

# **British India in the World Wars: A Historical Analysis of Military Perspective of Punjab**

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By

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## Declaration

I declare that the thesis entitled '**British India in the World Wars: A Historical Analysis of Military Perspective of Punjab**' has been prepared by me under the guidance of Dr. Bawa Singh, Assistant Professor, Centre for South and Central Asian Studies, Central University of Punjab. No part of this thesis has formed the basis for the award of any degree or fellowship previously.

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Bhupinder Singh

# *Dedication*

*To my Adorable Parents.*

*The reason of what I  
Become Today.*

*Thanks for Your Great  
Support and Continuous  
Care.*

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## Abbreviations

EIC	East India Company
GTR	Great Trunk Road
DG	District Gazetteer
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
IDSA	Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses
ICHR	Indian Council for Historical Research
POW	Prisoners of War
C-in-C	Commander in Chief
WW	World War

## **ABSTRACT**

### **British India in the World Wars: A Historical Analysis of Military Perspective of Punjab**

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Key Words: Colonialism, Military history, British Indian Army, World Wars, Punjab, migration, socio-economic transformations.

Military history is seen as an under-researched area, though military had been remained important to every country for security and other vested interests from time immemorial. Countries and kingdoms had always been maintained military for protection and security as well as for satisfying their imperialistic designs. It is well known that military played a key role in the making of the British Empire in the Indian subcontinent in which Punjab had played a strategic and pivotal role. 'Russophobia' out of the Great Game and the Revolt of 1857, forced the British Empire to restructure and re-strategies it's military. Moreover, revolt by the Bengal Army and on the other hand, valour and loyalty along with the martial character and good physique shown by the Punjabi people brought new trends in the recruitment of the British Indian Army. Since the recorded history, Punjab had been known for Sword of Arms for India. Later on, it had become the guardians of the British Empire. In this background, the British Raj ended the Bengalisation and started the Punjabization of the British Indian Army. Consequently, Punjab made spectacular progress in network of military cantonment allied with other supporting infrastructure (railways, canals, railway workshops, hospitals, schools), apart from converting it as one of the most important and fertile army recruitment grounds. On the other side, British had started to recruit the Punjabis in the British Indian Army. On the other side, Punjabis had played very pivotal role in sustaining, maintaining and expanding the British Empire in India as well as on the other distant of the

world. More importantly, Punjabi Army played very significant role in the World War I & II. Punjab's contribution to the World Wars had been remained monumental and because of this, Punjabi soldiers have been felicitated every year over there. With the opening of World War I, Punjab had supplied approximately 50 percent of the British Indian Army. On the other side, Punjab had contributed substantially in the World War II. In this work, the neglected stories of Punjabi army has been discussed widely. In spite of this, the comparison between Punjab versus other provinces of India has been done for more clearing the picture of 'Recruitment Clock.' However, the study has some limitations due to the time and space constraints. It, particularly, focuses on the role of Punjab in the British Indian Army. Thus, the proposed research has explored the role of colonial Punjab in the World Wars. Additionally, it also examine the socio-economic impact of the British rule in general and World Wars in particular on the respective region. Hence, the work has brought out the silence stories of Punjabi soldiers on the pages of history.

**Research Scholar**

Bhupinder Singh

**Supervisor**

Dr. Bawa Singh

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## Chapter 1

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# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Research Problem and its Importance

The military had been remained relevant to every country for security and other vested interests from time immemorial. States and kingdoms had always been maintained a military for protection and security as well as for satisfying their imperialistic designs. It is well known that military had played a vital role in the making of the British Empire in the Indian subcontinent in which Punjab had played a strategic and pivotal role. 'Russophobia' out of the 'Great Game' and the mutiny of 1857, forced the British Empire to restructure and re-strategize its military. Moreover, a mutiny by the Bengal Army and on the other hand, valour, and loyalty along with good physique of the Punjabi people had brought new trends in the recruitment of the British Indian Army. Since the recorded history, Punjab had been known for 'Sword of Arms' for India and the same way; again it became the same for the British Raj. Given this background, the British Raj ended the Bengalisation and started the Punjabization of the British Indian Army. Consequently, Punjab had made spectacular progress in a network of military cantonmentization allied with other supporting infrastructures (railways, canals, railway workshops, hospitals, schools), apart from converting into it as one of the most important and fertile army recruitment grounds.

Punjab Army had contributed in the World War I & II for maintaining and stabilizing the imperialistic empire. Punjab's contribution to the World Wars had been remained monumental, and because of this, Punjabi soldiers have been felicitated every year over there. In their memory, monuments had been erected at various places, but the irony is that their role and contributions of colonial Punjab in sustaining and maintaining the British Empire remained overlooked and omitted until by the scholars and academicians. The proposed study attempted to explore and examine the role of colonial Punjab in the World Wars and impacted Punjab region allied with, the military geography of Punjab under colonialism through military recruitment. In addition, it has examined the socio-economic implications of the region out of militarization and World War I & II. The proposed work has been remained highly under-research and did not get considerations of the academicians yet.

## 1.2 Colonialism: At the Global Context

Had military not there, the colonialism would have not taken place. Therefore, military and colonialism have been interwoven. Since colonialism has necessitated the need for a military, therefore, it becomes necessary to understand the concept and genesis of the colonialism. Colonialism has a history as long as the recorded history. The colonialism was started by the European empires such as Spain, Dutch, France and Britain during the 15<sup>th</sup> century and ended by the Second World War happened during 1939-1945 (Dev, 2009).

Historically, the term imperialism that referred with the Roman Empire came much earlier than the process of colonization, which began in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Colonialism is conceived as the establishment, maintenance, exploitation, acquisition, and expansion of colony in one territory by a political power from another territory. World history is full of examples of one society gradually expanding by incorporating the adjacent territory and settling its people on the newly conquered territory (Cohn, 1996, p. 56). In his study, Dev (2009) had demonstrated that the process of colonization means the implanting of settlements on a distant land. Fundamentally, the idea of colonialism came from imperialism. As Cohn (1996) stated that colonialism had been a process that was the subordination of one territory by the people of another territory or superior-inferior relationships.

In another strand of literature, entitled 'International Economics,' by Salvatore (2012, p. 33), in which he pointed out that Adam Smith (16 June 1723 - 17 July 1790) had strongly advocated the system of the '*laissez-faire*.' Adam Smith's theory has guided the political economies of the European countries. Hence, from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries, the European economic system was governed by these policies. The major motives of these policies were to maintain a "favourable" balance of trade. In contrast to the agricultural system of the physiocrats or the *laissez-faire* of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the mercantile system had served the interests of merchants and producers such as the East India Company (EIC), whose activities were protected or encouraged by the state.

Wheeler (2009) had written a book entitled 'India under British Rule: From the Foundation of the East India Company.' In this book, he has argued that the discovery of America and the passage to India via the Cape of Good Hope during



the mid of 18<sup>th</sup> century was emphasized on the mercantilist view of development. With this, the era of extracting resources and acquiring more worldly wealth through trade was started. The colonies had been controlled directly/indirectly by establishing settlements over there to exploit the natural resources.

The industrial revolution during the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the structure of colonialism was changed. The innovations and advances in technology in Europe provoked many more countries like Germany, Italy, and Belgium to acquire more and more colonies (McNeese, 2000, pp. 2-4). On the other hand, Chandra (2009) had written a well-articulated document entitled 'History of Modern India,' in which he had analyzed the British colonialism in India in details. He had advocated that with the expansion colonies, British became the strongest colonial power in the world during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Anyhow, the purpose of colonies became the maximum extraction of both human and natural resources where areas production process held in Europe.

The colonies had become the markets of colonizers for raw materials and many more purposes. The colonies had faced a phase of the extensive amount of exploitation of their human and natural resources. The subjugation of native population by invaders never questioned by any indigenous rulers or peoples during the colonial phase. Because colonizers were succeeded in creating puppet regimes and ensuring their power authority through settlements. In the same way, Prasad (2003, p. 111) had argued that Indian subcontinent attracted invaders, looter and plunderers from ancient times onwards to the region of prosperity. Moreover, India was immeasurably rich in economic sources and therefore, known by the popular sobriquet as 'Golden Sparrow.' Consequently, the same richness of the Indian-subcontinent drawn the attention of colonial masters towards the region.

### **1.3 India: Golden Sparrow**

Since the recorded history, it is well accepted that India had been a wealthy and prosperous country. That's why, it is popularly known by the nickname 'Golden Sparrow' (Chaurasia, 2002). South Asia includes the present-day Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The region had attracted explorers, traders, and invaders from ancient times onwards. Scholars like Singh & Kaur (2014) had demonstrated that the invaders included the Aryans, Mongols,

Mughals, and Turks who were used the land route via Punjab to reach the South Asian subcontinent.

India had been enjoyed high industrial development since the ancient times. India's industrial skill was admired everywhere in the World. Muslin of Dacca, the beautiful woollen shawls of Kashmir, the fine linens calicos and the brocades of Delhi were famous throughout the World. Chaurasia (2002) had pointed out that India had a well-developed metal industry also. Also, some handicrafts had flourished both in rural and urban areas as well. Roman Empire used to purchase large quantities of Indian luxury fabrics. Romans used to pay India in gold and silver for these commodities.

The richness of the subcontinent attracted the Europeans from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, which changed the course of its history. The British had ruled over India for about 200 years. Further, Chandra (2000) had revealed that the British East India Company (EIC), which came to explore and exploit the wealthy subcontinent and during this period, a policy of systematic exploitation and loot of the Indian economy ensued. As a result, the old economic organization of India had been broken down, the industrial structure also collapsed, the burden on agriculture mounted, and hence the poverty increased. As per the study of Talbot (2007) that with the coming of British, a lot of drastic changes had been introduced in the fields of military, economy, society, judiciary, civil administration, communication, education, law and order in the South Asia. Thus, the British rule brought a noteworthy changes & transformations in the Indian subcontinent.

The British rule in the Indian subcontinent was also important as it brought new systems of military mobilization and defence. Some military training institutions had been established. In his study, Rahmani (2011) had demonstrated that the forces were reorganized under the British armed forces and provided with modern arms and ammunition. Further, it had given much strength to the Raj as it was not only sustained and maintained the British Indian Empire, but the British Indian army had also fought for them in the World Wars I & II.

The policy of the British for mobilizing and stationing army throughout the Indian subcontinent was not the same, but had shown a significant amount of

regional variations, depending on the specific strategic demands and perceived fighting spirits available in certain regions and people. It had resulted in region-specific military histories in the Indian subcontinent. Such regions, due to military infrastructure and massive recruitments benefited due to the spillover effect of militarization (Kaushik, 2009).

Punjab is a typical case in point. In his studies, Mazumder (2003), Barkwi (2006, p. 341) and Soherwordi (2010, pp. 2-3) had mentioned that Punjab was converted into a garrison state, coincided with a process called De-Bengalisation and Punjabization of British Indian army. The army further played a very crucial role in maintaining and expanding the British Empire especially during the World Wars at various 'Theatres of the War.' The job opportunities in the army had brought drastic transformations like urbanization, irrigation, technological advancement, modern education and modern means of communication. The present study with a particular reference to Punjab thus opens the possibility of capturing the diversity and regionality in South Asia in this regard.

#### **1.4 Military of India: Historical Mooring**

The military had remained very pivotal for every country. For building an empire, the military had continued the important factor in the recorded history. In this backdrop, India had experienced a long military history dating back to several millennia. Sandhu (2000) has argued that some historical writings like Vedic texts, Sanskrit literature, texts of Jains and Buddha written in Prakrit and Pali and many foreign accounts had mentioned that since the ancient times, many kings had controlled the various regions of the Indian subcontinent. Srinivasachariar & Krishnamachariar (1937, p. 837) had argued that for enlarging and keeping their kingdoms safe, they had developed their armed forces. The first reference to the Indian army has been given in the Vedas,<sup>1</sup> Ramayana, and Mahabharata.

Throughout the recorded history, many kings had built vast empires though their militaries. In their studies, Jonson (1986, p. 16) and Pal (2006, p. 25) mentioned that many kings of ancient India had built powerful armies for achieving

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<sup>1</sup> The *Vedas* are considered the earliest literary record of Indo-Aryan civilization. It is the most sacred scriptures of India (Srinivasachariar & Krishnamachariar, 1937, p. 837).

their imperial designs. Out of these, Magadha (684-321 BC),<sup>2</sup> Shishunaga (413-345 BC), Nanda (345-321 BC), Maurya (322-185 BC), Satavahana (1<sup>st</sup> century BCE – 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), Kushan (1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD), Gupta (320 to 550 AD), and Pushyabhuti well known as Vardhana empires (6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD) were the most powerful ruling dynasties in India. They had built-up large armed forces and expanded their influence on a vast area of the India. In his study, Pillai (1946) demonstrated that in the early history of medieval India, the South India had been ruled by Chola (8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, Chera (8<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries AD) and Pandiyan (10<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries AD) Empires which were incredibly powerful. They had established the strongest armies and expanded their empire within and outside the India. In this, the Chola dynasty was one of the longest ruling dynasties in the history of Southern India. Besides this, Pratiharas (6<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> century AD), Palas (750-1043 AD), Rastrakutas (7<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> century AD), Rajputs (6<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> century AD) was another line of great dynasties during the early and late medieval India. Along with Delhi Sultanate, Vijayanagar (1336-1646)<sup>3</sup> and Bahmani Empire (1347-1527),<sup>4</sup> Chalukyas (6<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century AD) and Pallavas (6<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century AD), Mughal Empire (14<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century AD), Maratha Empire (1674 to 1818 AD) were the most powerful dynasties in India.

There were some most outstanding rulers, who had maintained the well-trained armies. Boesche (2003, p. 27) and Thapar (2006, pp. 294-295) revealed that Chandragupta Maurya (321 - 297 BCE), the ruler of Maurya dynasty was the most powerful ruler of India during the ancient times. According to Megasthenes (350 BC to 290 BC), came in the court of Chandragupta (between 302-298 B.C), an ambassador of Seleucid Empire. He pointed out that Chandra Gupta had built the strongest army during the ancient times. At that time, his army consisted of 30,000 cavalry, 9000 war elephants, and 600,000 infantry. With the help of the

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<sup>2</sup> During the ancient times, there were sixteen Mahajanapada existed in India. Out of these, Magadha was one of the most powerful and prosperous Mahajanapada and Patliputra was its capital. Magadha was ruled by three prominent dynasties between the period of 600 BC to 321 BC, namely Haryanka dynasty (600-413 BC), Shishunaga dynasty (413-345 BC) and Nanda dynasty (345-321 BC) (Pal, 1986).

<sup>3</sup> The Vijayanagara Empire was one of most powerful kingdom of the Deccan Plateau region in South India. It was established by Harihara I and his brother Bukka Raya I in 1336 (Sewell & Paes, 1900, pp. 16-17).

<sup>4</sup> The Bahmani Kingdom was a Muslim state and one of the major medieval Indian Kingdoms in the South India. The empire was established in August 1347 by the Ala-ud-Din Bahman Shah, a Turkic general (Sewell & Paes, 1900).

largest army, Chandragupta had occupied a vast area of the India, comprising from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal.

Next to the Maurya, the Gupta was the most powerful dynasty, and by expansion, they had built the largest empire. In his study, Altekar (1957, p. 3) argued that Infantry was the major component of the Guptas army. In the war field, the bow was the important weapons for fighting. Further, he claimed that Chandragupta II was the most powerful ruler of the Gupta Empire. He had maintained a large army consisting of 500,000 infantry, 50,000 cavalries, 20,000 charioteers and 10,000 elephants along with a powerful navy with more than 1200 ships. He had remained the most successful and victorious ruler, consequently, he brought a vast area of India under his control. Thus, Chandra Gupta II had made the Gupta empire one of the most powerful empires in the world during his reign.

In the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, Pushyabhuti dynasty (well known as Vardhana Empires) ruled over the vast area of India. It is well documented in the history that Vardhan dynasty was one of the most powerful ruling dynasties in India. Prominently, Harsha (606–647 AD), well known as Harshvardhana, who ruled the large area of North India during his period. Harsha had established his capital at Kannauj which became a prosperous centre of trade and commerce under his rule. Harsha had made the largest expansion of the Gupta Empire and brought back its past glory. For this, he had built up very strongest army comprising 5,000 elephants, 20,000 cavalries, and 50,000 infantry. With the help of the army, he had overrun the whole North India and defeated many powerful kings of the region like Sasanka from Kannauj, Dhruvasena II ruler of Valabhi ruler and Harsha's campaigns also remained very successful in the Eastern India. In this account, Chinese literature frequently projected him as the king of Magadha in 641 A.D. Through the victories over entire north India, Harsha had become one of the most powerful rulers and his army strength had also increased as cavalry from 20,000 to 100,000 cavalry and 5000 elephants to 60,000 elephants. In forty-one years of his reign, Harsha had ruled directly/indirectly on large parts of India like Malwa, Jalandhar, Nepal, Gujrat, Sind, Assam, Kashmir, United Provinces, Orissa, Bengal, Central India and Rajputana.

During the early medieval times, Chola was one of the another most powerful kingdoms in South India. For imperialistic motives, they had given particular attention towards building the strongest army. In his study, Agarwal

(2012, p. 174) mentioned that the Chola army had mainly comprised of Infantry, cavalry, and elephants. At that time, it was the most well organized and well-knit army of India. For more professionalize the army, Chola ruler had given adequate training to the soldiers. Roy (2015, p. 33) had cited that under the reign of Rajaraja I (985–1014 AD), the combined strength of Chola army and navy was 9, 00,000. Moreover, 60,000 elephants had also played the backbone role in the Chola army. On the other side, Chola Empire was one of the first kingdoms that understood the importance of navy. Barua (2005, p. 17) had demonstrated that for building the Mammoth Empire, they had developed strongest navy for expanding their territorial boundaries. The existence of mighty power under the Chola had posed a serious threat to the surrounding kingdoms. In spite of building the strongest and largest army in the early medieval India, they had also introduced the importance of navy. In his work, Agarwal (2012) had considered it as a dynamic and crucial development in the military history of India. Thus, army administration under Chola Empire was well organized and efficient. In this backdrop, the military had played a very pivotal role in expanding the Chola Empire and maintain law and order in their vast empire.

The invaders had also started coming India through the whole span of Indian history. In this milieu, with the starting of the medieval period, a line of invaders had started to invade the region. Jackson (2003, p. 3) pointed out that Mahmud Ghaznavi (2 October 971 AD to 30 April 1030) had invaded India seventeen times between 1001 to 1027 AD for fulfilling his materialistic desires. After this, Muiz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam, well known as Muhammad Ghori (1149 to 15 March 1206) had also attacked India from 1175 to 1186. After the death of Muhammad Ghori (15 March 1206), Turkish rule (1206-1290 AD) had been established in India. Qutb al-Din Aibak (1206-1210 AD) was the founder of Mamluk dynasty (1206-90 AD). Further, Jackson (1975, pp. 125-126) explained that the Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526 AD) had been ruled by five dynasties namely Mamluk dynasty (1206-90 AD), Khilji dynasty (1290-1320), Tughlaq dynasty (1320-1414), Sayyid dynasty (1414-51) and Lodi dynasty (1451–1526). However, a chain of the ruler had ruled over the Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526 AD), but upto Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316 AD), the military remained chaotic.

Labh (2002, pp. 277-278) had written a coherent account of Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526 AD), entitled 'The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military

History' which is considered a significant work on the Delhi Sultanate period. He had advocated that with the coming of Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316 AD), numerous structural changes had been infused in Sultanate army. On the other side, Barani (1285-1357)<sup>5</sup>, had pointed out that, "two pillars maintain kingship—first is the administration and second is the conquest. The army supports both pillars. He argued that Kingship and army had been interwoven. We can not separate one from the other. Jackson (2003), had pointed out that prior to Alauddin, an army of the sultanate was comprised in a disorganized manner. Moreover, the Sultans didn't pay much attention to building a permanent army and kept relied on armies of the governors and Jagirdars. Thus, the disorganized army was the most defected aspect of the Delhi Sultanate.

Alauddin Khalji (1250 to 1316 AD) was not only a brave soldier but great general also. Niazi (1992, p. 153) who had written a book entitled 'The Life and Works of Sultan Alauddin Khalji' had demonstrated that he had given particular attention towards military reforms and removed the defects of the old military system. He was the first Muslim ruler who introduced significant reforms to improve the standard of the army and to make it powerful, disciplined and well-organized. For curtailing the Mongol's expansion and internal security, he had maintained a powerful army. Alauddin Khalji had spiked the recruitment of soldiers and built up the largest army of the Delhi Sultanate.

A Persian historian, Ferishta (1560-1620)<sup>6</sup> written good accounts of the history of Muslim rule entitled, 'Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India.' Fundamentally, the work had documented the period of Muslim India from 975 to 1612 AD. In this, he had advocated that Alauddin Khalji had raised an army of 4,75,000. Cavalry, infantry, and elephants were the major components of the army. Only those were preferred to recruit in the army, who has had the special skills in handling the arms. Before the Alauddin, there is no reference to the regular pay and other comforts to the soldiers. But Alauddin had introduced a lot of changes in the existing military system. He had started to pay regular salaries to the soldiers along with the horses and arms as well. Alauddin had also given

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<sup>5</sup> Ziauddin Barani (1285–1357), was the reknowned political thinker during the Delhi Sultanate. He had written a lot of texts on delhi sultanate, importantly Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, in which he had interpreted the history of delhi sultanate from Ghiyas ud din Balban to Firuz Shah Tughluq (Jackson, 2003).

