

Pioneer Punjabis in North America: Racism, Empire and Birth of Ghadar

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The Ghadar Movement was launched in North America by Indian immigrants within a decade of their arrival. The Punjabis were the first South Asians to reach the ports of Vancouver and San Francisco in the early twentieth century, though there had been one or two sojourns before. Majority of the South Asian pioneers in North America were rural Sikhs and many were ex-soldiers. A few among them were carpenters, weavers and some were even mechanics. They had come to earn money and return home. But as the circumstances unfolded, many decided to stay back and evolved a new life. The Khalsa Diwan Society and the Gurdwara at Vancouver founded in 1908 were their first expression of freedom in foreign land. The pioneer press also started publishing papers around this time. As pioneers encountered discrimination, they started linking it with their status at home *vis a vis* the British. As they learnt new ideas, they shunned many of their old values. Exposure to the West opened their mind and they started raising questions which were never raised by men of their class and educational background. Their nascent ideas were given a voice by the Ghadar Party. The pioneers lived and succeeded in a hostile social environment marked by racial discrimination and immigration restrictions. A large number of them returned to the Punjab to initiate a war against the British, a first of its kind. The Khalsa Diwan Society, the press and the pioneer individuals and organizations all awakened the semi-literate immigrants. They all need to be remembered while writing the history of the Ghadar Movement.

Towards North America

The *San Francisco Chronicle* of April 1899 reported the arrival of four Sikhs.¹ Probably, they were the first Indians to reach North America with the intention of finding work and earning money. In fact, the Indians had been arriving in the United States since the 1820s, but they were mostly students, sailors and diplomats.² A few colleges and universities in Washington, Oregon and California had started registering Indian students. By 1908, there were about 18 students at Berkeley.³ It is presumed that Swami Vivekanand's appearance at the Chicago World Conference of Religions in 1893 influenced migration towards North America as several *swamis* supported by the Ramakrishan Mission arrived in the USA. There are reports of *Gurus*, *Swamis* and God men visiting the USA, but they were not immigrants and nor did they influence further migration of their sort. Majority of the immigrants in the early twentieth century were Sikhs and the Rama Krishan Mission had no influence on them.⁴

The first encounter of Punjabi pioneers with North America, according to McKenzie King's Report of the Royal Commission of 1908, was in 1897, when a contingent of Sikh soldiers travelled from Montreal to Vancouver by train on

their way back from Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebrations. They were fascinated by the mountains, forests, rivers and lakes of Canada.⁵ Hugh Johnston, however, disagrees with this and says it was misleading. He states, on the basis of an answer given by a first Sikh who had come to Canada in the winter of 1903-04, migration was encouraged by Hong Kong agents of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). He argues that since the misleading statement by the Commission appeared in print, it has been repeated uncritically many times since. The truth was that the CPR agents were seeking to replace Chinese labour after an enormous increase in the head tax on them. Thus, around 1903-04, Punjabis began to be seen in greater numbers at the ports of San Francisco, Victoria and Vancouver.⁶

In fact, the migration of Punjabis to North America began from the Far East. They had been migrating to the Far East since the late 1870s. They were mostly from amongst those employed in the police, security forces and railways. Officials were so impressed that by the 1890s there were a large number of Sikhs in the Far East. It can be gauged from the fact that there were three Singh Sabhas in Singapore, Penang and Taiping even before the onset of the 20th century. A few amongst those working in Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai and Malaysia started moving to neighbouring Thailand or Sumatra, while the more adventurous set out for Australia and New Zealand in the 1890s.⁷ They started moving towards North America after the Australian Legislation of 1901 barred their entry.⁸ The transport was *via* a Trans-Pacific steamer of the Canadian Pacific Railways operating between Vancouver and Hong Kong. They usually went by steamships from Calcutta to Hong Kong, a journey of 12 days and then from Hong Kong to Canada or the US in another 18 or 19 days.⁹ One estimate puts the cost of the entire trip from India to Canada at 300 rupees. The passengers got the groceries and did their own cooking, usually forming groups to do so.¹⁰ In those days, wages were rising and industry was expanding. The Canadian Pacific Railways recruited labour from Calcutta through agents. In fact, Devi Chand of Punjab had contacts with number of industrial concerns. He lured a number of Punjabis with assured employment and promise of a daily wage of \$1.5 to \$2 a day.¹¹

British Columbia: The First Destination

The British Columbian province of Canada was their first destination. As many of them were ex-soldiers, they genuinely believed themselves to be British subjects who can settle anywhere in the Empire. It was probably an important reason why they preferred Canada than the USA in early years of immigration to North America. Although the climate in British Columbia was colder than Punjab, yet it was bearable. They found work in lumber mills, building of railroads and bridges, logging, mining and road construction in and around Vancouver and Victoria in British Columbia. To restrict the immigration of Chinese workers, head tax on them had been raised from \$50 to \$100 in 1900 and it was further enhanced to \$500 by 1903. It was equivalent to two years of wages of a Chinese labourer. Very soon after Punjabis from Hong Kong and

China started replacing the Chinese workers of Canadian Pacific Railways. In 1903, the Federal Government launched the construction of two trans-continental railway lines - the National Trans-Continental and Grand Trunk Pacific.¹² There was demand for labour and the Chinese were not coming forward due to the high head tax. Thus, shortage of labour made Punjabis more attractive to employers. One J. B. Hobson of Caribou in 1906 is said to have remarked “These Hindus are ex-soldiers. They know little outside their drill. If I can, I would employ white labourers. But as things are I would give employment to these soldiers who have fought for the British Empire rather than entire aliens”.¹³ As stories of their earnings, which ranged from \$2 to \$2.5 per day reached their homes, many more came forward and boarded ships. Consequently, more than five thousand had reached Canada by 1908.¹⁴

Table 1: Oriental Immigrations in Canada (1901-1920)

Fiscal Year	China	Japan	Hindoo	Total	Fiscal Year	China	Japan	Hindoo	Total
	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.		Nos.	Nos.	Nos.	Nos.
1901	2,544	6	---	2,550	1911	5,320	437	5	5,762
1902	3,587	---	---	3,587	1912	6,581	765	3	7,349
1903	5,329	---	---	5,329	1913	7,445	724	88	8,174
1904	4,847	---	---	4,847	1914	5,512	856	---	6,456
1905	77	354	45	476	1915	1,258	592	1	1,850
1906	168	1,922	387	2,477	1916	89	401	---	491
1907	291	2,042	2,124	4,457	1917	393	648	---	1,041
1908	2,234	7,601	2,623	12,458	1918	769	883	---	1,652
1909	2,106	495	6	2,607	1919	4,333	1,178	---	5,511
1910	2,302	271	10	2,583	1920	544	711	---	1,255
					Total	55,729	19,886	5,297	80,912

Source: *Canada Year Book 1920*, p. 125.

