Chapter — 2

The Ghadar Movement
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GHADAR MOVEMENT

The birth of Indian National Congress (1885), annual resolutions it passed and views expressed by early leaders within and without Congress at least infused a ray of hope among people that hereafter they would have some relief if not complete from political subjugation, economic exploitation and racial discrimination. But after the swadeshi and boycott movement the British followed the path of crushing civic rights of the people. A ban was imposed on the singing of vande mataram. Newspapers were also banned. The British resorted to suppression and even lathi-charge on peaceful demonstrations. The ruthlessness of the Government unleashed feelings of great anger amongst the people, especially the youth. They began to think of using force to fight this British force.

The feelings of anger against foreign oppression amongst the people were also mixed with those of frustration. The swadeshi movement had raised great hopes but the Congress split dashed them to the ground. Tilak, the leader of the masses, was sent to Mandalay for six years. Aurobindo Ghosh, who had been involved in a revolutionary conspiracy case, gave up politics and took to religion and established Ashram at Pondicherry. Bipin Chandra Pal also decided to keep away from politics and Lala Lajpat Rai spent most of his time abroad. As a result, there was no strong extremist leadership to guide the people in the right direction. The youths who were becoming impatient for freedom and were willing to even sacrifice their lives for its attainment turned to the use of force.
To counter the colonial oppression in British Indian government Indian could restore to two revolutionary methods: One was to kill British officers involved in suppression and exploitation and also to kill those who acted as informers telling secrets of Indian plans, places and name of persons chosen to execute. Secondly propagating and influencing people within and without India against colonial misrule, continuous economic drain, onslaught on Indian market by British manufactured, opium-tea triangular trade, social and judicial, utilization of Indian resources to benefit Britishers. Fortunately such viscious propaganda against Britain was vigorously launched both within India and outside particularly to mention USA and Canada on large scale. Among them Gadarists were pioneering and prominent.

The first revolutionary movement in Bengal was established by Janendra Nath Bose in Midnapore in 1902. Yugantar Dal (1906) further extended this ideology. The Anushilan Samiti was the other famous revolutionary organization in Bengal. This was established by Barindra Ghosh (younger brother of Aurbindo Ghosh) and Bupendra Dutta in 1907. Its Dacca branch alone had 500 branches. Many other underground societies were also started. Sadhna Samaj, Shakti Samiti and Yugantar Samiti were the main ones out of them. Bhawani Mandir written by Aurobindo Ghosh throws light on the working of these societies. An appeal to acquire military training was contained in another book called “Vartman Ranniti”. This book contained the principles of war. Armed revolt was preached and propagated through the newspapers like “Yugantar” and “Sandhya”. These organizations worked against the British administration in Bengal during the
period 1907 to 1909. On 6th December 1907, an attempt was made to blow up the train of the Lt. Governor of Bengal. Similarly, an unsuccessful attempt was made to kill District Magistrate of Dhaka. Thereafter, on 30th April 1908, Khudi Ram Bose and Prafulla Chaki made an attempt to blast the vehicle of the unpopular Magistrate Kingsford of Muzaffarpur. He used to sentence the patriotic youth to severe punishment even for petty crimes. Kingsford escaped but his guest Lady Kennedy and her daughter were killed. Khudi Ram and Prafulla Chaki were caught. Prafulla Chaki shot himself and committed suicide. Khudi Ram was put on trial. He was hanged in August 1908. Khudi Ram and Prafulla Chaki’s sacrifices greatly aroused the youth. In the Alipore Conspiracy Case, the police found a bomb making factory in Manektala near Calcutta. In 1908 Kanaiya Lal Dutt and Satyendra Bose were caught and hanged. Barindra Ghosh was sentenced to life imprisonment. Aurbindo Ghosh was released for want of evidence. He gave up politics and went to Pondicherry for meditation: Forty people was caught in the year 1910 in the Howrah conspiracy Case. Many people were caught in the Dhaka Conspiracy Case. The revolutionaries protested against this policy of the government by violent moves. The martyrdom of these brave people inspired the young boys and girls of India to work against the British Government. Branches of Anushilan Samiti were opened outside Bengal, in Patna, Devdhar and Dhumka in Bihar and Varanasi and Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh.

The credit of organizing revolutionary councils in Maharashtra is attributed to Shyamji Krishna Varma, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and his elder brother, Ganesh Savarkar. The Chapekar brothers had a significant role
V.D. Savarkar had organized "Abhinav Bharat" in London, in 1904. Within a month many of its branches were opened.

To liberate India from the clutches of the British. It imparted armed training to the youth. Besides "Abhinav Bharti" in Maharashtra there were underground organizations in towns such as Bombay, Poona, Nasik, Kolhapur, Satara, Gwalior, Baroda, Nagpur. However, there was no mutual co-ordination among these organizations.

As early as 1872, Guru Ram Singhji started the boycott movement against the foreign rule. His disciples, kukas, had armed clashes with the British as a consequence of their oppressive policies. 68 kukas were taken prisoners. 49 out of them were blown up by a canon. In 1907, when the Punjab government planned to change land records under the Colonies Bill, it was opposed by Ajit Singh, Sufi Amba Prashad and Lala Lajpat Rai. The revolutionary movement in Punjab was born out of opposition to this bill. Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were imprisoned and sent to Mandalay in June, 1907. Many oppressive Acts were passed suppress the revolutionaries. These included the Explosives Act (1908).

In 1911, the Anti Seditious Assembly Act was passed. Many revolutionaries went abroad to avoid these oppressive Acts and began conducting their revolutionary activities from there. Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Prashad went to Iran. With Ajit Singh traveled to Europe. Besides Punjab, armed struggle against the British was waged in Manipur and Orissa as well.