<sup>6</sup> Ferishta was a persian historian, who patronised under the Bijur rule, Ferishta spent most of his life under the patronage of King Ibrahim Adil Shah (Briggs, 1829).

special importance to the elephants. In the war, bows, arrows, maces, battle-axes, and daggers were used for fighting with enemies (Briggs, 1829). In his study, Ali (1981) had argued that Muhammad Bin Tughluq (1324 to 1351 AD) had been remembered as learned and open-minded ruler of the Sultanate period. He was well-known as a 'Wiseman.' However, due to internal rebellions and Mongol invasion, he took some crucial decisions in this respect. Barani (1285-1357 AD) and Ibn Battuta (1304 to 1369 AD) had also considered him as a protagonist for introducing new experiences during his reign. However, as an administrative, he had tried to introduce many new perspectives but remained failed. For making peace and security, he had built the strongest army, and the total strength of the army under Mohammad was 9, 00,000 in 1329. Barani (1285-1357 AD) had demonstrated that Muhammad bin Tughluq enlisted numerous soldiers in his army without checking the ability of troops or the brand of their horses.

In his study, Asher (1977, p. 273) had revealed that Sher Shah Suri (1540 – 1545 AD), one of the ablest ruler also well known as a Sher Khan, established Sur Empire in the north India. He was one of the most powerful king, who had defeated and side-line the mighty Mughals in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. However, he ruled only for five years, but he had introduced new civic and military administration in India. The Military organization of Sher Shah Suri was based on rational policies, and he had invited to join the army from different parts of the country. Sher Shah's army built a strongest army as Alauddin Khalji had built during the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

In Sher Shah (1473 to 1545 AD) Army, there was one lakh and fifty thousand cavalries, twenty-five thousand infantry and five thousand elephants. During the whole period, Sher Shah had shown particular interest in the building of an army. He had introduced many innovations in his army like training, promotion, discipline, disbursement of salary, the supply of arms and clothes to his soldiers. Thus, Sher Shah had remained very successful in building and maintaining a large army under his rule.

In the first half of 16<sup>th</sup> century, Mughals had appeared on the scene of Indian history. Chandra (2005) pointed out that after crushing the Lodhi dynasty (1451–1526) in the first battle of Panipat (1526), Babur (1526-30 AD) had established the Mughal Empire in India. For building the strongest empire, they had given military was controlled by the emperor of the Mughal Empire. However, kings like Babur (1483-1530) and Humayun (1508 to 1556 AD) could not get



enough time for improving the administration during their rule. On the other side, Prasad (1974) recognized that with the arrival of Babur on the Indian scene, somewhat significant changes had been imbued in the organization setup of the army.

Roy (2015) frequently mentioned that Babur was the first person who actually used artillery on the battle-field. Further, it had left far-reaching effects on the military history of warfare in India. Nevertheless, under Akbar (1556-1605 AD), the third Mughal emperor a lot many structural changes took place in the Mughal army. A line of scholars like Dimand (1953, p. 46), Prasad (1974), Chandra (2005), and Garza (2016) called him the great due to his many accomplishments. Fundamentally, he had established the foundation the military system of Mughals in India. Prominent scholars, Prasad (1974) and Chandra (2005) argued that the Mughal army had no real divisions. Still, there was Mughal army comprised of four parts mainly cavalry, infantry, artillery, and navy. Out of these, cavalry was the more potent due to his speed and swiftness. Thus, the army had become more disciplined and removed the most of the defects of the ancient Indian army. Even then, Mughals did not pay much attention towards navy. Under Akbar, drastic changes took place in the way of fighting and weapons, now Mughal's army had started to use guns and cannons at a very large scale.

A British Indologist, Smith (1919, p. 42) had given the account of Mughal army. He advocated that no large army was maintained under the Mughals. The various scholar had inconsistency about the total strength of the Mughal army, particularly under Akbar. Smith had written a good account entitled 'Akbar the Great Mogul,' in which he had argued that during the period of Akbar, the strength of Mughal cavalry was not exceeded more than 50000 and 500 elephants. On the other side, Agrawal (1983, p. 76) had pointed out that Akbar kept not more than 25000 soldiers in his army. For organizing the administrative and military system, Akbar had introduced a unique system known as Masabdari system<sup>7</sup>, and through this, Akbar had remained successful in building a largest imperial army. With the help of this, Akbar had established the largest empire in India.

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<sup>7</sup> The Mansabdari system was introduced by Akbar in 1571 A.D. Through this, Akbar organized the nobility and army. These Mansabdars played very important role in construction of Mughal's army. In returning, all the Mansabdars were paid through the Jagirs (Smith, 1919).

Through mapping the military history of India, we have noticed that it had passed through many vicissitudes. On the other side, now it is well documented that without the military, the kingdoms and empires cannot survive. The above-mentioned study had well explained that how the various kings from ancient to medieval India, developed larger armies. In his studies, Prasad (1974) and Chandra (2005) recognized that army had played very vital role in extending imperialistic footprints of various kingdoms since ancient times. In this backdrop, British had also adopted the same policy of imperialism. In their studies, Metcalf & Metcalf (2006, p. 66) and Chandra (2009) had demonstrated that however, they came to India as a trader but steadily they had become major political powers. For expansion of colonies, British had profited a lot from the military. Particular in India, British had built up the strongest army for fulfilling their imperialistic designs.

### **1.5 Building of British Indian Army: Punjab Contexts**

During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the English East India Company (EIC) was a minor player in India, controlling just a few small coastal enclaves at that time. Slowly but steadily, they established the British empire in India. In his study, Roy (2011) pointed out that in 1612, British had established its first settlement in Surat, followed by the construction of Fort St. George at Madras in 1639 and acquiring of Bombay in 1661. Marston (2014) and Chaurasia (2002, p. 39) had argued that in the beginning, the EIC's (East India Company) small forces were repeatedly defeated by indigenous powers, but this started changing rapidly from 1750 onwards. Thereafter, the native powers were defeated and destroyed one after another.

Together with Roy (2011), Chandra (2000) noted in his significant work 'Freedom Struggle for Indian Independence' that the British Indian Army had played a crucial role in getting political paramountcy in the India by the EIC. In the midst of 1688-1815, Britain became the strongest military power in the world, and unsurprisingly between 1815-1865, the British Empire grew at the rate of 100,000 square miles per year. The construction of an overseas empire by Britain led to the overseas expansion of the European maritime powers also during the early modern era and the availability of local allies and military constituted locally provided a lot of aid in the rise of the West over in the rest of the world between 1500 and 1800 (Talbot, 2007). Several studies like Chaurasia (2002), Stern (2011)

and Reid (2017) accepted that after the battles of Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764), British had acquired military supremacy in the Indian sub-continent, most commonly between the periods of 1750-1850. It expanded its military strength and establishments by adapting itself to the requirements of the subcontinent. This was in tune with the changing character of the British Empire and the strategies; it adopted at different places according to the requirement of the time and space.

The mutiny of 1857 had changed the recruitment grounds of the British Indian army, in which Punjab got a special place and turned into 'Sword of the Raj.' Mazumder (2003) demonstrated that De-Bengalisation and Punjabization of the British Indian army was the punishment to the rebels and rewards to the loyalist. In spite of this, some compulsions made Punjab special in the defence strategy of the colonial masters that further made more relevant to the British Empire, resulted in the cantonmentization s with supporting institutions in the Punjab region.

### **1.6 Geostrategic and Geopolitical Importance of Punjab: Great Game and Russo-phobia**

Talbot (1988), Roy (2011) admitted that Punjab was the gateway to rich Gangetic plain and a landlocked region in the northwestern corner of the Indian subcontinent (Talbot, 1988 and Roy, 2011). Ancient historian Jha (1988), Sharma (2006) and Mazumder (2010) revealed that since Alexander the Great's (326 BC) invasion, successive waves of invaders had looted and made their way along the northern Great Trunk Road (GTR) which ran through Punjab, connecting Kabul to Delhi. Most of the region's towns had grown as route centres on or near this highway.

Talbot (1988) pointed out, During the British rule, Punjab had become the part of the 'Great Game,'<sup>8</sup> and the threats of Russian expansion through Central Asia had alarmed to the British. In the context of such an impending invasion from the expanding Russian empire, to save and secure the empire, the British had built strong military infrastructure in the Punjab during the 19<sup>th</sup> century to annex and guard its Afghan border to foil Russia's eastward expansion through Central Asia. It is unlikely that the region would have assumed importance as a centre of

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<sup>8</sup> The 'Great Game' refers to the strategic rivalry between the British Empire and the Russian Empire for supremacy over central Asia. The period is generally regarded as between 1813-1907 (Khawaja, 2012).

colonial military recruitment if it had not been near the Indian army's main theatre of war in Afghanistan. Yong (2005) had mostly approved that the geostrategic location and the fear of Russian attack, made Punjab one of the most militarised provinces of British India, a garrison state, to the extent of becoming headquarters of the British Indian Army and its most significant and fertile recruitment ground.

It was the 1857 mutiny that shifted the recruitment ground of the British Indian Army from Bengal to Punjab and NWFP (North West Frontier Province) of the subcontinent. After this, Punjab had played a very critical role in the construction of the British Indian Army. In his work Soherwordi (2010) had argued that the 1857 mutiny had taught a lesson to British officials for restructuring its defence policies in India. In this backdrop, British had implemented a policy of divide and rule by martial and non-martial.

The British Army's senior officers had been believed that certain classes and communities in India were warrior races - "Martial Races".<sup>9</sup> Such classes and communities were considered to be better and braver soldiers and more suitable for the army services. As a result, by the first half of the twentieth century, the army was dominated by the soldiers from the North and North West of India. The Gurkhas from Nepal, the Punjabis, and the Pathans were classified as 'Martial Races' and preferred to enlist in the army which led to increasing the number of Punjabis in the British Indian army (Soherwordi, 2010).

British had been grateful to the Punjabis for their role in suppressing the mutiny of 1857. Therefore, the British Indian army recruitment drew from these strategic areas and martial races, *i.e.*, Punjab, which has been perceived as suited for the harsh campaigning conditions of the frontier itself (Khawaja, 2012). Besides this, the North has had possessed another endowment — the hardy men, experienced in warfare, who had joined almost every invader, from 12<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century, who came to India through the North-West Frontier (Khawaja, 2012). They were able to survive comfortably in temperatures which had frozen soldiers from Bengal and Madras to death. They were seen as the best suited to guard the frontier region and resist the Russian attack in case of an onslaught through the North West.

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<sup>9</sup> The Eden commission reported in 1879 that the Punjab was the "home of the most martial races of India" and that it was 'the nursery' of the best soldiers (Soherwordi, 2010).

The growth and domination of Punjab in the British Army started with the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839. Heath (2005) has pointed out that the British fought two wars (First Anglo-Sikh War, 1845-46) and (Second Anglo-Sikh War, 1848-49) with the Sikhs which further highlighted the bold determination and braveness in the eyes of British. Immediately after the end of Second Anglo-Sikh War in 1849, the British had annexed Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province.<sup>10</sup> The Sikhs had also allied with the British in the first Anglo-Afghan War (1838-1842). On the other side, discontent had started among the Bihar, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and part of Madhya Pradesh people and soldiers given their overlooking in the recruitment policies. The valour of Punjabi had been recognized by the British during the First Anglo-Afghan War and the same has been rewarded in the aftermath of the 1857 mutiny. Physically stronger and loyalty spiked the importance of Punjabi's in the eyes of British during this time. When the Second Anglo-Afghan War broke out, Punjab obsessed with a 'Great Game.' In this milieu, Punjab had emerged as a strategic point for the British Empire to curtail the Russian expansion towards the Indian subcontinent. Consequently, such compulsions had compelled the British officials to restructure its defence policies in India. In such a typical case, Punjab had got a very peculiar place and emerged as a 'Pile Arms of the Raj' (Verma, 2008).

### **1.7 Punjab's Pivotal Place in the British Indian Army**

Major Stringer Lawrence formed the first military units of the British East India Company in Madras in 1748 and regarded him as the father of the Indian Army. From the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Bengal army recruited mostly from the communities that had served the Muslim dynasty in the past. Fundamentally recruitment of the military was focused on high caste Hindus, mainly from Bihar, Oudh, and Agra. He had organized the Army of Company into three presidencies - Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Major Stringer Lawrence formed the first military units of the British East India Company in Madras in 1748 and regarded him as the father of the Indian Army. He had organized the Army of Company into three presidencies - Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.

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<sup>10</sup> Maharaja Ranjit Singh also called "Sher-a-Punjab" (Lion of the Punjab) (1780-1839) was a Sikh ruler of the sovereign country of the Punjab and the Sikh empire (Heath, 2005).

In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the recruitment areas of the Bengal army were Bihar, Oudh, Agra, Punjab, and Nepal. However, Punjabis and Ghurkha's were also enlisted in the Bengal army, but the share of soldiers remained very negligible. Roy (2011) claimed that after Bengal, Madras was the second player of the British Indian army and supplied significant contribution in the construction of presidential armies. Most of Madras army was recruited from the Madras, Hyderabad, Central Provinces, Burma. Bombay was also supplied sizeable soldiers for the Presidential armies during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Mainly, Bombay, Sindh, Rajputana was the major recruitment grounds for the Bombay presidential army. Unlike the Bengal army, the recruitment in Madras and Bombay armies was on supra-caste and supra-religion basis.

Abdulla (1976) had mentioned that Lord Roberts<sup>11</sup>, one of the best-loved Commanders-In-Chief in the British Indian Army at the times of 1857 mutiny, had argued that 1857 mutiny was not only the result of soldier's disaffection but even more, causes had also been calculated. The affairs of cartridges, supposed to be smeared with a mix of cow's fat, which the sepoy had to bite before loading his weapon. Lord Dalhousie had annexed the Oudh which insulted the loyalty of Oudh's people and their sentiments. Lunt (1917, pp. 158-159) edited a book entitled 'Sepoy to Subedar' a true memories of Sita Ram,<sup>12</sup> a soldier of the British Indian Army, serving in Bengal artillery, had mentioned that due to the disproportion of soldiers, mutiny of 1857 might be brought more dangerous results but luckily the roots of British Empire remained safe. He argued that it is very astonishing to note that when the mutiny broke out, the total strength of the British soldiers in India was 21, 197. On the other side, the strength of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay was 277, 000 which was much higher than the European soldiers in the Indian subcontinent.

From the 1857 mutiny, the British officials learned lessons and rethought about its defence policies in the subcontinent. Keeping the rebellion in mind, British officials drastically changed the structure of army (Tatla, 2005). However,

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<sup>11</sup> Frederick Roberts (30 Sep 1832 – 14 Nov 1914), was a one of the most successful Commander-In-Chief of the British Indian Army. He had played very important role in stabilizing the British Empire in Indian subcontinent particularly in 1857 mutiny (Abdulla, 1976).

<sup>12</sup> Sita Ram Pande was one of the soldiers who helped the British to conquer the Indian subcontinent. He served in the Bengal Army for the British Empire. In 1812, He got enlisted and remained in the service till 1860. During his service, He had participated in the various campaigns against Gurkhas, Pindaris, Sikhs and Mahrattas (Lunt, 2017).

so many causes of the mutiny had been counted by Lord Roberts, but the homogenous nature of the Bengal army was one of the major factors that contributed to the outbreak of the Mutiny. As earlier pointed out, the Bengal Army was recruited from the higher castes like Rajput's and Bhumihaar. On the other hand, the recruitment of the lower castes was very restricted in the Bengal army 1855 onwards. In his study, Streets (2011) quoted that the domination of higher castes in the Bengal Army has been blamed in part for initial mutinies that led to the rebellion.

The mutiny of 1857, was a watershed event in the history of British India (Singh, 2008). It was the largest, most widespread, and dangerous threat to British rule in India in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. One of its most obvious repercussions was the elimination of the EIC and the transfer of control of India to the British Crown. As a military crisis of truly massive proportions, the rebellion was also inspired the structural transformation of both the British and Indian armies. In Britain, the crisis resulted in the amalgamation of the East India Company's European forces into the line and the commitment of a permanent, 80,000 man garrison on the subcontinent. Consequently, a lot of reconstruction took place in the British Indian Army. Sixty-nine out of seventy-four regiments of the Bengal army had been disbanded. Moreover, the recruitment areas of the army had reconstructed entirely (Streets, 2004).

Thus, after the mutiny, British officials had laid down the new roads for the British Indian Army. 1858 onwards, Recruitment had shifted to the North and North Western regions of India at the expense of other regions especially Bengal (Streets, 2004). With the initialization of new defence policy, British had preferred Gurkhas of Nepal, the Punjabis and the Pathans to enlist in the British Indian army. Consequently, the number of Punjabi soldiers increased gradually in the British Indian army.<sup>13</sup> The main martial race of the West Punjab was the Tiwanas, Noons, Gakkhars, Janguas, Awans, Baluchis, Khattars, Khokhars and Sials (Soherwordi, 2010). In future, the British maintained distinction and separateness of castes and class in the army. Lessoning from these events, British had given

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<sup>13</sup> Revolt of 1857

Available At: [http://www.mu.ac.in/myweb\\_test/TYBA%20study%20material/T.Y.B.A.%20His\\_tory%20-Paper%20-%20V%20-%20Modern%20India%20\(1857%20-%201984\)%20\\_0\\_Eng.pdf](http://www.mu.ac.in/myweb_test/TYBA%20study%20material/T.Y.B.A.%20His_tory%20-Paper%20-%20V%20-%20Modern%20India%20(1857%20-%201984)%20_0_Eng.pdf) (Accessed on 27 Feb. 2016).

utmost importance to divide and rule policy for keeping the empire stabilize (Boparai, 2000).

In his study, Talbot (2007) had revealed that British fought two Anglo-Sikh wars with the Punjab and immediately after the Second Anglo-Sikh war (1848-49), British had decided to occupy the last province of the Indian subcontinent. Punjab annexed to the British India in 1849, and up to 1857, it had remained under the Board of Administration. During this period, British had attempted to develop the region. The modernization and a new wave of development were the strategies adopted by the British to make the people of Punjabi people loyal towards the British rule. This was further accentuated by the fact that during the 1857 mutiny, most regiments of the Bengal Army rebelled or had been disarmed in anticipation of their rebellion, while the Madras and Bombay Armies - despite some discontents - remained quiescent, even fighting with distinction against the rebels; and the, regiments of Sikhs and other Punjabis fully supported the military operations, along with the Garhwalis and the Ghurkhas to suppress the rebellion. Khalidi (2001) had cited that unsurprisingly, the Punjabis became the most preferred group in military recruitment to the British Indian army. The people in Punjab are perceived as endowed with marital capabilities - whether Hindu, Muslim, or Sikh- which was thought to be channelized to the benefit of the Empire.

In the post-1857 mutiny, lot of changes put in place to enable the army to control the emerging explosive security situation. Meanwhile, Punjab had come under the Indian British Empire. Above all, the Anglo-Sikh and Anglo-Afghan Wars highlighted the combatant qualities of Punjabi army under Maharaja Ranjit Singh (Burton, 2007). Moreover, the national movement had become explosive and difficult to control the situation. On account of this, the Indian British Raj had reorganized the British Indian Army, and the Punjabi were given the important places in this construction of the army. Furthermore, the new army command under Punjab title was created in 1895. For the Punjab command, Punjab and NWFP were the major areas of recruitment.

To make the army more professional and efficient, some military training institutions and military installations such as civil stations and Cantonment had created. For example, six major urban centres—Ambala, Lahore, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Sialkot, and Shimla. However, these military installations housed 73 percent of the Europeans in the region by 1868 (Rahmani, 2011). In his study,



Grewal (2009) demonstrated that the structure of these cantonments had been designed to meet the military and residential requirements of the officers, troops and ancillary personnel of European and native origins and provided with modern arms and ammunition. It had a definite advantage for the Raj as it not only sustained the British Indian Empire and also unleashed a wave of changes in the region.

### **1.8 Contribution of the Punjab in World War I & II**

Colonial armies had remained loyal to their colonial masters. From 16<sup>th</sup> & 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, some European countries (Britain, France, Dutch, Russia, and Germany, etc.) started to expand their territorial control over the colonies. These colonies had played a significant role in stabilizing and expanding their imperialistic interests of the colonial masters throughout the world by providing military sources (Chaudhuri, 1965). Out of these imperial powers, British had been remained one of the most dominant powers and controlled a vast area of the World especially in the Indian-subcontinent.

In the Indian subcontinent, Punjab had acquired immense significance on account of its geostrategic location and above all, its people who had been known for martial and soldierly qualities. It became the 'Sword of the Raj' for the British Empire as it became the fertile ground for the British Indian Army (Talbot, 2007). Punjabi army under the British Raj not only had played a crucial role to maintain the internal law and order but also had remained instrumental in realizing the imperialistic design externally as well. The Indian soldiers in general and the Punjabi soldiers, in particular, took part in World War I.

