CHAPTER VII

SPECIAL EVENTS AND EXCITEMENTS

Apart from the strong doses of excitaments that the Britishers administered to the Indians during the war in pursuance of a set policy, and apart from whatever impression the revolutionaries and thecone Rulers left behind through their violent ways, self-sacrifices and propaganda, some special events occasioned by the war generated a good deal of additional excitement among the Punjabis.

The first of these events was the entry of Turkey in the war against Great Britain. Despite the fact that the government had endeavoured a great deal for diminishing the likely reaction of Turkey's entry in the war upon the Punjabi Mohammedans, its efforts could not restrain the anti-British feelings of Mohammedans for a long. Soon after when Turkey declared a formal war against Britain, the Punjabi Mohammedans became very excited over the fate of Turkey.

On the outbreak of the war Turkey had declared its neutrality but the Britishers continued to fear that she might join the war any time on the side of the Central Powers. The

1. GOI-Home-Pol-August 1914-Pro. No. 1, p.6.
Government of India, therefore, prepared itself to meet that
eventuality as well as the repercussions likely to be produced
thereby in the Punjab. Many loyal and intelligent Muhammadans
had a very earnest desire that Turkey should not enter the war
and confuse the issues by introducing a religious question but
that alone could not have satisfied the Government. It was
convinced of the extra-territorial loyalty of the majority of
Indian Muhammadans towards Turkey and it believed that this was
likely to become a source of great menace to the British rule
in India once the war was to break out between Britain and
Turkey. To wean away the Muhammadan sympathy for Turkey and
to prepare the Muhammadan mind to receive the news of hostility
between Britain and Turkey with indifference, the Governor-
General of India directed the governments of the Punjab and
the United Provinces to take the leading Muhammadans in
confidence and convince them that their loyalty to the Crown
should not be affected under any circumstances.

The Punjab Government followed the instructions with
great promptness and successfully prevailed upon the 'Khan
Bahadurs' to arrange public meetings during September-October
of 1914 at Lahore, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Nanwali, and other

The government had despatched some Indian troops to the
Persian Gulf very secretly in the early days of the war.
It had done that with an intention to strike the first
blow in Mesopotamia, in the event of the hostilities
breaking out between the two countries.
5. Harding Papers, Vol. 101, Nos. 293 to 294, Harding
to O'Dwyer and James Weston, dated 10 September 1914.
6. Ibid., Vol. 38, No. 251, O'Dwyer to Harding, 10 September
1914.
places, affirm their loyalty to the Government and express their satisfaction at the declarations of neutrality by the Sultan of Turkey and the Amir of Afghanistan. The gists of the resolutions passed at such meetings were cabled to Turkey, not because they were likely to change the political stance of that country but because it involved a certain publicity which would impress the Muhammadans living in the Punjab.

This public contact programme of the Punjab Government did influence the average Muhammadan in the towns and he ignored the Pan-Islamic propaganda which was, as we have already noticed, very strong during the period. Only the fanatics among the Muhammadans in the Punjab continued to speculate on what would happen, if Turkey were to join the war and a Jehad proclaimed against the British. By the time it became clear that Turkey was irrevocably committed to German side, the Muhammadan mind in the Punjab was ready to accept it as a bitter reality.

Towards the end of October, it was clear to a great number of Muhammadans in the Punjab that Turkey would almost join the war soon. But then they were lamenting the fact that Turks were on the side opposed to England.

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7. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-December 1914-Pro. No. 29, p.2.
8. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-December 1914-Pro. No. 30, p.3.
9. This effect was produced by the government by publishing in the press some of the telegrams exchanged between Viceroy and Secretary of State dealing with the subject. It was purposely made also to impress upon Indian Muhammadans that whole fault lay at the door of Turkey.
majority of Muslims in the Punjab there were signs of disposition to regard the Turkish attitude with disapproval.  

The Punjab Government was thus successful in averting the dangerous excitement apprehended by the declaration of war by Turkey against England. When the actual hostilities between England and Turkey broke out towards the end of October 1914, the news was received with calm in the Punjab. After the Id prayers in the Lahore Badshahi Mosque and the Idgah at Jullundur and other places on 31 October 1914, the Muslims in great number prayed for the success of the British arms. Obviously the Government had successfully convinced the people that Turkey had deliberately flouted the wishes of Indian-Muslims and in provoking England to war had been guilty of suicidal folly. In this regard the cleverly drafted communique issued by the Government and the simultaneous appeals made by Hisam of Hyderabad and the Aga Khan to the Indian Muslims to remain loyal to the Crown also created a powerful impression. Those who viewed the events chronicled in the Government communique, even with inquisitiveness, did not question their accuracy.

11. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-November 1914-Pro. No. 34, p.11.
12. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-December 1914-Pro. No. 31, p.11.

In the communique events were chronicled in such a manner as if Turkey had forced England to declare war against her.

17. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-December 1914-Pro. No. 31, p.11.
General gratification was shown by the Punjabi Muhammadans at the declaration in the Comunique ensuring the safety of the holy places of Islam, a declaration made to allay the religious fears of Indian Muhammadans, and to dispel any ill-feeling that may be in their minds. No fanatical appeals were made and no call of Jehad given.

For the time being a strong feeling of sympathy among a section of Punjabi Muhammadans with the Turks as fellow Muhammadans, who were in their eyes victims of Christian aggression in the Tripolititan and Balkan Wars, was submerged in the loyalty expressed by the greater number of Muhammadans living in the Punjab.

The feeling of loyalty of the Punjab Muhammadans, however, proved short lived. Covert insinuations began to be made by the town-bred educated Muhammadans that British had in recent years abandoned the nineteenth century role of the friend and protector of Turkey. The anti-Turk speeches of English statesmen during the Balkan wars and the late comparison of the Kaiser to the Prophet Muhammad by Lloyd George were used by those who wished to arouse feelings hostile to Great Britain, and it was pointed out that the formal

19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
22. O/I-Home-Pol-Deposit-October 1914-Pro. No. 34, p.32; the Pioneer, 21 October 1914, p.10.
guarantee of protecting the Holy places in the Government Communiqué was attended by a condition, which would enable the British Government to attack than if that suited her policy to do so. The Muslim public opinion in the Punjab swung away from loyalty and started feeling so hostile to the British that O'Dwyer suggested to the Government of India that the condition about the protection of Holy places as given out in the Communiqué of 7 November 1914, should be more clearly explained but the Government of India turned down his suggestion on the plea that his fear was born out of undue alarm.

O'Dwyer's fears proved well founded. Soon a large number of students and the educated Muslims in the cities of the Punjab came under the influence of the Pan-Islamic propaganda and there began a strong under-current of sympathy for Turkey. It was even begun to be hoped that Turkey would soon recover some of the territory and prestige of which she was shorn by the Balkan Wars with the German help and some of the statements of British statesmen to the contrary began to be criticised openly. The Observer, for example in a leading article of 10 November 1914, protested against Asquith's uncompromising speech (made just after breaking out of war between England and Turkey) predicting the disappearance of Turkey, and describing its rule as "the blight which for

23. GOI-Hose-Pol-Deposit-December 1914-Pro. No. 31, p.11.
24. GOI-Hose-Pol-Deposit-December 1914-Pro. No. 27.
generations past has withered some of the fairest regions of the earth". The paper hoped that the English Ministry would not make that their policy, and underlined its opinion that "it is not in England's interests to see Turkey blotted out". The Punjab Government, understanding well the changed mood of the Punjabi Muhammadans, was forced to order that with Muhammadan feeling as it was, Anglo-Indian papers should be more than careful and avoid publishing anything likely to wound their religious susceptibilities, and suggested that the Reuter's telegrams to India should for the same reason be carefully scanned and censored in the future.

Two other factors were, perhaps, at this time, more responsible for alienating the Punjabi or for that matter the Indian Muhammadan from the government. First was the news that the Indian troops were to fight against the Turks and the second that Egypt was declared protectorate of Britain. The latter news which came soon after Turkey's entry into the war was not viewed calmly. The common Punjabi Muhammadans, particularly residing in the cities, did not approve of the British action with regard to Egypt. From the beginning of January 1915, they also began to evince keen interest in the Russian campaign against the Turks and started manifesting their sympathies, albeit silent ones, with Turkey. Apparently calm, they were full of excitement within.

