, players of the college team complained about the Bengali food available there, claiming that it could not hold up to the "wholesome diet of Punjab."[144] Luckily for the Khalsa team, they had their own cook travelling with them who was able to prepare to prepare meals according to the taste of the Punjabi players and "to keep [them] fit to turn out [their] best in the matches,"[145] because he had two cans of 'country *ghee*' (clarified butter) with him.

While the ostentatious cultivation of either 'native sport' or bulky muscles was no priority at Khalsa College, the institution integrated new ideas on physical training in an attempt to professionalise the major games. Harbail Singh promoted a new "scientific" method of playing hockey[146] and the installation of a dedicated Sports Committee helped implementing the shift to mass training and other systematic measures intended to keep the students healthy.[147] Further, Khalsa College could benefit from having access to a steady supply of students from Khalsa feeder schools that often pursued sporting schemes similar to KCA's ones. Combined, these efforts quickly bore fruit. The institution continued to pride itself on its successes in 'manly games' and, indeed, the college's football, hockey, cricket and athletics teams became serial winners in the 1930s and 1940s, not only in provincial, but also in several national tournaments.[148]

While KCA infused its games ethic with new scientific methods and practices, the perceived relation between sports and military still provided the subtext that fed the promotion of 'manly games' or Boy Scouts

activities. While pioneers of progressive physical education such as the YMCA Physical Education College at Madras were increasingly discarding military style drills,[149] Khalsa College reintroduced in 1934 the daily early-morning mass drill that had been a feature implemented and cherished in the 1910s in the era of Principal G.A. Wathen.[150] Ideologically and normatively, sports and military were considered complementary, the former assuming a proxy function for the latter, especially during a phase in the 1920s and 1930s when official response to Khalsa College's military aspirations was reserved at best.

For a more genuine fulfilment of these military ambitions, Khalsa College had to wait, once again, on the global impact of a world war that simultaneously proved to be an opportunity for redefining the martial Sikh. As was the case with the appropriation of the modern discourse of scientific physical education, so were images of the Sikh soldier too modified to conform to the paradigms of 'modernity' and 'scientism' during World War II.

For the King, Guru, and the Future: KCA and World War II

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 seemingly led to the military authorities of British India recalling the Khalsa College's martial tradition, and the institution promptly featured again in all its war-related schemes. As early as late 1939, shortly after the outbreak of the war, the Punjab military department apparently discussed ideas regarding the training of technical recruits for the various military forces at Khalsa College.[151] Khalsa College finally was given two platoons for the University Training Corps the following year. The college had no problem in filling these and additional efforts in military recruitment took the form of a new class for colloquial English in February 1941, and only a few months later a regular Military Preparatory Class. The former prepared interested students for the recruitment interview. Apart from clerical English, "social manner," physical exercise, and swimming, the latter course, which was led by an English military official, featured also daily services in the *gurdwārā* as well as lectures in Sikh History given by KCA's Ganda and Sahib Singh.[152] The class was run under the patronage of and financed by the Maharaja of Patiala (who was Chancellor of the college at that time) and, according to KCA's own statements, was "a unique feature of the Khalsa College[…] and a special aspect of the Khalsa College's war effort."[153] The measures taken by the college authorities were apparently quite successful. By 1945,

the college could boast that the various Provincial Boards approved of 535 of its students for Emergency Commissions of the Army and Air Force during the whole of World War II, a number that very few institutions of comparable size could match.[154]

One element of Khalsa College's World War II effort deserves a somewhat more detailed consideration: its Indian Air Training Corps (IATC). The scheme's broader historical context and its realisation and reception make it a particularly instructive example of KCA's actions and role during World War II.

While there had been a small presence of the British Royal Air Force on the subcontinent before, the Indian Air Force (IAF) was established in 1932. The IAF saw a rapid expansion with the beginning of World War II, and demand for recruitment and training reached its height in 1942 after Japan's entry into the war made the Eastern war theatre and India's security in particular a major concern of the British.[155] The Indian Air Force required the enlistment of a different type of recruit than the Army. It appealed more to the English-speaking middle class, since more technical functions and the filling of officer ranks demanded servicemen with higher education.[156] While the IAF consisted to a higher degree of Indian servicemen than the other forces, it was also more inclusive in terms of its 'racial' and 'communal' composition. Accordingly, the martial races theory in the Indian Air Force (as well as in the Royal Indian Navy) did not have the currency that it did in the Indian Army.[157] Remnants of the discourse, however, were still there.

In early 1942, Sir William Stampe, a RAF Squadron Leader, prepared a draft of a scheme to establish an Air Training Corps (IATC) in India to draw the Indian youth into the Air Force, similar to the highly successful ATC scheme that had been launched in Britain in the year before. Stampe's original scheme, which he submitted in February of the same year, strongly adhered to the martial races theory. Stampe urged that mainly the "educated martial classes" with their "intrinsic fighting qualities"[158] should be tapped for the recruitment of cadets from schools and colleges. However, the tone of further drafts of Stampe's scheme changed after he had a conversation with S. Lall, an Indian living in London, who told Stampe that he did not believe in the distinction between martial and non-martial classes in India and who insisted that "[i]n total warfare there is valuable work for all to do."[159] Though at first subsequent drafts of the scheme still mentioned that "[c]ertain classes of the population are obviously more suitable for air crew and other types for ground duties,"[160] later versions

completely discarded the martial races paradigm, now stating instead that it was "most desirable that such class distinctions should be ignored and selection spread over *suitable individual types of all strats* [sic]."[161]

Stampe's scheme circulated among his superiors in London in the Air Ministry and their counterparts in India, but it was still considered probably impractical for India in mid-1942, due to a perceived lack of suitably educated candidates and other deficiencies. Eventually, however, Stampe's ideas were reconsidered and taken up, and in February 1943 the first Indian Air Training Corps was established at Aligarh Muslim University, followed quickly by centres at other universities in British India.[162] Schools and colleges, however, were not considered in the scheme initially, because there was doubt whether such institutions would possess the infrastructure necessary for the Corps and its training.

When Punjab University's IATC started in Lahore in early 1943, the rush of KCA students apparently was exceptionally high. This led to the college management suggesting to the Air Headquarters that they run the University course in Amritsar instead of Lahore. Principal Jodh Singh argued for this saying

> the [Punjab] University has got no gymnasium of its own; [and] its playfields are situated at a distance from the hostel wherein they propose to lodge the students. On the other hand in the Khalsa College, Amritsar, the gymnasium, the playfields, the swimming tank and the hostels are all located in one campus.[163]

Interestingly, when William Stampe's scheme was declared 'impracticable' for India half a year earlier, one of the noted deficiencies had been the lack of educational institutions with the necessary "nucleus of equipment and instructional buildings."[164] Already existing OTC's (Officers' Training Corps) and Boy Scout organisations on campus, for instance, were seen as ideal prerequisites for an IATC in a private educational institution.

However, Jodh Singh's suggestion was not taken further. Nevertheless, in fall 1943, a Special Air Training class was started at the college through the efforts of KC Council's President Kirpal Singh Majithia and with support from the government.[165] The government supplied the course with instructors, material, and even a scrapped airplane for training purposes. The late Sundar Singh Majithia, Kirpal's father and predecessor, had previously been interested in starting an air force training class on campus. Sundar Singh had been a founding member (and long-time president) of

the Northern India Flying Club in Lahore[166]; his affinity for aviation also showed through his son, Surjit Singh Majithia, Squadron Leader in the IAF by 1943 and later Deputy Defence Minister in independent India, and his grandson (Kirpal's son) Dalip Singh Majithia, Flight Lieutenant in the IAF in 1943.

In December 1943, Guy Garrod, Vice Air Marshall of the IAF, visited the college to inspect the Special Air Classes. As he remarked in his speech, he hoped that KCA's air training class, the only one of its kind in an Indian educational institution according to the Air Marshall, could soon be transformed into a regular IATC. Shortly after, this wish came true: the Air Headquarters allowed Khalsa College to establish precisely such a class in January 1944.[167] As the college itself proudly emphasised, KCA was the only educational institution at the college level that featured an IATC centre at the time, whereas by the end of 1943 only five (9 by mid-1944) Indian universities had one.[168]

While the genesis of Khalsa College's IATC mainly lay in the private initiative of the Majithias, the fact that it was an air force enterprise served KCA's image well. In comparison to the other forces the Indian Air Force was considered particularly prestigious and indeed the "most glamourous of India's armed forces."[169] As apparent in the example of the Lahore Flying Club, aviation also had an upper-class (if not aristocratic) flair in late colonial India. The Club in Lahore was run, presided over and patronised by aristocrats, land-owners and industrialists such as Lala Rup Chand, Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh or Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Dass, besides Sunder Singh Majithia. It seems only appropriate that Surjit Singh Majithia as a member of the Flying Club bought an airplane (a Percival Vega Gull) from the Maharaja of Patiala in 1938.[170] Further, the highly modern technology of aviation and the Air Force in particular demanded a special type of recruit, one who was technically apt and educated. This requirement thus evoked yet again KCA's ideal of the martial and practical, and, by extension, scientifically and technically educated and 'modern', Sikh. Surjit Singh Majithia, President of the KC Managing Council, could accordingly state that "[i]n the present war [...], the Sikhs have demonstrated their superiority in the mechanical mode of warfare."[171] As it slowly became apparent that a traditional and essentialist version of the martial races theory would most probably not be sustainable, the image of the "martial Sikh" was adapted to the changing late (and post) colonial

South Asian socio-political and economic circumstances, and older notions and claims were transferred onto forms more attuned to the changing conditions.

The question of support for the war was hotly debated among the fragmented Sikh community. After the outbreak of the war Punjab's Unionist government declared its full support for the war effort. Sundar Singh Majithia's loyalist Khalsa National Party also joined this stance and spoke in favour of Sikh enlistment as a coalition partner of the Unionists. However, the Congress, the communist parties, and significant factions within the Akālīs strongly opposed any Indian and Sikh participation in the 'imperialist' war.[172] The opposition among the Akālīs, however, was fragmented. Master Tara Singh spoke out in support of the war effort in 1940/41, as he feared the Sikh community might otherwise lose the special position it had been able to acquire through military service. However, Tara Singh and the Akālīs had to be careful in openly or even unconditionally supporting war activities so as to not alienate their earlier allies, the Congress, too much, and to maintain their position and image as an opposition to the government and the British.[173] Other radical Akālī factions continued to criticise the Sikhs' support for the war and undermined efforts to promote Sikh recruitment. This indeed had consequences on the position of the Sikh community: during the war recruitment patterns in Punjab shifted to the western districts of the province where the predominantly Muslim population was less influenced by anti-war activities.[174]

For the college's princely, elite and upper-class supporters and benefactors, the reinstated military prowess of Khalsa College during the war proved to be an opportunity to reactivate the traditional *rāj bhagatī*. The opening of the Preparatory Class in summer 1941 was celebrated with much pomp in the presence of the scheme's patron, the Maharaja of Patiala.[175] A visit of Governor Bertrand Glancy in 1942 to inspect the college's various military and war enterprises was a similar spectacle, and offered an opportunity for "a large number of prominent Sardars, the elite of the province and retired Military officers"[176] to socialise. The passing-out parade of the college's Special Air Training Class in late 1943 was again accompanied by extensive celebrations (Fig. 5.3). Vice Air Marshal of India Guy Garrod and the Maharaja of Faridkot visited the campus on the occasion. The celebrations featured various functions, speeches,

Fig. 5.3 Passing-out parade of the I.A.T.C., KCA (*Durbar*, May/June 1944, pp. 6f)

parades, and inspections that took a full afternoon; the military parade again proved the stage for an illustrious gathering of KC council members, civil and military officers, Sikh nobles and their representatives, and other 'respected gentlemen' and 'the elite of the city'.[177]

The framing of Khalsa College's military contributions during World War II was in many ways similar to the arguments brought up in the previous world war. However, there were also a few notable shifts in the discourse that were grounded in the changing political circumstances. When speakers at KC functions or authors in the college magazine addressed the students and staff, the narrative remained dominant of Punjab as the 'Sword Hand of India' and of the Sikhs as followers of "Guru Gobind Singh who welded the mystics into a class of 'Asiatic Ironsides, inspired by pure religious zeal'."[178] As the Maharaja of Patiala emphasised, the KCA youth were still expected to "uphold and strengthen in every possible manner the martial traditions to which [they] are heirs and faithfully fulfil [their] military duties maintaining the purity of [their] military traditions and the reputation of the community."[179] Also, the religious and eschatological dimension of the war was prominently stressed, much as before, as

military service for the Sikhs had "a special religious significance."[180] The British and British India were "ranged against the forces of evil"[181]: it was therefore the Sikhs' duty to "save the world and all that humanity holds sacred and dear from wanton destruction."[182]