The work of organizing revolutionary organizations in Delhi was taken up by Lala Har Dayal. The most sensational activity of this period was
the throwing of a bomb on Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy in December, 1912. The Viceroy was injured and his bodyguard killed. Master Amir Chand, Sultan Chand, Dina Nath, Avadh Bihar, Bal Mukund and Basant Kumar were arrested in this case. Master Amir Chand, Bal Mukund and Basant Kumar were hanged on 8th May, 1915. The rest were sentenced to life imprisonment. Har Dayal already gone out of India more than four years ago. Yet Har Dayal “some how knew that he would be implicated”. Gobind Bihari Lal says that “we don’t know who threw the bomb, although Har Dayal claimed that one of “our boys” he called them that had it this was turning point in Har Dayal life. “We knew that he would never go back to India. Now he must do everything he could from abroad”. 2

I

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES FROM OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY

The revolutionaries wanted to tell the world about the British oppression in India. Shyamji Krishna Varma was amongst the foremost of Indian revolutionaries abroad between 1904-1914. He waged a relentless campaign in London, Paris and Geneva for India’s freedom. He was ably supported by Bhai Parmanand, Madame Bhikaji Cama and others. A paper called “Indian Socialist” was brought out by them. In 1905 Home Rule League and India House was established. India House soon became a center where Indian nationalists would meet. In 1909, the revolutionaries struck a big blow to the British government when Madan Lal Dhingra killed Curzon-

1. Emily C. Brown, Har Dayal Hindu Revolutionary and Rationalist, Manohar, 1975, p. 129.
Wylie, a high ranking British official. Dhingra was sentenced to death and hanged in London in one of the shortest trials.

The British government after Wylie’s assassination started keeping a very strict watch on the revolutionary activities in London. Shyamji Krishna Varma founded “Paris Indian Society”. Its prominent members were Virender Nath Chattopadhyaya, Madame Bhikaji Cama and S.S. Rana, Madame Bhikaji Cama hoisted the Tri colour for the first time in the meeting. The main purpose of revolutionaries abroad was to bust up the spirit of revolutionaries and keep them alive in India.

Germany supported the Indian revolutionaries. It was there that Virendra Chattopadhaya founded the “Indian Independence Committee” and had contact with soldiers taken prisoners by Germans during First World War.

In May, 1913, Lala Har Dayal took charge of the Ghadar movement in America. A newspaper called “Ghadar” was published from there. During the first world war a plan of armed revolt in India was made with the help and support of British enemies. In India, Rash Behari Bose had planned for an armed uprising against the British on 21st February, 1915. The members of Ghadar Party came to India in large numbers to participate in this revolution.

In a note the Director of Criminal Intelligence Department noted that “The word Ghadar means mutiny... it is aimed at bringing about a revolution in India in order to secure liberation from British rule. The headquarters of the Ghadar Party was established at San Francisco and the Party published its own paper known as the “Ghadar”, and founded an
institution known as the "Yugantar Ashram". The object of the institution obviously was to instill patriotic feelings among young Indians abroad and train them for upheaval in India".  

"The Ghadar, or Mutiny conspiracy derived its origin from the Pacific Coast of America, its center being at San Francisco... the object of the paper (Ghadar) was to bring about a rising in India within few years because the people could no longer bear the oppression and tyranny practiced under English rule. It was stated that the Yugantar Ashram had been founded in San Francisco, and that in that institution books would be compiled, young preachers trained, and preparations for a rising would be taken in hand. The paper amply fulfilled the worst anticipations that could have been formed from such an introduction. It was violently anti-British in nature, playing on every passion that could possibly excite... and urging all Indians to go to India with the express intention of committing murder, causing revolution and expelling the British Government by any means".  

"..That these defendants in the year 1914, about the beginning of the European war, entered into a conspiracy the object of which was to produce mutiny and rebellion and the overthrow of the British Government in India... that in order to produce this rebellion and mutiny in India, these defendants did certain things in the United States of America... that these defendants conspired to recruit men in America, to give them training in the use of arms and explosives in America, to dispatch them to India to places on the border line of the Indian territory, there to be assembled and trained

3. See note of the Director of the Intelligence Bureau Home Department, New Delhi, 1934.
further by officers in part at least sent from America; that likewise in this country funds were provided,... that men were to be dispatched from here to carry these funds that were to be expanded in other places than America; that these men were to go themselves, some of them, and engage in this rebellion; that arms and ammunitions were to be purchased and shipped from our shores and from our borders; that passage was to be engaged in large numbers for returning persons desiring to enter into this military enterprise".5

II

The Ghadar Movement was a movement of patriotic, progressive, democratic, and enlightened Indians living abroad, working for the emancipation of India from the yoke of British colonialism and the birth of a new India based on national and social emancipation. After Har Dayal arrived in California he worked as a Lecturer in Indian Sanskrit and Philosophy at Stanford University. Although he was doing the work of a regular Professor, he did not accept any remuneration from the University.6 But soon after he left and turned his attention to organizing the national movement on the pacific coast. He staunchly believed that it was better to place a clear issue before the people “plain speaking” he considered “carries conviction to the heart while sophistry only perplexes honest man. This is one of the reason why congress has failed to appeal to so many people”.7

7. Extract from the letter of Har Dayal quoted in Isemonger and Slattery – An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy Lahore 1919, p. 1. See also Har Dayal’s sketch of complete Political movement for the emancipation of India, Har Dayal Paper NMML.
After resigning from Stanford University he went to Berkeley and established a student club and delivered lectures with object of creating an anti-British feeling. Following eg of Shayamji Krishna Verma he made efforts to give scholarships to Indian students and widely advertisement them in India with a hope of attracting a large number of them to the Pacific Coast. Funds for the scholarships was provided by Bhai Jwala Singh a wealthy farmer. Sikhs Guru Gobind Singh scholarships were announced in Indian newspaper.

Har Dayal’s presence in America and his activities over there were so frightening for British that they advised Indian authorities to utilize the good offices of United States immigration Service (Department of Trade and Commerce) to get rid of Har Dayal. According to British Agent W.C. Hopkinson Har Dayal was most dangerous of all political agitators who had come to United States. During the tour of Pacific Coast and Canada Har Dayal, along with Khan Khoji delivered a series of Lecture in which he highlighted the deplorable conditions of Indian labourer’s living in those areas.

