CHAPTER III

PUNJABI SERVICES IN THE WAR

The war policy of the Government and the manner in which it was executed started arousing immense interest among the Punjabis to help the British in the war. Throughout the war, the Punjab proved a perennial source of strength to the British Empire. Whether on the home front or in the battlefields, the Punjabis rendered yeoman service to the cause of the British Crown. Those who joined the colour, gave their lives with an abounding sense of loyalty to the King-Emperor and those who did not go to the front proved their loyalty by extending full co-operation to the government. Whatever was demanded of them, they offered most sportingly. When these loyal deeds of the Punjabis were highlighted by the government, though as a matter of policy, the people were stimulated to render a still greater service. With their imagination fired, they felt important and a sense of self-confidence germinated in their heart of hearts to do greater things in their individual or national life.

The first contingent of Indian Expeditionary Force, most of which consisted of the Punjabis, left the Indian shore at Karachi on 24 August 1914, to fight for England in France and Flanders. When it arrived at Marseilles on 26 September, 1

its troops received magnificent reception from the French people. The special correspondent of the Times present at the spot reported the splendid welcome given by the people of Marseilles to the Indian soldiers during their march from the dock to the Campigne ground as follows:

"First came a detachment of stalwart Sikhs for the greater part head and shoulders above the spectators. Immediately the police guarding the route were swept aside, the ranks were rushed; men and women shook the laughing soldiers by the hand, and young girls showered flowers upon them, pinning roses in their tunics and in their turbans." 3

Those who could not have their way close to the soldiers expressed their wild joy by standing on chairs and tables, waving hats, sticks and handkerchiefs and shouting "Vivat lea Hindoos!" 4 Although the high-spirited Marseillais had been extending their hearty welcome to the soldiers coming from Algeria, Morocco, Senegal, and from different parts of the France itself almost daily for a couple of months or so, yet the reception given by them to the Indians transcended all others in its spontaneity and warmth. According to


3. The Times, 2 October 1914, p. 10; the Statesman, 4 October 1914, p. 9: Some Sikhs found themselves the object of an affectionate attack by the bevy of pretty French girls who even put their arms round the necks of the chivalrous soldiers and in emotion kissed them.

4. The Times, 2 October 1914, p. 10; the Statesman, 27 October 1914, p. 8; the Hindustan Review, July 1915, p. 3; The Times History of the War, Vol. II, p. 323.
the Indian soldiers were greeted with such a wild enthusiasm "as has rarely been witnessed in that ancient

set port".

Not only that, but when the Indian troops later moved towards the battlefields, they were accorded reception by the French people in the north-east with the same warmth everywhere.

Enormous crowds gathered at the stations where the trains stopped. Fruit, flowers, coffee and biscuits would be lavished on the Indian soldiers and the railway station would witness surging mass of humanity, waving flags and cheering the Indian soldiers. The Indian troops were almost overwhelmed by the kindness of the people for whom they had gone to fight, and it naturally boosted their morale.

The Britishers gave the account of welcome accorded to the Indian soldiers in France a wide publicity in Europe and in India to unnerve the Germans in general and to create good political effects in the Punjab, in particular. When people learnt of the French reception to their men they were thrilled and filled with pride. Their martial instincts felt tickled.

5. The Times, 2 October 1914, p.9.


7. Ibid., p. 322:
To India "the march of her sons through the streets of Marseilles was a kind of initiation. A phantom had been laid that shadowed her prestige. Invisible barriers had been broken down. New vistas of honour were opened out before her."
The Indian Force landed in France at such a critical period of the war when the resisting power of the British army was at its lowest ebb. They were cruelly exhausted by constant fighting against their adversaries who were superior in number, as well as in arms. That the Indian troops played a magnificent role in saving the situation at that time was alluded to by Field Marshal John French in his despatch of 20 November 1914:

"Since their arrival in this country, and their occupation of the line allotted to them, I have been much impressed by the initiative and resource displayed by the Indian troops. Some of the ruses they have employed to deceive the enemy have been attended with the best results, and have doubtless kept superior forces in front of them at bay...."

"Without going into detail, I can confidently assert that throughout their work in this campaign they have fully justified that reputation."