The fear of ‘Hindu Invasion’ had begun. Thus, ships bringing more Punjabis were refused landing by the Mayor of Vancouver on October 18, 1906. In the evening, resolutions against further immigration of ‘Hindus’ were passed at the Town Hall.¹⁵ The hostility already simmering against the Chinese and the Japanese labour got directed against them. *The Daily Province* wrote “A large number of Hindus have come. No place to live. With pans and pots proceeded to Stanley Park. Probably, Devi Chand brought them”. The paper further wrote “The class of Hindus that have invaded the British Columbia, are commonly known as Sikhs, entirely dependent upon their physical capabilities - those who have no set aim in life. They are coolies of Calcutta. In stature, the average Sikh is slender. The complexion is dark-brown while his hair is long and black. In dress, he copies the European with the exception of the head adornment which is substituted by the turban”. The paper also opined “Experience has shown that immigrants of this class, having been accustomed to the condition of a tropical climate, are wholly unsuited to this country and their ability to readily adapt

themselves to surroundings so entirely different. Inevitability brings upon them much sufferings and privation".¹⁶

The story of Harnam Singh Tundilat is typical of every second ex-soldier seeking employment in a foreign land for better wages. Harnam Singh at the age of 20 joined the army at a pay of Rs. 9 per month. He had heard stories that one can earn 1½ - 2 dollars or 5-6 rupees a day in America. He, along with his two friends, left home in May 1906 for Vancouver *via* Hong Kong. There were 52 Punjabi passengers on board and this was the first ship carrying such a large number of passengers. Most of these passengers were illiterate and were going to Canada only for the purpose of labour. Harnam Singh reached Port Mundy about 12 miles from Vancouver. He found work on 2½ dollar per day. At the beginning of 1907, however, the workplace closed and he decided to migrate to Portland in the USA. In the last month of 1907, there was a financial crisis in the USA and thus there was no work. So Harnam Singh had to shift again to Canada.¹⁷ There are many such stories where the immigrants were ex-soldiers. Either they had retired or left their job before deciding to move to North America. They worked in British Columbia, and in Washington and Oregon States on the West Coast. Given the porous border they often travelled between Canada and USA to look for work.

In the first few years of their arrival, Vancouver in British Columbia (Canada) was the main center of their activities. Next to Vancouver was Victoria where a large number of them carried on their business. From Vancouver they scattered to New Westminster, Abbotsford, Duncan Coombs and Ocean Falls.¹⁸ The largest mill community of the Sikhs was in the Fraser Mill at New Westminster in British Columbia. With a view to attract workers, the company built a temple for the Sikhs in 1908. The Sikhs considered the mill as a good place to work despite the fact that they received five percent less wages than whites. The lower wage was true for other lumber mills and the railroad industry as well.¹⁹ The mill was later watched by the British and was considered a dangerous centre.²⁰ They lived frugally, three to four in a room, so that they could save most of what they earned. They never banked the money, rather invested in real estate and thus some had accumulated thousands of dollars.²¹ Moreover, a few of them had invested capital in timber and lumber mills and in fuel distribution. In fact, some of them even managed to become mill owners. The Bombay Trading Company was started with a capital of \$ 25,000 and Guru Nanak Banking and Trust Company was established with a capital of \$5,000 in 1908.²² By 1911, as reported W. W. Bear in the *Daily Times*, they had owned property worth 300,000 dollars in Victoria and 200,000 dollars in Vancouver. The Vancouver Sikhs raised \$1,000 dollars for night schools and sent six thousand dollars back home for the education of their children in the Punjab.²³ Dr. Sunder Singh, editor of *Aryan*, wrote in 1912: "My countrymen own farm and city land in the West. They have farms in Port Haney, Chilliwack and Abbotsford and I know men who have dairy farms".²⁴

Nevertheless, hostility against Oriental immigrants had started soon after their arrival. With a view to check their further immigration a Royal Commission under W. L. Mackenzie-King, Deputy Minister of Labour was

appointed in 1907 to enquire into methods employed to induce Oriental labour to immigrate to Canada. The Commission recommended the exclusion or restriction of Oriental labour including the Hindustanis. It concluded that the immigrations from India and methods employed to bring them here have resulted in great injustice and hardships to Indians themselves.²⁵ The new laws in 1908 required each immigrant to possess \$200 at the time of their arrival in Canada. They were to travel under the provision of a 'continuous journey clause' from the country of origin on a through ticket. In effect, it meant exclusion of all Punjabis as there was no direct ship from Calcutta.²⁶

In Washington and Oregon

As previously mentioned Punjabi workers were finding it difficult to find employment in British Columbia. They started slipping into adjoining Washington and Oregon States of the USA. It is commonly accepted that immigration to the USA was a trickle down from Canada. However, Bruce LaBrack says that it was not a simple overflow or by-product of Western Canadian movement. It is true that restrictive legislation of 1908 resulted in the movement of Punjabis southward towards the USA, but there had been a simultaneous movement toward the USA after 1900.²⁷

Table 2: East Indian Immigration into the United States from the United States from 1899-1907

Year	Number
1899	15
1900	9
1901	20
1902	84
1903	83
1904	258
1905	145
1906	271
1907	1072

Source: Rajani Kanta Das, *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*, (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1923), p. 10.