Gradually Har Dayal won the support and confidence of his country men. The two main organizations “the Hindustan Association” and “Sikh Khalsa Diwan” decided to give Har Dayal their full support. After achieving this success Har Dayal thought of calling a convention of all the Indian revolutionaries abroad in 1914. But could not achieve success in this programme on account of later developments which made his stay in united

8. W.C. Hopkins to W.W. Cory Deputy Minister of the Interior, Ottawa 5 November 1912 C and I Department, Emigration B February 1913, Nos. 28-32.
9. Hopkinson to Foreign Office, 21 January 1913, Home Political B June 1913, Nos. 5-17, NAI.
10. Home Political Deposit, March 1921, No. 69, NAI.
states impossibility. However a meting was convened at Astoria on 2nd June 1913 and attended by delegates representing different organizations from St. John Portland, Bridelveil and many other places. Har Dayal convence the delegates about necessity of forming a single association which could better safe guard their interest. As a result the Hindi Association of Pacific coast was formed.\(^{11}\)

The prominent workers who attended the meeting were Thakurdas, Ram Chandra Peshawari, Pandit Kanshi Ram, Sohan Singh Bhakana and Nawab Khan. However there lies a contradiction on the date of a meeting as Sohan Singh Bhakana gives the date of meting as 13\(^{th}\) March 1913.\(^{12}\) The movement set out its objectives:

1. To liberate India with the force of arms from British occupation and to establish a free and independent India with equal rights for all.

2. To establish Ghadar party headquarters at San Francisco, that would serve as a base to coordinate all the activities for achieving aims and objectives.

3. To publish a weekly paper, Ghadar, in Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi and in other languages of India.

4. To hold organizational elections every year to elect a coordination committee from the different committees to carry out all the work.

5. To organize cells amongst Indian railway, industrial, and farm workers, as well as students who would be directly linked to the center.

\(^{11}\) Isemonger and Slattery, op.cit., p. 13.

\(^{12}\) Statement of Sohan Singh Bhakana, History of Freedom Movement, File No. 21/2, NAI.
6. The coordination committee would elect a three-member commission to supervise the political and underground work.

7. Revenue would be drawn from each member through a monthly contribution of one dollar.

8. No discussion or debate was to take place on religion within the organization. Religion was considered a personal matter and that it had no place in the organization.

9. Every member was duty bound to participate in the liberation struggle of that country in which they were resident.

At the initial gathering in Astoria in 1913, Sohan Singh Bhakna was elected President, Kesar Singh, Thathgarh, Vice President, Lala Hardayal, General Secretary, Lala Thakur Das Dhuri, Joint Secretary, and Pandit Kanshi Ram Mardauli, Treasurer, the head office of associization at San Francisco was to be known as Yugantar Ashram or New Era Society.

In a conference held in Sacramento, California, in December 1913, new members included in the executive committee were: Santokh Singh, Kartar Singh Sarabha, Arur Singh, Pirthi Singh, Pandit Jagat Ram, Karm Singh Cheema, Nidhan Singh Chughha, Sant Vasakha Singh, Pandit Munshi Ram, Harnam Singh Kotla, Nodh Singh. To carry out the secret and underground work of the party, a three-member commission including Sohan Singh Bhakhna, Santokh Singh and Pandit Kanshi Ram was also constituted.

It was decided that party was to be published its own weekly entitled the Ghadar in memory of mutiny 1857. Later on the Association was
renomenclatured following the weekly as Hindustan Ghadar Party. The Ghadar weekly first came out in Urdu on 1st Nov. 1913. The first issue almost entirely written by Har Dayal explaining the objective of the Ghadar movement in a brief:

What is our name? Ghadar! (Revolution)

What is our work? Ghadar!

Where will the Ghadar break out? in India!

When? In few years.

Why? Because the people can no longer bear the oppression and tyranny practiced under a British rule......

The time will soon come when rifles, and blood will take the place of pen and ink. The first issue of Punjabi Ghadar came out on 8 December 1913 lay contents of the 1st page to follow:

"On the top left side corner is printed "Bande" and on the right hand corner "mataram". Beside these words appeared, "if you want to play the game of love put your head in your palm and enter my lane". Below the masthead block of Ghadar is printed and a little above in small letters "weekly". On the thick black line of Ghadar is engraved. Enemy of the British Government, Urdu, Guru-mukhi, paper and down between two lines on the left corner volume one and on the right corner No. 1 and in between these words appear's "Yugantar Ashram San Francisco America 8 Dec. 1913.

The first Hindi edition appeared on 1 March 1915, some poems of Ghadar de Goong (see appendix) and few pamphlets were also published on

the instance of Khem Chand Gujarati few issues in Gujarati were also published according to Harnam Singh Kotla and Govt. report there was at least one issue in Pashtoo language as well.\textsuperscript{14} Har Dayal felt that patriotic poetry was more stirring and he was lavish in its use in many issues several articles and poems from Ghadar were printed in booklets and these became very popular and were widely distributed. An extract from one of these Ghadar Ki Goonj (Echoes of the Revolution) reads as follows:

No pundits or mullahs do we need
No prayers or litaries we need recite
These will only scuttle our boat
Draw the sword; its time to fight.\textsuperscript{15}

In subsequent issues of the Ghadar extracts from Sawarkar's, "the Indian War of Independence 1857" were serialized. In other issues Har Dayal exhorted Indians to rise and serve the country with 'Tan man and dhan' (body, mind and wealth).

A paragraph read as under:

"My heroes! O Lions! Brave men how long will you continue to sleep? ... slavery ahs converted you into pale, skeletal creatures. It has eaten up your flesh and left only bones behind. Shame! Shame! Shame! ... come brave men! Let us unite to average Nana Sahib and Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi. I am calling you. Preserve the honour of your forefathers. Prove yourselves to be worthy sons of Singhs, Khans and Rajputs .... If you do not show courage now than you will wring your hands .... Rise grid up your loins

\textsuperscript{14} See Statement of Harnam Singh Kotla, pp. 47-48.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., p. 96.
Rose ...."\(^\text{16}\) In another pamphlet Shabash (well done) written in commemoration of the bomb attempt on Hardinge Har Dayal wrote ‘price per copy: the head of an Englishman; he went on ‘it is the bomb that frightens the government into conceding rights to the people, the chief thing is to frighten the government’.\(^\text{17}\)

Articles in the Ghadar informed readers of similar militant movements in Egypt, Ireland, Russia, China and Mexico and suggested possibilities of support from the revolutionaries of those countries to fight against the British. Dr. Sun Yat Sen offered his assistance at this stage to the Indian struggle. Har Dayal wrote some small brochures against British imperialism. A few of them were published before his removal from America. The English pamphlets were not only meant to inform and win over the sympathies of American citizens but also had a great educative value for Indians. His small pamphlets of 32 page titled “New Ideals of New Era” was a slashing criticism of political communal and religious institutions and organizations working in India. His criticism of congress was the sharpest. His article on the “meaning of Equality” on Hindu religion is very illuminating. He wrote “if (equality) is not much in evidence in the ancient classics of Hindu thought. The Hindus have been accustomed in inequality as the basis of the social structure for ages. The hateful antitheses of Aryan and Dasyu divija and sudra, landlord and tenant, raja and praja are more familiar to us in Hindu literature. We cannot appreciate the ideals of modern civilization as long as hierarchy is the regulating principle of society ... may be Mohammedans or Sikh or Vaishna writes ... the rich

\(^{16}\) Home Political Deposit October 1915, No. 37, NAI.