Two contemporary English war chronicles put it more frankly that:

"They stemmed that first German onslaught through the late autumn of 1914, which ended in the bitter fighting.... They were asked to do much, and they tried to do everything they were asked."

9. Indian Contribution to the Great War, p. 221.
James Willcocks, who commanded the Force in the beginning, wrote that the Force reached the fighting line in France just when they were most needed. They fought against terrible odds and saved the prestige of the English nation in the hour of its greatest trial. Lord Curzon bore testimony to this when he made the following remark:

"That the Indian Expeditionary Force arrived in the nick of time, that it helped to save the cause of both the Allies and of civilization after the sanguinary tumult of the opening weeks of war, has been openly acknowledged by the highest in the land, from the Sovereign downwards. I recall that it was emphatically stated to me by Lord French himself. The nature and value of that service can never be forgotten."

Hardinge himself admitted that it was the time when India had beaten all the dominions in helping Britain. While Dominions looked askance from a distance as silent spectators, helpless and impotent, at the misfortune of England in Europe, Indian soldiers died in thousands in stemming the German tide. This truth was recorded by the Government

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12. Morewether and Smith, *The Indian Corps in France*, p. xi. John French was the Field Marshal of the Allied Forces in France during the early period of the First World War.

of India in the following words:

"the Indian Corps reached France in the nick of time and helped to stem the great German thrust towards Ypres and the Channel ports during the autumn of 1914. These were the only trained reinforcements immediately available in any part of the British Empire and right worthy they played their part."

The value of the role played by the Expeditionary Force was felt to be greater because the war in which the Indian troops were called on to fight had no direct interest for them. The war was being fought between Christian nations in distant lands and far from the borders of India. Their own native land, their home and hearth were in no way threatened at that time and they were fighting notwithstanding many handicaps. The inclemency of weather told heavily on them. The different parts of the globe to which they had been despatched were alien to them in language, manners, customs and mode of living. The old methods of fighting, in which Indian soldiers were trained by their British masters, were obsolete and they had to contend against the latest and most destructive scientific devices of warfare. And to make the matters worst they were depressed in the beginning by

14. India's Contribution to the Great War, p. 221.
15. Natosan, G.A., ed., All About the War, p. 266.
suffering heavy casualties. But their martial spirit helped them overcome the dejection and soon their gallant deeds filled the rolls of honour. The Force brought great credit to the Indian name and the brave deeds of its soldiers inspired Punjabi youth a great deal.

Who were these soldiers to be credited with these brilliant achievements? The Indian Expeditionary Force was a vague expression. India's standing army was drawn from a variety of races, creeds and colours. Soon after the declaration of the war there was general activity in various military centres pointing to a mobilisation of troops for war but such strict was the secrecy, no doubt for good military reasons, that though within three weeks troops had been embarked from Karachi for an unknown destination, yet the composition of these troops was unknown. It was, however, generally understood that a strong contingent of the Force was composed of martial races from the Punjab, of men who had been warriors by profession for generations and born with the instinct to glory in war. On 19 September 1914, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in a speech delivered to the Punjab Legislative Council alluded to this fact:

"We know that the splendid Expeditionary Force which India has put at the disposal of the

17. They left Karachi on 24 August 1914.
King-Emperor contains a very large proportion of Punjabis, and that in it are represented the flower of the martial races of the Punjab, Shakkars, Avans, Jaughar, Pathans, Tiwans from the Northern Punjab, the sturdy Sikhs of the Central Districts, Dogras from the lower hills, Jats, Ranghars and the Rajputs from the South of Province. These are the races which have carried the banners of the King-Emperor and spread the fame of the Punjabi soldier throughout the East, from Pekin to Cairo and to the Central Africa. They have now gone to win fresh laurels for themselves and their country, fighting side by side with the manhood of the United Kingdom and of the Colonies and Dominions, on the battle-fields of Europe."

The First Indian Expeditionary Force commanded by Lieutenant-General James Willcocks was composed of two divisions, the Lahore Division and the Meerut Division. These Divisions included regiments wholly or partly recruited

Indian troops in France received their first billet on 20 October 1914. By the time the corps ceased to exist in Europe on 3 December 1915, it had fought a number of battles in which its men performed gallant deeds, and suffered 34,252 casualties. The meaning of these figures would be better appreciated if it is remembered that the two divisions, when they reached Marseilles in 1914, comprised only some 24,000 men, and they had received 30,000 more as drafts during the year, i.e. 54,000 men in all. It means they suffered about 65% casualties. The survivors of this gallant band had to undergo fresh trials elsewhere as their necessity in the west European theatre of war was no longer felt by Britain.