27. Only authorised Agency in India for Foreign News Service.
Under those circumstances when the Government imposed strict censorship on military news, a necessity forced on the Government by the war, it further exasperated the Punjabis. The censorship allowed very meagre news about the war and that too with a British slant. This spoon-fed news was not believed and the absence of any foreign news contributed to all sort of rumours gain currency in the bazaars and in the country-side of the Punjab. Some of these rumours were relished by the people while the others produced alarms and apprehensions. One such rumour disturbed the Sikhs of the Punjab a great deal. It was given out on the despatch of Sikh troops abroad that they would be obliged to wear helmets which would necessitate the cutting of their hair.

A general inclination towards exaggerating the armed might of Germany became a normal feature of the talks among the Punjabis. In their credulity, they would readily believe even those who said that they had often seen a mythical German aeroplane flying over the various places in the Punjab. Sometimes one small but correct thing would give rise to speculations that would appear natural and completely credible. Many examples of this type may be quoted. The adventurous exploits of the German cruiser 'Eilen' in the Bay of Bengal and its firing gun-shots into the city of Madras.
on the night of 22 September 1914 gave credence to a rumour that a strong German fleet with a large contingent of troops was about to attack all the Indian ports. The concentration of troops at Karachi for embarkation abroad gave rise to a firm belief that the British feared a German invasion of that port. In fact the credulity in German might had soon become so great as to make the Punjabis believe in anything said or heard about that. In September a rumour was abroad in some districts of the Punjab that one of the troop-ships, with Malik Umar Hayat Khan Riwana on board, had been sunk. The Punjabis now believed that Germany was gaining victories by such powerful instruments of war at her command as guns that throw shells as far away as 13 miles, and mechanical iron men served their artillery. There was a great keenness for the news of German victories and hearing something sensational indicating British humiliation.

During the second half of the month of October 1914, the news of thirteen English merchant vessels having been sunk in the Atlantic by Germany reached the Punjab. It spread through the city of Lahore like a wild fire and created the impression that the Germans were non-of-war and that

35. GOI-None-Pol-Deposit-December 1914-Pro. No. 29, p.1.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. GOI-None-Pol-Deposit-November 1914-Pro. No. 34, p.12.
British were not good at it. At one stage it was begun to be said that the King-Emperor had fled from England and had sought refuge in Delhi and that the Viceroy had travelled secretly to the frontier to interview the Amir of Afghanistan at Jalalabad to negotiate for his neutrality, if not, assistance.

When Turkey joined the war it was being openly said that Afghanistan and Persia had already joined hands with Turkey, that the King-Emperor George V had been captured by a German Zeppelin, carried off and held up to ransom.

No sooner one rumour lost its popularity another would take its place. Considerable speculation was made when the normal yearly migration of Powindahs and Ghilzai labourers from the Frontier to the Punjab ceased as a consequence of the security arrangements made on the Frontier after the start of the war. A sensational rumour spread all over the Punjab that the Amir had prohibited emigration and ordered the Afghans to be mobilised and equipped with arms.

Towards the end of November 1914 the most widely believed rumour was that the Government intended to collect

40. Ibid.
41. Afghanistan and Persia observed neutrality during the war in spite of the provocations of their strong Pan-Islamic lobbies from within.
42. GOI-Hrms-Pol-Deposit-December 1914-Pro. No. 31, p.12.
43. Ibid.
three years' revenue in advance to meet the cost of the war. This was soon followed by the assertion that the Germans had undertaken to realise only one-third land revenue as assessed by the British after they would force the latter to leave India.

Rumours were not confined to the Punjab alone. It was a country-wide phenomenon which was liable to do a great harm to the British rule. Hardinge believed that their potentiality to harm the British interest could be checked by giving official news bulletins and strive hard to impress upon the civil and military authorities in England to let India know something of the military news so that the mischievous rumours be combated. At first the authorities at Home hesitated but later agreed to the Viceroy's suggestion. By the beginning of the year 1915 authentic military news began to trickle in India. That stopped the rumours but not the excitement.

The Punjabi mind now started getting its thrill from the bravery of Punjabi soldiers on the front. The Punjabis learnt about the heroic role of the Punjabi soldiers first from the newspapers and later from the accounts given by the soldiers who would return from the fronts. They would give graphic accounts of the fighting in France and Belgium, the hero's welcome given to them by the French and the English people, and the treatment meted out to them in the hospitals.

44. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-December 1914-Proc. No. 32, p.15.
46. Ibid., Vol. 99, No. 577, Telex P., Secretary of State for India to Viceroy, dated 5 February 1915.
Though the wounded soldiers dispelled the false rumours that the Sikh soldiers had to cut their hair and wear 'topis', they shattered the Punjabi's belief in the military superiority of European races over the Asians. The numerous instances of exemplary conduct of the Punjabi soldiers on the fighting fronts convinced their brethren that if the white soldiers were not inferior to the Indian soldiers in martial instinct they were certainly not superior to the Punjabis either. The government of the Punjab had been averse to such hero's welcome accorded to the Indian and Punjabi soldiers at home and abroad but had tolerated it as a war necessity.

For very many reasons, the Punjabi excitement reached its feverish pitch in February-March 1915. Ghadarites had been busy planning an uprising, the Muslims had actually revolted in the south-west Punjab and a party of students had mysteriously disappeared from Lahore to execute some unknown plan of the Pan-Islamists. Soon after there came the news that the 5th Light Infantry of Singapore consisting of Muhammadan soldiers had mutinied. All these events happening almost simultaneously aroused a great deal of  

47. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-March 1915-Pro. No. 51, p.10.  
49. In the Punjab, the Ghadarites were popularly called as Tilakwales. The precautionary measures, the Government had taken at the different military centres in the Punjab against an outbreak of Ghadar rebellion on 19 February 1915, were attributed by the people to the fear of an attack by German Zeppelins.  
50. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-May 1915-Pro. No. 48.
restlessness all over the Punjab and among all sections of
society. The young were particularly worked up by the
Shadarites who had distributed bombs, flags of rebellion and
seditious literature. Indoctrinated with ideas of equality
and democracy in America the Shadarites popularised the belief
that India could be turned into a Utopia.

Although the mass of the Punjabis did not associate
themselves with the activities of the Shadarites and the Pan-
Islamists, they not only got a few thrills from their activities
but also imbibed a bit of the revolutionary gospel taught by
the leaders of the two movements through their correspondence
and propaganda. The letters and literature of the revolution-
aries smuggled into the Punjab were full of rancour, hatred
and abuse of the English. Their literature gave sensational
war news and created the impression of universal German vic-
tories and disastrous losses being suffered by the English.
The Punjabis in the towns started taking interest in anti-
British talks and imagining the ultimate victory for the
Germans.

In the first quarter of 1915 the government really
passed through a very testing time. From its point of view
the situation had rapidly deteriorated in the province and
the public expression of loyalty was deceptive. In the

31. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-March 1915-Pro. No. 53, p.3.
interior, rural officials like jambhars and kaillars had now become a frightened lot. Their authority was constantly floored by the peasantry.

The government combined tact with sternness to restore the public confidence in it and succeeded for a while. It made use of the emergency powers under the Defence of India Act but resisted the temptation of letting loose the forces of repression all at once and without discrimination.

By April 1915 Punjab's attention was diverted to the operation in Dardanelles. On 29 April the Amiladar published a news that the British fleet which had attacked the Dardanelles on 19 March, had been reduced to silence by fire from the forts ashore and Turkish aeroplanes. The paper was warned severely under the Defence of India Act for publishing such anti-British war news. The belief that British were losing the war created by the Amiladar could not, however, be wiped off. Even Italy's entry on the side of the Allied Powers did not give encouragement to the feeling that British would ultimately win the war. But the political excitement subsided for a while and remained so till the Government of India interned two important leaders of the Mahomedans.

52. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-May 1915-Pro. No. 48, p.10.
53. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-May 1915-Pro. No. 49, p.10
The Deputy Commissioner of Lahore reported:
"The discontent of the lower class Mahomedans in and about the city is not quite as satisfactory as previously. They are apparently watching the Dardanelles."
54. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-July 1915-Pro. No. 9, p.9.
55. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-June 1915-Pro. No. 20, p.9.
Muhammad Ali and Humayun Ali who were also popularly known as Ali brothers.

The news of restrictions on the activities of Ali brothers came as a shock to the Punjabis, especially the Muslims. Their wounded feelings found expression in the newspapers which asserted that the interment had caused intense of grief and pain to the Muslims. The paper warned the government that "the sense of implicit loyalty" which filled every Indian heart prevented it then from criticizing the conduct of the government servants, but when the war would be over, it would "turn on the searchlight of public criticism to official acts". It demanded a strong Indian element in the administration and a fuller share for it in the Government. "For the present" it concluded significantly "we shall hold our tongues in silence, even if we are teased to exasperation."