Thus Indians soldiers had played very crucial and momentous role during the World War I. According to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, one million plus Indian men had served in the World War I. Approximately 60,000 Indian soldiers had been killed during the World War II (Singh, 2014). India provided the biggest contingent of British Empire forces who had fought across the globe, from the trenches in Western Europe, to Palestine, Mesopotamia (modern-day Iraq), Russia and as far as China during the War.<sup>14</sup> At the end of the war in November 1918, 1,105,000 Indian personnel had been sent overseas. While

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<sup>14</sup> Indian contribution to WWI highlighted by Manchester academics  
Available At: <http://www.manchester.ac.uk/discover/news/article/?id=14024> (Accessed on 5<sup>th</sup> March 2015).

138,000 went to France and 144,000 to Egypt and Palestine, with smaller contingents to Aden, East Africa, Gallipoli and Salonika, the vast majority, 657,000, served in Mesopotamia.

Now, this is well established that Punjab had remained the major supplier of soldiers for the British Indian Army and played a very crucial role in the World War I. With the outbreak of the World War I, Punjab had mobilized the soldiers in a substantial number. Great military historian and a British official, Leigh (1922) argued that more than half of the soldiers of the British Indian Army had come from the Punjab during the World War I (Mittal, 1977). During the World War I, Punjabis soldiers had fought at the various theatres of war which will be covered in the following chapters of the study (Singh, 2014). Though Punjab had played very crucial role in keeping continue the policy of British imperialism in World War I, still, the oral story of Punjab soldiers had remained to exhume and could not find the place in the pages of history.

Not only in World War I, the same story of the Indian Army repeated in the World War II. The contribution of the Indian Army to the victory of the allied forces in the World War II had also remained very significant. Unfortunately, this area had not been taken up by the scholars and academicians and remained missing from the pages of history. A total number of 2,581,726 men eventually volunteered to serve in the Indian armed forces during this period. The war accelerated the pace of Indianisation of the Armed Forces; from a figure of about 1,500 officers in 1939, the number remarkably rose to about 15,000 in 1945 (IDSA, 2013). Despite all this, the Indian army successfully expanded from a peacetime strength of about 160,000 to a wartime high of nearly two million in 1943 (Qureshi, 2014).

On the other strands, Majumder (2003) and Sohal (2013) pointed out that Punjab had kept a close military relationship with the British more than a half-century. Punjab, well known as the 'Pile Arms of the Raj' remained extremely active and very immensely involved in the war. It had mobilized men, material and other war-supporting material for the various theatres of war. Due to its thick involvement generally called the Punjab as a 'Cannon Fodder of the World War II.' Qureshi (2014) cited that by the end of September 1939, General Sir Robert Cassells (1876-1959)<sup>15</sup>, the Commander-In-Chief for India, had pointed out that

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<sup>15</sup> Sir Robert Archibald Cassells (15 March 1876–23 December 1959) was an Indian Army officer. He had played very important role during the World War I (Sohal, 2013).

the initial response of Punjab towards the World War II was very enthusiastic and British Empire remained very indebted for its contribution. Because Punjab had remained the main supplier of the soldiers throughout the World War II. In his study, Pati (1996) had argued that in World War I, 'Martial Races' played the major role in the building of British Indian Army. But in World War II, martial theory and loyalty had cracked down. On the other side, the recruitment had been opened to 'Non-Martial' castes of Punjab also like Mazhbis Sikh, Ramdasi Sikh, Christians, and Ahmdiyas. Not only opened the recruitment paths but moreover, some physical standards had also been relaxed.

Thus, India had paid a very significant contribution to the World Wars regarding military and economic resources. Due to the contribution, the existing patterns and structures of India disturbed and broken down. Indians suffered through food, and other scarcities rise in prices and taxes. In spite of this, Inflation went up, and agriculture suffered as many young people went away on war duty. Industrial production also suffered. Restrictions were placed on the use of rail transport by ordinary people. Despite such tensions, military life offered many opportunities for Indian and British officers to integrate successfully and gave a chance for social change and upward mobility in the society (Barkawi, 2006). Industrial activity picked up during the war years as imports were reduced. Consequently. Cotton, iron and steel, cement, sugar, engineering and chemicals industries expanded in the India.

In the whole process, Punjab had a very typical case in point because, after 1857 mutiny, Punjab drastically converted into fertile ground for the British Indian army. Subsequently, in the reorganization of the British Indian army, Punjab had got an incredibly central place. However, this new recruitment policy had been colored with imperialist designs but along with exploitation, contributed to the development of socio-economic and infrastructural development of Punjab as well (Soherwordi, 2010). Though the World Wars had opened vast opportunities and brought drastic impacts on the social and economic life. At the same time, it gave unbearable pain to the Punjabi people also. Through this study, a modest attempt is made here to explore the role of India in the World Wars in general and Punjab in particular allied with mapping the impacts of World Wars on Punjab, a 'Garrison Province' of India during the colonial rule.

### **1.9 Relevance, Scope, and Justification of the Study**

After scanning the vast literature on the military history of India, it has been observed that in spite of strong and effective role of Punjabi soldiers in the colonial military history of Indian-subcontinent and World Wars, scholars and academicians had overlooked this part. Due to this, the role of these warriors had remained an under-researched area. Punjab had been a region that assumed importance in the British Indian Empire for both obligations- geostrategic location and fascinated with the Great Game. Punjab became a fertile ground and geostrategic location in which British Indian army was heavily concentrated with a robust of a network of military cantonments. Apart from converting it into as one of the greatest army recruitment grounds as “Province of Cantonments” and Russian fear called “Russophobia” compelled British to re-strategize its military policy. So, this is the high time to reposition the contribution of Punjab in the World Wars in the pages of history when the world is celebrating the first centenary of World War I. The projected work has highlighted the neglected story of Punjabis Army in the World Wars.

The study has also highlighted the regionality of colonial military history with reference to South Asia. The approach taken here is novel in military history- a bottom to top approach, starting with a micro-level study in order to understand the larger history without missing its specificities.

### **1.10 Objectives of the Study**

- Reconnoitring the Indianisation of the British Indian Army.
- To examine the Punjabization of the British Indian Army with special reference to mapping the role of Punjabis in the World Wars.
- To examine the World War legacies, how it had transformed the landscape and life of the region with special reference to migration, urbanization, education, demographic, social, geographical and cultural changes and transformations in Punjab.

### **1.11 Methodology**

The research area of military history remained under-explored in the academic research. However, some books have been written on the military history of the Indian subcontinent, but the roles of Punjabis in the World Wars have not been

focused upon consistently. Similarly, colonial military history of the Punjab had been remained marginalized in the available literature on the colonial military history of Punjab. Due to the lack of secondary sources, the study relies mostly on archival records pertaining to colonial and post-colonial time and hence adopts a method of document analysis through critical reading. The military reports, military Gazettes of recruitment, annual military reports and statistics and all other relevant archival sources available in Punjab State Archives at Patiala, Archives at Chandīgarh and New Delhi has been utilized. IDSA (Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses) and ICHR (Indian Council for Historical Research) libraries also has been accessed. Allied with archives, secondary sources such as relevant books, scholarly articles, unpublished thesis and dissertations, conference proceedings, working papers and web sources has been consulted for the completion of this work.

### **1.11.1 Chapters of the Thesis**

The thesis has covered within seven chapters.

#### **Chapter 1 - Introduction**

#### **Chapter 2 - Review of Literature**

In this chapter, the study has surveyed the various books, scholarly articles, and other sources relevant to an area of research.

#### **Chapter 3 - Imperialist Rivalries and Bloc Formations: Locating the Position & Contribution of British Indian Army in World Wars**

The World Wars had remained the watershed events in the history of the world. For the given, this chapter has attempted to map the colonial rivalries during the World Wars. Moreover, the contribution of the Indian subcontinent in the World Wars has been widely discussed. The role of British Indian army at the various theatres of war also discoursed particularly. Through this chapter, the first objective of the study has been achieved. For the completion of this chapter, books, scholarly articles and archival records has been used.

#### **Chapter 4 - Punjab, Sword of the British Indian Army: Rediscovering Its Role in World Wars**

In this chapter, the colonial history of Punjab has been traced. Mainly, it brings out the role of Punjab in the World War I & II. Moreover, the chapter didn't overlook the historical emergence of Punjabi bravery and valour in the form of Anglo-

Afghan War, Anglo-Sikh Wars before the Punjab annexation. Fundamentally, this chapter has been framed for locating the role of Punjab in the World Wars and attained the second objective of the study. For the given chapter, rare books, archival records, gazetteers, annual reports, letters of soldiers, books, scholarly articles and web sources has been consulted.

### **Chapter 5 - Building of British Indian Army: A Comparative Analysis of Recruitment Pattern – Punjab versus India**

This chapter has given a comparative analysis of recruitment grounds of the British Indian army under the colonial rule (1849-1947). Specifically, it has inserted for bringing out the comparison of recruitment between Punjab and other provinces of India. Primarily, the chapter projects the military importance of Punjab during the colonial period for the British. For the compiling of given chapter, rare books, archival records, gazetteers, annual reports, letters of soldiers, books scholarly articles and web sources has been accessed.

### **Chapter 6 - Punjab Socio-Economic Development under British Rule: Mapping the World Wars' Legacy**

It is well established that Punjab has involved thickly in the World War I & II. In this contextual, this chapter has attempted to map the various repercussions of World Wars to the respective region. Basically, it is an endeavor to portrait the impacts of World Wars on the Punjab's geography, economy, and society. For the specified chapter, rare books, archival records, gazetteers, annual reports, letters of soldiers, books scholarly articles and web sources has been used.

### **Chapter 7- Conclusion**

At last, the chapter has added to Summarize and conclude the whole study. In view of this, a study has discussed the significant findings and how it remained important for the Raj as well as Punjab.

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## Chapter 2

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## 2 Review of Literature

This chapter is an attempt to review the available literature on the military history of Punjab during the colonial rule (1849-1947), with a particular focus on the positioning and contribution of Punjab during the World Wars, finding the regional contribution to the Wars and ahead the manifold and multi-layered effects on the respective area/location in the Indian sub-continent. It is indeed an under-researched and overlooked area, and largely there are no work on the contribution of the military from Punjab to the World Wars and their legacy to the Punjab region. Though a few scholarly articles and books are available in the general military history of the colonial Indian subcontinent, but they are not specifically focused on the Military history of Punjab during the colonial rule, connecting with World Wars and their impact on the lives of the region. A survey through the existing literature is necessary to understand the state of the art of knowledge regarding the research issue in general and identify the prevailing gaps in justification of the present exercise.

The British Indian army was one of the largest in the world, with a history going back several hundred years. Several historical works about the army have been written both by professional soldiers and the academicians. Out of these, there are some scholarly works on the general military history of Indian subcontinent. As well-known South Asia has a great importance in the British military system, and it pointed out that India was significant for the empire for its military and defense importance.

An important work on the military history of South Asia formulated by Bhattacharya (2010) under the entitled "British Military Information Management Techniques and the South Asian Soldier: Eastern India during the World War II," examines the British Military information system during the colonial rule. The author emphasized that how the British deals with the political parties/organizations of India to gain the sympathy in the administrative functions and particularly in the World War times. In the second phase of the article, author depicted the story of Eastern Indian soldiers and their recruitment in the World War II. But largely, the work has focused on the East India in World War II.

Marston and Sundaram (2007) in their book, 'Military History of India and South Asia: From East India Company to the Nuclear Era' also underlines the fact



how the colonial Indian/South Asian army satisfied the imperial interests of the British. The study also points out the importance of British Indian army in the expansion of the Indian empire, by highlighting its role in the Afghan wars and World Wars. The work provides clear information from EIC (East India Company) up to nuclear era.

Ballantyne (2006) and Metcalf (2007) also emphasizes the pivotal role of Indian army in creating an India-centric sub-imperial system, in which people, ideas, goods and military power were exchanged from India within and across the subcontinent. Metcalf extended further by arguing that India became a nexus of imperial power that made possible the British, conquest, control and governance in a broad arc of territory in the Indian Ocean region, stretching from Africa to East Asia (Metcalf, 2007). Of course, the focus of these works was not on the military history of Punjab and its involvement in the World War I & II.

Gajendra Singh (2009) have done his PhD on 'Between self and Soldiers: Indian Sihahis and their testimony during the two World Wars.' The author explained that the project had started as an attempt to understand rank and file resistance within the colonial Indian army. Because Colonial Indian soldiers were situated in the divide between the colonizers and the colonized. However, the work is vibrant from a military point of view but didn't give too much focus on the military history of colonial Punjab.

Roy (2005) wrote a work under the entitled 'Military synthesis in South Asia: Armies, Warfare and Indian Society, c. 1740-1849', concerning with the collapse of the Mughal imperium and the emergence of British colonial system. The author had revealed, the period witnessed both continuity and change in structures of the armies and started a period of infusing new elements in the armies. Importantly, two elements of traditional armies of India - War elephants and horse archers who were dominated, now withered away from the military. The study also pointed out that in their place drilled and disciplined infantry was held. Further, the jagirdari system had replaced by the Battalion regimental system administered by the centralized military bureaucracies. The work mainly provides foundational information about the military transformations with the downfall of Mughal Empire to new emerging powers.

Roy's (2011) article 'The Hybrid military establishment of the East India Company in South Asia: 1850-1849' points out how English East India Company

(EIC) a minor power in the seventeenth century in South Asia, even defeated by a minor powers in the region, was transformed into an empire with the help of western military culture and infrastructures. The recent work of Tirthankar Roy (2012) also discusses this complex transformation from a trading corporation to an empire. Kaushik Roy (2011) also underlines the hybrid military establishment of the British in South Asia, with assembling the South Asian manpower, animals, and economic resources. These two works too did not pay much attention to the military history of Punjab in South Asia during the colonial rule figuring its contribution in the World War I & II and how it plays a crucial role in maintaining and stabilizing the British Empire. Watterson's (2013) more recent work (article) with the title 'The Keys to British Success in South Asia' foregrounds the key factors of British success in South Asia, including the lucrative trade agreements between the British and the Indians princes, the role of the destruction of a central political power, the Mughals, to pose a challenge to the EIC and above all the military force built by the British. The study highlights the role of Britain's powerful navy, their ability to play Indian party against one another, and the utilization of native soldiers for the empire as keys to their military success.

There are a few other works that deal with the Indian military history in general and a few others looking at specific issues, apart from regions within the country. Cohen (1969) had written an article 'The Untouchable Soldier: Caste, Politics, and the Indian army' examine the colonial military system and attempts to demonstrate the changes it brought to the politics and society in general and the low-caste communities of India in particular. The article looks at the caste configuration of British Indian army and how it changed over time, bringing more categories and regions into its fold by downplaying others. The work also analyses the reasons behind reorganization of the Bengal army after the 1857 rebellion and military recruitment shift from Bengal to Punjab region. Cohen also points out to the shift to "Racial Races" after 1857, alongside identification of such races that were more loyal and trustworthy than other races toward the British government. These 'races' included Jats, Sikh, Ghurkha, and Pathans. Malik (1976) wrote a work entitled, 'The Punjab and the Indian "mutiny": a reassessment,' mainly concerned with 1857 revolt and role of Punjab. It is well pointed out by many studies that the years 1857-59 were certainly a turning point in the history of India. At this time, the whole of India was convulsed in what has been variously

described as the "Great Mutiny", a "social rebellion miscalled a military mutiny", a "servile war and a sort of jacquerie combined", a "Patriotic War", a "Muslim Rebellion", a "national movement in the fullest sense", a "Russian intrigue", and the like. The author demonstrated that in 1857, the pace of mutinies was very high and every effort was made to preserve the integrity of the Empire. Further, Study focused on such regions which remained silent and loyal when everywhere a breeze of mutinies was in vogue. In this study, Author mainly focused on the Punjab region and their loyalty during the uprising. Further, work demonstrated that Panjab stood aloof from the rebels and helped the English to re-establish their rule in India. Work had a great importance but didn't touch any other aspect of Punjab colonialism beyond 1857 revolt.

Omissi (1994) wrote a book entitled, "The Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860-1947". The study had given a broader glimpse of the British Indian army. The work mainly focused on post-Mutiny decades, when considerations of security seemed so pressing. At this time, the ideology of 'Martial Races' came to focus overwhelmingly on military recruitment," particularly those of the Punjab, as the natural social base for a loyal army, and on the more general reconstruction of its regiments along ethnic and provincial lines as the best defense against the rebellion in the future. However, the study is very pivotal for filling the chronological gap of the colonial military history of the Indian subcontinent, but at the same time, the contribution of Punjab for Great Wars had remained away from the considerations of the author.

Another work by Peers (1995), had written 'Between Mars and Mammon: Colonial Armies and the Garrison State in Early Nineteenth-Century India.' The author has pointed that after the great uprising of 1857 (also known as the first war of Independence), British organized Imperial armed forces at a vast scale. Many regions which mutinied punished and rewarded those regions which remained loyal towards the British. The work is largely extended from Omissi's (1994) work.

Talbot (1984) pointed out in a work entitled 'The Second World War and Local Indian Politics: 1939-1947', about the role of local Indian politics during the World War I. Study mainly focus on the effect of wartime pressures on the political relationship between the British and the Indian nationalists at the All-India level. However, the war had an equally important impact on Indian provincial politics. Further, author revealed that the British loss of local political control played an

important part in setting the timetable for decolonization. Instead of upper, the work also slightly touches the Punjab politics in World War II. Overall, the work fundamentally concerned with local politics of India during the World War II.

Constable (2001) had written a very splendid work under the theme of 'The Marginalization of a Dalit Martial Race in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Western India.' Fundamentally, the work focused on the recruitment of the British Indian army and explained about the characteristics of martial races. The author argued about the recruitment of the martial races of the late nineteenth and early twentieth in India. Mainly, the work dedicated to the martial characteristics of Mahar soldiers. In this study, Philip demonstrated that despite their military achievement and marital characteristics, from 1892 these Mahar soldiers (due to classified as an "untouchable") were no longer recruited in the British Indian army, prohibited from further enlistment and reclassified as a non-martial race. However, the work predominantly devoted to the Mahar soldiers and its recruitment in the British Indian army but didn't bring into consideration other aspects of the British Indian army recruitment. No doubt, work is very rich in the sphere of Mahar recruitment in Bombay army, later prohibited from recruitment in the British Indian army and classified as a non-martial race of India. Because, earlier historical works, such as by Philip Mason (1974), Tony Heathcote (1974) and Stephen Cohen (1971) have provided only limited analysis of Dalit recruitment.

Khalidi (2002) wrote an article, "Ethnic Group Recruitment in the Indian Army: The Contrasting Cases of Sikhs, Muslims, Gurkhas and others" which broadly concerned about the ethnic recruitment in the British Indian army. The author also argued about the various ethnic communities in the armed forces. From the military point of view, work has fulfilled the chronological gap of ethnic recruitment in the army during colonial rule. Additionally, keeping aside this, the work nowhere touch the presence of Punjab in the World Wars. Another work, "Rethinking Gurkha identity: outside the Imperium of discourse, hegemony, and history" proposed by Golay (2006) fundamentally study the colonial construction of the Gurkha identity and its later day crisis. In this study, the author makes an attempt to map the formation of the Gurkha identity. The paper also argues that the Gurkha identity has somewhat failed in securing a political space for its cultural identity leading to deep fissures in its multi-layered identity.

Roy (2009) had written an article “Military Loyalty in the Colonial Context: A case study of the Indian Army during World War II” focuses the loyalty of the army and the reasons behind it. Roy points out that the multi-ethnic British Indian army, comprised particularly of Jats, Sikhs, Ghurkhas, Marathas, Pathans, etc., remained loyal to the British up to the First World War. But the scenario changed during the Second World War when the Indian army was expanded within a short period through massive recruitment. Even then, salary and the hope of gaining glory encouraged Indians to join the army, and the raj was successful in expanding the British Indian army because of vast the demographic sources available and due to unemployment. However, the work is targeting the Indian Army during the World War II, but in the Punjab, context information is very marginal and important efforts of Punjab during World Wars remained underdog and neglected in this work. Murali (2010) had finalized, a working paper entitled ‘Indian Soldiers of World War I,’ and fundamentally discussed the contribution of the Indian army during the World War I. Author has given the detailed accounts of Indian army in terms of statistics. The study also discussed major reforms of 1903, which had undergone after the appointment of Kitchener as a Commander-in-Chief, of India. The works also given a slight touch to various battalions and brigades which moved to various theatres of war during the World War I. However, the work is largely concerned with the military contribution of British Indian army in World War I, but the author didn’t bring into consideration of 1857 revolt and reorganisation of British Indian army. Moreover, the role of Punjab in Great War remained hidden in the whole work. The book edited by Roy (2011a) demonstrated that the Indian Army in Two World Wars, comprises seventeen essays based on primary sources and deals with the military, political, social and cultural dimensions of the Indian army during the two world wars and in addition this work points out the impact of military services on the Indian society and how Indian army played crucial role to sustain and maintain the British dominance in not only India but also in various other British colonies but the work is not anywhere focusing on Punjab’s role in the World Wars. Another study conducted by Kerr (2012) “Bombay and Lahore. Colonial Railways and Colonial Cities: Some Urban Consequences of the Development and Operation of Railways in India, c. 1850-c. 1947” speaks about the development of Bombay and Lahore during the colonial time. The paper looks at how railways were important in the development of these cities and explain how

a railway connection between Bombay and the western center became essential to the further growth of Bombay City in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. It concludes that the development of Bombay's and Lahore and involvement of the railways in it drastically affected many Indian towns and cities in its development, from the demographic size and social composition to the built environments. The study only marginally touches upon the role of military stations and infrastructures in this important transformation of the urban space of Bombay and Lahore but remained away to touch the cantonments as a recruitment point for the British Indian army during the World Wars.