However, there was a noticeable shift in the frame of reference in these accounts. There were still voices calling to mind the Sikhs' "long connection with British people," insisting that their community was "indissolubly bound up with Britain."[183] Nevertheless, in the late-colonial, pre-independence atmosphere, references to the Empire mostly vanished, only occasionally appearing in the new form of the 'Commonwealth'. But a new sense of utilitarianism informed even such allusions and was stressed by both government officials and Sikh leaders. It was no longer the 'righteousness and truth' of the British Empire for which the Sikh soldiers had supposedly (and idealistically) fought for in World War I. Rather, as Governor of Punjab Henry Craik warned, it was now an act of self-defence:

> [I]f the British Commonwealth is defeated, the fate that awaits India and other parts of the Commonwealth is nothing less than the same cruel slavery which our enemies have imposed on Poland and other conquered nations.[184]

The war effort and recruitment in particular were not portrayed only as a religious or political necessity this time round. A narrative disseminated in the advertisements and propaganda efforts for the Air Force—which intensified from early 1942—aimed at highlighting the service's benefits for later civilian life.[185] This argument was also made at Khalsa College, for example when Bertrand Glancy, Governor of Punjab, assured the students during his visit in 1944 that since "[a]ll branches of the Defence Services are imparting such technical skill […] it should be possible for every man and officer […] to find a suitable post in civil life when the War is over."[186] Along similar lines, Sundar Singh Majithia emphasised in a speech on the occasion of the Maharaja of Kapurthala's visit to the campus in 1941 that a technical course he suggested as a contribution to the war effort would also be of much use in the post-war development of the country.[187] Besides being a continuation of their "noble tradition"[188] of military service, the Sikh participation in the war was also considered from a very utilitarian angle in a distinctly communal sense. In the wake of the anti-recruitment sentiments propagated by Akālī politicians, the governors, ministers and princes speaking at KCA reminded the Sikh students of their "eminence

and supremacy in the Army"[189] and warned that the community could lose its preeminent position in British India.

Khalsa College's rhetoric and propagandist efforts were not directed only towards its students. The college once more executed its role (or claim) as a 'leader' of the Sikh community and a scholarly and institutional authority influencing Sikh public discourse, as the following example of the debate on steel helmets, which erupted shortly after the outbreak of the war, shall show.

In September 1939, the Mark I steel helmet was introduced as the standard equipment for Indian soldiers.[190] Over the following month, the British Indian Army's Commander-in-Chief Robert A. Cassels wrote to Punjab Governor H.D. Craik to tell him about unrest among Sikh soldiers stationed in Egypt and their reluctance to wearing the newly introduced helmet, as it was supposedly difficult to wear over the *kēsdhārī* Sikhs' *paggṛī* (turban). Henry M. Wilson, General officer commanding (GOC) the British Troops in Egypt, had requested from Cassels a statement from 'Sikh religious leaders' that would confirm the compatibility of the helmet with Sikh faith and practice. In his response Cassels doubted the usefulness of such a statement because of the fragmentation of the Sikh political landscape. Even so, he urged Craik to approach Sunder Singh Majithia and other leading Sikhs, and "let them know that the continued refusal to relax these conventions on active service conditions must necessarily affect the efficiency of Sikhs as soldiers and is therefore likely ultimately to react upon the position which they now hold in the Army."[191] Craik followed the C-I-C's advice and wrote an emphatic letter to the province's Revenue Minister, Sundar Singh Majithia, stating that "this matter is one of such vital importance to the Sikh community that [...] the sooner some satisfactory solution can be found, the better."[192]

The matter and its threat to the delicate question of Sikh military recruitment was therefore quickly addressed in a meeting of the Chief Khalsa Diwan. It also continued to occupy the mind of the administration, which saw the objection to the helmet as agitation coming mainly from the Akālīs.[193] In March 1940, during his speech at KCA's annual function, Sikandar Hayat Khan, Prime Minister of the Punjab Government, explicitly addressed the matter. Referring to the historical use of helmets by Sikhs soldiers as well as its imperative practical necessity, he cautioned that "[i]f the Sikhs do not want to lose their supremacy in the army it is for them to denounce this agitation [against steel helmets]."[194]

A month later, Ganda Singh, the head of KCA's Sikh History Research Department, inaugurated a series of articles on the topic of Sikhs and the steel helmet, which were published in the subsequent weeks and months in the CKD-associated Punjabi newspaper *Khālsā Samācār*.[195] The articles were part of a wider context of similar attempts to justify and propagate the Sikhs' participation in the War by the moderate *Khālsā Samācār,* which regularly appeared in the newspaper during this period.[196] In his article titled 'The Sikhs and the steel helmet: what does previous history tell us?', Ganda Singh, who was cited authoritatively as a professor of Khalsa College, gave a detailed account of the use of helmets and headgear in Sikh military tradition and in the various historical armies of Sikh *rājās* and generals, referring to multiple sources and literature. As he stated in his initial remarks, Ganda Singh wrote the piece to give his readers the opportunity to pass an 'informed' and 'right' judgment in a matter so vital for the Sikh community, which was heavily invested in and dependent on military service. Not too surprisingly, KCA's history professor concluded that soldiers in earlier times also wore similar helmets and, hence, the refusal to wear contemporary steel helmets was only grounded in ignorance and misconceptions. Ganda Singh published another essay in the *Samācār* only one week later, confirming his previous verdict that in view of the historical precedents there could be no objection to wearing the steel helmet for today's *sepoys*.[197] In June, a meeting of the Chief Khalsa Diwan was held at Khalsa College. There, the members of the Diwan unanimously voted for the wearing of the disputed helmet, citing the supporting opinions of various Sikh public leaders in their statement.[198]

The concerns of the officials regarding the steel helmet question were not unfounded. In late 1940 the issue flared up again in Hong Kong when Sikhs from various regiments of the Royal Artillery refused to wear the helmets and even to lift crates containing them. The quickly escalating insubordinations led to 83 Sikh soldiers being court-martialled in January 1941, although the military administration eventually backed down and only 11 sentences were carried out.[199] The disaffection and the subsequent chain of events even connect to the emergence of the Indian National Army (INA).[200] As the General Headquarters India in 1942 remarked in a "most secret" 'Note on Sikhs', the Sikhs serving in the Army in the East were particularly exposed to "subversive propaganda" due to being "out of touch with the wholesome influence of the Sikh moderates"[201]—such as Sundar Singh Majithia, the CKD and the Khalsa College management.

The Sikh leadership in Punjab failed exercising a mitigating role with severe consequences only a couple of years later in summer 1947 when the British hastily left South Asia and British India was partitioned along religious lines into independent India and Pakistan. Gruesome violence was practised and suffered by all communities on both sides of the new border during the disastrous population exchange that heavily affected the partitioned Punjab province. Historians have described how Sikh bands (*jathās*) roamed ferociously in East (Indian) Punjab, attacking Muslims in cities and villages and refugee trains on their way to West (Pakistani) Punjab.[202] The actions and methods of these groups were characterised by a high efficiency and distinct military quality, as the *jathās* were advised by former personnel of the Indian Army and the INA.[203] While the individual killings had diverse social, economic, and religious reasons, the density of the massacres in Punjab, as compared to the likewise partitioned Bengal province in the east, has been attributed partially to the province's considerable militarisation and the ready availability of military expertise and weapons, and, more specifically, to the combat experience and military organisational skills that (now demobilised) soldiers had brought back from World War II.[204]

The tension building up to the Partition violence had also seen a further transformation in physical culture and youth movements, as more explicitly militant (and fascist) volunteer organisations and numerous Hindu, Muslim, or Sikh para-military groups emerged and a culture of social service turned into communal hatred.[205] Student organisations such as the Muslim Students Federation and the All-India Sikh Students Federation also joined the calls of politicians like Tara Singh, the latter who progressively more bluntly urged Sikh militias to prepare for action in spring and summer 1947, especially after many Sikhs had been killed in violent communal clashes in western Punjab in March of the year.[206] As has been noted, various princely states, having reached a rapprochement with the radical Akālīs by 1947, provided at least unofficial and covert support for the Sikh bands that roamed rather freely in the territories of east Punjab's Sikh states.[207]

The Indian Army, the police, and the hastily established and understaffed Punjab Boundary Force were not able to contain the spiralling violence in summer 1947. The army itself had already been in the process of getting divided along communal lines. Eventually, even individual units were split up and Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim troops were exchanged between the two new nations.[208] The Sikh community's role in the

military of the new Republic of India remained a similar one as in colonial times: after 1947, they kept being overrepresented in the Indian armed forces relative to their share of the country's population.[209]

Conclusion

In 1955, Jawaharlal Nehru, prime minister of the young Indian Republic, visited Khalsa College. In many ways, his visit mirrored the plans that had been made for the Prince of Wales in 1922. As imagined thirty years earlier but this time actually executed, the college staged a display of civil and military service, discipline, and physical fitness. Guards of honour drawn from the college's Rover Scouts and (now) National Cadet Corps welcomed Nehru on the campus.[210] Afterwards, the prime minister inspected the Artillery Guns School established at the institution and watched students performing physical exercises. Nehru lauded the college's production of "intelligent young men"[211] who would be able to shoulder the responsibilities of the new country's administration. Indian independence in 1947, of course, had swapped the face of the state's authorities—Khalsa College's commitment to them and its modes of self- and public representation, though, remained remarkably persistent.

Upholding the Sikh martial tradition had been a claim of Khalsa College since its inauguration. While not many concrete schemes were realised initially, World War I brought together the institution's aspirations and the Government's eager patronage. Images of Sikh martial identity and related codes of conduct were reproduced and fostered in lectures and history textbooks on campus, as well as in articles and poems in the college magazine.[212] Referring to a military tradition that stretched from Guru Gobind Singh (1666–1708) to the empire of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780–1839), staff members and benefactors of Khalsa College legitimised the Sikh military loyalty to the British colonial rulers, sometimes even portraying it as a religious duty.

Conjoined with the ideal of Sikh martialness and loyalty was the question of physical prowess. Especially compatible seemed the British 'games ethic' and its focus on 'manly games' such as hockey, cricket, and football. The remarkable emphasis on martial and bodily culture at KCA had its reasoning not only in the strong influence of British educationists and officials on the college, but also because it benefitted an internal differentiation among the Sikh and further Indian community. Claiming a distinctive Sikh 'manliness' was a substantial piece in the Sikh community's

agenda to differentiate itself from a wider Hindu or Indian mainstream, as the latter were deemed physically inferior in a colonial discourse. The fact that there never were serious attempts to discard the early imperial team sports in exchange for specifically 'Indian' or 'Punjabi' games must be seen in the same light.

However, in the interwar years, KCA's claims to military tradition and martial affinity became increasingly hollow and one-way. Despite its occasional lip service, the colonial administration did not show much interest in actively supporting Khalsa College's martial aspirations. In the two decades before World War II, the institution pursued ideals that the shifting political realities among the Sikhs, in Punjab and in India as a whole, had made increasingly obsolete and anachronistic. While moderate and loyalist princes and organisations such as the Chief Khalsa Diwan kept reaffirming the image of the Sikh soldier loyal to the King, it was only the Second World War that gave them and KCA another (and probably final) chance to pursue these ideals in practical terms. However, as the case of the Indian Air Training Corps shows, even during these times of 'total war' a simple return to the old paradigms like the martial races discourse was no longer possible. Previous narratives had to be re-negotiated and re-conceptualised: for example, the essentialist and simplistic notion of the 'martial Sikh' was adapted into a form more compatible with current conditions and hence emerged the augmented image of the 'modern and technically educated (martial) Sikh'.

In the realm of physical education, similar shifts were visible. Especially under Harbail Singh, the college's sporting schemes were oriented towards a transnational discourse that propagated 'modern', 'scientific' methods. Sustaining claims to a 'scientific Sikhism', these measures also helped to improve the cherished and identity-defining manly games. As such, the example of Khalsa College provides a glimpse in how these new, often American-based ideas on physical culture permeated Indian society and were adapted to the specific needs and circumstances of different interest groups. This not necessarily happened in discord to official imperial policies. On the contrary, in the 1920s, Punjab's Education Department outlined innovations in its physical education schemes that KCA in turn was happy to implement.