Within a few months of their settling in Washington, Punjabis from India had to face riots against them Bellingham. Though Chinese immigration to the U.S. had been cut off in 1902, yet immigrants from Japan, India and the Philippines were arriving to take their place. The arrival of 600 Indians in the summer of 1907 precipitated the crisis.²⁸ On the night of 4 September 1907, a mob of 400 to 500 white men attacked Punjabi neighbourhoods, dragged them out of their houses, beat them and left them at far off places. Moreover, speakers addressed audiences on street corners and incited citizens to help drive out cheap labour.²⁹

Next day, Punjabi migrants had to make their way on foot, alongside the railway track of the Great Northern Railway from Bellingham to Vancouver in the hope that they might be safe in Canada. It only fuelled hostilities in Vancouver as rumours spread out that hundreds of workers were on their way to Vancouver. Ever since 1906, Japanese and Korean Exclusion Leagues had been opening branches in the cities along the Pacific Coast. With changing circumstances, the Exclusion Leagues broadened their scope and changed their name to Asiatic Exclusion League to include Indian immigrants.³⁰

At the same time, American newspapers poured venom on the Indian immigrants. For instance, *The American* ran a drawing on the front page depicting two big-nosed, almond-eyed men with a beard and a turban. A smaller drawing showed a robbed man playing a flute, apparently charming a snake. The caption read "This is the type of man driven from this city as a result of last night's demonstration". Another newspaper, *The Reveille* reported on September 6, "He is an Americanized Hindu, who wears ordinary clothes and speaks fairly good English".³¹

Several days after the Bellingham riot, the dwellings of several Punjabis in Everett were stoned and they appealed for police protection. On October 2, an Everett labor leader issued a veiled threat to the Punjabi workers advising them to leave. Then on November 2, 1907, an armed mob of 500 was rounded up, fearing harm to Asian residents. Having been warned in advance, the police used the Bellingham method of sheltering immigrants in jail to prevent bloodshed and releasing them the following day for a swift departure. Like in Bellingham, the local editor expressed disapproval of the means, but applauded the outcome.³² Meanwhile, a few hundred South Asians remained in Washington. Others had gone to Vancouver to face fresh riots. Some slipped to Oregon and others moved to California. However, after 1908, those in Canada again started coming to the USA. They continued facing racial prejudice. Moreover, the brokers would not let them buy property. When an Indian tried to purchase property in Port Angeles, real estate brokers entered into a covenant declaring not to sell to "Hindoos or Negroes" because when a "Hindoo or a Negro" settled in an area they "have depreciated value of the adjacent property and injured the reputation of the neighborhood".³³ In fact, racial discrimination was not confined to Washington only. The San Francisco Exclusion League had been reporting about the East Indian 'menace'. Under their pressure, Indians began to be denied entry. Nevertheless, riots, racial discrimination, restrictions did not deter the pioneers. After 1910, demand for more labour for construction of the Western Pacific Railroads led to relaxation of immigration restrictions. Thus, the pioneers were now moving towards the agricultural area of California.

In the Farmlands of California

In fact, majority of the pioneers were peasants. Hence, they were naturally drawn towards agriculture. Jogesh Misrow, who did a study of employment pattern of East Indians on the Pacific Coast found substantial shift away from mill and railroad work. They were seeking employment on farms.³⁴ The Punjabi

pioneer settlements began in farming lands of the Sacramento Valley, San Joaquin Valley and in Imperial Valley of California. On arriving in California, Pune Singh describes his first impression in the following words: "On arriving in Sacramento Valley, one could not help but be reminded of the Punjab. Fertile fields stretched across the flat valley to the foothills lying far in the distance. Most of the jobs were agricultural and I found many of the Punjabis already working in the area". Similar kind of statements were made by the sons of early immigrants expressing the point as their fathers found the fields, the crops and method of cultivation similar to that of the Punjab.³⁵

The San Joaquin Valley, a large part of the richest Central Valley region of California lies south of the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta and drained by the San Joaquin River. It is about 75 miles east and south of San Francisco. While working on railroads, they traveled through the Valley and started looking for employment on the ranches. In 1907, Wood and Land, a big ranch near Stockton in California hired the first Indian labourers on the asparagus and beet fields. Their efficiency in this line of work attracted the attention of their employers. Thereafter, on many farms, the land-owners gave preference to Indian workers.³⁶ They were particularly hired for row type of harvesting like celery harvesting. Commercial cultivation of celery was very difficult for those not accustomed to sitting cross-legged which Orientals did not mind.³⁷ David Vaught, who studied harvest labour relations on California's Almond Ranch during 1892-1921, talks about the dependence of Pierce, the owner of the orchid, on a Sikh Musha Singh to recruit workers and maintain order in the orchid. Moreover, he found them very useful and preferred them to the Japanese labour as they were tall and had big built. The Sikhs also found much of this work familiar, as agricultural conditions in the Sacramento Valley closely resembled those of the Punjab.³⁸

The workers moved in groups appointing a boss man who had a good command of spoken English to contract work for the group. The Punjabis quickly built a reputation as efficient farm labourers. In the process, they began to understand English. Moreover, some among them leased land for themselves and began to operate their own farms. They cultivated potatoes, onions, celery and beans near Holt. In the beginning, a number of their farming enterprises failed. But instead of giving up, some of them moved either south into the Imperial Valley or north into the rice districts of the Sacramento Valley, where they were successful in the cultivation of cotton and rice.³⁹ It was, in fact, in the Sacramento Valley that Punjabi pioneers found mild climate which was quite similar to the landscape and climate of the Punjab. They started getting higher wages because of their expertise in agriculture.⁴⁰ It was here in Sacramento where Baba Jawala Singh took land on lease and became famous as the 'potato king'. His farm became shelter for all those who had no work and place to live in. Students worked at his farm during the summer vacation. In fact, Bhai Santokh Singh and Kartar Singh Sarabha had also worked at his farm.⁴¹ It was at his farm, they felt the birth pangs of nationalism. In 1912, Bhai Jawala Singh initiated the Guru Gobind Singh Scholarship under which highly talented and bright students from India were invited to study in the US. The Scholarship was

for three years. It was open to both sexes. Moreover, there was to be no distinction of race, caste and creed. Apart from paying their college fees and some pocket money, they were also provided with free board, lodging, all expenses for clothes, books, stationery, medicine, and postage etc.⁴² In fact, the idea behind it was to train them for revolutionary work and send them back to India to start a revolution there.