\(^{17}\) Pamphlets were received from Kesari Singh (Oakland) and Gurudwara Stockholm.
man will always rule the poor man ... without economic equality, faternity is only a dream".¹⁸

III

Govt. of India however sent a strong representation for suppression of the Ghadar publications but the US Govt. replied diplomatically saying that they were not in a position to take any action as there were no federal terms covering the publications of seditious revolutionary or anarchical matter.¹⁹

In the evening of Wednesday 25th March, 1914, USA govt. issued warrant of arrest against Har Dayal. On 27 March Har Dayal issued a press statement in which he said, “my arrest calls public attention to the despicable pro British subservience of the United states government which was so vivid a feature of president Wilson foreign policy”. The democratic administration is licking the boots of England as any one can see, who observes the administration’s attitude toward’s great Britain on the canal tolls questions”. The commissioner of immigration department issued a statement to the press to the effect that the arrest of Har Dayal was due to the reports of offices of the department on the anarchical lectures delivered by him in Oregon and San Francisco during 1913 and the government of Great Britain had not requested either directly or indirectly that action should be taken against him and that the department was not concerned with anything that might be occurring in India.²⁰

¹⁸. Ibid.
¹⁹. Department of State Washington to Spring Rice, 10 September 1914, F.O. No. 371/1780/1914, P.R.O.
²⁰. J.C. Ker, op.cit., p. 258.
This was just a cover of shame that Har Dayal’s statement brought on the American administration of President Wilson. Har Dayal was released on a bail of $1000 and ordered to appear before a court on 10th April 1914.

The executive of Ghadar party called emergent meeting to discuss the case and consulted American friend and legal experts as to what should be done. They all advised that Har Dayal should leave America as there was the likelihood of his being deported and being handed over to the British government. The executive concurred in this opinion and asked Har Dayal to jump bail and go to Switzerland.

After Har Dayal disappearance from America there was lot of speculation as to his whereabouts some party members fear that he had been kidnapped either by the emissaries of British Govt. or by immigration authorities. According to Bihari Lal Gupta (Har Dayal’s University friend) “Har Dayal is a dangerous man to the British government the immigration officers could not deport him because he had been in this country more than three years when the warrant was issued for his arrest. I think the British officials may have kidnapped him or employed some one to way tay him. If he has run away, it is because he believes he cannot get justice from the authorities here”.

According to press report published on 13th May “President Wilson should be particularly gratified if Har Dayal is no longer within the United

22. See statement of Hamam Singh Kotla’s.
States territory. We will be spared the unceasing taunts of having singled out this individual for deportation solely in obedience to what was virtually a demand on the part of Great Britain”.\textsuperscript{25} By the time Har Dayal left USA, his associate had created formidable association eager to organize a rebellion in India.

Evidences shows that the revolutionary work of Ghadar party and not suffer due to lack of leadership on the contrary it flourished expressing this opinion Har Dayal wrote in Urdu Ghadar issue of 23rd June 1914 “If I am turned out of his country (USA) I can make preparations for the mutiny in any other country. Our organization and our arrangements are so complete that the Ghadar work will not be stopped by my leaving the country. I shall have to go to Germany to make arrangements for the approaching Ghadar”.\textsuperscript{26}

In Bengal also Sachin Sanyal had to wait all day for the signal of revolt. It was only through papers he learned that the moment was smothered. Though the rebellion failed but the revolutionaries who escaped were still very active, the arrest continued, their revolutionary activities by spreading propaganda on university campus O Dwyer reports.

After Har Dayal left USA for Europe the Ghadar party was directed by Ram Chandra Peshawari with the arrival of Maulvi Barakatullah who was active in the Ghadar party and closed to Har Dayal. Horst Kruger says that the Germans finally sent Mohammad Barkatullah, who they knew was a close friend of Har Dayal’s and had worked with him in the Ghadar Party

\textsuperscript{25} . Daily \textit{San Francisco Chronicle}, 23 June 1914.
\textsuperscript{26} . \textit{Ghadar Issue}, 23rd June, 1914.
in America. Barkatullah spent several days in Geneva and after discussion of the German position on Indian aims, won Har Dayal over and brought about his move to Berlin. He arrived there in January 1915 under the alias Ramdas from German East Africa and Bhai Bhagwan Singh from Tokyo had strengthened the hands of “Ghadar party”. It was almost evident that Germany was getting ready for war with England and Har Dayal had very before informed the Ghadarites of such possibilities and hence forth directed Indians motives in America to return home for revolt Indians in order to use this opportunity held a meeting of Ghadar party on 15 August 1915 and it was decided that the Ghadar party should declare. In open warfare against British rule in India and proclaim India a free and sovereign Republic

For purchasing arms and ammunition funds were to be collected and appeals to be issued to Indians all over the world to proceed to India and start fighting for freedom.

One of the most important individuals among the returning Indians was the maratha brahman Vishnu Ganesh Pingale who had early association himself with Khankhoje and the militant approach to the solution of India’s nationalist problem. Pingale arrived in India in November of 1914 and almost immediately joined forces with Rash Behari Basu (Bose) then the leading revolutionary in the country.

Rash Behari Bose from his hiding place dispatch returning patriots to different revolutionary center’s which had been established and gave

28. Memorandum on the organization of the Ghadar conspiracy, US Department of Justice Record, Poll No. 4, NAI.
them the assignments. Pingale took charge from Sachindra nath sanyal was also assigned duties in this areas Feb. 21, 1915 was set as the date for simultaneous uprising from Lahore to Dacca.  

The strategy involved the German help for supplying of arms ammunition and funds to Indian revolutionaries. On the other hand revolutionaries in Punjab and Bengal turned towards political dacoity for collecting money and materials. A sum of Rs. $ 9410 was collected in Bengal itself. Shaukat Usmani writes that in Punjab pro British rich man were forced to part with money or was killed. We mentions an incident where Rs. 22 thousand was collected in Punjab from pro-British rich man.  