Another research paper on Lahore—"Economic Change and Community Relations in Lahore before Partition" by Chattha (2012), in which he mainly focused on the process of urbanization and its Socio-economic changes in Lahore during the colonial period. Up to a great extent, it is similar to the Kerr study (2012) but shows the development of civil lines, cantonment areas and migration besides this it also discussed its strategic location and how boosted by the railways during the colonial era with some detail. It emphasizes the role of these processes in the urbanization drive in general and in the case of Lahore in particular. Khawaja (2012) in his article entitled "Development, Disparity, and Colonial Shocks: Do Endowments Matter?" which mainly examines the regional variation in the impact of the shocks when the British left India. The study also explained the socioeconomic consequences of the three colonial shocks; canal colonies, cantonments and the recruitment for the military in the case of Punjab in particular. The study suggested that canal colonies positively influenced the socio-economic conditions of the central districts and further military recruitment brought colourful socio-economic consequences to the Punjab region. But this study too did not pay much attention to the contribution of Punjab in the World Wars and its legacy to the region. "Story of the Indian army" another article framed by the Birdwood (1952) beautifully developed from historically to independence. The author talked about the EIC (East India Company), how came as trader primarily but slowly and smoothly converted into political power in the Indian subcontinent. For the protection and guarding the trading ports, they stand up a well-disciplined military in the region. It was soon discovered by giving them uniform and loose discipline; they can work delicately towards the assigned duty. The work also shed light on race and caste as a discriminated factor while the recruitment was taking place.

Fundamentally, the article is very general in the perspective of the military history of British India. The article constructed in a very sprinkle nature and away from particular concentration on a specific matter.

Barkawi (2006) in his article "Culture and Combat in the colonies: The Indian Army in the Second World War" started with historical context of military service in British India and looked at the Indianisation of the officer corps, and the formation of the INA (Indian National Army), but the information regarding account of officer corps is little bit marginalized. The author called the World Wars as a watershed in the military history in the reference of greater contribution of the colonial army. Beyond this, the article is largely focusing on the social & cultural beliefs among the British Indian army. The First World War: Purchasing Indian Loyalties: Imperial policy of Recruitment and 'Rewards' an article written by Ganachari (2005), speaking about the drastic change in the policy of recruitment on the eve of World War I. how the different regiments raised in a very short span of time in spite of this helped a lot to Indian to enlist in the British Indian Army. Another side aggressive and furious leaders of India also placated to support the British in the World Wars. The article also throws the light on the politics on the eve of War. Largely the article focused on how British won the loyalty of the Indian people and recruited in a significant number. In particular, the paper is tracing the Bombay presidency, and little bit shed light on Mesopotamia campaign from Indian troops and their experiences on the battlefield.

"The Beginning of 'People's War' in India" a scholarly article has written by Roy (2007). The author mainly talks about the great mutiny of 1857 as a watershed in the history of British India. How this event led to fundamentally change the manner of their rule over the next century. The article mainly depicts the story of 1857 revolt. The Roy extended the work of Ganachari in this article and somewhere is giving more informative understanding than upper. Another work by Guha (1993) titled Nutrition, Sanitation, Hygiene and the Likelihood of Death: The British Indian Army in India c. 1870-1920 fundamentally is shedding light on diseases during the British Period in India primarily speaks about the period before a World War and how the World War I brought stupendous changes in the health system of India. From, statistics purposes, work is enriched with some tables which enhanced a reader with efficient details regarding the health improvements and investments around the World War in the Indian-subcontinent.

Thus, the drastic changes in the health system pictured in tables make easy to understand the difference in the various periods. The primary factor behind such an improvement, the filtration of the British troops in the region because this workforce of the British army was primarily inexperienced and fresh young men from England to the region and they were unbearable in the living of a tropical country like India. So that the British government inputs their best effort to transform the health system in India especially in the cantonment regions/locations. Mainly work trace the story of health infrastructure and critical research is away from the projected research in this perspective.

The British rule brought wide-ranging changes in Punjab. The agrarian transformation of Punjab is an important dimension of this transformation. Singh's study on 'Agricultural Science and Technology in the Punjab in the Nineteenth Century' (1982) brings out the story of agrarian change during the colonial rule. He emphasized the role of the western technology in the makeover of Punjab's agriculture. He also foregrounds the commercialization of Punjab agriculture and adds how all these western technologies together brought the handsome profits to the Punjab peasants and injected a lot of social and economic positive consequences in the Punjabi society. Merrey (1982) has written a work entitled 'Reorganising irrigation: Local level management in Punjab (Pakistan), in which he pointed out that before World War II, the area which is now Pakistani Punjab was a major exporter of wheat. But after Independence in 1947 exports had ended. Moreover, output per capita continued to decline until the mid-1960s. The author mainly concerned with the irrigation development in Punjab now in Pakistan. The study described the British policy of irrigation and its technological innovations. Author plotted the various projects of British irrigation system in Punjab during the colonial rule. The work is mainly dealing with irrigation system, without touching other aspects of the region. In whole work, Author remained silent about the military perspective of Punjab.

Tatla (2004, p. 47) wrote an article "Rural Roots of the Sikh Diaspora," in which he is addressing one of the questions related to the first wave of Sikh migration overseas to further investigations. His essay is particularly interesting for its connecting of the oceanic circulation to land reforms instituted by the British after the annexation of Punjab in 1849 through which the Punjabi village was integrated into a New World economy as a producer of wheat, rice, and cotton. He



is pointing to the connections between the two imperial constructions of Punjab as India's granary and Sikhs as 'sturdy cultivators' and 'the martial race' leading to the alteration of the rural peasantry's social outlook and to the Sikh migration within and outside India is equally significant. Tatla argues that British rule had facilitated the opportunities to the rural Punjab economy for integrating into the international economy", and consequently, it increased the productivity of land with supporting of canal colonies. Inclusively, the work is initial and suggesting further research.

Talbot's article under the title "The Punjab under Colonialism: Order and Transformation in British India" (2007) largely follow the themes of Cohen (1969) Omissi (1968) Mazumder (2003) and Yong (2005). Talbot foregrounds the wide-ranging transformation colonial rule brought to Punjab along with and part of with its militarization like the construction of canals, roads, and social infrastructure. Besides this, the physiography of the Punjabi people also discussed in this short work marginally touch the contribution of Punjabi soldiers in the world wars. This is useful as it gives a broader framework and perspective to understand the change of Punjab under the British rule. Krishna (2007) article "Demography of the Punjab (1849-1947)", points out how migrations were taking place from Punjab due to the military recruitment from the region under colonialism. However, the article did not pay much attention to the demographic and socio-economic changes the military cantonments and other military-related infrastructure brought into the Punjab. Kaur (2011) had written an article "Reconstructing the Sikh Diaspora" discusses the role of the British colonialism in generating transnational migrations from Punjab and the resultant Sikh diaspora. Kaur underlines the overseas military recruitment from Punjab and the so-called Punjabization of Indian army in making the Sikhs a well-known diasporic community. A position in the British Indian army was looked upon as prestigious in the eyes of ordinary masses of Punjab and people thus recruited were to fight the two world wars, getting exposed to different countries and cultures, and some of them settling abroad permanently at that time. The focus of this article is the making of Sikh diaspora, but the voluntary mobilization of the Punjab's contribution in the British Indian army remained highly overlooked and neglected, its numerous transformations and modifications within Punjab remained an unexplored section of the colonial military history of the South Asia.

Roy (2012) demonstrated in his study entitled "Soldiers, Artisans, Cultivators, and Revolutionaries: The Movement of Sikhs in the Indian Ocean" that geographically, Punjab had remained significant place. Imperial interventions in Punjab in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century triggered movements from Punjab that inserted this region in the littoral narrative of the Indian Ocean. Under the colonial rule, small towns of the region connected with ports also brought prosperity to the Punjab have been discussed in general sense. The further essay shows that migration from the region kicked a lot of socioeconomic transformations. From academics point of view, the work is mainly broad-spectrum and written in sprinkle manner in every aspect which are discussed. Sandhu (2014) brings out a research article on "British Injustice with Punjab." The work is mainly concerned with the British injustice with Punjab after its occupation. In this, Author argued that British introduced so many reforms gradually and then not dared to promulgate them in a pure sense. Therefore, all setbacks faced by Indian subcontinent have a direct link with the British imperialism in the Punjab. The British possessed intellectual potential and infrastructure to change the entire scenario, but they left a legacy in the form of weak institutions and traditions which still exist. Thus, the work is written to peep the British policies and their injustice with the region.

There are also a good number of works that deal with the importance of Punjab in the military affairs of the British Indian Empire and its diverse dimensions. After the 1857 revolt, Punjab emerged as a garrison state and played a significant role in sustaining and maintaining the Empire not only in India but also outside the India. Omissi's book (1988) "Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860-1940" is an original and very important piece of work in this regard. Omissi considers the 1857 revolt as a watershed in the colonial military history of India and that of Punjab. The book details how the 1857 revolt changes the military recruitment policy and locations and the British Indian army's turn towards the Punjab region. He also talks about the contribution of the British Indian army in first and second world wars for the colonial rule but Punjab didn't figure specifically. Mazumdar book 'The Indian Army and the Making of Punjab' (2003) covers the crucial aspects of the making of Punjab in the six chapters and basically focus on the period of after Indian uprising in 1857 in relation to its embedded history of Indian army and broadly explain about ethnic shift in military recruitment policy which he calls the "The Punjabization of the British Indian

Army". Like Cohen (1969) and Omissi (1988), Mazumdar (2003) also emphasized the "Racial Theory" which has driven the military recruitment policy of the British, apart from tracing the importance of Punjab as a frontier region and the Russian threat from the western side in transforming the prospects of Punjab. Much beyond the other works, Mazumdar also explained how the British protected its recruitment base and ensured the loyalty of the soldiers by investing heavily in physical infrastructure: a network of roads, railways, canals, bridges, schools, and hospitals grew during this period on a scale and rate unprecedented in any other part of British India. Mazumdar (2003) also did not points out how Punjabi soldiers' fight in the two world wars and their migration to other countries transformed their worldviews too along with their economic and social lives. In spite of this, the work is rich with forty-seven tables of numerical data on ethnic composition, military expenditure, and physical infrastructure of Indian army with marginal reference to Punjab into the World Wars.

Yong (2005) wrote a very good account on the military history of Punjab during the colonial rule in his book "The Garrison State: The Military, Government, and Society in Colonial Punjab, 1849-1947." Though Yong traces the military history of Punjab since its accession to British India in 1849, greater focus is given to the period after the great rebellion of 1857, the time during which Punjab became the main recruitment centre for the British Indian army. The recruitment from Punjab picked up a very high pace from 1880 onwards, Yong points out. Though emphasized on the 'Martial Races' theory which the British relied upon and the Russian scare, Yong points out that it was primarily due to the loyalty of Punjab's people toward the British, Punjab emerged as a "Sword Arms" of British India (Yong, 2005). This work also does not take Punjab in World Wars seriously into discussion though they figure peripherally in the discussion often. Soherwordi (2010) in his article "Punjabization' in the "British Indian Army 1857-1947 and the Advent of Military Rule in Pakistan" broadly explained about the recruitment policy shift from Bengal to Punjab after the mutiny of 1857 and in that sense, it extended work of the Roy (2009). Thus the most drastic effect of 1857 was the De-Bengalisation and Punjabization of the Indian army. Soherwordi (2010) also underlines the importance of Punjab as a frontier province which contributed immensely to its military importance alongside providing hard data on sepoys recruitment from Punjab. Besides this, the author also discussed the Sindh frontier

force and Punjab frontier force which played an important role to protect the British Empire.

Another important study on Punjab colonialism, conducted by Sohal (2013) under the theme of “Food Crisis, Inflation and Political Control in Punjab (1940-47).” The study primarily concerned with the Colonialization of the peasant economy of India and consequently turning into a major food supply zone for the British Empire. In this work, Author placed Punjab particularly. As it is well investigated by Yong (2005) and Soherwordi (2010), that Punjab had remained the most important recruiting ground for the British Indian army and region bestowed due to its bulk contribution to the empire. In this study, Sohal had given special attention about Punjab in the World War II. Typically, the work is stretched from Cohen (1969), Omissi (1988) and Mazumdar (2003). Eynde (2011) had written a work ‘Military Service and Human Capital Accumulation: Evidence from Colonial Punjab’, mainly estimated the impact of military recruitment on human capital accumulation in colonial Punjab. As per Mazumdar book, *The Indian Army and the Making of Punjab* (2003) cover the crucial aspects of the making of Punjab especially its transformations during the British rule. Thus, both studies are very similar in explorations of Punjab transformations during colonial times. Moreover. Mazumdar (2003) and Eynde (2011) had admitted that military was the major source of employment and Higher military recruitment is found to be associated with increased literacy at the various level of Punjab’s region.

Sumbal (2014) had demonstrated in “Defending the Empire: Analyzing Military Recruitment in Colonial Mianwali District,” a case of Mianwali district of Punjab during the colonial times.” In the study, Author pointed out that the colonial state and rural elite developed a nexus to relegate the district to economic marginalization. As a result enlistment in the army was left as the only alternative for subsistence. Another great Punjab historians like Cohen (1969), Soherwordi (2010) and Sumbal (2014) also revealed that the economic marginalization of tribes was exploited by British to their advantage and turned them into cannon fodder for colonial army. Though, the study is far away from our objectives but contribute a very interesting case study of Mianwali district during the colonial period.

Thus, there are studies on the general military history of Indian-Subcontinent and transformations of Punjab under colonialism in general. By

scanning of vast available literature, frequently comes out that, the area study of the military history of colonial Punjab had remained largely neglected and could not get sufficient attention from the academicians. However, a few studies on the colonial military history of Punjab have been conducted, but the nature of studies are very sprinkled in manner and unable to fulfil the chronological gaps of the colonial military history of Punjab. Moreover, no study has been conducted with a particular reference to historicizing the Punjab in World Wars and their consequences on the general life and landscape of Punjab and its multifaceted and multilayered effects in transforming Punjab's geography, economy, society, literacy, culture and other various other aspects remains largely underexplored and omitted from the academician and scholars.

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## Chapter 3

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### **3 Imperialist Rivalries and Bloc Formations: Locating the Position & Contribution of British Indian Army in World Wars**

This chapter is an attempt to map the colonial rivalries between the various countries of the world during the Great Wars. World Wars were not sudden events but a result of a long struggle to dominate the various countries and their resources. At the same time, the world had divided into blocks and fought with each other. These blocks had resulted in terrible wars, popularly known as World Wars in the world history. In these wars, the fierce competition among various world powers had started to take over more and more colonies. The irony is that these wars had been fought with the help and assistance of the localized recruited soldiers had been fighting against their own people and other imperial powers. Subsequently, Indian subcontinent had also played a pivotal role because it was the colony of the British. So the contribution of the Indian subcontinent had remained historic and admirable for the British people. In this chapter, the study has explored the Worlds Wars and examined the memorable role of British Indian Army. Certain studies had revealed that British Colonies fought for the victory of the king and played a key role in sustaining the empire. In this backdrop, India had contributed enormously and shed their blood to keep the British hegemony in the world. In addition to manpower, the Indian people contributed by providing logistics as well in terms of money, animals and other war-supporting materials sent to theatres of war. In this backdrop, the chapter has attempted to explore the colonial rivalries and the global conflicts during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly finding the contribution of British Indian Army during the World Wars.

The Europe dominated the entire world for the last decade of the nineteenth century to 1914 when the World War I had been broken out. However, the signs of warning of the European hegemony had already been set in. Countries like the USA and Japan had already been emerged as the great powers, outside of the Europe. In his study, Chakravorty (1997) mentioned that additionally, nationalist movements had begun to take shape in the various colonies of the world. The rivalries among the European imperialist powers over colonial possessions and the conflictual interests among the different European power even in European political affairs led to the World War I. Within many European countries; powerful movements had emerged which aimed at radical changes in the existing social, economic and political systems. Even before the World War I was over, the

biggest country of Europe, Russia had a successful revolution. The world which emerged after the World War I was very different from what it had been in the preceding three decades.

### **3.1 Europe's Hegemony and Inter-imperialist Rivalries**

Earlier seven decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the European imperialistic position didn't take place. But in the coming twenty years, the mindset of the European powers had been changed, and they had started to adopt aggressive imperial policies. In their studies, Thompson (1999), Walker (2002, p. 44), Linden (2016, p. 211) and Darwin (2013) had pointed out that the new phase of assertive imperialist expansion began in 1870 to 1914. Consequently, the entire continents of Asia and Africa and some other parts of the world had come under the control of one European imperialist country or the other. In Asia, the British Empire had subjugated India (1600-1947), Malaysia (1511-1946), Ceylon now Sri Lanka (1597-1972) and Burma now Myanmar (1824-1948). In their studies, Tate (1940), Andrew & Kanya-Forstner (1978, p. 12) and Ballantyne (2008) had demonstrated that the region of Indo-China<sup>16</sup> predominantly had been controlled by the French Empire countries like Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. On the other side, Peninsular of Malaysia and Indonesia had been ruled by the Dutch hegemony. Any single imperialist country did not directly ruled China, but she thus was reduced to the status of an international colony. In 1907, Iran was divided into three spheres of influence. Russia dominated the northwest, while Britain controlled the southern portion of Iran. The central part was kept as a buffer between Russia and Britain. Britain also exercised some degree of control over Afghanistan. Central Asia had come under the rule of the Russian Empire. On the other side, Sato & Sakihara (1989, p. 43) and Gilbert (2007, p. 66) pointed out that Japan was the only major country in Asia which was independent during the imperialistic chaos. After a period of economic growth and modernization (1868 to 1912), Japan had started to expand its military muscle. She had defeated China in 1895 and occupied Formosa and in subsequent years had extended her influence

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<sup>16</sup>The origins of Indo-China term can be jointly attributed to the Danish-French geographer Conrad Malte-Brun, who called the as *indo-chinois* (1804), and the Scottish linguist John Leyden, who used the rubric *Indo-Chinese* (1808). Actually, it was a regions, where cultural influence of India and China, had been expanded, currently the region is covering the nation's like- Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, and (variably) peninsular Malaysia (Ballantyne, 2008, p. 204).



over China. She also defeated Russia in a war over Manchuria in 1905. Additionally, Japan had also occupied Korea in 1910.

From 1870 onwards, approximately for three decades, Africa had faced the imperialistic aggression of the European powers. Boahen (1985, pp. 278-279) Africa, except Ethiopia and Liberia, was divided among the European powers like British, France, German, Belgian, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. In their studies Johnston (1905), Tignor (1966) and Rodney (1972, p. 190) claimed that Britain's Empire in Africa included Egypt (1882-1914), Sudan (1890-1953), Rhodesia was literally known as Zimbabwe(1888–1980), Uganda (1894 to 1962), British East Africa (1895-1964), Sierra Leone (1808-1961), Gold Coast (1867-1957), Nigeria (1901-1960). The French had taken possession of Algeria (1830-1962), Tunisia (1881-1956), Morocco (1912-1956), Sahara (1884–1975), French Congo (1882–1960), French Guinea (1891-1958), and Senegal (1895–1958). At the same time, Germany had also acquired German East Africa, South-West Africa, Cameroon, and Togoland. The Italian conquests included Libya (1911) and Somaliland (1940). Portugal held Angola (1648–1951), Mozambique (1498–1975), and Portuguese Guinea (1474–1974). In his study, Woolbert (1946) revealed that Spain had acquired Rio de Oro and Spanish Guinea.

British Empire was the biggest in the world, both regarding the number of people and area to whom it ruled and controlled respectively. In his study, Pearce & Stewart (2013) had claimed that by 1911 the population of Britain was near about 45 million, but the people of her colonial possessions extending over an area of 23 million square km was, covering the population about 400 million. Further, Pearce & Stewart (2013: 81) had mentioned that in 1911, the population of France was approximately 39 million and ruled over an empire of over 10 million square kilometres inhabited by over 50 million people. In spite of this, Germany had crossed the 65 million population at this time. Now, this is well established that during the period, Europe had controlled the world politically. Moreover, the commerce of world also kept in the hands of these European countries. Three countries of the Europe - Britain, Germany, and France had controlled about 45 percent of the world trade and about 60 percent of the global market of manufactured goods in the three continents - Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Moor & Wesseling (1989) and Stevenson (2004) had argued that the process of the imperialist conquest of Asia and Africa was accompanied by

intense rivalries and conflicts among the European imperialist powers. The competing claims over colonies often created conditions of war. However, most of these conflicts had been resolved in the conference rooms of Europe and wars were avoided. The European powers settled their disputed claims over territory by *quid pro quo* or 'something for something,' by giving away something in exchange for something else.

In their studies, Hardach (1990) and Taylor (2014) argued that however the 'Gentle's Agreements' was bound among various countries and blocks. Even then, the growing militarization in the various European states had remained at the same pace. Every country was living under the control of fear and suspicion and consequently, tried to increase its military and naval strengths. Against this backdrop, most of the European countries had introduced the conscription, making the military training compulsory for everyone. The Europe was gradually converted into armed camps. Each country, of course, claimed that the increase in her armed strength was for purely defence purpose, while disputed that of others as an instigation for war. Britain had opposed Germany for building a strong navy, saying that it is was a luxury for her as she had a strong army. On the other hand, Kaiser William II (15 June 1888 to 9 November 1918), the German Emperor, declared: "The German fleet is not built against anyone and not against England, but according to our need. I want to make myself safe, against France and Russia and England too."