Still, sport and physical education remained in the eyes of KCA's management a means of disciplining the malleable Sikh youth, as the college authorities realised the subversive potential of youth mobilisation in the project of (re)constructing modern Sikhism. After the emergence of

radical movements such as the Akālīs, the traditional influence of moderate groups such as the Chief Khalsa Diwan, the princely states and the Sikh military and *zamīndārī* classes—groups heavily invested in Khalsa College—slowly declined. A growing mistrust towards Sikh recruitment after 1920 lowered the governmental investment in Khalsa College. This in turn reduced the institution's options in implementing its much-publicised ideals of Sikh martial tradition. An improved, professionalised, and modernised but still games-oriented sports regime thus fulfilled multiple functions since the 1920s: as a means of conservative resistance, a substitute for formal military schemes, and a further proof of modern Sikhism's scientificity. Particularly evident was this approach in the form of the Boys Scouts Association that combined ideals of discipline, military culture, and civic duty with an integrative understanding of bodily culture. Undergirded were the measures by a sincere conviction in the universalism of science and its potential for shaping the modern Sikh.

Notes

1. For examples, see *Durbar*, Dec. 1925, 1–9; *Durbar*, Nov. 1930, 20; and *Durbar*, Mar./Apr. 1942, 7–8.
2. 'Program of His Royal Highness and His Visit to Khalsa College 1922', Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, Sundar Singh Majithia Papers [hereafter SSMP], Subject File 5.
3. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1921/22, 10.
4. KCS, *Annual Report*, 1894–96, 9; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1935/36, *Durbar*, June 1936, 16.
5. 'General Outlines of the Scheme for the Proposed Khalsa College (Approved at a Meeting Held on the 23rd Feb. 1890)', in KCA, *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Late Khalsa College Establishment Committee and of the Council of the Khalsa College* (Lahore: Victoria Press, n.d. [c. 1896/97]).
6. Editorial note, *Tribune*, 28 Jan. 1891, 4.
7. KCS, *Annual Report*, 1894–96, 9; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1905/06, 28; 1915/16, 27.
8. KCA, Annual Report, 1904/05, 48.
9. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1910/11, 5.
10. *Khalsa Advocat*e, 19 Jan. 1907, 5; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1910/11, 5; 1911/12, 9.
11. James A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1986); id., *Athleticism in*

the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology (London: Frank Cass, 2000); Gideon Dishon, 'Games of Character: Team Sports, Games, and Character Development in Victorian Public Schools, 1850–1900', *Paedagogica Historica*, 53:4 (2017), 364–80. See also Patrick F. McDevitt, *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880–1935* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

12. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism;* Id., *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School.* Cf. Aviston D. Downes, 'From Boys to Men: Colonial Education, Cricket and Masculinity in the Caribbean, 1870–c. 1920', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 22:1 (2005), 3–21.
13. Cf. David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation. Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).
14. *Durbar*, Jan./Feb. 1940, 4f.
15. Ibid., May 1918, 40.
16. Yadavindra Singh, Maharaja of Patiala, speech at the annual function of Khalsa College in 1939, *Durbar*, Mar. 1939, 54.
17. *Durbar*, Apr. 1917, 2; Nov. 1935, 42.
18. *Durbar*, Nov. 1929, 21–3; Nov./Dec. 1943, 29; Dec. 1945, 29–34.
19. Santanu Das, 'Imperialism, Nationalism and the First World War in India', in *Finding Common Ground: New Directions in First World War Studies,* ed. by Jennifer Keene and Michael Neiberg (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 67–86, here 68.
20. Tan Tai Yong, *The Garrison State: The Military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab 1849–1947* (New Delhi/London: Sage, 2005), 98.
21. On Sikhs in World War I, see ibid., 98–140, and, less scholarly, Bhupinder Singh Holland, *Sikhs in World War I* (Ludhiana: Wisdom Collection, 2013).
22. *Durbar*, Apr./May 1918, 1f., 7.
23. The IDF was a part-time force, compulsory for Europeans and Anglo-Indians and voluntary for Indians voluntary, and mainly intended to relieve regular troops from garrison duties. Cf. David Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860–1940* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994), 201f.
24. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1918/19, in *Khalsa Advocate*, 18 Feb. 1919, 2. See also Ganda Singh, *A History of the Khalsa College, Amritsar* (Amritsar: Khalsa College, 1949), 85.
25. *Durbar*, Oct. 1914, 5f. On the Sepoy's devotion and loyalty to the King, a phenomenon not restricted to Sikh narratives of martial and soldierly identity, see Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj*, 108–111; idem (ed.), *Indian Voices of the Great War: Soldiers' Letters*, 1914–1918 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 1999), 20f.

26. A tenth of a Sikh's income dedicated to charity.
27. *Durbar*, Jan. 1915, 1ff.
28. Speech of Maharaja of Faridkot at KCA, in *Khalsa Advocate*, 23 Feb. 1918, 2. As Vedica Kant has stated, World War I for the princely states was indeed an opportunity "to ingratiate themselves with the British", Vedica Kant, *'If I die here, who will remember me?' India and the First World War* (New Delhi: Lustre Press, 2014), 22f. See also Das, 'Imperialism, Nationalism and the First World War in India', 71–75.
29. Article by Mangal Singh Gill, III Year, in Durbar, Jan. 1917, 32.
30. Speech of Maharaja of Faridkot at KCA, in *Khalsa Advocate*, 23 Feb. 1918, 2.
31. *Durbar*, Nov. 1914, 23.
32. Ibid., May 1918, 30.
33. Cited in Joginder Singh, 'The British Raj and the Raj Bhagati of the Sikh Elites', *Panjab Past and Present*, 23:1 (1989), 200–7, here 204.
34. J. Singh, 'Raj Bhagati of the Sikh Elites'.
35. *Durbar*, Oct. 1916, 17.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., May 1915, 12. The *gurmukhī* citation (dēg tēg phatah nasrat bēdrang, yāphat aj nānak gurū gōbind singh; roughly 'kettle, sword, victory and unending patronage are obtained from Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh') comes from a common Sikh hymn/slogan referring to a Sikh's responsibility to provide both charity (*dēg*, 'kettle') and military protection (*tēg*, 'sword') to those in need. See W. Owen Cole and Piara Singh Sambhi, *A Popular Dictionary of Sikhism* (London: Curzon Press, 1990), 62; Jagrar Singh, *A Complete Guide to Sikhism* (Chandigarh: Unistar, 2009), 34.
38. See Chaps. 2 and 3. Cf. Harjot S. Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition* (Delhi/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Tony Ballantyne, 'Resisting the "Boa Constrictor" of Hinduism: the Khalsa and the Raj', *International Journal of Punjab Studies*, 6:2 (1999), 195–217.
39. *Durbar*, Feb. 1916, 25; Feb. 1917, 29–30; June 1929, 12; May/June 1935, 19; Jan. 1939, 3–5.
40. *Khalsa Advocate*, 18 Aug. 1906, 3.
41. Mulk Raj Anand, *Confession of a Lover* (Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann, 1976), 14f.
42. Ibid., 19.
43. Doris Jakobsh, *Relocating Gender in Sikh History: Transformation, Meaning and Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
44. Sikata Banerjee, *Make Me a Man! Masculinity, Hinduism, and Nationalism in India* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005); Revathi

Krishnasvamy, *Effeminism: The Economy of Colonial Desire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998); and Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

45. For a poem on the truthful, hard-working, manually gifted Sikh, see, for example, 'ਸਖਿ' (sikkh; '[the] Sikh)', *Durbar*, Gurmukhi section, Apr./May 1930, 7–8.
46. *Durbar*, May 1916, 8.
47. *Durba*r, Oct. 1916, 11.
48. Ibid., Jan. 1917, 5; Mar. 1917, 12; Apr. 1917, 2; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1916/1917, 13.
49. GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education,* 1916/17, 2.
50. *Durbar*, Feb. 1917, 8; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1916/17, 5.
51. *Durbar*, Jan. 1918, 1f.
52. Ibid., May 1917, 5; Oct. 1917, 4.
53. *Durbar*, Mar. 1916, 29.
54. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1916/17, 5.
55. Kant, *India in World War I*, 23ff.; Das, 'Imperialism, Nationalism and the First World War in India', 75–79.
56. Das, 'Imperialism, Nationalism and the First World War in India', 77.
57. GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education*, 1919/20, 16.
58. Henry D. Craik to Secr., GoI, 11 Jan. 1919, GoI-P, Home (Ed.) A, Jan. 1919, Proc. 46f., India Office Records, British Library, London [hereafter IOR]/P/10584.
59. CKD, *ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਚੀਫ਼ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦਵਿਾਨ ਦੀ ਤੇਰ੍ਹਵੀ ਵਾਰਸਕ ਰੀਪੋਟ [aijūkēsanal kamētī cīf khālsā divān dī tērhvīṅ vārsak rīpōṭ; 13th Annual Report of the CKD's Educational Committee]* (Amritsar: Chief Khalsa Diwan, 1920), 45.
60. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1921/22, 17.
61. Ibid., 9. On the term *jholichuk*, see Chap. 2, footnote 176.
62. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1928/29, 20; *Durbar*, June 1936, 16; and CKD, *ਡਾਇਮੰਡ ਜੁਬਲੀ ਬੁਕ, ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਮੇਟੀ, ਚੀਫ਼ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦਵਿਾਨ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਤਿਸਰ, ਤੇ ਸਰਬ ਹਦਿ ਸਖਿ ਐਜੂਕੇਸ਼ਨਲ ਕਾਨਫਰੰਸ [ḍāimanḍ jubalī buk, aijūkēsanal kamēṭī, cīf khālsā divān, ammritsar, tē sarb hind sikkh aijūkēsanal kānpharans; Diamond Jubilee Book, Educational Committee, Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar, and All-India Sikh Educational Conference]* (Amritsar: Chief Khalsa Diwan, 1983), 106, 120.
63. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1925/26, in *Durbar*, May 1926, 8.
64. *Durbar*, Apr./May 1934, 7.

65. See for example an extract from a Punjab Legislative Assembly meeting of 3 Mar. 1925 on the 'Stoppage of recruitment' of Akalis, IOR/L/PJ/6/1863.
66. Mark Condos, *The Insecurity State: Punjab and the Making of Colonial Power in British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), Chapter 2.
67. Gajendra Singh, "Finding Those Men with Guts": The Ascription and Re-Ascription of Martial Identities in India after the Uprising', in *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857,* Vol. 4: Military Aspects of the Indian Uprising, ed. by Crispin Bates and Gavin Rand (London/New Delhi: Sage, 2013), 113–34; Kim Wagner and Gavin Rand, 'Recruiting the 'Martial Races': Identities and Military Service in Colonial India', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 46:3–4 (2012), 232–54; Tarak Barkawi, 'Army, Ethnicity and Society in British India', in *The Indian Army in the Two World Wars,* ed. by Kaushik Roy (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 419–44.
68. G. Singh, 'Finding those Men with Guts', 115–120; Gavin Rand, 'Allies to a Declining Power: The Martial Races, the Second World War and the End of the British Empire in South Asia', in *The Indian Army in the Two World Wars*, ed. by Kaushik Roy (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 445–460, here 455f.; Rajit K. Mazumder, 'From Loyalty to Dissent: Punjabis form the Great War to World War II, in *The Indian Army in the Two World Wars, ed. by* Kaushik Roy (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 461–91. For an example of these concerns that were at their height during World War II, see a 'Note on Sikhs' by the General Headquarters India, 6 Nov. 1942, in IOR/L/WS/2/44.
69. *Durbar*, Dec. 1915, 3.
70. KCA, *Almanach of Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1917/18* (Amritsar: KCA, 1918), 24–39.
71. G. Singh, *A History of Khalsa College*, 32f.
72. For example, 'The Balanced Growth of Sikhism', editorial, *Durbar*, Dec. 1925, 1–9; 'Guru Gobind Singh the Great' by Dalip Singh Mirankota, *Durbar*, Jan. 1934, 3–7; 'The Institution of Caste' by Prof. Waryam Singh, *Durbar*, Mar. 1934, 18–23.
73. As an exception, in 1933, probably as an answer to calls from Mohandas K. Gandhi, the college celebrated 'Harijan Day' on which occasion students and professors drank "*lassi* at the hands of our so-called untouchable brothers", *Durbar*, June 1933, 24.
74. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1928/29, 20.
75. Tan, *The Garrison State,* 141–52.
76. Speech of Samsher Singh at Khalsa College, *Durbar*, May 1918, 30.