Around 15 incidents of attack and said (including raid on treasury of sub division) was reported from Ferozpur district alone. This incident was important for Ghadarite as it reveals their bravery and commitment as there was serious encounter of Ghadarites with the police and villagers. Two men on the side of the Ghadar were killed in the fight seven were arrested and the remaining escaped.  

According to the British report “Bomb’s were prepared arms were got together and flags were made ready, a declaration of war was drawn up. Instruments were collected for destroying railways and telegraph wires”. 

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The Battle cry of revolutionaries was maro firangi ko (kill the foreigners). Giving a detail description about the strategies of Ghadar revolutionaries owing to the filling no. of troops in India because of 1st World War Bala Shastri Hardas mentions that “the first targets would be British officials” – military and civil. Then political prisoners would be released and “treasuries would be looted”. The army camps would be mopped and from there they would secure stores of arms and ammunitions. The telegraph lines would be cut off and then after entrusting the loot arms, weapons, ammunitions and funds to local cells, the leaders would rally in all their strength in the Punjab which was ready to give fight for one full year.

The rebellion had failed the returned emigrants who had escaped arrest however, continued their revolutionary activities, spreading propaganda on the university campuses and in the military cantonments. It was not until August 1915 that the Ghadar rebellion was crushed in Punjab. A total of 12 special tribunals tried 175 accused, of this number, 136 were convicted; 35 to be hanged a similar number to be transported for life and the remainder sentenced to imprisonment or transportation for shorter periods. Lord Harding commuted the sentences of 20 who had been marked for hanging their sentences being changed or transportation for life. One of these was Bhai Parmanand who hardly deserved the role assigned him by the British as the “link between the disaffected section of the Hindu intelligentsia and the Sikhs of the Ghadar party”. Though Har Dayal was at this time in Germany working out the expansion of Ghadar movement and

paving way for India's sovereignty but he still consider to be the main "instigator of the abortive rebellion".\textsuperscript{37} Sedition committee report put forward the view that returning emigrants had been indoctrinated with ideas of equality and democracy in America and let to believe by Har Dayal that India can be made into a utopia in which all will be equal and plague and famine cease to exist by the simple expedient of driving out the British.\textsuperscript{38}

Astounded by the genius faculty of Har Dayal and his endeavour of uniting the Indians abroad and also inciting in them the future possibilities of independence Dharamvira eulogises.

But somehow the message of this planned Revolt which was schedule on 21 Feb. 1915. Fell into hands of informer and finally from him to the British as a consequence headquarters of Rash Behari Bose in Lahore were raided 2 days before the uprising the British secured all details of the plot and was therefore made themselves well prepared for crush the rebellion even before it was started. The British soldiers whatever be the no patrolled the streets of Lahore, Delhi, Ambala, Ferozpur to "resist any eventuality or uprising against which all the armies and navies of Empire and capitalists are quite helpless. He sacrificed wealth, he sacrificed health. He sacrificed love, he sacrificed life itself. He gave himself and won the world. He too could have said "I have annihilated myself completely". No wonder that the people who recited the doings of Har Dayal in America held him to be the "liberator of India" and called him "maharaj Har Dayal" with the inner satisfaction that they were doing their duty to the mother country, those thousands left for India knowing full well that death awaited them.

\textsuperscript{37} Emily C. Brown, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 201.
\textsuperscript{38} Sedition Committee Report, p. 155.
there. As taught by Har Dayal they rejected reptile prudence and undertook the sacred mission in or religious spirit”.

Though the movement in Punjab failed but the Bengal Revolutionaries harbingered the hope of making the uprising successful from Germans for arms and ammunition. Har Dayal’s distrust of pan-Islamism, his differences with Indian Muslims in Turkey and his utter disdain for the Turks was a difficult combination and boded ill for his mission in Constantinople. He left the Turkish capital in disgust for the second time and went to Budapest in late 1915. The German Embassy was glad to see the last of him and had been about to request the Foreign Office to remove Har Dayal from Constantinople ‘in a most unobtrusive way’. The consignment was cleared from San Francisco on April 22, 1915 on the ship mawrick as per schedule plan the consignment of Maverick was to be transferred to another ship Anne Larson. But Anne Larson reached Socorro island before Maverick left San Francisco hence they both missed each other as a result Maverick proceeded without any arms. The Revolutionaries waited at Rai Mangal the area where Maverick were to discharged its cargo but as expected did not turn up. Many more attempts were made by the Germans to supply arms and ammunition to revolutionaries. All these venture – Jakarta, Manila, Singapore, Shanghai, Rangoon were participated by return Indians who were members of Ghadar party, the sedition committee summarized its findings by saying

“Our examination of the German arms schemes suggests that the revolutionaries concerned were for too sanguine and that the Germans with whom they got in touch were very ignorant of the movement of which they attempted to take advantage”. 41

Before discussing the causes of the failure of the Ghadar movement the review of the whole background of Ghadar conspiracy starting from Indian immigrants stationed at USA and Canada. One can safely conclude that. Many Sikhs and Hindu Punjabis who tasted freedom outside colonial India in USA stated Ghadr movement to free India from British rule in early 1900’s. These Sikhs and Punjabi Hindus were sent to Canada which was under British rule for labour work. They crossed the border over to USA and settled in Western Coast of USA in cities like Portland, San Francisco, San Jose and Los Angeles. These Punjabis created Gurdwaras and established societies. They were subject to draconian laws like “not allowed to marry to American woman” by many of these states at that time. The word Ghadr can be commonly translated as mutiny, was the name given to the newspaper edited and published for the Hindustani Association of the Pacific Coast which was founded at Portland, United States of America, in 1912. The movement this Association gave rise to for revolutionary activities in India also came to be known by the designation of Ghadar.

It is said that by 1908 about 5000 Indians had entered Canada. 99% of which were Punjabis Sikhs. Many Indians were also studying at various universities all over USA. Americans and few Indians established Indo-American National Association. Many students from prominent universities

like Berkeley University, Stanford and Harvard joined this association. Lala Hardayal of Stanford University, Sant Teja Singh of Harvard University, and Bhai Parmanand decided to get more students belonging to the poor families for Higher education in the USA and Canada.