Gordon (1974: 208-209) and Reynolds (2003, pp. 32-33) had argued that on the hand, Britain was determined to maintain her naval superiority, which she had enjoyed for about three centuries. The feverish manner in which the armed strength of various European states had been increasing and the preparations for war were made, that led to the steady growth of a feeling that was inevitable. Further, the war came to be considered a part of the natural order of things and even extolled as a virtue. Preparations for war were accompanied by an extensive propaganda for war. Some philosophers and politicians even started viewing were as one of the 'divine elements of the universe" and "a condition for progress".

### **3.1.1 Conflicts Within Europe**

The conflicts among European countries were not remained confined to the question of colonies. There were tensions and antagonisms between them over the European affairs. In his study, Hall (2010, p. 20) and Crocker (2014, p. 16)

demonstrated that out of the twenty-five European states, only five like Britain, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, and Russia had been the most powerful. Of these, Britain was the richest and the most powerful country in the world. One of the major problems that Britain was faced the demand for Home Rule by the Irish people. Further, Crocker (2014, p. 22) and French (2014, p. 244) mentioned that at the same time, Germany was emerging as the strongest power, both regarding her economic capabilities and armed might, and was Britain's main rival. She too had a parliamentary form of government though the position of the German emperor was much stronger than that of the British monarch. Germany included a part of Poland and Alsace-Lorraine, which she had taken from France after a war in 1870-71. France, the third most industrialized state of Europe, had been a republic since 1871. She looked forward to the day when she would avenge her humiliating defeat at the hands of Germany and could recover Alsace-Lorraine by a war of revenge. Franz Joseph (2 Dec 1848 - 21 Nov 1916) was the Emperor of Austria-Hungary, dominant power in Central Europe. Politically, Austria-Hungary was the most troubled state in Europe during the same period. Her territories, besides Austria and Hungary, included areas inhabited by many nationalities, like the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia, Slovaks, Poles, Romanians, Serbs and Croats, and Italians. In all these territories, there was a resurgence of nationalism, creating the deep discontentment and divisions. Russia and Serbia also fanned the nationalism of the Slav people in Austria-Hungary and created intense antagonism between these two countries and Austria-Hungary.

Some scholars like Verma (2004), Rasmussen (2014) and Gatrell (2014) stated that Russia was another powerful country at that time in the Europe. Like other European countries, he had established a vast empire by colonizing various countries in which Finland, the Baltic States and parts of Poland in Europe were the major ones. Moreover, Northern and Central Asia also brought under his control. On the other side, it had well accepted that Russia was agriculturally backward and outdated with an outdated political system. At the same, national movement was also becoming endemic and was creating a lot of disturbances among the Russian. Because, Russia was undergoing through an oppressive social, economic and political system. Thus, within Europe, a lot of strifes and tensions among the nation states hit the roots of war in future.

### 3.1.2 Foundation of Alliances & Abandoned Peace: Building the Road for WW I

During this period, treaties and secret agreements had signed and the threats of war issued and withdrawn indicating alignments and realignments. Strachan (2003), Keegan (2014, p. 4) and Purdue (2014) pointed out that every country had developed mistrust to each other and thus no country could rely on the support of another country. For the given hardcore rivalries, the suspicion persisted till the very outbreak of the World War I and was an additional source of tension. Additionally, there was the confusion and suspicion about a friend or an enemy in the world. For example, Russia had threatened to go to war on the question of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In fact, she had earlier reached a secret understanding with Austria-Hungary promising her not to interfere in her plans to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina in exchange for her support in Russia's ambition to have the streets leading to the Mediterranean opened to her. In his study, Howard (2003: 14) had argued that in spite of these uncertainties, two rival alliances had emerged. McCabe & Ferriby (2002, p. 52) and Stevenson (2004) had mentioned that the 'Triple Alliance' (1882) comprising Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy came into existence. However, Italy was not confident. On the other side, Russia and France had signed secret agreements in 1894 which had brought them together against the Triple Alliance, particularly in the Germany and Austria-Hungary. In 1904, Britain and France who had long been remained enemies and had often reached the edge of war. For minimising the conflict, they had entered into '*Entente Cordiale*.' However, it was not a formal alliance but a sort of friendly agreement. Through this 'Friendly Agreement,' France had given up her rights over Egypt and on the other side, she had got Marocco.

Before the opening of World War I, several cooperative agreements had signed between various countries of the world. In his study, McCabe & Ferriby (2002, pp. 52-53) had argued that in 1907, Britain and Russia signed an agreement. However, both remained a long-time enemy to each other. The principal motive of the deal was to divide the Iran. With the joining of France (1907), it had been named '*Triple Entente*.' In this backdrop, the formation of several alliances took place. However, it was signed for curtailing the atmosphere of war. But further, these unions had played very significant role in building the

road for war. Because, it had created a lot of suspicion, fear, and mistrust to each other.

### **3.1.3 The World War I: Immediate Occasion**

The formation of alliance systems and the growing militarization in Europe had made inevitable for war. In his study, Verma (2004) mentioned that the inter-imperialist rivalries, the growing chauvinism, and antagonism had created a hazardous situation in Europe. Before the opening of World War I. Further, he had argued that some crises and conflicts were there in the Europe during the twentieth, but the formation of alliances made the situation more critical. In this background, tensions in Europe had been taken place, and war becomes inevitable. Every state was ready with its war plan and strategies. It had also become increasingly clear that once the war broke out, it would not be possible to localize it and that it had become a general war and almost all imperialistic powers got involved in it.

Several scholars including, Fay (1966, p. 32), Tucker (2013, p. 268), Purdue (2014, p. 22) and Austin (2016) mentioned that the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand (28 June 1914) had become the immediate cause of World War I. Moreover, Sarajevo (capital of Bosnia) had also annexed by Austria-Hungary. The organizer of the murder was a secret society, called the '*Black Hand*' or 'Union of Death.' They were a group of extremist Serbian state. Renowned scholar of world history like Andrej Mitrovic (2007) and James Lyan (2015) has agreed that the Serbian government or at least the Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Pasic (1891–92, 1904–05, 1906–08, 1909–11, 1912–18), was aware of the conspiracy to assassinate the Archduke but did nothing to stop it. Convinced of Serbia's complicity in the assassination, Austria (short for Austria-Hungary) served an ultimatum on 23 July making eleven demands on Serbia. Austria did not expect these demands to be accepted and hence fixed a time limit of forty-eight hours for unconditional compliance. Serbia accepted most of the demands, but not all. Total acceptance of all the demands would have meant total loss of sovereignty by Serbia. Serbia's reply of 25 July did not conciliate Austria, and Serbia, knowing that it would not have already ordered the mobilization of her troops. Austria rejected Serbia's reply and immediately ordered the mobilization of her army for an attack on Serbia. She was determined to put an end to this "permanent danger to my house and my territories", as the Austrian Emperor

called it in a letter to the German Emperor. On 28 July Austria declared war on Serbia. On 29 July, the Austrian army bombarded Belgrade, Serbia's capital.

The outbreak of war between Serbia and Austria was soon followed by wars between countries that were militarily linked together. In his study, Tucker (2013, p. 6) has cited that these wars led to the general war or the World War I. To pressurize Austria to abandon the war against Serbia, Russia ordered mobilization against Austria. She could not permit Austrian expansion in the Balkans. Russia had her ambitions in Serbia which would have suffered if Serbia got defeated at the hands of Austria. As Germany would come to the aid of Austria, if Russia entered into the war against Austria, Russia also prepared for war with Germany. Germany was convinced that in the event of a war between her and Russia. France could join Russia against Germany. This would mean that Germany would have to fight on two fronts, with France in the West and with Russia in the east. The British position was still unclear as the British government was divided on the issue of going to war. She responded to the French request for help by promising to defend France's northern coast against the German navy. Thus with the opening of the war, rival alliances came in the preceding years of the Great War.

#### **3.1.4 World War I & Its Scope**

Soon others joined in as a result of efforts by both sides to win allies by promising them territorial gains. Scholars like, Herwig (2014, p. 155) and Takacs (2015, p. 284) had revealed that by 23 August 1914, Japan declared war on Germany. She had allied with Britain, but her main aim was to seize German territories in China and the Pacific. Portugal often referred to by Britain as her oldest ally also entered the war. In May 1915, Italy declared war on Austria. Further Martel (2008, p. 122) has pointed out that Romania and Greece also joined (1917) Britain, France, and Russia, and these countries along with their allies came to be known as the Allied Powers. Germany and Austria were joined by Bulgaria in October 1915, having been promised territories in Serbia and Greece. Turkey declared war on Russia in November and entered the war on the side of Germany and Austria. These countries - Germany and Austria and their allies came to be known as the Central Powers. Various other nations in other parts of the world also joined the war. In his study 'The United States, 1763-2001', Spiller (2005, p. 193) had mentioned that the USA had entered the war in April 1917 on the side of the Allied Powers. These comprised countries from all continents. Thus, the scope of the conflict was

widened. About 65 million men (soldiers) were mobilized for the war. Of them, over 42 million were mobilized by the Allied Powers and over 22 million by the Central Powers.

During the period, the intensive battle was fought in different parts of the world. A great scholar working on World War history, Robson (2014, p. 69) demonstrated that outside the Europe, some major battles were fought in North Africa and West Asia. The war had become a total war. It was no longer confined to battles between armies. It required the total mobilization of all the resources of the main belligerent countries. This meaning is changing the production pattern. Every economic activity had to be subordinated to the needs of the war. It also required that no goods, food, raw materials, war materials, anything and everything should be allowed to enemy's country from everywhere, literally called the economic blockade hurdled by the various countries. Further, Cox (2013, p. 2) had revealed that Britain imposed a naval blockade on Germany and though the naval fleets of the two countries fought only one major battle. To prevent food and other supplies from reaching Britain, Germany started using submarines which it had developed to sink any ship, including those of neutral countries, heading for Britain. This, among other things, led to the United States entering the war on the side of the Allied Powers. The use of aircraft in warfare also started and though cities were bombed from the air and these air warfare played little role in deciding the outcome of the war. By the end of August 1918, only Germany remained a major central power to be ultimately defeated. On 11 November 1918, the new government of Germany signed the armistice and at 11 o'clock on the morning of 11 November, the World War I came to an end.

The destruction caused by the World War I regarding human lives was terrible. In this backdrop, Fitzgerald (2008) mentioned that out of about 65 million soldiers mobilized by both the powers, about nine million were killed and about 22 million wounded. To understand the true nature of this catastrophe and its impact on European societies, it should be remembered that most of the dead and the survivors, "scarred physically and mentally", was the 'Flower of Europe,' young people between the ages of 18 and 35.

### 3.2 World War: Period of Interval

In the post-World War I, it was believed that this war, "End All Wars", and would be followed by a period of peace, freedom, democracy, and a better life for everyone. In their studies, Ross (2003, p. 53) and Goldstein (2013, p. 34) stated that on 8 January 1918, the US President Woodrow Wilson (1913 to 1921)<sup>17</sup>, had been presented his peace proposals, called the Fourteen Points. It emphasized the abolition of secret diplomacy, freedom of seas, reduction of armaments and redrawing of the boundaries of European countries on the principle of nationality. Further, Ross (2003, p. 53) has argued that the League of Nations,<sup>18</sup> envisaged in Wilson's Fourteen Points, came into being as a result of the peace treaties but proved ineffective in preventing the world from entangling into another war. Since the mid-1930s a World War I seemed to have become inevitable, and when it broke out in 1939, barely twenty years after the end of the first one, it was much more widespread and many times more destructive than the first one.

In his study, Luckau (1945, p. 215) disclosed that the World War I had come to an end with the Treaty of Versailles signed with Germany on 28 June 1919. It had played very important for ending the World War I between particularly Germany and Allied forces. McCabe & Ferriby (2002, pp. 23-24) has argued that 'Treaty of Versailles' was unfair and primarily arranged for humiliating the Germany. Because Germany had been just invited for accepting the provisions of the treaty. According to the provisions of the treaty, many areas of Germany were broken down and imposed many harsh restrictions on the Germany. On the other side, France had remained the primary rival of the Germany. Since 1814, Germany had invaded France four times. In this revenge, France had advocated imposing the strict penalties on its neighbour Germany for securing its own safety. Thus, after the ending of World War I and signed the 'Treaty of Versailles,' drastic changes had come in the territory of Germany. In which, the areas of Alsace and Lorraine had been given to France. Belgium had got the areas of Eupen and Malmedy from Germany through the treaty. North Schleswig had been granted to Denmark. League of Nations had brought under his control the area of Memel and

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<sup>17</sup> Thomas Woodrow Wilson was an American politician and an academic, who served as the 28<sup>th</sup> President of the United States from 1913 to 1921. In history, President Wilson had been best remembered for his leadership and statesmanship during World War I. Moreover, he had played very crucial role in establishing the League of Nations in 1919 (Goldstein, 2013, p. 34).

<sup>18</sup> After the World War I, League of Nations had been formed in 1919. Its main objective to promote the international cooperation, peace and security (Ross, 2003, p. 53).



further given to Lithuania in 1923. Germany had lost all its colonies after signing the treaty. Moreover, Germany had been banned to an alliance with Austria.

It had been well recognized that the 'Treaty of Versailles' was one of the most unfair treaties in the world. Whaley (1982, pp. 6-7) argued that 'Treaty of Versailles' had constrained the military strength of the Germany in comparison of the World War I. Immediately after the treaty, the strength of German army was fixed at 100,000. Moreover, restrictions had been imposed on its air force and the strength of naval ships (limit up to six battleships) also limited. In this backdrop, Brezina (2005, p. 46) demonstrated that humiliating provisions of the treaty had become the source of tensions and which further built up the way for another World War in 1939-1945.

In the interregnum of the World Wars, several developments took place which brought a lot of changes in power equations and hegemony. In his study, Tucker (2014, pp. 942-43) pointed out that the ruling classes of Italy had been joined the war on the side of the Allies. But with the ending of the war, they felt cheated. Because, the Allies had failed to satisfy the colonial and great power ambitions of Italy, and the ruling class found in fascist movement an instrument to satisfy their ambitions. Finer (1964) had also mentioned that at the same time the National Fascist Party (November 1921) was formed under the dynamic leadership of Benito Mussolini (29 July 1883 – 28 April 1945). Thousands of 'Blackshirts' were recruited to check strikes and assassinate the socialist and communist leaders. The methods adopted by Italian fascists were emulated in several other countries. In Germany, Nazis also attempted a similar style that had brought Mussolini to power in Italy. Pollock (1944, pp. 92-93) and Caplan (2008) stated that on 30 January 1933, Hitler had become the chancellor of Germany. Soon after coming to power, Hitler secretly began the rearmament of the country and took a series of steps in violation of the Treaty of Versailles. In 1933, Germany withdrew from the League of Nations. The building of an air force was taken up, which had been explicitly prohibited by the treaty. In March 1935, Hitler announced that Germany was no longer bound by the restrictions which the treaty had imposed on the strength of the German military, and along with the army and the air force started building a navy. In March 1936, the Rhineland, which had been demilitarized, was occupied by German troops. All these moves, which were in total defiance of the treaty, met with no resistance from the Western powers. By

1936, Germany built her military strength, and the stage was set in for acts of aggression which later led to the World War II.

During 1936-37, the block of aggressive powers- Germany, Italy, and Japan had emerged on the global scene. It had been strengthened by the policy of appeasement followed by major Western powers, notably Britain and France. In the meantime, the war had spread to some other parts of Europe and Africa. Weinberg (1972, p. 135) and Silkett (1993, p. 74) pointed out that on 27 September 1940, Germany, Italy, and Japan had signed a Tripartite Pact<sup>19</sup>, each country pledged to give full support to the others in the event of an attack by any other power. Consequently, the basic cause of the war was the imperialist ambitions of these three countries-German design conquer Europe and establish world supremacy, Italian ambition to conquer Balkans, the Arab countries and large parts of Africa, and the Japanese desire to become a master of Asia and the Pacific. In his study, Fry, Goldstein & Langhorne (Eds.) (2002, p. 264) argued that in this backdrop, on 1 September 1939, Germany invaded Poland. On the other side, on 3 September, Britain, followed by France, declared war on Germany.

### **3.3 The World War II**

In their studies, Parker (2001, p. 21) and Hiden & Lane (2003, p. 142) revealed that on 23 August 1939, the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact had been signed. The stage was now set for the invasion of Poland. Hitler was convinced that the Western powers would acquiesce in the aggression. He had told his commanders, "Our opponents are little worms. I saw them in Munich". On 1 September 1939, Hitler's armies invaded Poland. On the other side, Brown & Burdekin (2002, p. 661) had mentioned that on 3 September 1939, Britain and France declared war on Germany. Poland, completely unaided by Britain and France in spite of the declaration of war, was defeated in about in about three weeks' time. Britain and France neither directly came to the aid of Poland nor launched any military operation against Germany in the West. The World War II had begun, but it was confined to a small part of Europe in the east. For about seven months after the declaration of war, there was no active war between Britain

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<sup>19</sup> The Tripartite Pact, well-known as a Berlin Pact, was an agreement between Germany, Japan and Italy. It was signed in Berlin on 27 September 1940. The main objective of the pact was to provide mutual assistance to each signatory (Weinberg, 1972, p. 135).

and France, and Germany, except for a few minor naval clashes. This period in the history of the World War II is known as the 'Phony War.'<sup>20</sup>

The events of 1941- the German invasion of the Soviet Union, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (7 December 1941) and the US had declared war on Japan (8 December 1941) and entered into World War II. Moreover, on 11 December, Germany and Italy declared war on the US and the US declared war on Germany and Italy. Due to such developments, the war had turned into a global war. In his study, Ganesan (2000, p. 259) cited that by the middle of 1942, Japan had occupied many islands in Pacific, the Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, Malaya, Singapore, and Thailand. In this backdrop, Churchill (2010) had argued that during this period, the anti-fascist coalition had emerged comprising of Britain, the Soviet Union, and the US. Winston Churchill called it the "Grand Alliance".<sup>21</sup> Britain and US had waged war under joint command. Though there was no such joint action with the Soviet Union, all the three countries had actively collaborated and on many occasions planned common strategies. Besides, the vast resources of the US, her entire war machinery, which included 300, 000 aircraft and 85, 000 tanks, were now geared up against Germany and her allies. The US has been described as "the arsenal of victory". The Soviet Union recognized General de Gaulle, who later set up a provisional government, as the leader of all 'Free Frenchmen.'

Tonge (2008, p. 45) had briefed that on 30 April 1945, Hitler committed suicide. Germany unconditionally surrendered on 7 May 1945, to the representatives of the US, Britain, France and the Soviet Union at the headquarters of General Eisenhower in Rheims. The war in Asia and the Pacific continued even after the Germany surrender. The Allies had scored victories in this region in 1944, but Japan was still strongly entrenched with a huge army in China, Manchuria, Korea and other places. A chain of scholars like Hersey (1985) and Boyne (2002, p. 441) had argued that on 6 August 1945, a US aircraft dropped an atom bomb on Hiroshima and on 9 August on Nagasaki. These bombs killed over 3,20,000 people in these two cities. Japan capitulated on 15 August

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<sup>20</sup> Phoney War was the period of first eight month of the World War II. Fundamentally, the term was coined by US Senator William Borah. Further, he had advocated that during this time there was no major military land operations on the Western Front. In reality, it had begun with the German invasion of Poland on September 1<sup>st</sup> 1939 (Brown & Burdekin, 2002, p. 661).

<sup>21</sup> The Grand Alliance also known as 'Big Three'. Mainly, it was formed in June 1941 by three countries including Britain, United States and Soviet Union during the World War II. The main goal behind the formation of grand alliance, to defeat the Germany and her allies in the war (Churchill, 2010).

(Hersey 1985). On 8 August, the Soviet Union had declared war on Japan. By the end of August, the Japanese armies in Manchuria had surrendered to the Soviet army, in South-East Asia to the British army, and in China to the armies of Chiang Kai-Shek and the Chinese communists. On 2 September 1954, Japan surrendered, and the World War II was over.

The World War II was the most destructive war in human history given the property destruction and human loss in the various countries. Tucker (2014, p. 367) has mentioned that It took a toll of more than fifty million human lives. The total cost of the war has been estimated to be about 14 million dollars. The statistics of destruction cannot convey the terrible catastrophe that it caused, in the European countries that had participated. Moreover, various colonies of European countries had mobilized their men and material sources towards these world wars. In this backdrop, the Indian subcontinent paid a lot for the British Empire.