77. Ibid. See also, for example, a speech by Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, at Khalsa College in 1919, in KCA, *Annual Report*, 1918/19, 4–5.
78. G. Singh, *A History of the Khalsa College,* 90.
79. 'Prince in Lahore: A Busy day', *Tribune*, 3 Mar. 1922, 4.
80. 'Papers on Strike in the Khalsa College including Printed Pamphlet—Report of the Enquiry Committee, Masand Party Pamphlet', SSMP, Subject File 24. For the role of the footballers, see the report by Principal Jodh Singh, ibid., 27–38.
81. 'Letter from Secretary, Amritsar Students Union, Khalsa College Section, Amritsar, to the Sikh members of the Punjab Assembly…', 2 Sep. 1937, SSMP, Subject File 21.
82. *Durbar*, Oct./Nov. 1933, 43; Feb. 1934, 29.
83. *Durbar*, May 1918, 40.
84. Lakshmi Mazumdar, 'A National Movement Emerges', in *A Dream Came True*, ed. by id. (New Delhi: The Bharat Scouts and Guides, 1997), 1–118, here 28; and Carey A. Watt, 'The Promise of "Character" and the Spectre of Sedition: The Boy Scout Movement and Colonial Consternation in India, 1908–1921', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 22:2 (1999), 37–62, here 62.
85. Watt, 'The Promise of "Character".
86. GoP-P, Home (Ed.) A, Proc. 34–42, Sep. 1919, IOR/P/10698; and GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the Quinquennium ending 1921–22*, 78.
87. GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education,* 1925/26, 49; 'Fortnightly Report, governor to viceroy, 24 June 1939', 3, IOR/L/PJ/5/242; and letter by Frank L. Brayne, 2 Jan. 1946, in 'Papers relating to the Boy Scouts Association in the Punjab', IOR/Mss Eur F273: William Cowley.
88. *Durbar*, Dec./Jan. 1929–30, 35; Apr./May 1934, 32; Apr. 1936, 58, and KCA, *Annual Report*, 1930/31, 11.
89. *Durbar*, May/June 1941, 38; and KCA, *Annual Report*, 1941/42, 5. "Boy Scouts Hogge [sic]", who was in charge of the IAF's Initial Training Wing in Lahore at that time, had also been mentioned as "doing something in the Punjab" in the early discussions of setting up some kind of air force pre-entry system as became the IATC, see R.M.M. Lockhart, Military Secretary, India Office, London, to C.M.G. Ogilvie, Secretary GoI, Defence Department, 26 Feb. 1942, IOR/L/WS/1/1407; Rana T.S. Chhina, *The Eagle Strikes: The Royal Indian Air Force, 1932–1950* (New Delhi: Ambi Knowledge Resources, 2006), 30. Whether Hogg was also somehow involved in setting up the air classes and later IATC at KC, however, is unknown.
90. *Durbar*, Oct./Nov. 1933, 14–5.

91. Ibid.
92. Benjamin René Jordan, *Modern Manhood and the Boy Scouts of America: Citizenship, Race, and the Environment, 1910–30* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); on the exchange of democratic ideas between the USA and India, cf. Nico Slate, *Lord Cornwallis Is Dead: The Struggle for Democracy in the United States and India* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019).
93. *Durbar*, June 1930, 23.
94. Ibid., Apr. 1936, 58.
95. Watt, 'The Promise of "Character"'.
96. GoP-P, Home (Ed.) A, Sep. 1919, Proc. 34–42, IOR/P/10698.
97. See Fortnightly Report, second half of July 1939, 2; and Fortnightly Report, first half of Aug. 1939, 2–3, IOR/L/ PJ/5/242. For example, in August 1939, the Punjab government reported on the Akali Seva, a "semi-military body" of the Shiromani Akali Dal party. See Fortnightly Report, first half of April 1939, 2, IOR/L/PJ/5/242. Cf. Ali Raza and Franziska Roy, 'Paramilitary Organisations in Interwar India', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies,* 38:4 (2015), 671–89.
98. 'Lack of Discipline: Sir D. Young's Faith in Scout Movement', *The Times of India*, 23 Mar. 1938, 13.
99. *Durbar*, Oct./Nov. 1933, 39; Jan./Feb. 1942, 45; June 1943, 29. For a student article describing the enthusiasm of the boys for the Scouts, see 'ਅਸੀ ਰੋਵਰ ਸਕਾਊਟ ਕੀਕਨ ਬਣੇ?' (asī rōvar skāūṭ kīkan baṇē?, 'How Did We Become Rover Scouts?'), Gurmukhi section, *Durbar*, Oct. 1937, 8–10.
100. For an account of the tour's stations see Dhyan Chand, *Goal! Autobiography of Hockey Wizard Dhyan Chand* (Madras: Sports & Pastime, 1952) [http://www.bharatiyahockey.org/granthalaya/goal/, accessed 21 Nov. 2019].
101. *The West Australian* (Perth), 29 Apr. 1935, 14.
102. *The Sun* (Sydney), 30 July 1935, 7; *The Referee* (Sydney), 9 May 1935, 15; *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 3 May 1935, 28. All Australian newspapers were accessed at the National Library of Australia's digital newspapers archive: [https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/, accessed 26 Oct. 2019].
103. *The Daily News* (Perth), 27 Apr. 1935, 2.
104. *The News* (Adelaide), 2 May 1935, 9.
105. *The Telegraph* (Brisbane), 17 Aug. 1935, 4.
106. *Durbar*, Oct. 1935, 29.
107. *Stratford Evening Post*, 11 June 1935, 7. See also *Auckland Star*, 8 June 1935, 7, and *The Press* (Christchurch), 5 June 1935, 18. Newspapers from New Zealand were accessed at the National Library of New Zealand's *Papers Past* digital archive: [https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers, accessed 26 Oct. 2019].

108. 'My New Zealand Tour', by Harbail Singh, *Durbar*, Nov. 1935, 10–12; Apr. 1936, 11–24; Nov. 1936, 13–17.
109. *Durbar*, Nov. 1935, 13.
110. Ibid., 20.
111. Ibid., 21.
112. Ibid., Apr. 1936, 23.
113. Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
114. *Durbar*, Nov. 1936, 15.
115. Christopher A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 12–21. See also Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (eds.), *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).
116. Tony Ballantyne, *Between Colonialism and Diaspora: Sikh Cultural Formations in an Imperial World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 34–85.
117. John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005); James A. Mangan, *'Manufactured' Masculinity: Making Imperial Manliness, Morality and Militarism* (London: Routledge, 2012); Joseph Alter, 'Empowering Yourself: Sport, Sexuality and Autoeroticism in North India Jori Swinging', in *Subaltern Sports: Politics and Sport in South Asia,* ed. by James H. Mills (London: Anthem Press, 2005), 47–60; and Satadru Sen, 'The Peasants are Revolting: Race, Culture and Ownership in Cricket', in *Subaltern Sports: Politics and Sport in South Asia,* ed. by James H. Mills (London: Anthem Press, 2005), 107–22; For a non-South Asian example, see Wilson Chacko Jacob, *Working Out Egypt. Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity, 1870–1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).
118. Chris Valiotis, 'South Asia', in *Routledge Companion to Sports History,* ed. by S.W. Pope and John Nauright (London: Routledge, 2010), 571–86; Namrata R. Ganneri, 'The Debate on "Revival" and the Physical Culture Movement in Western India (1900–1950)', in *Sports across Asia: Politics, Cultures, and Identities,* ed. by Katrin Bromber, Birgit Krawietz and Joseph Maguire (New York: Routledge, 2013), 121–43; Boria Majumdar, 'Imperial Tool "For" Nationalist Resistance: The "Games Ethic" in Indian History', in *Sport in South Asian Society: Past and Present,* ed. by James Mangan (London: Routledge, 2005), 48–65; Joseph Alter, 'Indian Clubs and Colonialism: Hindu Masculinity and Muscular Christianity', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 46:3 (2004), 497–534; Conor Heffernan, 'What's Wrong with a Little Swinging? Indian Clubs as

a Tool of Suppression and Rebellion in Post-Rebellion India', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 34:7–8 (2017), 554–77.

119. Harald Fischer-Tiné, 'Fitness for Modernity: the YMCA and physical education schemes in late colonial South Asia (c. 1900–1940)', *Modern Asian Studies*, 53:2 (2019), 512–59; Stefan Huebner, *Pan-Asian Sports and the Emergence of Modern Asia 1913–1974* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2016), 17–101.
120. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1926/27, 18.
121. GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the Quinquennium ending* 1921–22, 76–79; GoP, *Proceedings of the Conference of Inspecting Officers held in Lahore in April 1921 together with the Punjab Government's review thereon* (Lahore: Punjab Education Department, 1921), 28f.
122. *Durbar*, Dec. 1915, 17; and May 1918, 40
123. Fischer-Tiné, 'Fitness for Modernity?', 527–36. On the emergence of an American 'sports empire' see Mark Dyreson, J.A. Mangan, Roberta J. Park (eds), *Mapping an Empire of American Sport: Expansion, Assimilation, Adaptation and Resistance* (London/New York: Routledge, 2013).
124. *Durbar*, Nov. 1932, 45.
125. Ibid., Apr./May 1934, 34; and KCA, *Annual Report*, 1939/40, 11.
126. *Vyayam*, July 1931, 18–20.
127. *Durbar*, Oct. 1934, 27; Apr. 1936, 72; Mar. 1939, 67.
128. For an exemption, see a revealingly late and uncommented article on yoga by 'Swami Visweswar of Rishi Kesh' *Durbar*, June 1946, 12–4.
129. *Kabaḍḍī* is a team sport in which a 'raider' from the attacking side has to touch a member of the defending side and then return to his team's half of the field without being tackled by his opponents, all while holding his breath and repeating the word '*kabaḍḍī*'. *Gatkā* is a North Indian fencing performance and martial art.
130. GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the Quinquennium ending 1926–27*, 71; GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education*, 1927/28, 76.
131. Ganneri, 'The Debate on "Revival"', 121–43; Harald Fischer-Tiné, 'From Brahmacharya to Conscious Race Culture: Indian Nationalism, Hindu Tradition and Victorian Discourses of Science', in *Beyond Representation. The Construction of Identity in Colonial India*, ed. by Crispin Bates (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 230–59; Joseph S. Alter, *The Wrestler's Body: Identity and Ideology in North India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); idem, *Yoga in Modern India: The Body between Science and Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

132. See 'Fortnightly Report on the Political Situation in the Punjab States for the Fortnight Ending the 15th August 1943', 1, IOR/R/1/1/3929.
133. Joseph Alter, 'Subaltern Bodies and Nationalist Physiques: Gama the Great and the Heroics of Indian Wrestling', *Body & Society*, 6:2 (2000), 45–72; Carey A. Watt, 'Cultural Exchange, Appropriation and Physical Culture: Strongman Eugen Sandow in Colonial India, 1904–1905', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 33:16 (2016), 1921–42.
134. *Durbar*, Dec. 1933, 25; Nov. 1939, 48; Mar./Apr. 1944, 47.
135. Like *kabaḍḍī, khō khō* is a tag game in which team members try to avoid being touched by members of the opposing team.
136. GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the Quinquennium ending 1926–27*, 53; and GoP, *Report on the Progress of Education*, 1927/28, 58.
137. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1940, 11; *Durbar*, Nov. 1932, 45; Nov. 1936, 84.
138. *Durbar*, Apr./May 1933, 5f.; Jan./Feb. 1942, 29.
139. Carey A. Watt, '"No Showy Muscles": The Boy Scouts and the Global Dimensions of Physical Culture and Bodily Health in Britain and Colonial India', in *Scouting Frontiers: Youth in the Scout Movement's First Century*, ed. by N.R. Block and T.M. Proctor (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 121–42.
140. *Civil and Military Gazette*, 22 Jan. 1928, 8.
141. *Durbar*, May 1918, 1–3; Dec./Jan. 1929–30, 22; Apr./May 1934, 18–22.
142. *Durbar*, Oct. 1934, 27; Apr. 1936, 72.
143. Ibid., Oct. 1934, 27; Mar./Apr. 1942, 28.
144. Ibid., June 1939, 42.
145. Ibid.
146. *Durbar*, Mar. 1939, 67.
147. This occurred, for example, through the work of the college's Sports Committee. See ibid., Dec. 1936, 18; Nov. 1937, 84.
148. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1944/45, 8–11. See also Sandeep Kaur Sandhu, 'Analytical History of Punjab University Sports', unpublished PhD dissertation (Faculty of Education, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 2012), 160–1.
149. See, for example, F.E. James, 'Pitfalls in Physical Education', *Vyayam*, Aug. 1929, 11–3.
150. *Durbar*, Apr./May 1934, 34.
151. 'Technical Recruitment: Question of training/supply of technical recruits for the various technical services under the Defence Dept. at/from the Khalsa College, Amritsar, and other well-established educational institutions', Proc. 274, GoP, Index to the Home (Military) Department Proceedings, B, July to December 1939, consulted at Punjab Archives, Lahore. Unfortunately, the actual file could not be located at the Archives.