Soldiers drawn from the Punjab were attached to both the divisions, though constituting a minority in the Meerut Division. The Ferrorepure Brigade of the Lahore Division contained the 37th Wilde's Rifles (Frontier Force), the Jullundur Brigade the 15th Ludhiana Sikhs, the 47th Sikhs and the 50th Scinde Rifles and the Sirajul Division the 1st Battalion King George's Own Gurkha Rifles who had their permanent residences in the Kangra District. In the Divisional Troops we find the 24th Sikhs Pioneers, while the 20th and 21st companies of leapors and Minoris contained a large contingent of Punjabis. The 6th Jat Infantry of the Dehra Dun Brigade was composed of Punjabi soldiers. In the Bareilly Brigade they were included in the 41st Bnees and the 58th Vaughan's Rifles, while in the Divisional Troops the Punjabis were represented in the 107th Pioneers. Next year on 4 and 5 June, the 80th and 80th Punjabis arrived in France to replace the 9th Bhopalis and the 125th Rifles.


23. Forewether and Smith, op. cit., p. 409.

Winding up the short but magnificent career of Indian
Force in Europe, Sir John French issued a special Order
of the day on 27 November 1915, in which he mentioned the
most important engagements in which the Corps had been
employed, and praised its role as follows:

"The Indian Corps have ... shown most
praiseworthy courage under novel and trying
conditions... and have not only upheld, but
have added to, the good name of the Army which
they represent... you have done your work here well,
and are now being sent to another place....
I thank you for the services you have rendered
while under my command...."

The Corps richly deserved the message of His Majesty
the King-Emperor which was read out to it by His Royal
Highness the Prince of Wales on 25 November 1915 at a special
parade for the occasion on the eve of its transfer from
France to another theatre of war. The Royal Message high-
lighted the gallant Cry shown by the Corps and contained
a flattering observation to the following effect:

"In a warfare waged under novel conditions
and in particularly trying circumstances,
you have worthily upheld the honour of the
Empire and the great traditions of my army

25. Leich, M.E., op.cit., p.210; Herevother and Smith,
op.cit., pp. 471-472."
in India. I have followed your fortunes with the deepest interest and watched your gallant actions with pride and satisfaction.

The Indian Corps had thus played a brilliant role in the early phase of the war during its stay in Europe for which it had earned deep admiration from people and politicians of European countries as much for the valour of its men as for its civilized behaviour. And then all this became known in the Punjab, the people there naturally felt important and became proud of it.

Full justice had not been done by military chroniclers to the services of the Indian Corps in France. So brilliant were its achievements that even the English people felt jealous of it. Particularly in the beginning, an uncalled for reticence was observed by Army authorities in Britain about the performance of the Indian Corps in field. Even the Viceroy of India was kept in the dark for a while.

Many a gallant deed performed by Indian soldiers were left unnoticed. This cold attitude of the British Generals towards the Corps was the consequence of jealousy or racial arrogance. It got confirmed all the more so because since the beginning of 1915, some British generals had begun criticising the

26. Herouet and Smith, MS. Gal., p. 163.
27. Foreign Papers, Vol. 98, No. 577, Hardinge to Crewe, dated 24 October 1914.
Indian soldiers, with a view to running down the whole Force. Although Sir James Willcocks, the then Commander of the Indian Corps, honestly felt that Indian soldier was being run down maliciously, the exigencies of the war prevented him from expressing himself as is clear from what he wrote in a book published after the war. While dealing with the subject of criticism of Indian soldiers in 1915, he noted:

"So erroneous are many of the opinions and so ill-natured have been some of the criticism of the part taken by the Indian Corps in Flanders, that it has been impracticable to avoid writing strongly, when I considered it necessary, and hence I have not hesitated to do so."