#### **3.4 Involvement of the British India in World Wars: Mapping Various Theatres of War**

Many studies pointed out that World Wars had entangled numerous countries of the world. In this, India contributed immensely to the war efforts during the World War I & II. Tinker (1968, p. 90), Rothwell (1970, p. 276) and Pati (1996) mentioned that over 1,400,000 Indian men had been served during the World War I. on the other side, the story of Indian mobilization got more attention in the World War II. Because in the second global war, the British Indian Army had contributed approximately 2.5 million men. In his study, Simon & Abdel-Moneim (2011, p. 174) validated that British Indian Army was the largest volunteer force in the history of human conflict. Thus, Indian subcontinent had played very crucial role in sustaining, maintaining and expanding the British Empire at various distant places of the world. Against this backdrop, it becomes obligated to understand the role of Indian in British Indian Army in the World War I and II. Additionally, it is essential to determine the role of various colonies and moreover, rediscovering the role of colonies at different threats of War for figure out the exit scale of contribution in terms of men power, materials and animals. Many historians like Roy (2011, p. 194) and Majumdar (2003, p. 237) has noted that the volunteers of British Indian Army participated wholeheartedly in World War I.

### **3.4.1 World War I: Lost and Silenced Stories of India's Contribution**

Colonial policies of recruitment to the army had undergone drastic changes during the World War I (1914-18). Not only different regiments were raised, rather due consideration had been given to their various castes. The favours and loyalties had been liberally extended to the Indians who had helped with contribution and recruitment efforts. Ganachari (2005, p. 779) to placate the more aggressive nationalists, the British government had also promised to bring reforms in governmental status and structure. At the same time, Indian political leaders, notably B. G. Tilak (23 July 1856 - 1 August 1920) and M. K. Gandhi (2 October 1869 - 30 January 1948) were divided over the issue of assistance and help in war efforts.

Given the then milieu regarding unemployment, poverty, and lack of other necessities, there was much enthusiasm for recruitment in the British Indian army. Furthermore, in late 1914, the rise in the price of wheat and sugar also pushed the sons of small peasantry towards military service. To an extent, the recruitment into the army was also partly shaped by non-material factors. MacMunn (1933) wrote a good account on martial races entitled 'The Martial Races of India' stated that a wave of enthusiastic loyalty spread through the ranks of Indians and this surprised the authorities. This feeling was based on an acceptance of the rightness of Britain's decision to fight in defence of Belgium with the hazy idea that a German victory would harm India. The prospect that Indian soldiers would fight beside the British generated a sense of pride amongst the certain sections of the Indians, and they believed that the colonial masters would reward India's contribution to the defence of the British Empire. Roy (2013) also argued that Indians joined the army for material gain and upward social mobility.

It is well accepted that British Indian army had heavily recruited with the opening of World War I. Pati (1996) had conducted a scholarly work "India, and First World War" mentioned that before opening of the World War I, the strength of Indian people in the combatant units of the British Indian Army, had stood at 1, 94,000. However, after the outbreak of the war, the additional recruitment of 7, 91,000 people took place in all branches of the services. Thus, the Indian people had overall contributed about a combatant population of 9, 85,000 in the British Indian Army during the World War I. Further, Pati (1996, p. 31) had analyzed that

out of this, about 5, 52,000 Soldiers were sent overseas. On the other hand, the pre-war strength of the noncombatants stood at 45,000. An additional recruitment of 4, 27,000 were carried out during the war. Out of this strength, about 3, 91,000 were sent overseas. Thus, the Indian people had substantially contributed to a total strength of 14, 57,000 people in favour of British Empire, out of which about 9, 43,000 had served overseas during the war.

The Indian soldiers fought the war with full dedication and loyalty and shed their blood for maintaining and expansion of the British Empire. Ganachari (2005, p. 779) pointed out that the casualties in war officially calculated to 1, 06,594. Apart from these, about 36,696 non-war deaths took place given the lack of lack of medical facilities and other hardships. Moreover, during the war, 1, 75,000 animals were engaged in war. In his study, Bagchi (2014, p. 10) argued that the Indian Railway Staff had been playing a very significant role in the same. The substantial increase in military traffic produced by the war synchronized with the severe shortage of shipping, and thus, threw open to the Indian railways a volume of traffic, usually sea-borne, which they were never designed to carry. The resources of the Royal Indian Marine were similarly taxed to the utmost.

The inauguration of great schemes of irrigation and agricultural development in Mesopotamia made heavy additional demands on India during the years, and the extension of the railway in the theatre of war operations continued to make serious inroads on available rolling stocks and materials. Another scholar, Normanton (1921, p. 160) did his work under the entitled 'India in England' in which he had mentioned that during the World War I, 1,855 miles of rail track, 229 locomotives, and 5,989 vehicles were sent out of India. *These* officially stated figures and statistics are indicative of the nature and quantum of active participation of the Indian troops during the World War I and which was deployed in the following theatres of war: France, East Africa, Egypt, and most importantly in Mesopotamia. Roy (2008) had assessed that the Mesopotamia campaign was primarily carried out by debiting the expenditure to the Indian treasury and was exclusively planned and executed by the British Indian army. As the war reached a critical phase, there was a constant as well as steadily increasing demand for 'native' recruitment to the Indian Army, for deployment in all the theatres mentioned above of war.

Table No: 3.1

**Table 3. 1- Number of Indians Serving in all areas of the World War I, 1914-18**

<b>Countries sent to</b>	<b>Combatants Indian officers</b>	<b>Combatants Indian other ranks</b>	<b>Non-Combatants</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>France</b>	1911	82974	47611	1,32,496
<b>East Africa</b>	826	33633	12477	46,906
<b>Mesopotamia</b>	7812	287753	293152	5,88,717
<b>Egypt</b>	1889	94596	19674	1,16,159
<b>Gallipoli</b>	90	3003	1335	4,428
<b>Salonika</b>	31	3643	1264	4,938
<b>Aden</b>	343	15655	4245	20,243
<b>Persian Gulf</b>	615	17537	11305	29,457
<b>Total</b>	13517	538794	391003	9,43,344

Source: Das, 2011

Ganachari (2005, p. 182) and Das (2011) has investigated that when the World War I broke out, the Indian Army was suddenly and unexpectedly called upon to participate primarily in an external warfare for which no preparation had been made. There were other inherent defects in the Indian military system such as the small number of British officers, the non-existence for the practical purpose of any reserve of officers. In short, there was a lack of preparation for a war against large and fully equipped hostile armies. Roy (2012, p. 1312) had also argued that the British Indian Army was submitted to a test for which it had neither equipment nor experience. It is important to gauge the kind of adversity the Indian troops had to undergo, and to which fresh recruitment was sought to replenish the dying or the dead Indian soldiers.

**Table 3. 2- Recruitment of New Communities: World War I**

<b>Province</b>	<b>Community</b>
<b>Madras</b>	Coorgis (853), Moplas (1,368), Nayars (3,598), Tiyyans (1,638), Telugus (6,748), Tamils (16,390).
<b>Bombay</b>	Deccani Brahmins Berads, Bhandaris, Chamars, Christians (5,905), Gujaratis, Jamkhandis, Khandesh Bhils, Kolis, Lingayats, Mahars (2,365), Sindis and Maratha Brahmins (12,038).
<b>Bengal</b>	Bengalis (5,586)
<b>Punjab and Delhi</b>	Baltis, Punjabi Brahmins, Hindu Aroras, Kambohs, Musalis (927), Kashmiris (1,520), Arains, Bauria Sikhs, Bishnois (446), Rors, Sainis, Brahmins (6,845), Christians (3,681).
<b>Burma</b>	Arakanese, Burmans, Chins, Kachins, Karens and Shans (12,163).
<b>Central Provinces</b>	Lodhas, Dangis and Mahars (2,365).
<b>Assam</b>	Jharuas (538), Manipuris, Sylheti Muslims
<b>Bihar and Orissa</b>	Bhumihars (those Brahmins who practised agriculture and were considered as fallen), Brahmins and Ahirs (19,546).
<b>United Provinces</b>	Lodhas, Nandbans, Pasis, Togars, Rajputs, Brahmins, and Muslims from Awadh, Bhumihars, Gwalahs (a middle caste whose profession was to sell milk of cows), Ahirs, Doms (sweepers, an untouchable community), Kurmis, Kumaunis (2,713).
<b>North-West Frontier Province</b>	Bangash, Miranzais, Swatis of Hazara (2,218).

Source: Roy, 2013

British India had given unquestioned support to the British during the World War I. On the other side, Leigh (1922) and Singh (2008) argued that the princely states had also remained very supportive to the British Empire. The princely states had not only supported morally to the British Empire rather, but these states had also become green pastures for recruitment in the army. About 20 percent of the subcontinent's population lived. In fact, recruitment was quite intense in selected princely states which were supposed to be inhabited by the 'Martial Races.' In his study, Leigh (1922) had well documented that the Patiala, a princely state, comprising 5,951 square miles had sent 35,000 soldiers or about 15 percent of its population who were eligible for military service. The princely state of Nabha had sent 5,600 personnel constituting 16 percent of its eligible population. the princely state of Maler Kotla comprising 167 square miles with a population of 71,144, sent



3,934 men representing 31.7 percent of those eligible for military service, and the Loharu State with an area of 222 square miles and a population of 18,597 (3,060 of whom were of military age), had sent 281 recruits. About 88,958 recruits were also enlisted from other princely states outside Punjab, such as Mysore, Baroda, and Kashmir. Thus, all the princely states, except Nepal, had provided total 115,891 personnel.

Cohen (2001) admitted that high-intensity of warfare has always been demanded a greater quantum of military manpower which allowed the lower castes to serve in the army - something that denied them in peacetime. This proved to be partly true during the World War I, as the next few examples elaborate this one. In his study, Roy (2013) has cited that according to the Census Report of 1911, there were 40,000 Rors who claimed a Rajput origin and their chief occupation was agriculture. They inhabited Rohtak, Delhi and Karnal districts and the Jind State. They were never recruited to the army before 1914. But due to the demands of war, some Rors were inducted into the British Indian army. The Mahars (an untouchable group) from Maharashtra, who served in the pre-1857 Bombay Army, were denied entry by the Martial Race theorists from the 1880s. They were recruited in small numbers from the latter part of the World War I. Overall, the induction of the lower castes had remained limited, bearing in mind that there were 60 million people categorized as low castes, including the 'Untouchables.'

Thus, during the World War I, the men and war-supporting material's contribution to India had been remained principal and continued remains the larger supplier of soldiers for the British Empire. At the various theatres of War, India had played a very crucial role in saving the British Empire and shed their blood for their masters.

#### **3.4.2 Theatres of World War I: Mobilisation & Experiences of Indian Soldiers**

The World War I (1914-1918) or the Great War for Civilisation, as it was known at the time, was a watershed event in modern world history. The events of that conflict changed the social and political map of the world forever. Its repercussions had reverberated through the time and space. Many contemporary conflicts, especially in the Middle East and South Asia, Southeast Asia have been tracing their roots directly to the fallout of the war. Though India was a colony at that point of time, but it had actively supported the war effort in its anticipation to gain

dominion status. The overwhelming majority of mainstream political opinion in 1914 was united in the view that if India desired greater responsibility and political autonomy, it must also be willing to share in the burden of Imperial defence. As a result, India had contributed immensely to the war effort regarding both men and materials. Barua (2003, p. 26) assessed that her soldiers had served the British Indian Army with dedication, loyalty, and honour in numerous battlefields around the globe, like France, Belgium, Aden, Arabia, East Africa, Gallipoli, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Persia, Salonica, Russia, and even in China. In his study, Dobbie (2004, p. 129) mentioned that by the end of the war, 1,100,000 Indians were served overseas at the different theatres of war. The substantial contribution of the Indian people can be appreciated by locating and understanding their place in the list of honours and gallantry awards. Moreover, Barua (2003, pp. 26-27) argued that when the guns had been ceased, the contribution of the Indian soldiers celebrated with decoration by the British officials. They had earned over 9,200 decorations for gallantry including 11 Victoria Crosses by serving the empire.

The Indian Army was not organized, trained or equipped for a major type of war that had taken place, but it was the only reserve that was immediately available. Knight (2013, p. 10) shared his experience about the British Indian Army soldiers during the World War I in 'The British Army in Mesopotamia, 1914–1918', in which he had pointed out that the trench warfare was entirely new to the Indian soldiers. The trenches were a continuous line of wet and muddy ditches - a total contrast to the dry hills and scrub of the North West Frontier where most of the Indian soldiers had received their training and practice. Moreover, the Indian troops had arrived in their summer cotton uniforms unsuited to the winter conditions that they faced on their arrival in France. In their studies, Mejcher (1972, p. 378) and Ulrichsen (2007, p. 355) demonstrated that during the World War I, the services of Indian troops had been engaged in four theatres of War: Mesopotamia, France, Egypt and German East Africa most importantly. Out of these theatres of war, Mesopotamia, France, and Egypt is essential, due to the contribution of the British Indian army. In the context of Mesopotamia, The Indian contribution was very enormous. Ironically, it remained less known to the public, but the war theatre of Mesopotamia had fought largely by the Indian units.

Kent (2005) articulated that Mesopotamia was part of the Ottoman Empire for centuries before the Great War (1914-18), It had located on the Middle Eastern front had been remained the major and important war front for the British Empire given the oil and its refineries. In 1908. British had discovered the oil fields in Mesopotamia (modern-day Iraq). For fuelling the Royal Navy (the largest and most powerful navy in the world at that time). On the other side, Germany had developed a very overwhelm relations with Mesopotamia for many years before the war and considered it as an important part of the *Drang nach Osten* ("Thrust towards the East": Germany wanted new lands, new markets, "lebensraum"). Thus, control over Mesopotamia was a significant concern for both the powers. Consequently, both had suffered in great during the Great War.

Ulrichsen (2007, p. 373) and Rothwell (1970, pp. 276-77) had assessed that after joining the war in October 1914, Turkey declared war on England from the side of the German Empire. Britain immediately sent forces to Mesopotamia (Iraq) to secure key positions and drive the Ottomans out of Iraq. The Indian Expeditionary Force "D" was despatched to Mesopotamia and protection of British oil installations and their staff in the region was the prime concern.

With the opening of World War I, India had mobilized the soldiers in bigger number. Knight (2013, p. 12) did a lot of work on Indian army in the Middle East during the World War I. In his work 'The British Indian army in Mesopotamia, 1914–1918', he advocated that India had contributed a large number of soldiers in the theatres of war in the Middle East. More than one million Indian troops served overseas during the World War I and out of this 62,000 had died, and another 67,000 were wounded. However, British Indian army had fought at the various theatres of war like European, Mediterranean and the Middle East and mobilized a line of soldiers to these theatres. But campaigns in had largely controlled by the Indian soldiers, and it had estimated that nearly 700,000 served in Mesopotamia against the Ottoman Empire.

These Indian Expeditionary Forces had been fought at numerous theatres of war like Eastern and Western Front of the War. In order to meet the requirement of all fronts, Corrigan (2007, p. 87) and Roy (2011, pp. 105-06) argued that the Indian Army had been dispatched into seven expeditionary forces A (fought in Western Front), B (fought in East Africa), C (fought in East Africa), D (fought in Mesopotamia campaign), E (fought in Sinai and Palestine Campaign), F (fought in

Suez Offensive campaign), G (fought in Gallipoli Campaign) during the World War I. Out of these, Indian Expeditionary Force D was sent in Mesopotamia under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Nixon.<sup>22</sup> In his study, Kitchen (2014, p. 193) had acknowledged that it was the largest Indian Army force to serve abroad during the World War I.

British had been remained very ambitions for occupying the distant colonies for expansion the British Empire in the world. For achieving imperialistic motives, royal navy remained very supporting for the colonial masters. As Rothwell (1970) had pointed out that Britain relied heavily on oil to keep its strong navy engaged and deployed at sea. On the other hand, Mesopotamia was the biggest land of oil fields. Immediately, with the opening of Great War, British had fought with Germany for protecting its interests by occupying the major oilfields and pipeline in Mesopotamia, particularly near Basra.

During the World War I, the British Empire had mobilized Indian soldiers in substantial number. Most of these had deployed in Mesopotamia against the Ottoman Empire (13<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century). In his study, Knight (2013) stated that nearly 700, 000 soldiers from India had participated in the various campaigns of Mesopotamia and played very crucial role in safeguarding the oils interests of the British over there particularly in Abadan. Rothwell (1970, p. 8), Roy (2011, p. 521) and Gardner (2014) argued that initially, the British Indian army had made very significant movements for pulling out the Turks, but they faced a humiliating defeat in Kul-al-Amara<sup>23</sup>, also known as the First Battle of Kut. It had proved a major setback for the Anglo-Indian army in Mesopotamia. Roy (2011) argued that for the British army, Kut was the key stronghold for garrison the British Indian army. However, British Indian army had fought very bravely but remained unsuccessful. Thus, the Ottomans had occupied the Kut and brought under captivity 13, 000 British and Indian troops.

Kul-al-Amara was one of the worst defeats for the British and suffered heavy men and material loss. But the renowned military historian of colonial India,

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<sup>22</sup> General Sir John Eccles Nixon (16 Aug 1857–15 Dec 1921) was senior most commander of the British Indian army. During the World War I, he had issued the orders for the first British Expedition against Baghdad (Rothwell, 1970).

<sup>23</sup> The Siege of Kut Al Amara (7 December 1915–29 April 1916), a forgotten British-Indian garrison surrendered to the Turks army. The Siege of Kut Al Amara is also known as the First Battle of Kut. Ottoman army had kept the town under his control nearly for five months and on 29 April 1916, 13,000 soldiers were taken into captivity. The siege of Kut remained very major disaster for the Anglo-Indian army. In this captivity, one third of the soldiers had died (Gardner, 2014).

Roy (2011) had argued that British were not defeated due to the weakness of the troops, but poor planning and strategy was the major cause behind the loss of Kut-al-Amara to the Ottoman Empire. But on the other side, Knight (2013) had admitted that Anglo-Indian soldiers shown great boldness and enthusiasm during the campaign. Thousands of soldiers brought into captivity by the Ottoman army, and much more had died in the prisoner of war camps. For the given of boldness and gallantry at Kut-al-Amara, three Indian soldiers earned three more Victoria Crosses. These were awarded to Sepoy Chatta Singh, 9<sup>th</sup> Bhopal Infantry, Lance Naik Lala, 41<sup>st</sup> Dogras and Naik Shah Ahmed Khan of 89<sup>th</sup> Punjabis.<sup>24</sup>

**Picture 3. 1- Indian Army Victoria Cross Holder: World War I  
Subedar Khudadad Khan (1888-1971)**



Source: The Telegraph, 13 August 2017

<sup>24</sup> Story of the first Muslim soldier to be awarded the Victoria Cross  
Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/history/world-war-one/11198951/Story-of-the-first-Muslim-soldier-to-be-awarded-the-Victoria-Cross.html> (Accessed on 17 August 2017).

After suffering a humiliating defeat at Kut-al-Amara, the British Indian government had reorganized and reinforced their forces in Mesopotamia. In his study, Greenhut (1983, p. 57) assessed that Lahore and Meerut Divisions that had been fighting over there sent back to India. A Punjabi Muslim, who had been serving in the 29<sup>th</sup> Punjabis (East Africa), wrote a letter to his brother in January that the entire Lahore Division had fought very well. He added for emphasis, "All the Indians have fought well, and a great victory is being won." The advance to Baghdad began on 13 December 1916. Kut was recaptured in February and Baghdad secured on 13 March 1917. Mosul was finally occupied on 3 November 1918. As earlier mentioned that the Mesopotamia campaign was basically fought by the Indian Army. Further, Chhina (2014, p. 20) had mentioned that Indian troops showed resilience and courage under severely adverse conditions. Properly organized and led the troops fought admirably. The Indian Army contributed some 600,000 personnel to the Mesopotamia campaign and by the end of it had lost 364 Indian officers and nearly 30,000 men killed and 828 Indian officers and 31,780 men wounded.

Following the fall of Kut, British had learned the lessons and redesigned its strategy for Mesopotamia. In his study, Gabb (2000, p. 55) had demonstrated that calling back to General Sir John Nixon (16 Aug 1857–15 Dec 1921), Major-General Stanley Maude had sent to Mesopotamia to take command of the British army. He had introduced new strategical methods and given decisive defeats to the Turks in February 1917 and capture the Baghdad in March 1917. At the same time, the Anglo-Indian army had captured the Berlin-Baghdad railway. By capturing railways lines, commercial schemes of German for Mesopotamia had also finished and gave a significant setback to the Ottoman Empire. Given the continually depressing news from France and many other frontiers, at least Mesopotamia, had been remained a soothing front where significant and newsworthy achievement achieved by the British Indian army in terms of expansionism.

Jarboe (2013, p. 22) in his authoritative work on the military history of colonial India under the entitled 'Soldiers of empire Indian sepoys in and beyond the imperial metropole during the First World War, 1914-1919', demonstrated the first-hand experiences of the Indian soldiers at the various theatres of war and revealed their war experiences with their family members. Further, he pointed out

that many of the Indian sepoys had been deployed in the Europe. Even from the home front, the Indian soldiers had received a lot of encouragement and inspirations to fight for the British Empire, to do their duty and do what was expected of them as representatives of the martial races. In his work, Omissi (2016) had documented the letter of Indian soldiers during the World War I. Here, we are inserting an example of a letter, written by one Indian to his brother who had been deployed in Mesopotamia during the World War I:

We all hope that you will shine the names of your ancestors by performing your duties to the utmost satisfaction. Be always brave as your ancestors, who were tiger like warriors to spare their lives for the honour of Great Britain & were called Bahadurs. If you want to face this side again, face as Bahadur. We all pray for your success & our daily devotion to the success of Great Britain.