152. Sunder Singh Majithia to the Maharaja of Patiala, 18 July 1941, SSMP, Subject File 31; *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 17 July 1941, 3.
153. *Durbar*, Jan./Feb. 1942, 47. Apparently, KCA's 'war effort' was indeed duly noted by the military authorities, as suggested by the existence of a unique 'Account of the interest taken by the Khalsa College, Amritsar, towards the furtherance of War Effort', Proc. 338, GoP, Index to the Home (Military) Department Proceedings, B, January to June 1941, consulted at Punjab Archives, Lahore. Unfortunately, the actual file could not be located at the Archives.
154. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1944/45, 14.
155. Kaushik Roy, *India and World War II: War, Armed Forces, and Society, 1939–45* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016), 46; Chhina, *The Eagle Strikes*, 75–80. In total, the Indian Air Force grew between October 1939 and August 1945 from 285 to 29,201 men, see Srinath Raghavan, *India's War: World War II and the Making of Modern South Asia* (New York: Basic Books, 2016), 64.
156. Roy, *India and World War II*, 47.
157. Ibid., 53.
158. 'India and the Air War. A "long view" of her man-power reserves', note dated 9 Feb. 1942, by William Stampe, Squadron Leader RAF, 2, IOR/L/WS/1/1407.
159. S. Lall to William Stampe, 20 Feb. 1942, IOR/L/WS/1/1407.
160. 'India and the Air War. A "long view" of her man-power reserves', précis of note dated 9 Feb. 1942, by William Stampe, Squadron Leader RAF, IOR/L/WS/1/1407.
161. 'India and the Air War. Suggested A.T.C. for the I.A.F.', précis of a note from 9 Feb. 1942, by William Stampe, Squadron Leader RAF, 2, IOR/L/WS/1/1407, Emphasis in original.
162. 'Indian Air Training Corps and Special Air Classes in India', GoI, War Department (Air Branch), to Secretary, Military Department, India Office, 2 Jan. 1945, IOR/L/WS/1/1407; Chhina, *The Eagle Strikes*, 81, 85; S.C. Gupta, *History of the Indian Air Force, 1933–1945* (Delhi: Government Printer, 1961), 45f.
163. Jodh Singh to Kirpal Singh Majithia, 8 May 1943, SSMP, Subject File 33: 'Letter from the Principal, Khalsa College to Kirpal Singh Majithia regarding training of students by Air Head Quarters 1943'.
164. Cypher telegram from Air Headquarters India to Air Ministry, 14 May 1942, IOR/L/WS/1/1407.
165. *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 10 June 1943, 4; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1943/44, 19.
166. In 1944, the Northern India Flying Club—as did its equivalents in Madras, Bihar and Bombay—helped out in conducting schemes of giving

actual flying experience to cadets of the IATCs in its purview such as, presumably, also Khalsa College's, see *Indian Aviation*, Vol. XXVII, No. 10 (Oct. 1944), 222.

167. *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 6 Jan. 1944, 2f.
168. Cf. S.N. Russell, Deputy Secretary, GoI, War Department (Air Branch), to The Secretary, Military Department, India Office, 2 Jan. 1945, IOR/L/WS/1/1407; Cf. *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 13 Apr. 1944, 5f.
169. Yasmin Khan, *India at War: The Subcontinent and the Second World War* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 171.
170. *Indian Aviation*, Vol. XVIII. No. 3 (Sep. 1938), 252. Similarly run was the Jodhpur Flying Club, cf. Peter Vacher, *History of the Jodhpur Flying Club & the Royal Air Force in Princely India* (Burlington: Apogee Books, 2008).
171. *Durbar*, Nov. 1944, 47. On the role of aviation as a marker of 'modernity' in Asia, particularly for colonial elites, cf. Alan Baumler, 'Aviation and Asian Modernity 1900–1950', in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*, online June 2017 [http://asianhistory.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-177, accessed 5 Apr. 2018].
172. Tan, *The Garrison State*, 286–291; J.S. Grewal, *Master Tara Singh in Indian History: Colonialism, Nationalism, and the Politics of Sikh Identity* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 209.
173. Ibid., 226–36; Sukhmani Bal Riar, *The Politics of the Sikhs, 1940–47* (Chandigarh: Unistar Books, 2006), 29f.
174. Tan, *The Garrison State*, 290.
175. *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 17 July 1941, 3.
176. *Durbar*, Jan./Feb. 1942, 45.
177. *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 6 Jan. 1944, 2–7; KCA, *Annual Report*, 1943/44, 19.
178. 'The Sword Arm of India' by Jagdish Chandra, *Durbar*, Jan./Feb. 1940, 1–5, here 2.
179. Speech by Yadavindra Singh, Maharaja of Patiala, at KCA, *Durbar*, Jan./Feb. 1942, 5.
180. Speech by Henry Craik, Governor of Punjab, at KCA, *Durbar*, Mar. 1941, 44.
181. Speech by Dasaundha Singh, Minister for Development, Government of Punjab, at KCA, *Durbar*, Mar./Apr. 1942, 8.
182. Speech by Man Mohan, Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Government of Punjab, and Ex-Principal of KCA, at KCA, *Durbar*, Mar. 1941, 47.

183. Speech by Dasaundha Singh, Minister for Development, Government of Punjab, at KCA, *Durbar*, Mar./Apr. 1942, 8.
184. Speech by Henry Craik, Governor of Punjab, at KCA, *Durbar*, Mar. 1941, 44.
185. Khan, *India at War*, 171; Roy, *India and World War II*, 46f. See also Dilbagh Singh, *On the Wings of Destiny: An Autobiography* (New Delhi: KW Publishers, 2010), 1ff.; Tarak Barkawi, *Soldiers of Empire: Indian and British Armies in World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 88.
186. Speech by Betrand Glancy, Governor of Punjab, at KCA, *Durbar*, Nov. 1944, 51.
187. Speech draft by Sundar Singh Majithia, President KCA Managing Committee, 1941, SSMP, Subject File 30.
188. Speech of Sikandar Hayat Khan, Prime Minister, Government of Punjab, at KCA, *Durbar*, Apr./May 1940, 33.
189. Ibid.
190. Roy, *India and World War II*, 96.
191. R.A Cassels to H.D. Craik, New Delhi, 16 Nov. 1939, SSMP, Correspondences: Craik, H.D. Craik also spoke to the Maharaja of Patiala on the matter, hoping that the Sikh prince would also gather supporting opinions from Sikh leaders and himself declare his non-objection, see Lionel Carter (ed.), *Punjab Politics, 1940–1943: Strains of War—Governor's Fortnightly Reports and Other Key Documents* (Delhi: Manohar, 2005), 150f.
192. H.D. Craik to Sundar Singh Majithia, Lahore, 25 Nov. 1939, SSMP, Correspondences: Craik, H.D.
193. H.D. Craik to Lord Linlithgow, 19 Feb. 1940, in Carter, *Punjab Politics 1940–43*, 76f.; H.D. Craik to Lord Linlithgow, 18 Mar. 1940, ibid., 86.
194. *Durbar*, Apr. 1940, 34; H.D. Craik to Lord Linlithgow, 18 Mar. 1940, in Carter, *Punjab Politics 1940–43*, pp. 86.
195. 'ਸਿੱਖ ਅਤੇ ਲੋਹੇ ਦੇ ਖੋਦ – ਪਛਿਲਾ ਇਤਹਿਾਸ ਕੀ ਦਸਦਾ ਹੈ? [sikkh atē lōhē dē khōd—pichlā itihās ki dasdā hai?]' by Ganda Singh, in *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 9 May 1940, 5f.
196. For example: 'ਫੌਜ ਤੇ ਸਖਿ' [phauj tē sikh; 'Army & the Sikh(s)'], in *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 7. Mar. 1940, 3f.
197. 'ਸਿੱਖ ਅਤੇ ਲੋਹੇ ਦੇ ਖੋਦ' [sikkh atē lōhē dē khōd; 'Sikh[s] and the steel helmet'] by Ganda Singh, in *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 16 May 1940, 5f.
198. 'ਇਕ ਪੰਥਕ ਇਕੱਠ – ਲੋਹੇ ਦੇ ਖੋਦ ਅਰਥਾਤ ਸਟੀਲ ਹੈਲਮਟ ਸੰਬਧੀ ਫੈਸਲਾ' [ik panthak ikaṭ̱h—lōhē dē khōd arthāt sṭ̱īl hailmaṭ sanbadhī phaislā; 'A Panthic gathering—Decision regarding the steel helmet '], in *ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ [Khālsā Samācār]*, 6 June 1940, 1–4.

199. Chandar S. Sundaram, 'Seditious Letters and Steel Helmets: Disaffection among Indian Troops in Singapore and Hong Kong, 1940–1, and the Formation of the Indian National Army', in *War and Society in Colonial India 1807–1945,* ed. by Kaushik Roy (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 126–62; Roy, *India and World War II*, 96f.; Gajendra Singh, *The Testimonies of Indian Soldiers and the Two World Wars* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 176f.
200. Sundaram, 'Seditious Letters and Steel Helmets', 145f.
201. 'Note on Sikhs', prepared by G.S.I. (b) at General Headquarters India, 6 Nov. 1942, 1, IOR/L/WS/2/44.
202. Swarna Aiyar, "August Anarchy': The Partition Massacres in Punjab, 1947', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 18:1 (1995), 13–36; Ian Copland, 'The Master and the Maharajas: The Sikh Princes and the East Punjab Massacres of 1947', *Modern Asian Studies*, 36:3 (2002), 657–704.
203. Aiyar, "August Anarchy", 28; Copland, 'The Master and the Maharajas', 687; Daniel Marston, 'The Indian Army, Partition, and the Punjab Boundary Force, 1945–1947', *War in History*, 16:4 (2009), 469–505.
204. Manjeet S. Pardesi and Sumit Ganguly, 'Violent Punjab, Quiescent Bengal, and the Partition of India', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 57:1 (2019), 1–30; Marston, 'The Indian Army, Partition, and the Punjab Boundary Force', 483; Saumitra Jha and Steven Wilkinson, 'Does Combat Experience Foster Organizational Skill? Evidence from Ethnic Cleansing during the Partition of South Asia', *The American Political Science Review*, 106:4 (2012), 883–907 Aiyar, "August Anarchy", 27f.
205. Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2017), 50; Pardesi/Ganguly, 'Violent Punjab, Quiescent Bengal, and the Partition of India', 12; Daniel Marston, *The Indian Army and the End of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 297f. On the fascist inclinations, cf. Raza/Roy, 'Paramilitary Organisations in Interwar India'.
206. Pardesi/Ganguly, 'Violent Punjab, Quiescent Bengal, and the Partition of India', 15; Copland, 'The Master and the Maharajas', 680; Chhanda Chatterjee, *The Sikh Minority and the Partition of the Punjab 1920–1947* (London/New York: Routledge, 2019), 202.
207. Copland, 'The Master and the Maharajas'. It has been suggested that much of the mass killings of Muslims in East Punjab and its toleration (if not support) by Sikh leaders and princes followed the deliberate intention to make territorial space in order to regroup Sikh settlement, power and influence in East Punjab, cf. Paul Brass, 'The partition of India and retrib-

utive genocide in the Punjab, 1946–47: means, methods, and purposes', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 5:1 (2003), 71–101.