Although Willcocks wrote the book as a mark of "moral obligation to the Indian soldier", yet he did not write the whole truth in that also. The whole truth comes out only in his private letters to the Viceroy of India. These letters reveal what was happening behind the scene, and the extent of injustice that was being done to the Indian soldiers and the racial discrimination that was at the back of it. The fact is that even their Commander (James Willcocks), though English, was being penalised for no other fault than commanding them. A letter from Willcocks to Hardinge, dated

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9 September 1915, makes a painful reading:

"My Army Commander, Sir Douglas Haig, treated me badly. Since December last I had been serving under him and never complained as it is war time. But he has gradually driven me to desperation. Now I am on leave and without any command. He had spoken of my Indian soldiers in terms which have galled me. He personally insulted me in the presence of other officers. I asked him to relieve me of my command. I should have otherwise committed suicide due to his taunts. It is really in defence of my brave Indian soldiers that I have fallen at last. I am proud I placed their honour and good name first, and I would sooner rot in obscurity than have held on for any personal gain."

This letter was written by Willocke's within three days of his being relieved from his command of Indian Force in France. After this he had an interview with Kitchener, the Secretary of State for War, and explained his position to him. Kitchener made searching enquiry but found nothing against Willocke. Being satisfied that he at least got justice from the Secretary of State for War, Willocke now.


wrote to Hardinge more of the painful circumstances under which he and his Indian Force had to serve:

"How the Indian Corps was gradually being pushed down hill until at last I saw it was for the good of the Army that I, at any rate, should leave, for I could not have stood it any longer, and if no other good comes from my going, I feel sure, at least, that Sir Douglas Haig will change his attitude towards the Corps, and give it a fair chance.... In an Army order Haig named the other divisions who fought from 9th to 23rd May, but omitted the Indian Corps altogether. He sent a copy to my Corps, thus deliberately bringing to notice that we were not to be included. They had fought and suffered severely. Brave fellows! But this was only one more of the insults hurled at us and everyone well knew it was meant."

It is clear from this letter that Englishmen of Sir Douglas Haig's type could not stand Indians even as comrades-in-arms in Europe. Of course as long as no other help was forthcoming, Indians' presence in their midst was somewhat tolerable but when white troops from England and the Dominions became available, Indians deserved to be dispensed with.

However antagonistic and unfair had been the attitude of some of the British Generals to Indian Corps in France, Indian and for that matter the Punjabi valour could not remain obscure as a whole for long. Whatever little news the British military officers and censor allowed to trickle in the public dispatches was enough testimony of the brave manner in which the Punjabis were fighting in the war at a time when German resources and strength on the land were far superior to those of England, Russia and France put together.

The Punjab was thrilled with pride when there came the news that a Punjabi, Khuladad Khan, was the first Indian soldier to have won the coveted Victoria Cross. After this it became common for the Punjabis to hear daily of the heroic tales of Punjabi soldiers on war fronts. In June 1915, news came from Gallipoli that Punjabi troops had shown conspicuous valour from the first day of their landing (25 April 1915) on the peninsula. On 4 June, the 14th Sikhs won great glory which formed the subject matter of a special despatch of Sir Ian Hamilton. It read as follows:

"On the morning of June 4th the 14th (K.G.O.) Sikhs moved out to the attack with 15 British officers, 14 Indian officers and 514 men. On the morning of

33. War Speeches of Michael O'Leary, p.23.
June 3oth, 3 British officers, 3 Indian officers and
104 men were left. No sound was given; no man
turned his back; no man lingered on the way. The
trenches of the enemy that ran down into the ravine
were choked with the bodies of Turks and Khils
lying there for over at rest from that hell of hand-
to-hand encounters."

The despatch was given wide publicity in the Punjab by
the Government with the purpose of rousing public feelings
in general and that of the Sikhs in particular against the
Turks. It was propagated also with a view to win over the
loyalty of the Sikhs in the province that had been shaken by
35
a large number of Ghadarites returning from Far East and
United States of America at that time.

Highest gallantries were, however, shown by the Punjabi
soldiers in Mesopotamian campaigns. From start to finish
the Mesopotamian campaigns were mainly fought by the Punjabi
troops. The Punjab had supplied 50% combatants for these
campaigns. In these campaigns the Punjabi soldiers got
ample opportunities to display their qualities of devotion,
self-sacrifice, courage and resourcefulness and they made

34. Leigh, M., op. cit., p. 216.
35. The excitement which the Ghadarites had been creating
in the Punjab at that time has been detailed in
Chapter IV.
36. Indian Contribution to the Great War, p. 70.
the best of it. They added to their records many laurels which enriched and enhanced their great achievements of earlier days.