Indians who went to the United States and Canada came from rural farming middle class and labour, a large number of among them being ex-servicemen. In the beginning, the Indians went to San Francisco and Stockton in California, Portland and St. John in Oregon and Washington states and to Vancouver and Victoria in British Columbia, Canada. Such persons as Amar Singh and Gopal Singh who had gone to America in 1905, and Tarak Nath Das and Ram Nath Puri who followed them, starting preaching against the British rule in India. They also started a paper called Azadi Ka circular in Urdu. This paper was distributed among the armed forces in India to rouse them against the British. Result was that Canadian government which was under British rule started harassing them. While labour was encouraged to harass foreign labour, while Chinese and Japanese government protested against these atrocities against their nationals, Indian government did nothing. The Canadian government further tightened the entry of Indians into Canada. It passed a legislation that newcomers would not be permitted to land on the Canadian soil unless they came from the country of their birth or citizenship by a continuous journey, and on through tickets purchased before leaving the country of their birth or citizenship. They were also required to possess $200 against the previously fixed sum of $25.

In order to fight the unjust immigration laws, the Indians (mostly Sikhs) organized Khalsa Diwan Society in Vancouver in 1907 with branches in
Victoria, Abbotsford, New Westminster, Fraser Hill, Duncan Coombs and Ocean falls. The Sikhs built a Gurdwara at Vancouver which was inaugurated in January 1908. In 1909 only 6 Indians were allowed to visit Canada. Same year Indian immigrants organized Hindustan Association under the presidentship of Bhai Bhag Singh Bhikkivind. Its objectives were to establish Indian rule in India, provision of safeguards from loot by foreigners, etc. The association started two newspapers, Pardesi Khalsa in Punjabi and Svedesh Sevak in Urdu. These activities awakened the Indian immigrants. Persons like Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, Harnam Singh Tundilat, Udham Singh Kasel, Rakha Ram, Ishar Singh Marhana and others would collect on Sundays and other holidays and ponder over the problems. St. John and Seattle become center of their activities.

Occasionally Ghadar published the following advertisement:

Wanted: Enthusiastic and heroic soldiers for
Organizing Ghadr in Hindustan:
Remuneration: Death
Reward: Martyrdom
Pension: Freedom
Field of work: Hindustan.

IV

The Ghadr party president often visited the Indian groups to exhort them to join freedom movement. Lala Hardyal general secretary was arrested on the pretext of a speech delivered by him three years earlier. Baba Sohna Singh now
became the general secretary. Bhai Santokh Singh became President, editing of paper was taken over by Bhai Harnam Singh of Kotla Naudh Singh. The party’s plan was to invade Kashmir from China, then go for the Punjab followed by other provinces. The members started getting training in the use of weapons and making of bombs; several got training in flying aircraft also. One of them, Harnam Singh, had his hand blown off while in process of bomb making, and he was thence onwards known as Tundilat, the armless knight.

The party carried out considerable propaganda in Japan where Maulawi Barkat Ullah was a professor in Tokyo University. His presence attracted many muslims to Ghadr Party. The Kamagatu Maru incident added fuel to fire. The first world war broke out in July 1914. On 5 August, leading members of Ghadr party declared war on the British and decided to take advantage of the involvement of British in the war. The Ghadr party declared war on the British and decided to come to India to carry out armed revolution against the British.

Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna and his companions left for India on 22 August 1914, the first ship with 26 Indians left Vancouver, on 29 August, another ship with 60-70 Indians left San Francisco for India. According to government records, 2312 Indian Ghadr men had entered India between 13 October 1914 and 25 February 1915. Their influx continued till 1916 when their number increased to more than 8,000. But it is likely that the Ghadr men had entered India in greater numbers than the government knew. Government was very active and at least 50% of them were arrested or confined to their villages by state governments.

The Ghadr party established a new press and published small pamphlets such as: Ghadr Sandesh, Ailan-I-Jang, Tilak, Nadar Mauqa, Rikab-gan; Canada
da Duhhra, Naujavan utho, Sachchz Pukar, and so on. These pamphlets were published in Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi, and were distributed among the public and the soldiers. The party also produced their own flag having red, yellow and green colours. Dr. Mathura Singh supervised factories producing armaments.

The party members contacted students. They contacted soldiers stationed especially at Mian Mir (Lahoare), Jalandhar, Firozpur, Peshawar, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Mardan, Kohat, Bannu, Ambala, Meerut, Kanpur and Agra cantonments. The soldiers were generally in sympathy with the movement. Many party workers joined the army with a view to obtaining arms and ammunition. Contacts were also established with Bengal revolutionaries such as Rash Behari Bose whose close companions were Sachin Sanyal and Vishnu Ganesh Pingle. Pingle acted as a link between the Ghadr party and Bengalis.

The movement faced financial difficulties in India. The expenses had increased owing to opening of various branches, travelling, purchase of arms and ammunition and publications. Money was not easily available as it was in foreign countries. To overcome this difficulty, the party had to resort to forcible acquisition of funds by under-taking political dacoities.

After the outbreak of war the Ghadrites sent a message to the Turkish ambassador in the United States to ask if Turkey would join the war against Britain; in such an eventuality they would support it and fight against its enemy Britain. Barakatullah contested British claims of Indian loyalty and expressed his admiration and friendship for Germany.42

42. Sedition Committee Report, p. 54.
All the preparations completed, the party executive met on 12 February 1915, and decided to start the rebellion on 21 February. Their plan was simultaneously to attack and capture Mian Mir and Firozpur cantonments; 128th Pioneer and 12 Cavalry were to capture Meerut Cantonment and then proceed to Delhi. Units in cantonments in northern India were expected to join the rebellion.

The British Government had intelligence men posted at railway stations in cities and in important villages. The lambardars, zaildars and other village functionaries were also alerted to provide information. The government had managed to plant informers in the Ghadr party itself. Before the new leadership came forward and reorganized the movement’s plans, the British Government “knew much more about their designs and was in a better position to cope with them.” In spite of this, the Ghadrites in the central Punjab murdered policemen and informers and attempted to derail trains and blow up bridges. Factories for preparing bombs were established. All this made the government feel that they were “living over a mines full of explosives”.