A major source of strength and encouragement for the fighting soldiers were their family's members. Beaumont (1977), Jarboe (2013) and Omissi (2016) had assessed that the family's members kept on writing motivating and inspiring letters. The argument is substantiated by quoting a letter written by a brother of the Gurkha soldier, in which he enthused his brother with high spirit and motivation. The letter started with these lines, "This is the opportunity to show your worth. To give help to your family and render aid to Government, fight well, kill your enemy and do not let him attain his object. If you die, you will make a name up to seven forefathers and will go straight to Paradise. You will become as famous as the sun. Bravo. Bravo. One woman wrote to her three brothers serving in Mesopotamia, "God grant victory to our King, & bring you home from your wars in safety, my brothers. War is the task of young men, to sport with death upon the field of battle, to be a Tiger & to draw the sword of valour & to dare".

Many soldiers of the British Indian army had replied to their friends and family members. They had given assurance to their dearer and nearer regarding their loyalty and boldness in the battles. They wrote that they had been fighting with zeal for the set goals. After arriving at Mesopotamia in March 1915, a Punjabi Muslim wrote a letter to his friend who was working in a regiment in India that, "the soldiers in Mesopotamia fighting with passion and enthusiasm in the battles and it seems that, the war might be over before they reached the front." Another sepoy in the 55<sup>th</sup> Rifles who was in India wrote to his brother in the 57<sup>th</sup> Rifles in France that 'please God we too shall come soon to take our part in the European war. We are

all ready, but we must wait for the order.’ Thus, Omissi (2016) has presented a very vivid account of British Indian army who served during the World War I. Moreover, he observed that many Indian soldiers had fought valiantly and heroically. It was above all to gain or preserve their honour, reputation, or prestige. However, on the other hand, notwithstanding holding a very opinion about the crucial role played by the Indian soldiers in the war campaigns and gains, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, Michael O’Dwyer (1913 and 1919) also expressed contra view that the fight was not only for the preservation and expansion of the British Empire and martial character identity of their ancestors, rather the economic reasons like pensions and reduced land taxes were the major pull factors for their active participation in the World War I.

Further, the greater mobilization of Indian soldiers took a heavy number of lives in the war. However, there are some scholars, who had given elaboration of the casualties of the Indian soldiers. But here, the scholar is discussing the data of British officials. The report had been published by the war office of London, under the title of ‘Military Effort of the British Empire: During the Great War 1914- 20’. Here are the details of casualties of the Indian soldiers in the Mesopotamia.

**Table 3. 3- Casualties of Indian Soldiers in Mesopotamia Campaigns – World War I**

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Casualties</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>1</b>	Total killed or died	29,555
<b>2</b>	Total wounded	32,608
<b>3</b>	Total missing or prisoners	1,809
<b>4</b>	Total casualties	63,972

Source: War Office London, 1922, p. 777

Apart from massive casualties, extreme hardships, the unfavourable climate mate conditions and harsh temperatures particularly in Mesopotamia, the British Indian army had suffered chronic diseases notably jaundice, sleeping sickness fever and much more. In spite of all these adversities, the British Indian army had played a crucial role in the various theatres of war.

The mobilization of Indian soldiers in the great war remained very remarkable. More than one million Indians had served overseas during the World War I in the various countries of the world. In his study, Chhina (2014, p. 27) has revealed that more than 700 Indian doctors held commissions as regimental



medical officers and in hospitals during the war, many of whom won gallantry awards for their excellent services. The Indian Army played a vital role in the war. The sacrifices of the Indian Army during World War I have been recognized by the numerous war memorials around the world, of whom three are dedicated solely to the Indian Army. These are located places like Brighton (England), Neuve Chapelle (France) and the India Gate (New Delhi).

The Indian Army got drastic changes during the World War I and as it is projected above, increased exponentially. Moreover, the British Indian army not only contributed to the World War I, but it's also participated in the World War II was more enthusiastic. Thus, the scale of Indian soldiers had been remained very substantial in the World War I. but with the falling of war curtain, the British Indian Army reduced very rapidly. In his study, Marston (2014, p. 43) had mentioned that the process of disbanding the Indian soldiers from the British Indian Army had entangled the Indian soldiers into many problems and out of this economic hardships, unemployment was one of the major. However, after the war, loyalty had been punished even then with the opening of World War II came forward for their colonial masters.

In their studies, Kshirasagara (1994, p. 139) and Hussain (2014, p. 55) has argued that Indian army not only disbanded after the World War I, moreover Mazhabis and Mahars which were primarily considered as a non-martial race of India, discontinued and forcefully excluded from the recruitment of the British Indian Army. Here it is vital to mention that however, these people had played very important role in the World War I and shed their blood for the imperial masters. But immediately after falling the war curtain, they had disbanded from the army. Specifically, the last unit of Mazhabis Sikh had been disbanded from the army in 1932. On the other side, the recruitment of Mahars had been discontinued soon after the end of World War I. Further, Singh (2016, p. 55-56) wrote a short paper on 'Mazhabi Sikhs in the British Army in Colonial Punjab 1849-1947', in which he had argued that however, non martial races of Punjab had been disbanded after the end of World War I, but it had been widely recognized and started to recruit with the opening of World War II. Consequently, the first Mahar battalion raised in September 1941. Moreover, the Mazhabis and Ramdasis Sikhs were also recruited in the British Indian Army during the World War II. In this backdrop,

however, the country stood in the behind of British motives even then they had ill-treated and consumed during bad times.

### **3.5 World War II: Role of British Indian Army**

Throughout the recorded history, the army had been remained an instrumental in establishment, expansion and sustained the colonialism. Similarly, the colonial regime in India overwhelmingly remained dependent on the Indian Army. The Indian Army was really Indian in nature as its whole rank and file were Indians. However, its officers were mostly from the British side. Perry (1988, p. 96) has rightly acknowledged that despite the apathy of the Indian populace and the hostility of the Indian national leaders, the Indian Army remained more or less loyal to the British during the World War II.

The British India Army had not only played a significant role in the World War I (1914-18) rather wholeheartedly with enhanced scope and substance gave a substantial contribution in the World War II. On the other side, more than two million Indian men had been joined the Indian Armed Forces during the World War II. These soldiers had served in Africa, the Middle East, Burma and Europe. The government of India at that point of time, kept on boasting about the Indian Army that it was the largest volunteer force in history. To meet the Army's increased demand for manpower, the rules of recruitment related to age, height, and weight, etc. were relaxed.

It is well assessed that the 'Treaty of Versailles'<sup>25</sup> had signed on 28 June 1919 and immediately fallen the curtain of World War I. Wright (2007) and Marks (2013, p. 639) had pointed out the provisions of treaty made responsible the Germany for the war and consequently made it pay massive reparations to the allies. The treatment of victorious countries and their treaty, widely begrudged by the German people. Consequently, Adolf Hitler (1933-1945) rose as a popular leader. He took over as Chancellor of Germany in 1933 and determined to build up its strong armed forces to revenge the humiliating defeat of the World War I along with expanding its colonies. In this direction, he violated the provisions of the treaty not only by making its strong army, acquiring of arms and ammunition,

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<sup>25</sup> The Treaty of Versailles is well-known as a peace treaty. It had brought to end the World War I between Germany and the Allied Powers. The victorious powers (the United States, Great Britain, France, and other allied states) had imposed painful provisions (territorial, military, and economic) on defeated Germany (Marks, 2013).

rather started instigation the allied powers. In his study, Lepage (2007) had pointed out that the first step in this direction was the annexation of Austria (13 March 1938) and Czechoslovakia (1938) respectively. The British and the French, fearful of another World War, took no action but realized that German military expansion had to be stopped. However, Germany attacked Poland on 1 September and consequently, Britain declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939. With the attack of Britain over Germany, the road had been built for the World War II.

With the opening of World War II, it had become the total war and brought the entire globe in its clutches. In his study, Dickson (2011, p. 1922) discussed that the World War II (1939-1945) was the most destructive event in the history of human conflict. Further, he had pointed out that each and every resource of the world had been turned towards the war needs and for fulfilling the imperialistic motives. In this backdrop, the men mobilization had been remained very important. As it is recorded in the history that European countries had ruled over so many colonies in the world at that time. From these colonies, in a substantial amount, men and material had been utilized in the war. Meantime, India was under the British rule. In the World War II, India had remained the major supplier of men and material towards the World War II.

As the war outset, India had involved heavily. The strength of British Indian Army also increased exponentially. In his study, Perry (1988, p. 102) had demonstrated that at the opening of the war, the Indian Army had only 96 infantry battalions and 18 cavalry regiments. The total strength of the British Indian Army was stood at 237, 500, which was just a little more than the strength of the Army at the start of World War I. During the first eight months of the war, the size of the Indian Army expanded by only 50,000 because London did not authorize large-scale expansion and there was a shortage of weapons in India. On another side, Roy (2009, p. 499) and Roy (2015) mentioned that before the opening of World War II, the British Indian Army was stood at 130,000 men (in addition, there were 44,000 men in British units in India in 1939). Raghavan (2016, p. 56) had also agreed that when the war with Germany had been started in September 1939, the total strength of the British Indian Army in India (British units plus the Indian Army) was 237,500. But immediately after the opening of World War II, Roy (2009, pp. 504-505) had pointed that from May 1940, the expansion of the British Indian

Army took place very rapidly. Between May 1940 and September 1941, 550,000 Indians were recruited. On 1 October 1941, the strength of the Indian Army was 820,000. The average monthly intake was 50,000 Indians. During the war, the size of the Indian Army varied between 1.2 and 2 million. The cavalry had no tanks; the infantry had no mortars as anti-tank weapons. Wireless sets were available only at brigade headquarters and above. The government apparently did not think that the Indian Army would be required to fight another major war or that it would be required for anything other than protecting India's borders.

Regarding the total strength of the British Indian Army, there was no compliance in the official and non-official records. There was a considerable variation regarding the statistics. According to the official history, the total strength of the armed forces in India on 1 October 1945 was 26,44,323 including 2,40,613 from the British Army, 20,18,196 from the Indian Army, 99,367 from the Indian States Forces, and some others. There are some other statistics about the British Indian Army and its construction during the World War II. Out of these, Barua (1997) and Kamtekar (2002) are most well-known scholars and catching more attention for discussing here. Firstly, Barua (1997) had given a vivid account of the contribution of the British Indian Army in the war. In his work 'Strategies and doctrines of imperial defence: Britain and India, 1919-45', he had demonstrated that with the opening of World War II (1939-45), India became the single largest colonial contributor to the British war efforts. Meanwhile, India had raised a military force of 2,500,000 professional soldiers, sailors and airmen, the biggest force of its kind in the world. More than two million Indian men joined the Indian Armed Forces during the World War II.

On the other hand, Kamtekar (2002, p. 190-191) also admitted that with the opening of World War II, recruitment had exponentially increased. One more scholar, Judith Brown had mentioned that in 1939, the Indian Army totalled 2,05,000 Indians, 63,469 British troops, and 83,706 troops from the princely states, but by the end of the war, the total had risen to about two and a half million. One more scholar, Perry (1988, p. 117) had noted that at the end of World War II, the total strength of the British Indian army was 2,499,909 and out of these 2,038,001 were classified as combatants. However, there are some contradictions about the total strength of the British Indian Army, but more importantly, they had strongly kept their tune in the single pipeline regarding the substantial contribution of

India's in the World War II. The statistics of the recruitment given in below table making the picture clearer more.

**Table 3. 4- Indian Armed Forces: 1939-1945**

<b>Period</b>	<b>Army</b>	<b>Navy</b>	<b>Air Force</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> October 1939	169, 800	1, 700	22, 300
1 <sup>st</sup> September 1945	1, 906, 700	30, 200	22, 900

Source: Kamtekar, 2002

The upper data is showing that the scale of India's mobilization in the World War II had been remained very pivotal. However, the stories of Indian soldiers lost and silenced under the dust of war trenches. But the unseen archival materials, British government reports, civil and military gazetteers, census reports and newspaper reports have unfolded the forgotten story of India's role in the World War II. Consequently, the stories of British Indian Army are proudly told.

India had not only provided cannon fodder to the war fronts. Moreover, India had supplied substantial war supporting material. Kamtekar (2002) had pointed out that India contributed substantially in the World War II in terms of like thirty-seven thousand silk parachutes, four million cotton made supply dropping parachutes, twenty-five million pairs of shoes and four hundred million tailored items. India's chief industrial contribution during the war was cotton textiles. At one stage, India had provided the enormous amount of 1.2 billion yards of cloth per annum to the defence forces. However, during the war, the demand for more clothes had increased, and consequently, more production was done in India. It was increased from 1.2 to 4.6 billion yards during the war. In addition to its significant combat role, India had also provided vast quantities of food and material to Commonwealth forces all over the world. In this backdrop, the 'Grow More Food' Campaign had been driven in the country for producing more and more agriculture products so that further it can be drained for various theatres of war, which widely discussed above. In his study, Baura (1997, p. 260) revealed that in many cases it was the sole supplier of certain equipment - for example, India produced all the jungle-green uniforms and battle-dress worn in Burma. It is hardly surprising, then, that at the end of the war India's debt to Britain had been eliminated, and India had in fact built up a credit of \$1,240 million.

Due to greater mobilization, British India Army had taken the heavy loss of Indian soldiers during the World War II. Barua (1997, pp. 259-60) pointed out that they had fought in Malaya, Burma, East Africa, North Africa, Tunisia, the Middle East, Sicily (Italy), and in some smaller wars ranging from Greece to Indo-China during the war. In these campaigns, the Indian soldiers had suffered massive casualties, including the killing (24,338), wounded (64,354), missing (11,754), and POW's, (79,489), totalling 179,935. In returning of soldiers casualties, the British government had honoured the Indian soldiers. James (2010, p. 252) had mentioned that the Indian army had been well recognized by the colonial masters and decorated them with gallantry awards (4,028), including 31 Victoria Crosses. It has been worth mentioning here that the lion shares, *i.e.*, 27 Victoria Crosses only won by the Indian army in Burma. The Indian army had played very crucial role in the various theatres of war, but in South East Asia particularly in Burma remained very significant.

### **3.5.1 World War II: Role of Indian Soldiers at the various Theatres of War**

It is well established in the previously projected work that the Indian soldiers played a very pivotal role in every theatre of war during the World War I. The same story had been repeated by the Indian soldiers during the World War II also and fought at the various theatres of war. With the opening of World War II, British Indian army had mobilized substantially for the various war fronts. Barua (1997, p. 259) had mentioned that from the fighting point of view, they fought in Malaya, Burma, East Africa, North Africa, Tunisia, the Middle East, Sicily, Italy, and in a number of smaller wars ranging from Greece to Indo-China during the World War II. The British Indian Army had fought in Ethiopia against the Italian Army, in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia against both the Italian and German Army. It is also important to mention here that the bulk of the Indian Army had fought against the Imperial Japanese Army particularly in the South East Asia.

The war theatre of South-East Asia had remained very noteworthy for Allies (Great Britain, Soviet Union, China, and United States) as well as Axis powers (Germany, Italy, and Japan) during the World War II. On the other side, it became more important due to the mammoth involvement of the Indian soldiers. Here, Indian Army had played a very key role in saving the British imperialistic motives. Jackson (2006, p. 270) pointed out that this theatre of war had largely comprised

of Burma, Ceylon, India, Thailand, Philippines, Indochina, Malaya and Singapore and widely known as Indo-Pacific. The region remained the flashing point of conflicts between Europeans during the World War II. Because the region had been the seizure of big tanks of natural resources, particularly rich in rubber and petroleum. For acquiring the natural resources, British and Japanese armies had fought very ferociously to each other in the war theatre of South East Asia. The conflict in this theatre had been started when the Empire of Japan had been invaded French Indochina in September 1940. Moreover, the Japanese army had attacked Hong Kong, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and Malaya on 7/8 December 1941. This skirmish had brought into major conflicts between British Empire and Japanese Empire. Further, the ground for battles had become ready. Consequently, European empires allied with their colonies had got involved heavily in this theatre of war. The role of India was very remarkable and need a lot of attention to remap its contribution in war.

### **3.5.2 Indian Boots in Burma: Role of Black Lions**

British Indian Army played a very pivotal role during the World War II. It is also well recognized that Burma was the principal theatre of war for the British Indian Army. Prasad (1956) and Clodfelter (2017, p. 348) mentioned that in Burma, the British Indian Army had become the single largest army in the world with 1,000,000 men, 700,000 of whom were Indian. It fought along a 700-mile front, almost the equivalent of the Eastern Front. Further, he had pointed out that the Japanese armies had suffered the heavy loss of lives and lost half of their total casualties only in Burma front. Thus, it was the key area where the IJA (Imperial Japanese Army) suffered its biggest defeat from the British Empire. Thus, this theatre of war has a prime and significant importance for the contribution of British Indian Army in World War II.

Earlier, it is pointed out that the South East Asia had been remained very important for both the European powers in terms of geo-strategically and geopolitically perspectives. On the one hand, British Empire wanted to exploit the natural resources of the region and expelling the Japanese Empire from the region. On the other side, Japanese was also eager to control the resources of South East Asia and further they were wanted to expand their power towards India. In his study, Rothermund (2006, p. 348) demonstrated that in reality, the

Japanese were making efforts to decolonize the India. Initially, British got defeats in Malaya, and moreover British had also retreated from Burma to the Indian border. But later, after resting and refitting, British army (most of comprising from Indian army) had advanced into Burma and got victorious.

Now, it is very important to mention the two bloodiest battles (Battle of Kohima and Imphal) of the Burma campaigns during the World War II (Clodfelter, 2017). These battles had been fought between the British Indian Army and Japanese Army. In his study, Ritter (2017, p. 123) cited that the battle of Kohima had remained very significant for the British Indian Army. It was fought from 4 April - 22 June 1944 around the town of Kohima in northeast India. The Battle of Kohima had proved the turning point for the Japanese army in the Burma campaigns. In fact, the battle had pushed back the Japanese forces from entering into India in 1944 in World War II. In their studies, Singh (1993, p. 25) and Katoch (2016, pp. 2-3) claimed that Japanese troops had lost very heavily from the British and Indian machine guns in these battles.

The Battle of Imphal had also well recognized and remained very important war centre during the World War II. Gruhl (2010, p. 52) had stated that the battle of Imphal largely took place in the region around the city of Imphal. From both sides, armies had fought for many months for defeating to each other. The Japanese armies wanted to defeat the Allied forces at Imphal and destroyed the British Empire. Japanese were eager to invade India and take over the same. But the ambitions of the Japanese couldn't come fructify, rather suffered heavy losses from Burma front. Lyman (2011) wrote an account entitled "Japan's Last Bid for Victory: The Invasion of India 1944", in which he had mentioned that "The Japanese regard the battle of Imphal to be their greatest defeat ever." On the other side, it had given a lot of stimulus and strength to the Indian army given the Japanese defeat in Burma. It is worth to mention here that the army fought over there, the loin share of that was from India. In this backdrop, the Indian soldiers had the martial ability and soldierly qualities had been well acknowledged by the British Indian government.

A scholar of Burmese studies, Borton (2002, pp. 27-28) had given vivid accounts of fighting between the British-Japanese armies entitled 'The 14<sup>th</sup> Army in Burma: a case study in delivering fighting power.' In this account, he pointed out that the Battles of Imphal (8 Mar 1944 – 3 Jul 1944) and Kohima (4 Apr 1944 – 22



Jun 1944) had been drastically brutal wars in the Burma Campaign during the World War II. Japanese had deprived from the natural resources of the region and on the other side, their motives of expansion towards India had been converted into daydream project. By defeating Japanese, British had driven them out from Burma in 1945. In his study, Ritter (2017, p. 124) had mentioned that Mountbatten (25 June 1900 – 27 August 1979) described Kohima as one of the greatest battles in the history. Further, he had pointed out that the Battles of Imphal and Kohima is not forgotten by the Japanese. Pimlott (1993, p. 157) also projected these battles as one of the fiercest battles in the history of the world.

The war theatre of South East Asia had proved very disastrous for both imperial powers (British and Japanese). It had taken thousands of lives. Particularly, the battles of Kohima and Imphal had been testified as very brutal battles for the British army and Japanese army. Because, in these battles, the soldiers had died in dozens, hundreds, and thousands. Jackson (2006, p. 399) estimated that approximately 30,000 Japanese soldiers had lost the precious lives during the Burma campaigns. Further, he argued that Japanese defeat in Burma had been considered as a one of the greatest defeat on land in Japan's history.

On the other side, the British army was also heavily mobilized for Burma campaigns, and it was largely comprised of Indian soldiers. In his study, Clodfelter (2017, p. 501) claimed that more than 87,000 thousands Indian soldiers had lost their lives in Burma, for saving the British imperialistic policies in the South East Asia. Moreover, 34,354 thousand Indian soldiers had been got injuries, and 67,340 soldiers become prisoners of war (POWs) in the Burma campaigns. Due to keeping alive the imperialistic desires of British Empire in Burma, Indian soldiers had played a very highly spirited role. In spite of this, they had also become successful in restraining the expansionist policies of Japanese towards India.