The third area where Punjabis settled was the Imperial Valley, a county in Southern California bordering Mexico. Though the soil was very rich, agriculture work there was minimal because of lack of rainfall. The Punjabis began to be seen in the Imperial Valley around 1910 when the county was still undeveloped. The extreme heat of the summer did not attract many American settlers. Punjabi pioneers found a great opportunity to carry on their activities in the Imperial Valley.⁴³ Moreover, the Punjabis were now earning enough money in agriculture to send part of it home as well as to enter into the local system. As early as 1912, Punjabi names began appearing in the Imperial County records and directories. Moreover, they were early subscribers to a telephone company.⁴⁴ They moved quickly towards leasing and owning of land. They had managed to lease 85,000 acres in the Sacramento and the San Joaquin Valleys and 30,000 in the Imperial Valley by 1920.⁴⁵ It was here in the Imperial Valley that the Punjabi-Mexican community originated. The pioneers had come alone with the intention of returning back. There were no women in the first decade of their arrival and even by 1945 it is estimated there were no more than 100 women. But a few men did succeed in bringing their wives. Bakhshish Singh who had landed in Angel Island in 1899 brought his wife Ratan Kaur in 1910. The couple lived in Oregon, but later shifted to the San Joaquin valley. A few women who did come to the area felt very lonely. As the men could not bring their wives from India, they began marrying local Mexican women and giving birth to Sikh-Mexican and Muslim-Mexican families. The first such recorded marriage was in 1916 and by 1924 there were 73 unions between Sikhs and non-Indians. A number of common factors helped in the success of these marriages. They had similar physical characteristics, dietary preferences, strong family tradition and the patriarchal nature of both cultures.⁴⁶

Hindus Driven Out

In fact, increased visibility of East Indian workers had upset the white workers. Punjabis were preferred by their employers who were trying to break the monopoly of Chinese and Japanese labour. Meanwhile, resentment against the Punjabis had increased. Local newspapers reported as follows: "Hindus Driven Out"; "Twenty citizens of Live Oak attacked two houses occupied by 70 Hindus and ordered them to leave the city".⁴⁷ Newspapers published racist cartoons "A New Problem for Uncle Sam", showing them to be incompetent and indolent.⁴⁸ The papers referred to it as a "Hindu Invasion". These papers reported that Hindus have come to earn money but make no effort to adapt themselves to the surroundings either in the ship or after they land.⁴⁹ Herman Scheffauer in 1910 wrote "The Tide of Turbans" after the Chinese and the Japanese threatened

white inhabitants.⁵⁰ Newspapers like *The Collier*, *The Forum*, *The Survey* and *The Whiteman* - the latter an organ of the movement for Exclusion of Asians called it “unmitigated nuisance” of “these most undesirable people”. Emily Brown writes that the files of Bureau of Investigation are filled with clippings by individuals or organizations in support of proposals against unrestricted East Indian immigration.⁵¹ They were portrayed as illiterate and backward. The man in charge of the Federal Commission’s Investigation of the East Indian labour along the Pacific Coast reported that “the Hindus are regarded as the least desirable or better the most undesirable of all eastern nations who have come to share our soil”; “His lack of personal cleanliness, his low morals, and his blind adherence to theories and teachings so repugnant to American principles make him unfit for association with American people”. In 1910, the Exclusion Leagues agitation encouraged a thorough examination of the East Indian community by H.A. Millis, Superintendent of Immigration Commission. His findings were that the East Indians do not occupy an important place in the labor supply of the West. Their efficiency is low, their employment irregular, their competitive ability small, and their industrial position insecure. Their assimilative qualities are lower than those of any other race in the West. He concluded that no other group was so strongly opposed and the demand for its exclusion was nearly unanimous.⁵² Therefore, by 1911, campaign to end East Indian immigration had been won. The Washington officials encouraged it. The immigration authorities at San Francisco began rejecting further arrival of East Indians.⁵³

Building Social and Religious Life

Notwithstanding the worst kind of circumstances, the pioneers survived in a hostile atmosphere by their sheer will power and determination. They had learnt from their religion and culture to pool resources in times of crisis. It helped them in an alien land. The pioneers started forming religious, social and political organizations. As the family life was missing, these early organizations were central to the ideological transformation of the pioneers. In fact, these were places where, apart from socialization, the pioneers discussed issues like racial discrimination and immigration laws. The first such centers were *Gurdwaras*. Some of the Sikhs felt worried about creeping degeneration among their co-religionists. They hired a building at a rent of 25 Rupees as early as 1906 and made a makeshift *Gurdwara*. It was a weekly congregation. The *Granth Sahib* was not available, so they managed with a small book containing Five Holy Psalms (*Panj Granthi*). They also appointed a committee to preach against the evils of drinking and smoking. They even baptized some of the willing Sikhs.⁵⁴

The Khalsa Diwan Society of Vancouver was formed in 1907. The first *Gurdwara* was opened in Vancouver on 19 January 1908. The Society opened more branches in cities and some mills. It also built more *Gurdwaras* in Victoria, West Minster, Fraser Mills, Duncan Combs, Ocean Falls and Abbotsford.⁵⁵ In fact, Khalsa Diwan Society also had branches in Washington, Oregon and California in the USA. R. K. Das writes that wherever there were 20-25 Sikhs,

there was a temple. There were nine temples on the Pacific Coast by 1920.⁵⁶ Moreover, the Society appointed a priest, who was elected annually by a vote and received a salary in addition to board and lodging. The entire expense was met through subscriptions. It organized *gurmat parchar* (religious preaching) among the Sikhs. It also tried to check the growth of *mona* (clean shaven) Sikh trend.⁵⁷ In fact, clean shaven trend had become very popular among the Sikhs to gain acceptance in a changed milieu. Baba Sohan Singh Bhakhna writes in '*Meri Ram Kahani*' that he had also cut his hair, but grew after a few months.⁵⁸