When the party learnt that the information about the D-Day had leaked, they advanced the date of rebellion to 19 February, but this information also reached the police through their informer, Kirpal. The police raided the party headquarters at four different places in Lahore and arrested 13 of the “most dangerous revolutionaries”. All cantonments were alerted and the Indian troops placed under vigilance, some were even disarmed. Arrests of Ghadr men took place all over the Punjab. Rash Behari Bose, with the help of Kartar Singh Sarabha, escaped from Lahore to Varanasi; Vishnu Ganesh Pingle was arrested at Meerut on 23 March 1915. All the leaders were put in the Lahore jail.
The government of the Punjab sought and the Government of India passed under the Defence of India Act wide powers to the Punjab Government who formed a special tribunal of three judges, including one Indian, to try the Ghadr men in the Central Jail, Lahore. Thus the rebellion was smashed by the government before it had really taken shape.

The Ghadr men were tried by the Special Tribunal in what are known as Lahore conspiracy cases in batches. The trial of the first batch began on 26th April 1915. In all, 291 persons were tried and sentenced as under: death for 42, 114 were transported for life, 23 awarded varying terms of imprisonment, 42 were acquitted. Confiscation of property was ordered in the case of many. No one appealed against the punishments. Those who were hanged included Kartar Singh Sarabha, Jagat Singh (Sursingh) Vishnu Ganesh Pingle, Harnam Singh Sialkoti, Bakshish Singh (son of Ishar Singh), Bhai Balvant Singh (Khurdpur), Babu Ram, Harnam Singh, Hafiz Abdulla and Rur Singh (Saanghval).

Under the circumstances, the army units which had promised to join the revolution kept quiet. However, some units such as 26 Punjabi, 7 Rajput, 12 Cavalry, 23 Cavalry, 128 Pioneers, Malaya State Guides, 23 Mountain Battery, 24 Jat Artillery, 15 Cancers, 22 Mountain Battery, 130 Baluch and 21 Punjabi did come out in the open. About 700 men of 5 light Infantry, located in Singapore, mutineed on 15 February and took possession of the fort. The rebellion was subdued by the British troops’ 126 men were tried by court martial which sentenced 37 to death, 41 to transportation for life, and the remaining to varying terms of imprisonment. Soldiers from other units were punished as under:

Death Transportation - 32
23 Cavalry
12 Cavalry
130 Baluch
128 Prisoners
1 for life

The party workers also went to Iran and Iraq to instigate Indian troops against the British, and to Turkey to exhort Indian prisoners to fight for India’s freedom. In Iran, the party was able to raise an Indian Independence Army. The Army advanced towards Baluchistan, and an route capture Kirmanshah. Then they advanced along the coast towards Karachi. Meanwhile, Turkey was defeated and the British had occupied Baghdad. The Indian independence Army thus losing its base was also defeated.43

The Ghadr party contacted Germany, Turkey, Afghanistan, China and other countries, but not much help came from any of these countries. Germany sympathized with the Ghadr party and occasionally tried to render some help in the form of weapons and money, but these often failed to reach the party. For instance, 5,000 revolvers on board Henry S. which sailed from Manila were captured en route by the British. Germany had also formed an Oriental Bureau for translating and disseminating inflammatory literature to the Indian prisoners of war in Germany.

During World War I, revolutionaries from most countries had gone to Switzerland, which was a neutral country. The Indian there formed Indian Revolutionary Society, also known as Berlin-India Committee. The Society had formed a provisional government at Kabul, but had no contacts with the Indian public. The Ghadr party established links with the Society and both

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agreed to help each other. Germany sent financial help to the Soviet but, on learning that it was being misappropriated, discontinued it. The Society soon collapsed. No sum ever reached the Ghadr party. The Ghadr movement, as says O'Dwyer, “was by far the most serious attempt to subvert British rule in India. Most of the workers were illiterate – only 25 of them knew Urdu or Punjabi”. Still they organized a strong movement which for the time being thrilled the country and made the British panic. Although the movement was suppressed, it provided nucleus for the Akali movement that followed a few years later. The Ghadr leaders were especially prominent among the Babar Akalis.

V.

Among the many factors that caused the Ghadar movement a failure, one of the main factor was the organizational weakness of the Ghadar party. It should be noted that the party was formed on 21st April 1913 and its executive committee which consists of 10 members – Bhai Bagwan Singh – President, Bhai Santosh Singh – General Secretary, Munshi Ram Treasurer, Ram Chand – Manager of the Paper ground, Bihari Lal – Editor, Godha Ram – Urdu Editor, Gopal Singh Sohi – Punjabi Editor, Hari Singh Fakir – Assistant Editor, Sunder Singh Ghali – Office Secretary, Ram Singh Dhuleta – staff was formed only on 31 Nov. 1913 and the war broke out in July 1914. And the party was hardly prepared for the task that it undertook. Its members had neither experience nor background of running a revolutionary movement. This is the reason that its secret commission was not fully prepared and hence forth the information of the revolt was looked at an earlier stage. Another drawback of the Ghadar party that though it became very famous abroad in several countries but its popularity and
existence was negligible in India even Dchen chiah admits that “though it (the party) had become popular among the Indians in foreign countries it was practically non existent in India even in the Punjab which ought to have been the heart and soul of the movement.  

Despite of the awareness of these weaknesses the Ghadar party took the opportunity of war and attacked the Britishers. In the meeting held on 15 August, 1914, the question was discussed “should the enemy be attacked when he is, entangled in war or should the opportunity be lost by sitting silent ? It was resolved that the party should not lose this opportunity, as it was better to fail in the attempt than to do nothing”. One more reason that the Ghadarite failed at the end was that the 1st world war broke out in 1914, much earlier to the expectation of the Ghadarites. According to Baba Harnam Singh Tundliat “the Ghadar party leaders expected the war to break out not before 1920”.

In Phillipines the Ghadarites were hold by Gyani Bhagwan Singh that “the revolution would have been started in 1917 but owing to the outbreak of war it would have to be launched soon”. Hence one of the reason was that the Ghadarites were not fully prepared amongst themselves at the outbreak of war in 1914.