208. Marston, *The Indian Army and the End of the Raj,* chapters 6 and 7.
209. Amandeep Singh Madra and Parmjit Singh, *Warrior Saints: Three Centuries of the Sikh Military Tradition*, (London: I.B. Taurus, 1999), 166.
210. Kulwinder Singh Bajwa, *A Brief History of Khalsa College Amritsar 1892–2003* (Amritsar: Khalsa College, 2003), 107–8.
211. '"No Misunderstanding About Sikhs": Premier's Assurance at Amritsar Rally', *The Times of India*, 12 Nov. 1955, 2.
212. See, for example, *Durbar*, May 1915, 6–12; Mar. 1917, 4; Apr./May 1934, 6; Jan./Feb. 1940, 1–5.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion: Localised Modernity, Hybrid Knowledge, and Postcolonial (Dis-) Continuities

Khalsa College and the Postcolonial Order

The Sikh community had suffered heavily by the division of the Indian subcontinent in summer 1947. Sikh representatives in the pre-independence discussions—by the 1940s mainly Akālī politicians like Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh—had seen themselves impotent and unheard in presenting a distinct Sikh case in a debate that differentiated mainly between Muslim and non-Muslim areas and groups when outlining the future shape of the subcontinent. The Partition and the creation of the new independent states of India and Pakistan were accompanied by unprecedented mass migration and violence that cost the lives of hundreds of thousands, if not millions of Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs. As the dispersed Sikh community did not constitute a majority anywhere in the Punjab province, it was hit hard by its division: countless homes, fertile farmlands, *gurdwārās*, shrines, and other sacred places remained in West (Pakistani) Punjab, as millions of Sikhs migrated to East (Indian) Punjab.[1]

Amritsar was in the middle of the turmoil and horrors that the division of the subcontinent in 1947 triggered. The new border cut through Punjab's commercial and cultural main route between Lahore and Amritsar. Riots broke out in Amritsar in early March and among the first victims was a Sikh student of Khalsa College who was killed by a Muslim rioter.[2] Refugees found shelter in a camp on the extensive premises of the college. As the turmoil in the city continued, the college camp was also

M. P. Brunner, *Education and Modernity in Colonial Punjab*,
Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series,

subject to attacks. As Ganda Singh in his history of the institution noted, the principal had to pacify infuriated students but apparently there were no clashes among the college's Muslim and non-Muslim students.[3] History professor Ganda Singh, also an officer in the institution's University Training Corps (UTC), was put in charge of keeping watch of the college walls with help from students in the corps. As one camp inhabitant later recalled, students armed themselves with improvised weapons for self-protection and to guard the college and camp.[4] Khalsa College closed in June for summer vacation and the military was housed in its hostels. The college continued to function as an official refugee camp with up to 35,000 refugees, as more refugees poured in from West Punjab after the transfer of power in August 1947. College operations eventually were resumed in March 1948.[5]

In the long term, the Khalsa College as an institution survived the partition and the transition to independence remarkably unscathed. Despite faint hopes among radical Sikh politicians of gaining a separate Sikh territory in some form or another when the British withdrew from the subcontinent, most leaders saw the Sikh community's best chances in 1947 eventually in the secular conception of the future Republic of India.[6] The visit of India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to Khalsa College, Amritsar, in 1955 provides only one example of the intriguing continuity that characterised the College's smooth transition from the colonial to the early post-colonial period. The integration of the college's ideals and corresponding schemes into the framework of the newly independent, Nehruvian Indian nation state came rather naturally to Khalsa College. The new leadership of the country quickly acknowledged the institution's educational endeavours. Not only did the Governors and Chief Ministers of Punjab but also politicians from the Centre and the leading circles of the early Indian Republic acknowledge KCA's role and ambitions through their various visits during the 1950s. In 1955, for example, Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan presided over KCA's annual function a few months before Prime Minister Nehru addressed the students at the institution. Other Ministers and representatives from the Central Government such as Defence Minister V.K. Krishna Menon and Minister of Food & Agriculture S.K. Patil visited the college on similar occasions.[7]

The departmental background of these politicians, of course, was no coincidence. They represented the same fields that Khalsa College emphasised in the previous decades, most prominently the sports-military connection and the agriculture and rural development nexus. Unsurprisingly,

in the absence of its previous Lahore rivals—as the city had become part of the new nation of Pakistan—KCA continued to dominate University sports in Indian Punjab. The college's UTC was transformed into a National Cadet Corps (NCC) with the formation of independent India. It continued to work under Ganda Singh, the head of KCA's history department.[8] KCA remained the educational institution most invested in military affairs in the Indian state of Punjab through the 1950s, which was now stripped of its former western districts. It featured the greatest number of and biggest NCC detachments and prided itself on "the fact that in recent times more than half a dozen eminent Generals have been [KCA] old boys."[9] The institution's military tradition was indeed recognised by military officials in 1949, when Khalsa College was chosen as the location of the NCC's 3rd Punjab Battery unit, the only artillery unit of the NCC in North India.[10]

Similar continuities were noticeable in the field of agriculture. Partition had a considerable impact on agriculture in East (Indian) Punjab. Incoming migrants from West Punjab had left behind more than four million acres of well-irrigated land—significantly more than they found to resettle on in the East. Agricultural productivity in East Punjab, however, increased again comparably quickly in the 1950s and 60s as a result of various measures and processes (resettlement, land reforms, consolidation of land, new irrigation infrastructure, etc.).[11] Building on this, with the arrival of new seeds the Green Revolution was eventually set in motion in Punjab. However these developments were tied exactly to the colonial past,[12] Khalsa College's culture of scientific agricultural education and rural experts carried over rather smoothly. The institution's colonial developmentalist trajectory was preserved, and in 1953/54 KCA's dairy farm was made a centre in the Indian Government's ambitious Key Village Scheme, which had been started in 1952. The scheme was introduced as a part of the newly independent Indian government's first five-year plan, with the aim to improve the quality of cattle using a diffusionist strategy that focused on model farms whose findings would spread to surrounding villages.[13] Shortly after the scheme started, KCA was also included in its smaller circle of centres for artificial insemination. In cooperation with experts from the Punjab Government, KCA also expanded its botanical collection and by 1950 had added varieties of wheat cultivated in Punjab, Egypt, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, the United States, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, England, France, and Iran for experimentation. As the institution was proud to announce, it also retained its role as a

model in Northwest India, serving not only Punjab but also the other states in India's Northwest (PEPSU,[14] Himachal Pradesh and Kashmir), as no other institution besides Government Agriculture College, Ludhiana and Khalsa College offered a similar training in agriculture in the region.[15] Further, in 1957, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research gave the college a significant government grant to carry out research into the reclamation of Alkali (Kallar) soils.

As these lines of continuity suggest, Khalsa College's loyalist stance was less tied to a particular political entity—that is, the British Raj—and more based on abstract concepts of state authority, governance, and modern civic duty, which in turn were tied to a particular understanding of Sikh and Punjabi identity. Indeed, the upholding of these particular ideals did not mean that there was no political turbulence on campus after independence, as in the decades before. Rather, the college authorities still had to deal occasionally with a politically charged and activist student body. As early as 1949/50, students went on strike to protest a sharp increase of fees. The college management's response to the strike is telling, as it hardly engaged with the protest on a substantial level. Instead it once again interpreted the unrest as a negative reflection on the institution's "efficiency", stating that "now that India is free and the young men have to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of carrying on its administration in all the spheres of life, students' aim should be to become more efficient instead of frittering away their energies in such useless occupations."[16]

KCA's influence continued to show not only on its own campus but also in other areas and institutions by means of a significant number of its scholars and alumni in Punjab's post-independence academia and politics. The college remained the "main source for educated political leadership among the Sikhs"[17] in the 1950s and 1960s. And while Amritsar's industrial and commercial development stagnated after Partition due to the city's newly found border location, the population exchange had—though painfully—resulted in a consolidation of the hitherto dispersed Sikh population in East (now Indian) Punjab, which accentuated Khalsa College's educational position, especially after Lahore, the educational centre of undivided Punjab, had become a part of Pakistan.[18] The conditions changed again with the establishment of new educational institutions in post-independence Indian Punjab such as the Guru Nanak Dev University in Amritsar, the Punjabi University in Patiala, or the Punjab University (relocated since 1956) in Chandigarh. Looked at closer, these new institutions, however, built significantly on the academic and institutional

heritage of Khalsa College. Punjabi University, Patiala, a state-university, was established in 1962. Bhai Jodh Singh became its first vice-chancellor and Ganda Singh was invited to organise the university's Department of Punjab Historical Studies. Similarly, in 1969, on the five-hundredth birth anniversary of Guru Nanak Dev, the Guru Nanak Dev University (GNDU) was started as another new state-university in Amritsar. It was built next to KCA on a plot of land allocated by Khalsa College. Bishan Singh Samundri, an alumnus of KCA's agriculture department who had been the principal of the college since 1964, became the first vice-chancellor of GNDU.

While with the emergence of Sikh Studies outside of the subcontinent in the 1970s the international constellation was changing, KCA's academic legacy especially for Punjab, India, and much of the international diaspora was (and is) large. Ganda Singh, for example, remained the leading historian of Punjabi and especially Sikh history. He started both the Punjab History Conference and the journal *Punjab Past & Present* in 1962 after being employed at Punjabi University, Patiala. The global impact of KCA's historical-cum-theological scholarship was also crucial. As Chap. 3 has shown, the institution and its associated scholars did pioneering work that laid the foundation of continuing attempts to integrate 'Sikhism' into the discourse of world religion and as a subject of comparative religious studies.

Local Modernity, Universal Knowledge, and Global Sikhism

Whereas the second half of the nineteenth century had seen the integration of Punjab and the Sikhs into British India, the early twentieth century witnessed their growing global integration through migration, world war, and transnational anti-imperial networks. A ubiquitous reflection of what constituted 'modernity' by the historical actors made this integration possible and nurtured it. This manifested in institutions like Khalsa College and, for instance, the latter's contextualisation of Sikhism as a universal world religion and of Punjab's agriculture as part of a transnational discourse on rural development. The emergence of the Akālīs—a nationalist, radical, political, organised mass movement—by 1920 was a decidedly modern process too, as was KCA's alternative vision to the radicals: a standardised but liberal, largely apolitical Sikh identity that imagined itself as

part of global webs of knowledge and networks of universal scientific education.

The foundation of Khalsa College and similar institutions like the DAV College and the Islamia College were a result of the colonial interest in education as a tool of control. After schemes of rural and mass education mostly failed in the Punjab in the second half of the nineteenth century,[19] the state's educational focus was directed at expanding a network of (centralised) urban, elite higher educational institutions in the province in the northwest of the subcontinent. This shift necessitated the promotion of privately run institutions. Indeed, after the establishment of the University of Lahore in 1882, multiple private colleges sprang up. The private and often communal character of these new enterprises meant that they did not simply follow the imperial educational logic but formulated their own visions of 'modernity' (or 'tradition'). As the case of Khalsa College shows, this was a complex process. The government's stake in Khalsa College was substantial in the early years, and the sustained anxiety of the colonial state made sure that its interest in the college remained high throughout the colonial period. Still, despite the strong governmental influence on KCA, it would hardly be accurate to describe the college's educational agenda as merely defined by the state. While the Punjab administration's paternalist-developmentalist drive contributed much to shaping the college's penchant for agricultural and practical sciences, Khalsa College eagerly continued the path taken towards 'useful education' once the state withdrew much of its direct control of the institution. The institution continued to make strategic use of the colonial state's interest and the imperialist ascriptions of Sikh identity that had guided the college's mission since its inception.

Khalsa College's orientation towards 'useful' and 'scientific' education was intrinsically bound to its role as an institution of and for the Sikh community. Religion as perceived and conceived at Khalsa College was a concept shaped by interactions characteristic for what has been deemed the unfolding of 'modernity' as a period.[20] One of these interactions was the complex exchange between educational institutions, the state, and society. Education quickly emerged as one of the key projects of the new middle classes during the last decades of the nineteenth century across all major religious communities.[21] Nonetheless, the category of religion remained a crucial factor in their self-understanding. For the Sikhs, the perception of their being neither Hindu nor Muslim was pivotal in this process. The stress on the synthesising and universalist character of Sikhism (and Khalsa

College) provided an option for an Indian national identity that transcended the growing Hindu/Muslim antagonism. Furthermore, this discursive strategy was legitimated by the normative global narrative of how 'modern religion' was supposed to work, as claims to universal standards and validity found resonance in an increasingly integrated world.[22] This global convergence of local religious discourse provided the emerging middle classes with a language of universalism that allowed for a conversation with both the coloniser and the Sikhs' religious competitors on some level of equality or, at least, discursive compatibility.