The Sikh workers were managing the Khalsa Diwan Society and *Gurdwaras*. But as their problems with the Immigration Department of Canada increased, there arose a need of educated persons to represent their viewpoint. Prof. Teja Singh, native of Amritsar who obtained his degree from Lahore, graduation from Columbia University and Law degree from Cambridge, was called upon to take over management of the Society with the promise of taking care of his expenses in return. For some time, he played an important role in the lives of Sikhs of British Columbia. He went to Honduras as their representative, when the Canadian Government was trying to relocate them there. He also pleaded the case of family reunion of immigrants. After 1912, Bhai Bhag Singh took over the fight for family reunion.⁵⁹ During this period the Sikh leadership concentrated mainly on the immigration issues, passing many resolutions, raising petitions and making deputations. A similar kind of role was being played by Bhai Jawala Singh, Bhai Wasakha Singh, Bhai Teja Singh and Bhai Tara Singh in the lives of Sikhs in USA. The Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society at Stockton, San Joaquin County in California was formed on May 27, 1912.⁶⁰ A plot of land was bought with the help of Bhai Jawala Singh. In 1912, the *Guru Granth Sahib* was installed in one of the rooms. Thereon, in 1915, the *Gurdwara* was built at this place. The *Gurdwara* at Stockton was the first religious centre of the Sikhs in the United States.⁶¹

The most important contribution of these *Gurdwaras* was that they served as religious and social centers for all Punjabi religious communities. These temples, apart from being places of worship, were meeting places, dining halls and even hostels for the needy. They were also a refuge for all those who had no place to go. In fact, Punjabis functioned as a single community with the Sikh temple serving as the common meeting place for everyone.⁶² Another very important function of the Khalsa Diwan Society and *Gurdwaras* was to arrange for cremation of their dead. The Society made sure that bodies were cremated not buried. Earlier, the bodies were sent to Sacramento in the USA for this purpose. Out of all Punjabis, only the Sikhs were able to establish their religious temples because they were the only ones in enough numbers to do so. The Punjabi Muslims did not form their first association till 1919-1920 and did not have their first mosque till the 1940s. They however, bought a plot of land in Sacramento City Cemetery where the Punjabi Muslims from all over central and northern California could be buried. Similar plots were bought at other places where Muslims lived in sufficient numbers. However, these were known to the general public as Hindu plots.⁶³

The *Gurdwaras* not only served as centers of cultural exchange but soon became centers of political activity. *Gurdwaras* gave them a sense of identity and confidence in a foreign land and this as was soon channelized into anti-British politics. The Sikh Temple at Stockton became the center of Ghadar activities. The two British police officers Isemonger and Slattery, who submitted the Report on Ghadar Revolt, considered the *Gurdwaras* as the most dangerous places as their leadership not only gave active support to the Ghadar movement but also sent preachers to disseminate revolutionary literature. They specifically mention *granthi* Inder Singh as the most important preacher.⁶⁴ The US Immigration Officer, Samuel Backus, also reported that the Khalsa Diwan Society was sponsoring students from India to be educated and returning to India with the intention of engaging in a revolutionary movement. Moreover, the British and the US authorities perceived the religious work of the Stockton based Khalsa Diwan Society as a mask for their revolutionary work.⁶⁵

Ideological Transformation of Pioneers

Even before the publication of *Ghadar* and formation of the Ghadar party a few pioneers had started kindling the flame of freedom among East Indians on the West Coast. Within a few years of their arrival, they started publishing newspapers in *Urdu*, *Gurmukhi* and English. *Circular-i-Azadi*, *Swadesh Sewak*, *Aryan*, *Paradesi Khalsa* and *Sansar* were fast spreading awareness among East Indian workers against British rule. Ram Nath Puri was probably the first to start raising political awareness on the West Coast. He had reached America in 1906 and worked as interpreter for Sikh workers. In 1907, he founded the Hindustani Association in San Francisco and started the lithographed *Urdu* paper *Circular-i-Azadi*. It was published first from San Francisco and later from Oakland, California. It advocated boycott of government laws and services and took extracts from *Gaelic America* and Indian newspapers and published these in his paper.⁶⁶

Tarak Nath Das was the first important political activist on the West Coast. He had left India in 1906. He had been associated with *Anusilan Samiti* and *Jugantar* party before coming to North America. He first enrolled himself as a student at University of California, Berkeley but soon moved to Canada and worked with the Immigration Office in Vancouver. In the next few years, he shuttled between Vancouver and Seattle (Washington). In fact, he took over where Ram Nath Puri's *Circular-i-Azadi* left it. In 1908, Tarak Nath Das started publishing *Free Hindustan*.⁶⁷ His articles were provocatively headlined as "A Strong Protest Against British Justice"; "Our National Life at Stake"; "Farmers in Hindustan and only remedy"; "Lesson From the German Revolution of 1849". These publications and other related activities led to an inquiry against him by the Canadian Government.⁶⁸ *Free Hindustan* of September 1908 wrote, "the *feringi* are going to interfere in our business if we remain quite.. the man who supports British rule to make Khalsa slaves of foreign ruler is a traitor to all Khalsa and to our scared religion. Every true Khalsa must do his best to free the nation from such slavery".⁶⁹ The *Times* reported activities of Tarak Nath Das

as being 'nefarious'. Tarak Nath Das's newspaper was deemed highly outrageous with its main aim to preach hatred against the British especially among Sikh military personnel.⁷⁰