44. Statement given by D. Chenchiah, 6 Arulamul Street, T. Nagar Madras 17 dated the 24th September 1956, p. 11.
After Har Dayal absconded to Switzerland the party was under the effective control of Ram Chandra but had Har Dayal continued to lead party under his control things might have different result. It appears during the war Har Dayal interest in the movement slackened, the govt. report on internal political situation for the month of March 1915. Underlines that "Har Dayal who is still in Switzerland is engaged in writing a book on philosophy which he hopes to publish after the war. He is also studying Spanish".48

As soon as the call was given by the party leaders to the Ghadarites in foreign land to return to India. All the Gradarites left their countries to return without knowing any definite programme as to what to be done in India. An uncertainty also lies as there was no place for the assembly of Ghadarites and neither there was any method or device to escape arrest on arrival in India which was so very certain.49 Leadership which was available within the party could not be availed for the movement the sponsors were arrested immediately on the landing on Indian soil.50 These include leader's like Sohan Singh Bhakana, Kesar Singh and Jawala Singh. After their arrest when the revolt started the other leaders took the front sail and was incapable and unable to rise to the occasion to handle and coordinate these revolutionary forces.51

50. Under the Ingress into India Ordinance 331 persons were interned in Jails between October 1914 to 1917 the Indian Sedition Committee Report 1928 p. 160. Also see Gurudev Singh Deol, op.cit., p. 171.
After the departure of the original office-bearers of the party of India, Munshi Ram was elected President, Sunder Singh Ghali Treasurer and Bishan Singh Hindi supervisor, Pandit Ram Chandra was given charge of publication of the Ghadar. These leaders were to provide further guidance money arms and ammunition to the Ghadrites who had left for India and to keep the organization alive. But they selfishly deviated from the real path. Ram Chandra tried to assume all powers and to become a dictators. He tried to get rid of some of the action workers of the party in order to have his own way. For instance Gopal Singh a member of the executive committee was sent to Siam and Bhai Ram Singh to India.\textsuperscript{52}

There were also report that Ram Chandra misused his authority. According to Gyani Bhagwan Singh more than $15000 in cash were deposited in banks in the name of Pandit’s wife. Properties were purchased in the name of the Pandits personal friends who were not even members of the party, the two plots on wood street were the present Ashram stands had been, put in the name of Mr. Reed an American gentlemen.\textsuperscript{53} Without entering into the debate that weather these allegations are true or not one thing is quite clear that party fund were being misused and there were internal conflicts among the leaders.

Ghadarites failed on account of their opposition faced by Native Durbar Sir Michael, O Dawyer mentions his cordial thanks to the native durbar for extending cooperation and assistance in repressing seditions attempts.\textsuperscript{54} The police also honour the valuable cooperation of police of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{52} Gurudev Singh Deol, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 172.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Bhagwan Singh, Brief sketch of Life lived, page 10 village and Post Office Wrong District Amritsar dated nil.
\item \textsuperscript{54} Home Department (Political), Govt. of India 1917, Proceeding for April No. 53, p. 5.
\end{itemize}
Kapurthala state in winding up the revolutionaries.\(^55\) They failed because they were unable in two essential points: one was money and others were arms. Arms were supposed to come from Germany through efforts of leaders of Ghadar party in San Francisco but they failed to fulfill the promise. The 1\(^{st}\) Ghadar scheme owed nothing to Germany in its inception and very little, if any, thing at all in its execution in the later schemes however the Ghadar party and the Germans worked together.\(^56\)

Furthermore, the weapons they secured through smuggling and lairs on armouries were not enough even to arm two or three dozen people they were too inadequate to win a revolution. Only if the expected arms had arrived and masses of people had joined it there would have been some chance of success.\(^57\)

The British security and sky system was very efficient and it did among the Ghadar movement have their secret agents in Canada, USA, Hong Kong to check the activities of Indians. The 1\(^{st}\) ship after Koma gota maru carrying the Ghadrites reached Calcutta on the 12\(^{th}\) October 1914, but the govt. got scenes of the intention of the coming Ghadarites as early as in August 1914. It is evident from the telegram dated 13 August 1914 of the governor General of Canada to the Secretary of state for colonies “Received information that Yugantar Ashram arranging return to India of as many Hindu (Indians, as possible by next boat from San Francisco. Present crisis considered favourable opportunity to cause trouble in India”.\(^58\)

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58. Home Department, Govt. of India (Political A), Proceedings September 1994, No. 211-224, p. 12.
Britishers got their secret agent planted in Ghadar party one of them being Kirpal Singh who was engaged by K.B. Liquat Hayat Khan DSP Amritsar. He joined the organization on 12 Feb. 1915. Just 9 days before the planned Revolt and pass the information of the planning to the police. The Indian leader’s at that time specially those who belonged to Indian national congress were helping the British govt. Leaders like Mahatma Gandhi were assisting the British during the war and Tilak disclaimed hostility to his majesty’s govt. and condemned the acts of violence which had been committed in different parts of India. The attitude of Indian leaders was hostile and their hostility came under the way of success of Ghadar movement the religious organization in Punjab during this period was not helpful to the Ghadar revolutionaries. The chief Khalsa Dewan and organization of the Sikhs in Punjab issued manifesto disowning Sikh immigrants on the ground that these revolutionaries were mischief mongers and should not be followed. It was also said that a Hukum Nama was issued from the Akal Takht to the Sikh masses that the Sikh members of the Ghadar party were not real Sikhs.

The Ghadar movement also failed because there was lack of popular support. Any successful movement needs support of masses and presence of political consciousness, the country as a whole at that time was not prepared for this type of Revolution, the report of commissioner of Jullendher refers "I do not think there is any chance of disaffected Canadian emigrants

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receiving any measures of popular support at least I shall be surprised if they do so". 62

Though the Ghadar movement failed but contribution of it cannot be undermined. Sohan Singh Josh had wonderfully penned his opinion –

Their contribution of this chapter to Indian history was unforgettable and everlasting they were the first to raise the banner of unity for complete national liberation along with the militant nationalists of Bengal, Maharashtra and exiles they propogated the idea of marking India a democratic republic, they introduced the idea of secularism making religion the private concern of each individual, banning religious discussion in their meetings, practicing interdining and abolishing distinction of race, colour, religion, caste and untouchability, there was nothing parochial about them. The Gadar freedom-fighters raised the struggle for freedom from individual terrorism and group, terrorism to the highest peak of entering the British army regiments. The citadel of British domination appealing to their dormant patriotism and wining a good number of them to their side, who actually came out against their British masters were court martialled and shot they shook them of their stupor of loyalty to British imperialists. 63