The expiration of a year of the war in July 1915 saw the people's faith in the ultimate victory of the British considerably shaken. Obviously that was because by July 1915 nothing was heard about the striking successes which the people were encouraged to expect by the British propaganda. The newspapers had led them to expect a general advance on the war fronts in the spring of 1915, but as that advance had not taken place, people started feeling that there was something wrong with the Allies which they were hoping as

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a closely guarded secret. There grew a feeling among the Punjabi Muhammadans that things were not going well for the Allies in Dardanelles; otherwise the Russians would not have started retreating from Europe. The pro-Turkish elements in the province appeared to be feeling encouraged to revive its political activity.

To prevent these elements from coming out in the open the Government adopted measures, some of which proved self-defeating in their purpose. The Punjab Government prevented Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, editor of the 

57 Alhilal, from entering the Punjab and simultaneously propagated and magnified the success of British arms in south-west Africa and the surrender of a few Germans there to General Botha. It further made public in July, Sir Ian Hamilton's despatch describing the gallant action of the 14th Lancers in the Dardanelles. This made good impression upon the Sikh mind for a short time but others did not take it seriously. They were of the opinion that Germany had evidently surprises in store "to spring upon the Allies".

The word 'Turkey' was now actually being used more frequently than ever before. The continued success of Indian arms in...
Mesopotamia at that time hardly attracted any attention. On the other hand there developed a rumour that Turkey had taken action. The news of the Russian defeat at the hand of Germans which came at this stage was received with jubilation by the Punjabi Muslims.

On 13 September 1915, the Special Tribunal set up by O'Dwyer under the Defence of India Act to expidite the cases of those implicated in Ghadar movement announced its judgment in order to produce a deterrent effect upon general public, but failed. It added to the excitement of the Punjabis instead. The Tribune and the Punjab Times in a series of articles criticized the sentences passed in the cases as needlessly severe and started an agitation against them. So powerful was the impact produced by the two papers that though Government publicity media and the Khoja Advocate, the leading orthodox Sikh paper, maintained that the accused had disgraced the Sikh community and fully merited the punishment awarded, no body took note of it. Soon after the judgment was announced, news spread in the province that a fresh wave of the Ghadarites was about to invade India from its eastern frontier with German help. The common people now were convinced of the German superiority in arms over the British. One Maulvi Abdul Farah Abdul Hamid delivered an open address on the occasion of Id on 17 October 1915

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61. GOI-Non-Pol-Deposit-August 1915-Pro. No. 29, p.11.
63. GOI-Non-Pol-Deposit-October 1915-Pro. No. 36.
at Lahore in the course of which he said that the success of Germany was foretold in the Koran. Dr. Guilford, a well-known missionary of nearly 40 years' residence at Tarn Taran and most probably then employed in collecting intelligence, stated to the district magistrate that the people of Manha tract anticipated German victory, and that the revolt of the Sikhs might come at any moment.

The Punjab learnt of the German advance through Serbia in the beginning of December 1915 and now its emotionally charged people concentrated on the war news with feverish excitement. The dash of German armies secretly made the Muhammadans happy among them. They anticipated Turk-German thrust towards India in near future. The news of the humiliating retreat of Indian army in Mesopotamia and the hostile attitude of certain elements in Persia to the British Allies undoubtedly encouraged the Punjabi Muhammadan's anticipation. A widespread rumour that Persia and Afghanistan were then at the brink of joining hands with Turkey was being widely believed by the Punjabis.

The year 1916 began for the British in a very inauspicious way. The withdrawal from Gallipoli and the surrender in Mesopotamia damaged British image badly. It reawakened

G5. GOI-Hone-Pol-Deposit-December 1915-Pro. No. 35, p.11.
G7. All these influences tended to depress the Hindus and encourage the Muhammadans. Hindus were apprehensive lest a coalition of all the Islamic powers should come into existence against Britishers in India and in case success attended them, the reign of Aurangzeb would return.
the Punjabis' hope of an invasion of India from the north-western side by Muhammadan powers under the aegis of Turkey, synchronizing with a rising by the Muhammadans from within the Punjab. The excitement among Muhammadans resulting from such expectations was more apparent in the tribal people of the North-West Frontier Province, who now started taking law in their own hands and committed a large number of dacoities in western districts of the Punjab. The heavy disaster of Gallipoli and the British withdrawal therefrom evoked enlisted men's in the Punjab. The Punjabis did not believe government's pretension that the important operations were in the offing there and the withdrawal from Gallipoli was a tactical move. The British prestige slumped to its lowest ebb in the estimation of the Punjabi people, when the news arrived towards the end of April 1915 that General Townshend had surrendered to the Turkish army at Kut-el-Amara in Mesopotamia.