Gurun Dutt Kumar was another pioneer political activist. He reached British Columbia in October 1907. He started a *Swadesh Sewak Home* in November 1909. His residence was a kind of hostel for everyone. He used the building as night school for teaching English and mathematics. Soon, it became a meeting place for Indian activists. In 1910, he started the publication of the monthly *Swadesh Sewak*. In fact, most of the articles in it were reproduced from *Bande Matram*, *Librator* and *Indian Sociologist*. The Government saw the paper as the foundation of later trouble as it aired grievances of Sikhs arising out of restrictions imposed by immigration authorities. Harnam Singh helped in the publication of the *Gurmukhi* paper.⁷¹ Many Ghadarities have recorded in their memoirs that they were regular readers of the paper.⁷² This paper, as it was written in *Gurmukhi*, had direct influence on the Sikhs. The paper directly addressed the Sikhs especially those serving in the army. Its circulation rose to as high as 500. However, in 1911, its import to India was banned under the Sea Customs Act.⁷³ Later, along with Tarak Nath Das, he set up India House on the lines of India House of London. They probably wanted to use it as a future centre for their political work. But the centre did not survive for long due to paucity of funds. Tarak Nath Das, G.D. Kumar, Harnam Singh Kahri Sahri moved between Washington, Oregon and British Columbia and interacted with workers there. In 1910, G.D. Kumar and Harnam Singh set up the United India House in Seattle. They worked among the workers and asked them to rise above caste and leave behind habits of drinking, gambling and smoking. Harnam Singh Tundilat stopped drinking under the influence of G.D. Kumar.⁷⁴

Dr. Sunder Singh, the editor of the *Aryan* reached British Columbia in 1909. He organized East Indians against restrictive laws and wrote about the disillusionment of East Indians with the British.⁷⁵ He also started a paper titled *Sansar* in English and *Gurmukhi*. Early issues of the *Sansar* used handwritten *Gurmukhi*. However, in 1912, the editor was able to procure *gurmukhi* printing fonts. These papers did not attain that much circulation or popularity because Dr. Sunder Singh confined his papers only to moral, social and religious education of the Sikhs and criticized the activities of radical members. The main focus of his activities was to protect the interest of his community.⁷⁶ Moreover, these newspapers appealed for a need to increase the self-respect Sikh army personnel. This touched the chord of their dignity, implying that despite having served the Empire, they were being treated unjustly. Written in Urdu, *Gurmukhi*, Hindi and even English, these newspapers addressed every type of audience. Though only a few of the Punjabi pioneers were literate, yet all had access to these publications through the practice of public reading in *Gurdwaras*. Therefore, by publishing in *Gurmukhi*, activists had reached the Sikhs and appealed to their sense of Indian and Punjabi identity.⁷⁷

In fact, there was a visible change in the attitudes of workers. It was also becoming a concern for the Government. As early as 1908, British officers reported they had a reason to believe that a seditious movement in India was

being directed from the Pacific North West. They also put forth the view that Indian anti-colonialists had established a school at Millside, New Westminster and it was being used as a centre from which to spread revolutionary ideas among the Sikhs.⁷⁸ On the one hand, the pioneer press was spreading awareness among mill workers and on the other, workers were coming together to discuss their issues and forming their first associations in the mills of St. John, Winna, Astoria and Portland in the States of Washington and Oregon. It would soon give way to the formation of Hindustani Association of the Pacific Coast. From here would begin the journey of Ghadar movement. Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, Harnam Singh Tundilat, Udham Singh Kasel and Pandit Kashi Ram worked here in lumber mills in the towns of Oregon and Washington States. Tarak Nath Das, G.D. Kumar and Harnam Singh were touching the hearts of workers through their writings. There developed an important association between the educated and the workers. It was felt that the political work was easier in the USA than in Canada. Moreover, the leaders at Portland displayed greater unity and organizational ability than those in Vancouver. So, it was the relatively favourable atmosphere of Astoria that enabled them to start their political agitation. Within a few years, the psychological base and organizational units were created on which the Ghadar movement could be so quickly built and given a distinct revolutionary orientation. Astoria became the place from where the Ghadar Party would be ultimately launched, unleashing strong revolutionary currents. In fact, Astoria had become a hub of Socialists and Anarchists. The Finns had built a five story Socialist Hall in 1911, which was used for the founding conference of the Ghadar Party. It indicates some connection between them. It might have contributed to the radicalization among the Punjabi workers of Astoria but further research is required.⁷⁹

Conclusion

The journey of pioneer Punjabis to North America began at the beginning of the twentieth century. Soon after their arrival they were faced with the worst kind of racial discrimination. The pioneers lived and succeeded in a hostile social environment marked by growing racial hostility and immigration restrictions. In fact, they had come to earn some money and return back home. But as the circumstances unfolded, many decided to stay and settled down to a new life. As they encountered discrimination, they started linking it with their status at home *vis a vis* under British rule. They learnt new ideas and shunned many of their old values. Their exposure to the West opened their mind. Thus, they started raising questions which were never raised by men of their class and educational background. Their nascent ideas gave birth and voice to the Ghadar Party. The Khalsa Diwan Society, Punjabi publications and pioneer organizations all awakened the semi-literate immigrants. These organizations were instrumental in the ideological transformation of uneducated and semi-literate workers much before Lala Har Dayal took over leadership. At this hour, they all need to be remembered whilst writing history of the Ghadar movement.

Notes

- ¹ The newspaper reported: "Four Sikhs who arrived on the Nippon Maru were permitted to land by the immigration officials. One Bakkshlied (Bakhshish) Singh speaks English. He is 6 feet 2 inch tall, is built in proportion and very good looking. His companions Bood Singh, Variam Singh and Sohava Singh are not quite so big. All of them have been soldiers and policemen in China. They hope to make their fortunes and return home in Lahore district which they left some twenty years ago", News Clipping at South Asians in North America Collection (SANA), Box1, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
- ² Juan L. Gonzales, "Asian Indian Immigration Patterns: The Origin of the Sikh Community in California", *International Migration Review*, Volume XX, No. 1, 1986, p. 40.
- ³ GDK, "Hindus in the United States" cited in Hugh Johnston, "Group Identity in an Emigrant Worker Community: The Example of Sikhs in early Twentieth Century British Columbia", *BC Studies*, No. 148, 2005-06, p. 11.
- ⁴ Bruce LaBrack, *Sikhs of California*, (New York: AMS Press), 1988, p. 58. See also Emily Brown, "Students, Sikhs and Swamis: Punjabis in the United States" *The Punjab Past and Present: Essays in Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh* (Eds. Harbans Singh and N.G. Barrier), (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1976), p. 325.
- ⁵ W. L. Mackenzie King, *Report of the Royal Commission* (appointed to inquire into the methods by which Oriental labourers have been induced to come to Canada: (Ottawa: Government Printing Press, 1908), p. 71: www.forgottenbooks.com (accessed on 19.1. 2016).
- ⁶ Hugh J. M. Johnston, *The Voyage of Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), p. 11.
- ⁷ D. S. Tatla, *Sikh Diaspora: The Search For Statehood*, (London: UCL Press, 1999), p. 49.
- ⁸ By 1890, there were about 5,000 Indians in Australian colonies. It became an issue in politics leading to the passage of Immigration Restriction Act in 1901. It extended Chinese restriction legislation to all Asians: Kama Maclean, "Examinations, Access, and Inequity within the Empire: Britain, Australia and India, 1890-1910", *Post-Colonial Studies*, Vol. 18, June 2015, p. 2.