The concept of science was crucial for the modernist interpretation of 'Sikh religion'. As Gyan Prakash and others have noted, 'science' as a normative concept in nineteenth and early twentieth century gained a distinct cultural authority and became the defining legitimating marker of rationality and progress.[23] In his influential study *Another Reason*, Prakash points out how the Indian colonised elite appropriated notions of universal science and reason, and translated them into a hybrid form that "served as a counter-hegemonic ground upon which the elite pressed their entitlement to modernity."[24] However, Prakash also stresses that hybridity as he understands it does not mean a cultural syncretism, mixture, or pluralism but rather that "[t]o situate science in the language of the other was to hybridize its authority, to displace its functioning as a sign of colonial power."[25] The adoption of the language of science, therefore, ultimately functioned as a subversive tool.

Many of Prakash's observations also apply to Khalsa College. However, the KCA and the Sikhs also provide some examples showing the limitations of his arguments and, in fact, can help us to refine them. Prakash has been criticised for basing his study on a restricted and antagonistic dialectic, namely, that of the colonial state and an amorphous colonised nationalist elite. Indeed, this framework hardly leaves room for the more nuanced case of the Sikhs and Punjab, or for their relationship with the province's strong paternalist administrative tradition. As the example of Khalsa College shows, science was not only considered a crucial tool in contesting imperialist narratives, but also a way of asserting one's position among communal rivals. The Sikh educationists' scientism supported the Sikh minority's assertion in the competitive religious setting in Punjab, and readily made use of tropes that associated 'irrationality', 'superstition', etc., with a 'Hinduism' from which they were eager to differentiate themselves.

Gyan Prakash has emphasised that the hybridity of knowledge produced under colonial circumstances are ways through which Indian nationalist elites could claim their entitlement to modernity by referring to ancient examples of pre-colonial Indian science. However, in the Sikh case, legitimisation for adopting 'science' was rarely found in an Indian pre-history to counter Western superiority, unlike what Prakash describes with regard to his nationalist elites. Rather, modern science was perceived as truly universal. Although such tropes were occasionally made use of, concepts of 'India's glorious scientific past' that related to the notion of a broader Indian—or even Hindu—nation had only limited use as a reference for Sikh activists, especially the moderate ones that shaped Khalsa College. KCA's approach, therefore, lay less in claiming the equality of ancient 'Indian/Sikh' and 'modern Western' knowledge and more in a universalised conception of science. Consequently, the college's and the Sikhs' position did not require the invention of a distinct 'Sikh science'.

Thus, what was ultimately adopted or propagated from the idealised Sikh heritage was mainly a moral tradition of discipline, loyalty, and religious tolerance and synthesis, which was adapted into the changing environment. As a result, then, there was little effort at Khalsa College to retrieve what could be understood as pre-colonial Sikh education and science, and the educational institution only occasionally referred to concrete South Asian bodies of knowledge. This interpretation was not entirely unproblematic, as it entailed an intrinsic tension between the notion of Sikhism as a distinct "living" tradition to be clearly demarcated from other religious communities and as a "universal" philosophy in danger of being too amorphous. KCA was a crucial factor in the ascendancy of a distinctly modernist Khālsā interpretation of Sikh tradition, which bore the seed of both universalisation and particularisation in its claims for distinctiveness from its Indic fold.

Universalisation did not necessarily mean an uncritical acceptance of an inherent imperialist scientific superiority. Instead it could function as an attempt to question the interpretation of 'science' as a sign of colonial power, as Gyan Prakash has argued. The use of universalist language had been part of a globally available repertoire challenging Eurocentric cultural and political formations in the age of empire.[26] In this sense, universalism and cosmopolitanism were as much part of the colonial negotiation of the nation state (and eventually decolonisation) as nationalism.[27] Furthermore, such notions reinforce the need to expand the framework of

analysing colonial contestations and exchanges beyond the bilateral relationship between the colony and the metropole.

The Sikh educationists' affinity for especially American scientific modernity was an example of these mechanisms. In a late colonial world where the state's special treatment of the Sikhs was dwindling, the orientation towards North America was, first, an effect of the shifting geopolitical reality of the time, and second, an expression of the institution's quest for a scientific and 'modern' Sikhism that accepted not the superiority of 'Imperial' science but rather a modernist, global scientific knowledge regime with the United States as a rising leader. The prospect of a liberal American modernity became an alternative to the older British imperial developmentalist framework, although the latter was never completely discarded at KCA. Just as science and modernity at Khalsa College were seen as universal (and universally applicable) and not inherently 'Western', 'Christian', or 'colonial', so too were key values like loyalty, discipline and the adherence to authority.

The case of KCA illustrates the need to critically analyse processes of 'hybridisation', as Sanjay Seth cautions us.[28] Sikh modernists carried on a steady dialogue with non-Indian knowledge and epistemology.[29] However, the example of Khalsa College also questions an often totalising emphasis on the hegemony of the colonial state. The KCA example implies that its modernist drive was not a mere imposition, and that imperial notions were creatively made use of by indigenous historical actors and subverted into useful tools suiting their own needs, designs, and ends. Localising modernity at KCA did not always necessitate the hybridisation or indigenisation of knowledge. Indian agency and cultural creativity found its way into strategies that substituted the delicate question of the origins of knowledge and science or an essentialist differentiation between 'old/traditional' and 'new/modern' with a fundamentally universal interpretation rooted in Sikh notions of synthesis and universalism.

The universalist and cosmopolitan attitude functioned as a form of a modernism beyond the nation in this regard.[30] The case of KCA and the Sikhs illustrates the observation that South Asian colonial modernity cannot be reduced to a reductive dialectic between the colonial state and reactionary nationalism; instead, these 'third-way' processes were informed by a variety of interests and broader, often uneven networks and webs of knowledge and exchange.[31] While many historical themes, mechanisms, and patterns that surfaced in this study were not exclusive to the province in India's northwest, the particular setting and conditions of the region

with its paternalist administrative tradition and the competition between the three main religious communities did play an important role. The late C.A. Bayly has argued that the South Asian societies that were (and were thought to be) the "most 'modern' were those where long-term changes emerging from the Indo-Islamic ecumene coincided with particular interests of colonial governance and economic exploitation."[32] Such ecological niches were characterised, even 300 years before British domination on the subcontinent, by dynamic changes such as religious reform and the emergence of common languages. According to Bayly, Punjab was one such locus, where "the conflict and accommodation between new forms of Hinduism and Islam, Sikhism and the Arya Samaj became entangled with British military governance and developmentalism to create a vibrant form of modernity that was only smashed by the events of Partition."[33] Partition betrayed visions of modernist universalism and interfaith harmony, as a breakdown of authority in a militarised society facilitated the prevalence of conflict over accommodation in violent ways in summer 1947.

KCA had been a vivid example of the pre-Partition type of military governmentalist and developmentalist modernism in South Asia in a distinctly Sikh and Punjab variety, which allowed for only a limited nativist approach to the hybridisation of knowledge. This is visible, for instance, in the case of physical education at Khalsa College, a field that overlapped heavily with notions of Sikh martial tradition. Gyan Prakash has identified the Foucauldian governmentalist agenda to reform the subject's body by means of 'modern' knowledge and the sciences of physical education and public health as one of the areas that was particularly contested in colonial South Asia.[34] Prakash sees this topic as an example of the use of science for colonial coercion, and notes how quickly nationalists too identified the body of the nation as a concern of governmentality. Much of this is mirrored in the history of Khalsa College, as demonstrated in Chap. 5's remarks on physical education and Harbail Singh's public health efforts, and also in Chap. 4's take on holistic rural reconstruction and the village uplift discourse. Furthermore, it is revealing that healing systems and physical practices such as homeopathy, yoga, Ayurveda, or Unani, crucial in many mainstream nationalist conceptions of body politics, did not play any significant role at Khalsa College. Rather, the nationalist re-inscription of colonial governmentality and its bodily regime found its equivalent at KCA through other means, like practices of discipline, militarism, and references to religious heteropraxy and uniformity. Further, the cautious

implementation of new ideas from a science-based physical education followed the international trends while also being fundamentally connected to the particular narratives of the 'rational' Sikh and 'modern' and 'scientific' Sikhism.

Scientificity and martiality were also heavily interlinked. While the early martial races theory initially provided the base of the claim for the Sikhs' affinity for military service, up-to-date scientific and technical education was hailed as a way to transform the by now obsolete arguments of the martial races theory and modify the idea of the Sikh soldier to fit the changing conditions of modern warfare in the last decades of the Raj. The emphasis at KCA on keeping up the traditional service of Sikhs in the British Indian army coincided with a growing rift between moderate and radical Sikh activists. After the appearance of the radical Akālīs by 1920, the colonial authorities viewed early Tatt Khālsā activists such as Bhai Jodh Singh and Sundar Singh Majithia much more positively than before. The 'nationalisation' of KCA in 1920 hardly altered the configuration and outlook of the institution. The three decades up to 1947 were characterised by a highly publicised contrast between external criticism from radicals and the internal management's goals and moderate stance. While the occasional activism of groups among the students and, rarely, the staff show the thin and not always clear-cut line between religious-cultural revivalism and anti-colonial agitation, the college remained a reliable ally of the state authorities under the steady Majithia management. The background of KCA's main supporters informed the college's agenda in various ways. Its agricultural development schemes, for instance, catered heavily to the rural elite, to the needs of the *zamīndārī* and the demand for adapting to the changing conditions of modern rural economics through the means of agricultural science. While many of its schemes originated in the Punjab's administrative discourse of paternalist rural uplift, the college in Amritsar continued this agenda after the departure of the British from the institution, expanding its scope by reaching out to a global discourse on agricultural development and in particular to American notions of rural modernity.

As these examples indicate, it would be a serious fallacy to view Khalsa College only as an expression of broader and global processes. While much can be (and is) argued as being influenced by the dynamics of global integration (or what we might call a globalisation of locality), local power dynamics unquestionably played a crucial role in how Khalsa College localised global discourses and how it formulated its educational schemes

and determined what it taught its students. The development of the institution was driven by very local causes, personal motivations, and networks in critical ways, as is evident particularly in the person and influence of Sundar Singh Majithia. The particular conditions of Punjab and the development of Sikh and South Asian history provide the immediate historical backdrop of the processes examined, and the importance of the case of KCA becomes evident only when considering the interplay and interweaving of these local and global factors by applying a distinct micro-historical lens. The engagement with the modern concepts of religion and the nation was distinctive of the new public sphere and middle and professional classes that arose globally in the age of empire.[35] However, the social groups represented at Khalsa College had their very local characteristics, which again gave this milieu a particular twist: more than other emerging middle classes, the cultural and professional milieu backing Khalsa College was characterised by its ties to the agricultural and military establishment of Punjab and its persistent connection to the old, aristocratic elites. Khalsa College, then, was first and foremost an elitist project. As such, it had a lasting impact on Sikh and Punjabi society.

The examples from KCA's post-1947 history cited above have highlighted the intriguing continuity of many themes and schemes that bridged the colonial and postcolonial periods. Other crucial societal developments in independent India became more relevant at the college in the second half of the twentieth century: for instance, those pertaining to the role of women in the new Indian nation. In the early 1960s, the Khalsa College in Amritsar was made a co-educational institution, which opened it up to girls. In view of the heavily 'gendered' character of Khalsa College since its inception, this was arguably a huge step for the college. Additionally, the Khalsa College Governing Council started the "Khalsa College for Women" in 1968, situated in Amritsar and adjacent to KCA. The relevance of the matter goes beyond the particular institution of KCA and concerns the wider Sikh and Indian society. Comparisons with corresponding institutions of girls' and women's education like the "Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya" in Ferozepur (founded, like KCA, in 1892) promise further insights. Similar to Khalsa College, these pioneering institutions have only very recently come to the attention of historians and still await a thorough examination.[36]

Negotiating modernity, of course, is not a finished but rather an ongoing process. Many Sikhs in India and the global Punjabi diaspora are still

much concerned with reaffirming and defending a distinct, and modern, Sikh identity,[37] and the Khalsa College's current mission statement still strives after "synchronizing tradition with modernity."[38] Since 1947, Sikh sub- and ethno-nationalism has been affected and (re)shaped by a troublesome relationship with the Indian state. The experience of the division of Punjab had territorialised socio-political understandings of Sikh identity. In the second half of the twentieth century, radical Sikh activism led initially to the agitation for a separate Punjabi state (*Panjābī Sūbā*, the agitation led by Master Tara Singh) in the 1960s, and eventually discharged violently in the form of Sikh terrorism of the 1980s. Further, the increasing globalisation as well as the spread of the global Sikh diaspora must be taken into account. The number of Sikhs and Punjabis settled in various countries outside of the Indian subcontinent has increased significantly since the 1960s and the population of second and third generation Sikhs born outside of India is growing too.