The Mesopotamian campaigns made the Punjabis famous for their "offensive qualities of a high standard" and "heroism and determination". In his final despatch from Mesopotamia, when Lieutenant-General William Marshal paid the following compliments to the Indian army, that

"The long-protracted campaign in Mesopotamia was... brought to a highly successful conclusion, and my warmest thanks are due to the troops who achieved this crowning victory. Their courage, endurance, and fortitude under conditions of considerable privation and exhaustion are worthy of highest praise; they were constantly called upon for redoubled efforts and they responded nobly and unflinchingly."

it virtually alluded to the Punjabi troops who formed bulk of the Indian Army on the Mesopotamian front.

General Marshal, who had led the Mesopotamian Campaign to a successful end, subsequently remembered the Punjabi combatant on that front with gratitude;

"it was both an honour and a pleasure to command such an army. The morale of the

Force was something wonderful, its will to conquer magnificent, and no march was too long, no task too great and no hostile position too strong for it to overcome. I have served on three other fronts in varying capacities, but they were all disappointing whilst Mesopotamia was from a soldiering point of view a live show.

Similar tributes were paid by the other Generals under whose commands Punjabis served, in East Africa, West Africa, Somaliland, Egypt, Sinal, Palestine, Syria, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier, Burma, China and Aden.

O’Dwyer paid sincere compliments to the Punjabi soldier when he said:

"Of the fighting qualities of the men Punjab had sent to the front, there was nothing but praise for the gallantry and endurance of the Punjabi. Wherever the theatre of war, in all the branches of Army, whatever the condition of service, Punjabi had ever won the admiration and affection of his officers. He had sought no advertisement; he had claimed no rewards for


his gallantry, it had sufficed for him to
do his duty as a loyal and disciplined soldier."

According to M.S. Leigh, the War historian of the Punjab, the total casualty list of the Punjab on all fronts amounted to something over 37,500. The all-India figures of casualties as wounded, missing or prisoners of war and dead were 100,936. The casualties from the Punjab alone were thus more than one third those of the whole of India. In proportion to its male population the Punjab had lost 6 times as heavily as the rest of India.

The heroic part played by the Punjab was also reflected in the number of Victoria Crosses won by the Punjabis. Out of 13 Indian heroes who won this honour, five hailed from the Punjab. Other Orders and Decorations of which Punjabis got the lion's share reflected the same thing.

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40. *War Speeches of 0' War*, 30 October 1917, p.07.
43. Ibid., p. 104, f.n.
All distinctions won by the Punjabis in the war were earned by some acts of conspicuous bravery such as "distinguished service" or "gallantry and devotion to duty" in the field. In a large number of cases the official citations referred to the readiness of Punjabi officers and non-commissioned officers to take responsibility in the absence of their superior officers; their disregard of personal danger or pain when securing a comrade or an officer; their willingness to face the fire of superior numbers at close range; and their determination to stick to their post till death.

On the home front, too, the Punjabis did their level best to supply the sinews of war. Ever increasing demands of the war were met by nearly every Punjabi family inspite of the great inconveniences.

During the war the Punjab continued to maintain its past tradition of supplying about half the number of soldiers to the Indian Army. Four lac combatants came from the Punjab alone, out of the total all-India figure of 877,068 men. In addition to it, one lac non-combatants were also recruited from the province.

16. India's Contribution to the Great War, p. 79: On the eve of the war the total strength of the Indian Army was 220,661. During the war 877,068 combatants and 663,369 non-combatants (1,440,437 in all) were recruited.