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- ⁹ *Echoes of Freedom: South Asian Pioneers in California 1899-1965*, An Exhibit, Center For South Asian Studies, (Berkeley: University of California, 2001), p. 15.
 - ¹⁰ Karen Isaken Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), p. 30.
 - ¹¹ W. L. Mackenzie King, *Report of the Royal Commission*, pp. 75-80.
 - ¹² Yukari Takai, "Asian Migrants, Exclusionary Laws, and Trans-border Migration in North America, 1880-1940", *OAH Magazine of History*, October 2009, p. 37.
 - ¹³ Jasbir Singh Mann "Revaluating the Inspiration of Sikh Ghadar 1907-1918", p. 6: (accessed at www.canadiansikhcenter.com on 29.6.2015).
 - ¹⁴ *Canada Year Book 1920*, Statistics Canada, p. 25. (www.statcan.gc.ca).
 - ¹⁵ *Vancouver Sun*, 19 October 1906 cited in Khushwant Singh and Satinder Singh, *Ghadar 1915: India's First Armed Revolution*, (New Delhi: R.K. Publishing House, 1960), p. 3.
 - ¹⁶ *Daily Province*, October, 1906 cited in Jasbir Singh Mann "Revaluating the Inspiration of Sikh Ghadar 1907-1918", p. 5 (accessed at www.canadiansikhcenter.com on 29.6.2015).
 - ¹⁷ *Statement of Harnam Singh Tundilat*, Rare Records Collection, (Jalandhar: Desh Bhagat Yadgar Library), p. 6. See also, Hera Singh Dard, *Jiwani of Baba Harnam Singh Tundilat*, (Jalandhar, Giani Hira Singh Dard, 1962), pp. 11-13.
 - ¹⁸ R. K. Das, *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*, (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & Co, 1923), pp. 20-23.
 - ¹⁹ Margret Hill, "Pioneer Sikh Migrations to North America", 3 *Rs Project*, California, p. 4. (accessed at www.ccss.org on 08-10-2016)
 - ²⁰ Seema Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny: Race, Surveillance and Indian Anti-colonialism in North America*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 52.
 - ²¹ Hugh J. M. Johnston, *The Voyage of Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar*, p. 11.
 - ²² R. K. Das, *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*, (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & Co, 1923), pp. 23-27.

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- ²³ As reported by W. W. Baer in *Daily Times* reproduced in *Aryan*, September 1911 cited in Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Ghadar Party*, (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1977), p. 47.
- ²⁴ *Aryan*, February 1912 cited in *Ibid*, p. 48.
- ²⁵ W. L. Mackenzie King, *Report of the Royal Commission*, p. 80.
- ²⁶ R. K. Das, *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*, pp. 8-9.
- ²⁷ Bruce LaBrack, *Sikhs of California*, p. 78.
- ²⁸ September 4, 2007 marked the hundredth anniversary of Bellingham riots. *The Bellingham Herald* apologized for the racial news reports in *Bellingham Herald* in 1907 and also published series of articles: *The Bellingham Herald*, September, 2, 2007 (www.bellinghamherald.com)
- ²⁹ *Echoes of Freedom: South Asian Pioneers in California 1899-1965*, p. 23.
- ³⁰ Seema Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny: Race, Surveillance and Indian Anti-colonialism in North America*, p. 25.
- ³¹ Reproduced in *Bellingham Herald*, September 2, 2007 (www.bellinghamherald.com).
- ³² *Bellingham Herald*, 2 September 2007.
- ³³ Joan Jensen, "Apartheid: Pacific Coast Style", *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. xxxviii, 1969 cited in Garry Hess, "Forgotten Asian Americans: The East Indian Community in the United States", pp. 579-80.
- ³⁴ Jogesh Misrow cited in Bruce LaBrack, *Sikhs of California*, p. 117
- ³⁵ Karen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans*, p. 34.
- ³⁶ R. K. Das, *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*, pp. 15-18.
- ³⁷ Jogesh Misrow cited in Bruce LaBrack, *Sikhs of California*, p. 117.
- ³⁸ David Vaught, "An Orchardist's point of View": Harvest Labour Relations on a California Almond Ranch, 1892-1921", *Agricultural History*, Vol. 69, No. 4, Fall 1995, pp. 563-64, 582.
- ³⁹ R. K. Das, *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*, pp. 15-18.
- ⁴⁰ Bruce LaBrack, *Sikhs of California*, pp. 107-110.