The impression created by the fall of Kut-el-Amara on the Muhammadan community of the Punjab was tremendous. Although there had been no outward signs of jubilation and no attempt to turn this loss of British prestige to immediate advantage, Muhammadans in the towns were very much gratified, though secretly, at the Turkish success.
Soon after the fall of Kut-el-Amara, there came the news of the Irish Easter Rebellion and the untimely death of Lord Kitchener. The Punjabi impression was that the Irish rising was much more serious than was admitted in official accounts and they looked upon it as a symptom of England's vaning influence over its own empire. On learning of the tragic end of the war veteran, Lord Kitchener, they started visualising a tragic end of the British greatness in the world. Even the British official circles in India now felt pessimistic of the future.

The circumstances, however, abruptly tilted in favour of the British by the mid of June 1916. News came that British statesmen had successfully enticed the Sherif of Mecca to revolt against Turkey and thereby created a chasm in the Islamic world. This encouraged the Britishers in India and their pessimism made room for optimistic outlooks. Also when at this stage O'Dwyer shattered the hopes of Pan-Islamists by discovering the 'ilk-Letters' which prematurely disclosed the conspiracy of an International character against the British Government in India, they felt jubilant.

The two events were like a bolt from the blue for the Punjabi Muhammadans whose secret hope of seeing British disappear from the Punjab was dashed to the ground. First

75. GOI-Hono-Pol-Deposit-July 1916-Pro. No. 26, p.11.
they were stunned by the news but soon the Paiya Aikbar broke their silence. The paper, expressing the reaction of Punjabi Muhammadans to the Arab revolt, commented in an editorial:

"The country (Arab) belongs to God; and when it comes into any one's possession, we should remember that such is God's will. Musalmans must of necessity resign themselves to this. There will be many Musalmans in India who will disapprove of the Arabs' bad treatment of the Turks and of their rebelliousness; because they know that the Arabs are not, and never will be, worthy to be the masters of the Hedjas. If the Turks to some extent, misedmanaged affairs, then how much worse will Arab rule be? and for whatever misedmanagement there was of late in Hedjas, the Arabs are more to blame than the Turks."

The sinister resentment among the Punjabi Muhammadans against the action of the Sherif did not remain confined to the urban Muhammadans alone. The ruralites received the news first with incredulity but later with pain. They were indifferent to whether the Sultan or the Sherif ruled in Hedjas but when it dawned on them that the political turmoil caused by Turk-Arab conflict could lead to the molestation of the


77. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-July 1916-Pro. No. 26, p.11.
Holy Places in Arabia and endanger the safety of the people on the Haj they started feeling very excited. They believed that it is the British who had instigated the Arab-Turk conflict and this hurt them badly.

Some Muslim intellectual openly attributed the part caused in the Sunni world to British machinations and successfully convinced the Sunni Muslim that even if it was to be conceded that British policy in India was generally favourable to Islam, the Imperial policy during the past hundred years had been directed towards the destruction of sovereign Islamic powers in the world. In support of this thesis they cited the British overthrow of Mughal rule in India, their wars against Afghanistan, Egypt and Sudan, their weakening Persia, their annexation of Aden and the series of minor wars on the North-West Frontier. They referred to Gladstone's famous remarks on the necessity of expelling the Turks from Europe "bag and baggage" and the utterances of British Ministers during the Balkan wars. This advanced section of Muslims in the Punjab alleged that in dividing the Arabs and the Turks, Britain was only carrying out her traditional policy of robbing Turkey of her political and religious power and the prestige accompanying it.