47. O'Dwyer, India as I Knew It, p. 230.

48. India's Contribution to the Great War, p. 79.
When we remember that the province contained at that time only a thirteenth part of the population and the area of India, and that all the provinces were equally doing their best, the Punjab could justifiably feel proud of its contribution to the war. The Rawalpindi Division in the Punjab mobilized one man in 13 and the Rawalpindi District one man in 8. The following table shows how the Punjab compared with the rest of India:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total male population</th>
<th>Number mobilized</th>
<th>Representing one man in</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>1,30,00,000</td>
<td>5,00,000</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of India</td>
<td>14,70,00,000</td>
<td>9,30,000</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Punjab not only led the other provinces in India but also compared favourably with the Dominions of the British Empire. This is evident from the figures given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>No. of soldiers supplied</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union of South Africa</td>
<td>136,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>416,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>640,936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

50. Leath, W.S., op. cit., p. 41.
51. India's Contribution to the Great War, p. 205.
As regards free contribution of money, materials and livestocks, Punjabis were equally liberal. Of the many war funds and charities to which the Punjab gave so freely, one was very peculiar and novel to the province. That was the Punjab Aeroplane Fund.

The idea, which originated in November 1915 with F. E. Wilkins, Editor of the Civil and Military Gazette, was widely supported by the public and received patronage of the Government. An appeal/published in all Punjab papers seeking subscriptions "sufficient to provide a fleet of 7 armoured aeroplanes to be named, after the five rivers of the Punjab, and the Indus and Jumna". The subscription list remained open for only 4 months and within that short period, Rs. 14,32,000 were collected which were more than sufficient to purchase 51 aeroplanes instead of only 7 as was originally envisaged. Public responded so magnificently to this scheme that "The money was subscribed by all classes and creeds. Ruling chiefs, officials and non-officials, urban and rural residents, college students, school pupils, artisans, traders, bankers and professional men - all helped to make the tribute worthy of the Province."

52. Leigh, W. S., op. cit., p. 63.
53. Ibid., p. 65.
The Imperial Relief Fund was the first War Fund that was inaugurated in the Punjab consequent to the appeal of the Viceroy for funds for the relief of war victims. The subscriptions totalled nearly 80 lacs of rupees up to the end of 1913. The Fund remained open even after the war for more than a year so as to meet the after-effects of the war, and no less than 9 lakh rupees were donated by the people of the Punjab generously during a single year, bringing the total up to Rs. 29 lakhs by the end of 1919.

As the Punjab was the main supplier of men to the Indian army, its closest concern for the sick and wounded soldiers was natural. The province placed 614 beds free of cost at the disposal of military authorities. The necessary medical staff was provided by the Medical Department of the province and the public supplied comforts of all sorts generously.

Apart from continuing in equipping and maintaining the Hospital ship "Loyalty", a joint venture sponsored by the Ruling Chiefs of India for the service of sick and wounded in the war overseas, "Maharaja of Patiala gave a flotilla of hospital boats; the Maharaja of Nabha gave a hospital ship;"
motor launches were given by the Maharaja of Kapurthala and the Raja of Jubbal. A large number of motor ambulances were given by different states in the Punjab and the public subscribed many more.

The sanitary commissioner supplied over 8 million doses of vaccine lymph, the life-saving drug against enteric fever, and the Jail Department produced over 2 million quinine tablets and 84,000 lbs. of castor oil for army. Several State chiefs converted their residences at hill stations and cantonments into Convalescent Homes. The Jails turned out 60,000 tents for ambulance work.

Cash subscriptions to the Red Cross, St. John's Ambulance Fund and so forth amounted to about 32 lakhs of rupees. Leaving aside the value of presents made in kind, more than 4 lakhs in cash were entered under the head, Comfort Funds, which was administered by Lady O'Dwyer.

The significance of the province's contribution under this head lay in the opportunity which it gave to the Punjab's womanhood of finding a practical outlet for its overwrought emotions. In every district working parties were formed, and an enormous quantity of time, labour and money was expended in making all sorts of garments and other welcome additions.

60. Ibid., p. 63.
61. Ibid., p.69.
to the soldier's outfit. Lady O'Dwyer set a great example and was admirably backed up by many other ladies at Lahore and Delhi. Her example was enthusiastically followed by the ladies of Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners at all the Divisional and District headquarters.

Indian ladies also took keen interest in the work. They made the best use of the opportunity of sharing a common labour of love. The part played by girls schools in Voshkarpur was very interesting. District Board provided wool out of which the school girls knitted socks. Many notable gifts, paltry or valuable, were made by societies, associations and institutions, collectively or severally.