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- ⁴¹ Chhangi Lal Kangniwal, *Ghadri Baba Jwala Singh: Jiwan te Hath Likta*, (Jalandhar: DBYC, 2014), p. 21.
- ⁴² Flyer (SANA Collections, Box 1, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley).
- ⁴³ R. K. Das, *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*, p. 20; Bruce LaBrack, *Sikhs of California*, pp. 115-17.
- ⁴⁴ Karen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans*, p. 48.
- ⁴⁵ Bruce LaBrack, "Social and Political Lives of Early Sikh Settlers in California: 1897-1946", *Seminar on Sikh Journey in America*, September 22, 1912, p. 5 (www.sikhcentury.us on 2 August 2015).
- ⁴⁶ Bruce LaBrack, "Evolution of Sikh Family Form and Values in Rural California: Change and Continuity 1904-1980", *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1988, p. 289 ; For more details see, Karen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans*.
- ⁴⁷ Clipping of *New York Times*, 28 January, 1908: *SANA Collection*, Box, 11, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.
- ⁴⁸ *San Francisco Call*, 13 August, 1910: *SANA Collections*, Box 1, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.
- ⁴⁹ Collier "What the World is Doing: A Record of Current Events", March 26, 1910, Vol. 45, p. 15: *Ghadar Party Collection*, Box 1, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley. For more details see Amandeep, *Early Settlers in North America: A Study in Punjabi Diaspora*, (UGC SAP DRS-I Project) (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 2016), p. 45.
- ⁵⁰ Herman Scheffuer, "The Tide of Turban", *The Forum*, Vol. xliii (June, 1910), New York, The Forum Publishing Company, 1910: *SANA Collections*, Box 1, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, pp. 616-618.
- ⁵¹ Emily C Brown, *Hardayal: Hindu Revolutionary and Rationalist*, (New Delhi: Manohar, 1975), pp. 89-90.
- ⁵² H.A. Millis, "East Indian Immigration to British Columbia and the Pacific Coast States", *The American Economic Review*, Vol. I, March 1911, pp.73-76. For more details see, Amandeep Bal, *Early Settlers in North America: A Study in Punjabi Diaspora*, (UGC SAP DRS-I Project) (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 2016), pp. 48-49.
- ⁵³ Garry R. Hess, "The Forgotten Asian American: The East Indian Community in the United States", *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 43, No. 4, 1974, p. 582.

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- ⁵⁴ M. S. Dhillon, *A History of the Sikhs in Canada and California*, Shiromani Akali Dal Association of Canada, Vancouver, B.C., 1981, pp. 44-56. (Doe Library, U.C. Berkeley).
- ⁵⁵ In 2002, the Gurdwara at Abbotsford was declared a national historic site.
- ⁵⁶ R. K. Das, *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*, p. 81.
- ⁵⁷ Harish K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1983), p. 38. Also see, R. K. Das, *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*, p. 81.
- ⁵⁸ Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, *Meri Ram Kahani* (Ed. Rajwinder Singh Rahi), (Samana: Sangam Publications, 2012), p. 61.
- ⁵⁹ Brij Lal, *East Indians in British Columbia, 1904-1914: An Historical Study in Growth and Integration*, M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, (open.library.ubc.ca accessed on 28.11.2016), 1976, p. 53. See also, Harish K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, pp. 46-47.
- ⁶⁰ The Society claimed that its aims were preaching 'Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man' according to the teachings of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh: *Articles of Incorporation of Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan* (Free Divine Communion) Society : Flyer (SANA Collections), Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.
- ⁶¹ See, *Introduction to the Sikh Temple and Ghadar Party, Sikh Temple*, Stockton, p. 37. Bhai Jwala Singh paid \$9,000 for the plot: Charangi Lal Kanganiwal, *Ghadri Baba Jwala Singh: Jiwan te Hath Likhta*, (Jalandhar: Desh Bhagat Yadgar Committee, 2014), p. 21.
- ⁶² Hugh Johnston, "Group Identity in an Emigrant Community: The Example of Sikhs in early Twentieth Century", *BC Studies*, No. 148, 2005-06, pp. 14-15. Also see, Hugh J. M. Johnston, *The Voyage of Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar*, p. 11.
- ⁶³ Karen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans*, p. 83.
- ⁶⁴ F.C. Isemonger & J. Slaterry, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy (1913-1915)*, (Lahore: Government Printing, Punjab, 1919), (reprint 1998), pp. 9-10.
- ⁶⁵ Seema Sohi, "Sites of Sedition, Sites of Liberation: Gurdwaras, The Ghadar Party, and Anti-Colonial Mobilisation", *Sikh Formations: Religion, Culture, Theory*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2014, p. 9.

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- ⁶⁷ S.P. Sen. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. I, (Calcutta: Institute of Historical Studies, 1972), p. 363.
- ⁶⁸ Brij Lal, *East Indians in British Columbia, 1904-1914: An Historical Study in Growth and Integration*, pp. 60-61.
- ⁶⁹ James Campbell Ker, *Political Trouble in India 1907-1917*, p. 109.
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- ⁷¹ Hugh Johnston, "Group Identity in an Emigrant Community: The Example of Sikhs in early Twentieth Century", *BC Studies*, No. 148, 2005-06, p. 17.
- ⁷² Statement of Bhai Sher Singh Wain Puin in *Ghadri Babian di Kahani Ghadri Babai di Jubani*, (Jalandhar: DBYC, 2002), p. 84.
- ⁷³ James Campbell Ker, *Political Trouble in India 1907-1917*, pp. 210-11.
- ⁷⁴ See Heera Singh Dard, *Jiwani of Harnam Singh Tundilat*, p. 17-18.
- ⁷⁵ Seema Sohi, "Sites of 'Sedition', Sites of Liberation: Gurdwaras, The Ghadar Party and Anti-Colonial Mobilization", *Sikh Formations; Religion, Culture, Theory*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2014, p. 9.
- ⁷⁶ Sohan Singh Pooni, *Canada De Ghadri Yodhey* (Punjabi), (Amritsar: Singh Brothers), 2009, p. 262. Also see, Chain Singh Chain (Ed), *Ghadar Lehar Di Kahani Ghadri Babiyan Di Jubani*, (Jalandhar: DBYC, 2002), p. 143.
- ⁷⁷ Hugh Johnston, "Group Identity in an Emigrant Community: The Example of Sikhs in early Twentieth Century", *BC Studies*, No. 148, 2005-06, p. 17.
- ⁷⁸ Seema Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny: Race, Surveillance and Indian Anti-colonialism in North America*, p. 52.
- ⁷⁹ Johanna Ogden, "Ghadar, Historical Silences, and Notions of Belonging: Early 1900s Punjabis of the Columbia River", *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 113, No. 2, 2012, pp. 180-82.