The case of Khalsa College might help us to bring together and shed light on these processes. While the institution during colonial times sported a marked universalist attitude and its authorities and financial backers often represented a moderate counterpart to the emerging Akālī Sikh leaders on a political level, many of its schemes as analysed in the preceding chapters nurtured the cultural and socio-religious elements undergirding later developments: the demarcated understanding of Sikh tradition, the equation of Sikhs with agriculture and (Punjabi) soil, and the militarisation of the body and the *panth*. In many ways the post-1947 developments follow the dialectic of a Sikhism that is both highly globalised and particularised. As we have seen, this tension was inherent in the character of Khalsa College and its articulation of a vernacular and localised modernity, which was perceived as both distinctly "Sikh" and "universal". Indeed, the story of this local college in India's northwest points to the inherent ambivalence of modernity that not only seems to characterise today's Sikh community but also has to be considered and addressed as a global phenomenon, as it shows in the current simultaneity of an ever-increasing global integration and the marked growth of nationalist and nativist sentiments around the world. It remains to be seen how and where Sikh universalism and modernism in the (idealised) vein of the colonial Khalsa College will continue to thrive and find resonance. A responsive vessel might be found in recent conceptions of *Punjābiyat*, a diasporic and transnational movement focusing on a new

(or renewed) understanding of shared Punjabi culture, language, and heritage—beyond stale and Bollywood-perpetuated images of machismo and hypermasculinity.[39]

Notes

1. Chhanda Chatterjee, *The Sikh Minority and the Partition of the Punjab 1920–1947* (London/New York: Routledge, 2019), 186–212; Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2017), 81–103.
2. Ganda Singh, *A History of the Khalsa College, Amritsar* (Amritsar: Khalsa College, 1949), 134–7.
3. Ibid.
4. Ian Talbot and Darshan Singh Tatla, *Amritsar: Voices from Between India and Pakistan* (London: Seagull Books, 2006), 111.
5. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1948/49, 1.
6. Chatterjee, *The Sikh Minority and the Partition*, 186–212.
7. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1949/50, 1; 1950/51, 1; 1953/54, 1; 1954/55, 1; 1955/56, 1; 1957/58, 1; 1958/59, 1; 1959/60, 1.
8. Ibid., 1949/50, pp. 11f.
9. Ibid., 1959/60, 10.
10. Ibid., 1949/50, 12; 1954/55, 11.
11. Gyanes Kudaisaya and Tan Tai Yong, *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia* (London/New York: Routledge, 2000), 131–7.
12. Argued against popular narratives of Punjab's exceptional agricultural development in late colonial India has, for instance, Mridula Mukherjee, *Colonializing Agriculture: The Myth of Punjab Exceptionalism* (New Delhi: Sage, 2005), who sees the Green Revolution as a break to Punjab's colonial experience rather than as a case of continuity.
13. G.R. Madan, *India's Developing Villages* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1990), 221–5. On the international dimension of early village and community development schemes under the Nehru government cf. Corinna R. Unger, *Entwicklungspfade in Indien: Eine internationale Geschichte 1947–1980* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015), 42–73.
14. The Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) consisted of various princely states in eastern Punjab, including among others Patiala, Kapurthala and Nabha. It was merged mainly into Punjab State in 1956.
15. KCA, *Annual Report*, 1953/54, 19.
16. Ibid., 1949/50, 10f.
17. Baldev Raj Nayar, *Minority Politics in the Punjab* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 50.

18. On the postcolonial development of Amritsar (and Lahore), see Ian Talbot, *Divided Cities: Partition and Its Aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar, 1947–1957* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006).
19. Tim Allender, *Ruling Through Education: The Politics of Schooling in the Colonial Punjab* (Elgin: New Dawn Press, 2006).
20. Cf. Brent Nongbri, *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2013), 113.
21. Cf. Margrit Pernau, *Ashraf into Middle Classes: Muslims in Nineteenth-Century Delhi* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), Chapter 11.
22. Cf. Sebastian Conrad, 'Greek in Their Own Way: Writing India and Japan into the World History of Architecture at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', *American Historical Review*, 125:1 (2020), 19–53.
23. Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 7.
24. Ibid, 84.
25. Ibid.
26. Conrad, 'Greek in Their Own Way', 48.
27. Cf. Sugata Bose and Kris Manjapra, *Cosmopolitan Thought Zones: South Asia and the Global Circulation of Ideas* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), especially Manjapra's introduction.
28. Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).
29. Cf. Arvind-Pal Singh Mandair, *Religion and the Specter of the West: Sikhism, India, Postcoloniality, and the Politics of Translation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).
30. I have taken this formulation from Rebecca L. Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style: Modernism Beyond the Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), though Walkowitz uses it in a literary sense for her analysis of the work of early twentieth-century writers.
31. Cf. Michael S. Dodson and Brian A. Hatcher, 'Introduction', in *Trans-Colonial Modernities in South Asia,* ed. by Michael S. Dodson and Brian A. Hatcher (New York: Routledge, 2012), 1–12.
32. Christopher A. Bayly, 'Bombay's "intertwined modernities", 1780–1880′, in *Trans-Colonial Modernities in South Asia*, ed. by Michael S. Dodson and Brian A. Hatcher (New York: Routledge, 2012), 231–48, here 244.
33. Ibid.
34. Prakash, *Another Reason*, 123–58.
35. Christof Dejung, David Motadel, and Jürgen Osterhammel (eds), *The Global Bourgeoisie: The Rise of the Middle Classes in the Age of Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019); cf. A. Ricardo López and Barbara Weinstein (eds), *The Making of the Middle Class: Toward a Transnational History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

36. Tripti Bassi, 'The Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya: A Socio-Historical Study', *Journal of Sikh & Punjab Studies*, 24:1–2 (2017), 95–117; Mahima Manchanda, 'Contested Domains: Restructuring Education and Religious Identity in Sikh and Arya Samaj Schools in Punjab', in *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education,* ed. by Parimala V. Rao (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2014), 120–47; idem, 'Sikh Women's Biography: Bibi Harnam Kaur and the Education of Sikh Women', *South Asia Research*, 37:2 (2017), 166–78.
37. Giorgio Shani, *Sikh Nationalism and Identity in a Global Age* (London: Routledge, 2008).
38. Khalsa College, Amritsar, 'Mission & Vision' [http://khalsacollege.edu.in/MissionVision.php, accessed 13 Apr. 2019].
39. Pritam Singh, 'Globalisation and Punjabi Identity: Resistance, Relocation and Reinvention (Yet Again!)', *Journal of Punjab Studies*, 19:2 (2012), 153–72; id. and Meena Dhanda, 'Sikh Culture and Punjābiyat', *Oxford Handbook of Sikh Studies,* ed. by Pashaura Singh and Louis Fenech (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 482–92; Anjali Gera Roy (ed.), *Imagining Punjab, Punjabi and Punjabiat in the Transnational Era* (London/New York: Routledge, 2015).

Glossary of Indic and Sikh/Punjabi Terms

5 K's Punj. 'pānj kakkār'; the five external symbols worn by *Khālsā* Sikhs; *kēś* (unshorn hair), kaṅghā (comb), kirpān (small dagger), kaṛā (steel bracelet), kachhirā (special underwear)

Ādi Granth The principle and primary collection of Sikh scripture, compiled by *Guru* Arjan in 1603–04, with later editions by *Guru* Gobind Singh

Akāl Takht Lit. 'eternal throne'; seat of highest Sikh authority, as a building located inside the Golden Temple complex

Akālī Lit 'immortal'; name of a radical Sikh newspaper and used as a term for the volunteers who participated in the corresponding anti-British movement started in the 1920s

Akālī Dal A political party of the *Akālīs*

amrit Lit. 'nectar'; "holy" water which is consumed for the initiation ceremony into the *Khālsā*

amritdhārī Someone who has taken *amrit*; an initiated/"baptised" *Khālsā* Sikh

ardās An important, often concluding Sikh prayer, in its content heavily *Khālsā*-oriented

asā-dī-vār Collection of 34 stanzas/paragraphs ('pauṛī') in the *Ādi Granth*, attributed to, mostly, *Guru* Nanak and, lesser, *Guru* Angad, usually sung during the morning prayer

avatār An incarnation of a deity

M. P. Brunner, *Education and Modernity in Colonial Punjab*,
Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series,

Bhai Lit. 'brother'; a term of respect for learned and/or pious persons
dharamsālā An older term used for Sikh shrines; later synonymous with *gurdwārā*
Dasam Granth A collection of Sikh scripture, attributed to *Guru* Gobind Singh, secondary to the *Guru Granth Sāhib*
darbār The court of a ruler
Ghadar Lit. 'rebellion, revolution'; name of a newspaper and the corresponding transnational anti-British movement during World War I
giānī A learned and reputed Sikh scholar/'theologian'
granthī A functionary and reader of the *Guru Granth Sāhib* in a *gurdwārā*
gurbānī Compositions and hymns ('bāni': lit. 'speech') of the Sikh *Gurus.*
gurdwara A place of worship for Sikhs
gurmat Teachings of the Sikh *Gurus*; often translated as 'Sikh theology'
gurmukhī lit. 'from the mouth of the *Guru*'; script in which Punjabi and the *Guru Granth Sāhib* are written
Guru A spiritual teacher/master; in Sikh tradition used for the lineage of the 10 human Gurus and the *Guru Granth Sāhib*
Guru Granth Sāhib, The *Ādi Granth* revered as the last Sikh *Guru*
Harimandir Sāhib The 'Golden Temple' in Amritsar, also called Darbār Sāhib, the most famous and important Sikh temple
jāgīr A grant of land (and its revenue), granted by a ruler to its vassal
jāgīrdār A holder of a *jāgīr*
japujī A composition by *Guru* Nanak Dev, usually recited in the morning
Jat The dominating agricultural caste in Punjab
kathā An exposition of Sikh teachings, often in the form of a historical story or anecdote
kēś Uncut hair, one of the *5 K's*
kēśdhārī A Sikh who wears *kēś*
Khālsā The spiritual-military order established by the tenth Sikh *Guru* Gobind Singh probably in 1699
kīrtan The singing of religious hymns
Mājhā A region in Punjab, north of the river Sutlej, including Lahore and Amritsar
mahant Head/manager of a religious institution/centre
Mālwā A region in Punjab, southeast of the Sutlej, including various princely states (Patiala, Nabha)
pāhul The initiation ceremony of the *Khālsā;* also known as khaṅḍē dī pāhul or amrit saṅcār
panth The Sikh community

rahit A disciplinary code of the *Khālsā*
rahit-nāmā A manual/codification of *rahit*
rājā A 'king', ruler, sovereign
sahajdhārī A Sikh/follower of Guru Nank Dev that is neither initiated into the *Khālsā* nor observes *rahit* and/or *kēs*
sanātan (Sikhism) Lit. 'eternal'; a pluralistic, polycentric understanding of Sikh tradition that stood in contrast with radical *Tatt Khālsā* views
sardār 'Chief', an honorific, often aristocratic title
Singh Lit. 'lion', common surname in various parts of North/Northwest India, surname adopted by initiated Sikhs
Singh Sabha Lit. 'meeting/assembly/society of *Singhs*'; Sikh reform movement, started in the late nineteenth century
Tatt Khālsā Lit. 'true *Khālsā*', a term coined for the *Khālsā*-centred ideology of late nineteenth/early twentieth-century Sikh reformers
vedānta Philosophies relating to the last part of the early Hindu texts of the Vedas, the Upanishads
zamīndār A big landowner

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