For the comfort and convenience of soldiers, canteens were opened at the main railway junctions. They provided good meals at a very reasonable cost.

The public specially subscribed to the Recruiting Funds which were meant either for the offer of prizes to the most successful recruiters, or for the entertainment of recruits and men in local depots, or for the expenses of recruits in special units, such as the University Signal Section. Besides

60. The Simla Times, 8 December 1918, p.12; The tributes paid to Lady O'Dwyer's war services; Leigh, M.C., op. cit., p. 60.

63. Sutesan, 3rd ed., All abt the War, pp. 242-246; India in the Years 1911-12, p.14.

64. Leigh, M.C., op. cit., p.71.

65. Ibid., p.70.
this public made liberal contributions to many other funds like the Prince of Wales Fund, Lord Kitchener's Memorial Fund and various foreign relief funds.

Animals like camels, horses and bullocks, worth Rs. 3 lakhs were presented as a free gift to the Government. In addition to this, a large number of animals were requisitioned from owners on cheaper rates. In Lyallpur district, 5,000 camels were purchased. Missar provided 5,000 camels and over 2,000 bullocks for the transport, and Ferozepur and Montgomery 1,500 and 1,000 camels, respectively. It is estimated that the Punjabis gave well over 8 crores of rupees to war funds and charities, though that appears to be an underestimate.

How much expenses the Punjab Government, the native states and the people incurred indirectly due to war conditions, is hard to calculate. The Punjab Government and the states had geared up their machinery for meeting war exigencies. For four-and-a-half years the administration had spent many more crores out of the public revenues for raising various war efforts.

The contribution of the Punjabis in the war loans had also been very considerable as compared to the contributions of other provinces of the Indian Empire, some of which were

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67. Ibid., p. 74.
68. Ibid., p. 72.
such bigger and wealthier than the Punjab. Although 99.5
of the population of the Punjab consisted of small husbandmen
who had to contend without reserve of capital, against the
chances and vagaries of weather every year making "their very
lives depending on a few inches of rainfall", and although
the province had neither a large commercial class nor an
industrial base of economy, and the war had aggravated the lot
of peasantry, "the Punjab proved itself no less willing to
lend than it was to give."

In each of the two war loans floated by the Government
of India in 1917 and 1918, the Punjab achieved the third
place among the provinces of India, thereby surprising even
its most "hopeful admirers". From the Punjab the British
districts subscribed Rs. 3,70,00,00 and the Native States
1,65,00,000 totalling more than 10 crores of rupees. The first
loan was mainly subscribed by the agricultural class and the
second one by the commercial and small trading class in the
towns. Lahore led all the districts in raising war loans in
the province.

It does not mean, however, that the outbreak of the war
and the policy pursued by the government in that context acted
only in one direction, i.e., simply stimulating Punjabis to

1921.
70. India in the Years 1917-19, p.17.
71. Leigh, N., op. cit., pp. 75-76.
72. Ibid., p.76.
73. Ibid., pp. 81-82.
serve British imperial interest alone. Simultaneously, the war, as it advanced, began to affect the Punjabis, living inside or outside the Punjab, in many other ways. Gradually the war stimulated the Punjabis to think of their national cause as much if not more than the imperial one. Subsequently when they went through many stresses and strains of the war, their whole attitude towards British imperialism was transformed. The war opened new vistas for different classes of people and politicians inhabiting the province.

As soon as the first wave of loyalty blew over, the politically conscious Punjabis living in the cities and towns of the Punjab or living abroad started speculating on India's future position vis-a-vis the contemporary world politics. It was all due to the abruptly changed circumstances brought about by the Great War. But before a constitutional movement could set in and give expression to this urge of the people, the Punjabi emigrants so far living in Canada, United States of America, and the Far East thought of liberating India by methods which appeared to them to be the most suitable at the moment.

In the opinion of these emigrants, who were also popularly known as Ghadarites, "England's adversity was India's opportunity," something for which they had been waiting long and so not to be allowed to slip away. Averse as they were to constitutional means, they thought of overthrowing the Britishers at once from the Indian scene through a violent revolution. No sooner the war broke out than they decided to return en bloc to the Punjab to raise a banner of armed revolt.