78. GOL-Mos-Pol-Deposit-August 1916-Pro. No. 31, p.11.
79. GOL-Mos-Pol-Deposit-September 1916-Pro. No. 17, p.11.
80. Ibid.
The average Muhammadans then repeatedly said that the reason for the Arab success against a big power like Turkey was that the Turks magnanimously refrained from using their strength lest harm should come to the Holy places of Islam; and they contrasted this with the irreligious conduct of the Arabs in taking up arms in the Holy Land. The resentment of the Punjabi Muhammadans continued in spite of the government开展 promising safety and piety of Holy places and the⚫ proclaimed by the sheriff to a similar effect. The Punjabi Muhammadans hardly believed in the sincerity of either of them.

The news regarding handing over of Constantinople to Russia at the conclusion of the war as for an agreement between the Allies spread in the Punjab in the beginning of the year 1917. The report of the Russian Premier's speech in the Duma concerning it was reproduced in the Civil and Military Gazette and the Kissan, a Muhammadan paper at Lahore. The common Muhammadan felt disturbed but the educated and well informed Muhammadan hoped that the possibility of such a development was a remote one as he saw no signs of the defeat of Turkey at the moment.

31. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-September 1916-Pro. No. 17, p.11.
32. The Gazette of India, Part I, dated 7 November 1914, p. 1764.
33. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-October 1916-Pro. No. 20, p.9.
34. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-March 1917-Pro. No. 36, p.11.
In 1917, the third year of the war, Punjab was reacting to a series of great news, chief of which were the capture of Baghdad by the Indian Army, a revolution in Russia and United States of America joining the war on the side of Allies.

The Muhammadans, except those whose kith and kin were on the front, took the news of the capture of Baghdad with indifference. They had always wished for a victorious Turkey. A repetition of the British disaster, like that of Kut-el-Amara, was anticipated this time also and so the news of the British capture of the Bagdad was at first received with incredulity. It was said that the news had been invented in order to counteract the unfavourable impression which the revolt in Russia, then supposed to be round the corner, would have on the popular mind in India. Then, however, the news was finally established to be true, the educated Muhammadans had to swallow it with great difficulty. On occasions, if the discussion did take place on the subject, resentment against British was expressed unreservedly, and the hope was entertained freely that the Turks would soon reoccupy their lost city.

The Russian Revolution which consummated in November 1917 produced a much wider effect. The Extremists of the Indian politics of whom many were the inhabitants of the land of Five Rivers, derived immense inspiration from that Revolution.

and started hoping that the Indian people would emulate the Russians, if Britishers continued to adopt the same adamant attitude towards the grievances of Indians, as they had been doing so far.

The Punjabis of moderate opinion hailed American entry in the war as a sure victory for the forces of democracy and nationalism. They became now over-optimist and felt sure that the entry of America would herald a new world where rule of democracy would prevail and right of self-determination would be given to every nation. Almost all sections of the Punjabi political life were feeling the excitement born out of those momentous events of world history of which they were the contemporaries.

The war in Europe took a serious turn in the beginning of the year 1918. In January, the possibilities of a Russo-German Peace Treaty began to be discussed by many Punjabis. They had convinced themselves that the signing of such a treaty would result in a vigorous attack on the British forces in Palestine and Mesopotamia and possibly also in precipitating a liberation struggle on the North-West Frontier of India.

36. Chamberlain Papers, Roll 2, Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, dated 16 May 1917.
37. Ibid.
38. GOI-Home-Pol-Deposit-March 1918-Pro. No. 39, p.11.
When Russia finally gave way and Germany, unlocked from the eastern front, fell upon the Allies with double vigour on the Western front in Europe, the Punjabis felt that their speculations were after all well founded. The news of the great German offensive in the west followed by the exaggerated accounts of the bombardment of Paris by the new long-range German guns added strength to the rumours of a Turkish advance in Central Asia towards Persia. The Punjab was agitated and the city of Lahore full of many wild rumours.

At this stage a telegram from the Prime Minister of England to the Viceroy of India to redouble the war efforts was made public. It was widely interpreted by many as portending an immediate attack by the Turk-German forces of India. But more than that when Censor and the government machinery, in response to the telegram, intensified the campaign of recruiting in the Punjab at an unprecedented scale by employing many undesirable methods, the atmosphere in the province became full of rumour and resentment against the government.

80. This news was inadvertently allowed by the Censor to appear in the press. The Censor was subjected to much criticism in the high official circles for this lapse.

90. GOI-Hono-Pol-Deposit-May 1913-Pro. No. 22.

91. GOI-Hono-Pol-Deposit-May 1913-Pro. No. 64, p.13.