The British government had recognized the valour and boldness of the Indian soldiers by honouring the decorations and awards. Barkawi (2017) mentioned that for their memorable contribution, Indian army had been honoured with 4,000 decorations and moreover, 18 members of the Indian Army were awarded the Victoria Cross or the George Cross. Undoubtedly, British Indian army had remained a major factor in the expansion the British Empire. British officials had also recognized the importance of British Indian army. Field Marshal Claude Auchinleck (Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army from 1942), had asserted that

the British "couldn't have come through both wars (World War I and II) if they hadn't had the Indian Army." On the other side, Winston Churchill (Prime Minister of Britain from 1940 to 1945 and again from 1951 to 1955) also paid tribute to "The unsurpassed bravery of Indian soldiers and officers."

Hence, British Indian army not only sustained the British Empire within India, rather facilitated to bring under control various other places of the world as well. During the World War I and II, the British Indian soldiers recruited in a huge number and fought for British at the many theatres of war. Due to their bravery and valour, still, the stories of British Indian army are remembered. Despite the sensitive political situation and worsening economic scenario, the Raj remained successful in expanding the size of the Indian Army. So that, British Indian army was the right hand of the British forces during the World Wars and played a significant role in sustaining and expanding the British Empire.

### **3.6 Emergence of the British Indian Army: India's Place in World Wars**

This is well known that British came to India for commercial purposes, but steadily it turned into political motives as well. In their studies, Sarkar (1989), Bandyopādhyāya (2004, p. 54) and Lyer (2010, p. 699) principally discussed that military had played a major role in getting political paramountcy in the India by the East India Company (EIC). In this whole discourses, the battles of Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764), had given the path for a solid foundation for British Empire in India. After defeating all indigenous kingdoms (Marathas, Awadh, Sikhs, and Rajputs) and European companies (mainly French and Portugal), British emerged as a victorious. In this backdrop, Military had played a very crucial role.

Before the 1857 mutiny, the main motive of the British Indian Army was to keep internal peace and security. But with the changing character of the British Empire in India, consequently changed its strategies and obligations with a passage of time and space (Roy, 2011). On the other hand, the mutiny of 1857 had been remained unforgettable for the British in India. Because on this occasion, largely the South India (Bengal) had revolted against the colonial masters. But North India remained silence, and no such situation took place particularly in Punjab. In this backdrop, following the 1857 mutiny, British had given particular attention towards its military strategies in the Indian subcontinent. Because 1857 uprising (a historian V. D. Savarkar called it First War of Independence) gave a big

setback to the British colonialism in India. Various regions of the country had revolted against the imperialistic policies of the British. Luckily, some provinces had supported and played an important role in saving it in India. However, Lessoning from the 1857 uprising, drastic changes brought in the construction of British Indian army and changed its recruitment grounds. In this, Roy (2013) had pointed out that certain regions/areas got an extremely important place in the defence policies of British India. In such case in point, Punjab had been remained very pivotal for the British. Because, Punjab not only remained loyal towards the colonial masters during the 1857 mutiny, moreover played a very key role in saving the British Empire in India.

Here, it is also very important to project the other solid compulsions other than 'Loyalty' which had compelled the British to make the Punjab as a 'Pile Arms of the Raj.' Just projecting loyalty behind all this process will not justify the importance of work. Because as in earlier works had been done. Nijjar (1974), Mazumder (2003), Krishan (2004), Talbot (2011), Soherwordi (2010), Ali (2014) and many more are just dumping an important role of Punjab in the British Indian Army by saying loyalty of Punjabis people in 1857 mutiny. In spite of loyalty, there were several compulsions which brought into consideration by the British officials in restructuring the British Indian Army. In this milieu, the geostrategic and geopolitical position of Punjab had acquired very peculiar place. Yong (2005, p. 20) had pointed out that with the obsession of 'Great Game,' Punjab had become extremely important for the British Empire. Consequently, it had played very significant role in terminating the Russian expansion towards the region. Moreover, it leads to the Anglo-Afghan wars (1839–1842, 1878–1880, and 1919) and Anglo-Sikh wars (1845–46, 1848–49). Out of these wars, the bravery and valour of the Punjabis had been acknowledged by the British officials very well. From this, the story of Punjab in the British Indian army had been started. In this background, the coming chapter will be attempted to find out the role of Punjab in the building of British Indian Army. In spite of this, why Punjab had become special for the British will be discussed through fresh perspective by kept aside the traditional discussions. Moreover, the role of Punjab in the World War I & II will be largely brought into consideration.

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## Chapter 4

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## 4 Punjab, Sword of the British Indian Army: Rediscovering Its Role in World Wars

*I am lost in astonishment that any of us are alive. But for the mercy of God we must have been ruined. Had the Punjabis joined against us, nothing, humanly speaking could have saved us.*

John Lawrence (Governor of Punjab)

The military forces that sustained European imperialism in Asia, Africa and elsewhere were largely comprised of locally recruited troops. In his study, Gupta & Deshpande (2002, p. 27) admitted that Indian Army was the guardian of the imperial order in India and played a significant role in defending and holding the British Indian Empire. It was the indigenous troops who enabled a handful of outnumbered officers and administrators to exercise colonial authority. Thus, the British Empire had been relied wholly on the participation of local people. So, nowhere was this general truth more apparent than in a colonial India, where through the recruitment and mobilization of the military had built up a special relationship between both. Through the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, these discourses had become increasingly racialized in which the only certain native communities were deemed to possess the high spirit necessary for military services. These so-called 'Martial Races'<sup>26</sup> included the Punjabi Sikhs, Muslims and Nepalese Gurkhas from the northern and frontier provinces of India, who had provided the backbone of the Imperial military. These races had played an instrumental role in defending and extending the colonial authority.

In this backdrop, present chapter is attempted to map the contribution of Punjab in the British Indian Army in general and in the World Wars particularly. Streets (2004, p. 26) pointed out that after the 1857 mutiny, the British Indian Army brought a lot of structural changes in its framework and changed the recruitment grounds of its armed forces in the Indian subcontinent.<sup>27</sup> In the defence strategy of British Empire, there were certain regions and geographical areas, had got benefits from the British administration and enlisted enormously in the British Indian Army. In such a typical case, Punjab had been considered an extremely

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<sup>26</sup> "Martial Races Theory" expounded by Lord Roberts and many others during the period 1880-1914. It was a clever British effort to divide the people of India for their own political ends and designs (MacMunn, 1933).

fertile ground for the same. Besides, the geographical locations of Punjab, there are certain compulsions which obligated the British to go for recruitment from this region.

Yong (2005, p. 20) pointed out that with the obsession of 'Great Game,' Punjab had become extremely important for the British from the geostrategic and geopolitical point of view to control the Russian expansion towards the region. Moreover, it leads to the Anglo-Afghan wars (1839–1842, 1878–1880, and 1919) and Anglo-Sikh wars (1845–46, 1848–49). Out of these wars, the bravery and valour of the Punjabis had been recognized by the British Empire very well. From this, the story of Punjab in the British Indian army had been started. It is well-known that Punjab had remained the main recruitment ground for the British Indian army. The role of Punjabis, particularly in World Wars had remained under research and got less consideration from the academicians. Even, it is there; a lot of prejudices and unfairness have remained part and parcel of the existing research documents. Thus, the World Wars had remained the watershed event in the military history of Punjab which will be principally focused in this chapter.

#### **4.1 British Indian Army: An Empire Built and Shielded by Native Hands**

South Asia, broadly referred to as the Indian subcontinent, is said to have a history of some five Millennium years and has spread over the area of one and a half millions of square miles (Naqvi, 2012, p. 2). One of the most famous geographers, Stamp (9 March 1898 - 8 August 1966), called the South Asia as the Indian subcontinent because of its separation from the rest of the Asian landmass (Malhotra, 2011, p. 1). The subcontinent, the core of South Asia, located at the southern extremity of the Eurasian continent, had faced many invasions through the land route and passes such as the Khyber and Bolan. These passes were indeed difficult but not impossible to cross for the invaders. Kaplan (2010, pp. 6-7) had pointed out that the invaders included the Aryans, Mongols, Huns, Mughals, and Turks who used the land route to reach the rich South Asian subcontinent through the great passes of the North Western areas. Most of the invading groups became part of the subcontinent and contributed to its syncretic and shared culture, embodying diversity and plurality. This route also attracted explorers and traders into the subcontinent from ancient times onwards, contributing to the rich cultural fabric of the subcontinent.

The modern times brought the subcontinent under colonialism, following the arrival of Europeans for trade through the sea route. It was the richness of the subcontinent that attracted the Europeans, like all other erstwhile invaders. Naravane (2006, p. 15) demonstrated that the Portuguese traders were the first to reach in the region, followed by the British, the French and the Dutch. Further, Talbot (2011, p. 3) had revealed that the British were the most successful in establishing their superiority over the subcontinent. Consequently, it had brought under the colonial rule, had been resulted in the import of western cultures and ways of living in the subcontinent. Colonialism had been unleashed sweeping changes in the fields of education, economy, society, judiciary, civil administration, communication, law and order in South Asia.

A considerable amount of literature has suggested that the British rule in South Asia was also important as it had brought new systems of military mobilization and defence. The British Indian army was the strong arm of the British Raj. The British Indian Empire was also a result the British army might and technologies. The primary purpose of the modern military was to quell internal disturbances and to counter external aggression in the Indian subcontinent. Major Stringer Lawrence (6 March 1697 - 10 January 1775), has considered as a father of the British Indian Army, who formed Madras as first military units of the East India Company (EIC) in 1748.<sup>28</sup> Soherwordi (2010, p. 152) mentioned that he had divided the British Indian army into three presidencies - Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. But it was under the command of Colonel John Adlercron (1691–1766), a great change of policy had taken place with far-reaching consequences when he decided to induct Indian men into East India Company's army in 1754. The troops had recruited from India were given training, discipline, and professionalism along in tune with British lines. The work put in by the colonial administration towards this direction over time paid dividends and brought discipline and efficiency among Indian soldiers and separated from the fragmented Indian society slowly these Indian soldiers turned into a professional, united and autonomous fighting force of the British Indian Army (Singh & Kaur, 2014). The British military equipment's and military infrastructure added to this in the building one of the strongest armies in the Empire.

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<sup>28</sup> The father of Indian army, Available At: <http://radhikar.anjanmarxis.t.blog.spot.in/2011/03/father-of-indian-army.html/> (Accessed on 5 December 2016).

Primarily, the British came to the subcontinent as traders, but slowly and steadily they had become the paramount power of India. In the expansion of British Empire, the military had played an instrumental role. For becoming one of the more professional armed forces, the British Indian Army had gone through in some structural changes (Sandhu, 2011). In this reference, such regions/areas had remained closely associated with British Indian Army. In such a typical case, Punjab had been figured prominently in the British Indian Army's strength. Fundamentally, British came in contact with Punjab during the British rule. Moreover, British also realized the bravery of Punjabi's people in the Anglo-Afghan Wars (1845-46 & 1848-49) and Anglo-Sikh Wars (1845-46 & 1848-49). Further, these wars had brought significant changes in the relationships between Punjab and the British. On the one hand, Punjabis became the savior of the British Raj, and on the other hand, It had fetched the turning point in the military history of colonial Punjab.

#### **4.2 Anglo-Afghan Wars: Great Game & Expansion of Sikh Kingdom**

The British came to India as traders and fought so many wars for imperialistic motives. On the other hand, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the expansionist policy of Russian had also alarmed the British. In this background, the anticipation of Russian invasion over India had created a lot of strategic concerns in England. In his study, Morgan (1981, p. 108) pointed out that the Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston (20 October 1784 - 18 October 1865) and President of the Board of Control, John Hobhouse (23 April 1835 - 30 August 1841), had been apprehensive given the instability in Afghanistan, the Sindh, and the increasing power of the Sikh kingdom to the Northwest. In this background, they were anticipating the Russian invasion over British India through Afghanistan in 1837. As Russia extending its footprints towards India through thre Central Asia. This was seen by the East India Company as a possible threat to their interests in India. The Company sent an envoy to Kabul to form an alliance with Afghanistan's Amir, Dost Mohammad Khan (23 December 1793 - 9 June 1863) against Russia but on the other hand, Dost Moḥammad did not show any inclination as he was more in touch with Persia and Russia.

British considered it a matter of urgent national importance to extend their influence into Central Asia before the Russians arrived. They had also feared that



their hold on India would be jeopardized if Russia were dominant in Central Asia and militarily present in or near Afghanistan. In his study, Lansford (2017) revealed that to protect their interests, they sent an envoy, Alexander Burnes<sup>29</sup> (16 May 1805 to 2 November 1841), by way of Sind to Lahore in 1830 and by way of Kabul to Bokhara in 1831-32 (for which he became famous as an explorer and political agent and earned the nickname “Bokhara Burnes.”

Meanwhile, the only Indian state of any significant independence and military power was the Punjab under Ranjit Singh.<sup>30</sup> The British could not hope to establish a strong influence beyond the Indus unless they first either conciliated or conquered the Sikhs. The spectacle of the well-trained and equipped armies of Lahore persuaded the British to make friendship with the Sikhs a high priority. It was impossible for the British to befriend Ranjit Singh and Dost Moḥammad Khan at the same time, for there was a fierce quarrel between them over the Sikh occupation of Peshawar and the shelter and encouragement given to Shah Soja (4 November 1785 - 5 April 1842).

The British had been worried that Russia would eventually attack its possessions in the Indian subcontinent. The British wanted a bulwark between the Russians and the British colonies in India, and so they had ultimately decided to take on Afghanistan. In his study, Goodson (2001, p. 33) pointed out that during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Britain had entered into three wars with Afghanistan, wherein, the British had been failed to gain control over a warlike and impenetrable territory. Fremont-Barnes (2014) argued that the First Anglo-Afghan war (1838-1842) was a direct result of Russian expansion into Central Asia, popularly known as the ‘Great Game.’<sup>31</sup> The First War was famous for the loss of 4,500 British and Indian soldiers, plus 12,000 of their camp followers, to Afghan tribal fighters, but the British defeated the Afghans in the concluding engagement. On the other side, Burton (2014) discussed that British had fought two wars to curtail the Russian influence towards the northwest frontier from 1839 to 1842, and again from 1878

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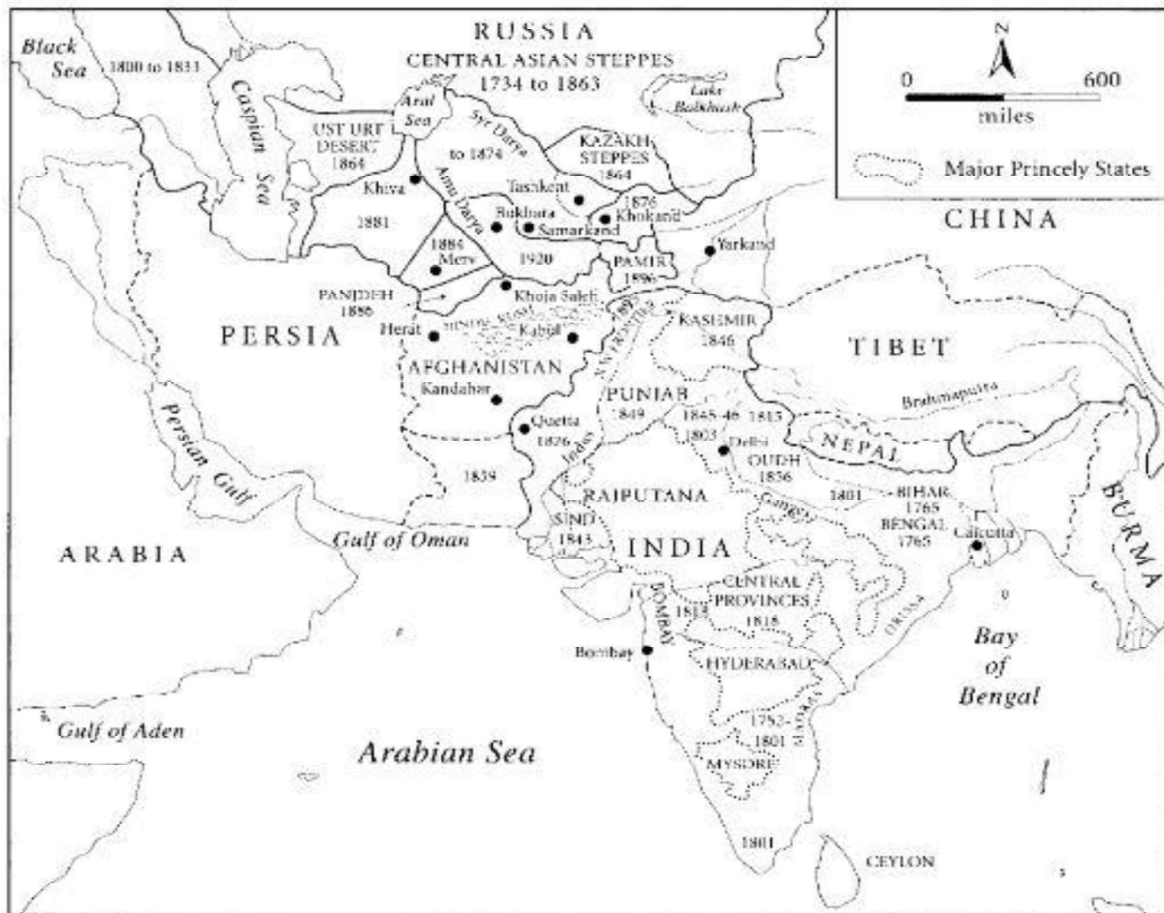
<sup>29</sup> Captain Sir Alexander Burnes, was a British explorer and diplomat. He remained very close to the Great Game. He had earned the nickname Bokhara Burnes, due to his significant role in establishing contact with and exploring Bukhara, which made his name. His memoir, ‘*Travels into Bokhara*’, was a best seller when it was first published in 1835 (Lansford, 2017).

<sup>30</sup> Maharaja Ranjit Singh (13 Nov. 1780 – 27 June 1839) was the founder of the Sikh Empire (Singh, 2017).

<sup>31</sup> The ‘Great Game’ refers to the strategic rivalry between the British Empire and the Russian Empire for supremacy over central Asia. The period is generally regarded as between 1813-1907 (Khawaja, 2012, p. 4).

to 1880. The third, fought in 1919, was an Afghan-declared holy war against British India- in which over 100,000 Afghans answered the call, and raised a force that proves a milestone for the British Imperial army. Each of the three wars plagued by military disasters, lengthy sieges and costly engagements for the British.

**Map 4. 1- Russian and British Advances toward Afghanistan, 1734-1920**



Source: Goodson, 2011, p. 32

#### 4.2.1 Conflicts between Sikh Kingdom & Afghan Rulers

It is well acknowledged in the various writings that Punjab had remained an independent state under Maharaja Ranjit Singh.<sup>32</sup> Singh (2017) revealed that during the reign of Ranjit Singh, the British Empire could not acquire Punjab given the diplomatic acumen, a well-trained and disciplined army. Thus, Maharaja Ranjit Singh was the most significant power player during the build-up to the Afghan War. At the age of 20 years, in 1801, he had become Maharaja of the Punjab.

<sup>32</sup> Maharaja Ranjit Singh (13 Nov. 1780 - 27 June 1839) was the founder of the Sikh Empire. He came to power in the Northwest Indian Subcontinent in the early half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He was the powerful ruler of First Sikh Empire. He had fought several wars to expel Afghans in his teenage years and proclaimed as the "Maharaja of Punjab" at age 21. Moreover, until the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, British could not dare to occupy Punjab (Singh, 2017).

Over the next 25 years, he initiated the policy of unification and expansionism, initially covering the whole of Punjab and then spreading further to including Kashmir and areas of the Khyber Pass to create a Sikh Empire. Previously, the un-trained cavalry forces had formed the mainstay of the Sikh Forces, but Ranjit's military strength lay in his development of a large professional army, modelled on European lines and his use of European officers, often deserters or mercenaries, for training and command. His infantry and artillery strengthened significantly. Moreover, the regular troops also accomplished along with European lines. Between 1819 and 1838 the army had quadrupled in size and by 1838 consisted of over 26,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalries, around 500 pieces of artillery, supplemented by some 10,000 irregulars and other forces raised by levy in a time of need. Ranjit Singh's reorganization of his military forces provided Dost Mohammad with the inspiration to attempt a similar move towards professionalism in the Afghan forces though on a far more modest scale.

Ranjit Singh's expansionist activities frequently brought him into conflict with Afghan leaders. Roberts (2003, p. 3) mentioned that disputes over the rule of Peshawar had become the bone of contention between Afghans and Sikhs over 20 years. Because Peshawar remained very important due to its geographical location for both kingdoms. It had situated 30 miles away from the Southern entrance of the Khyber Pass. Due to the disorder in an Afghan court, Ranjit Singh had occupied the city in 1834. On the other side, the Afghan ruler, Dost Mohammad had also preoccupied in the west. due to his weak resources, he didn't retreat against Ranjit Singh at Peshawar. But lately, a major battle between Sikhs and Afghans had fought at the famous fort '*Jamrud*,<sup>33</sup>. The fort situated at the southern entrance of the '*Khyber Pass*,' which had been occupied by the Sikhs in 1836. It was the last major conflict between Sikhs and Afghans military forces. Consequently, Dost Mohammad had been tried to seek the assistance from the British to regain the Peshawar (Nalwa, 2009, p. 185).

Macrory (2016) argued that for British policymakers, the presence of a powerful Sikh state on the northern boundaries of British rule was both a blessing

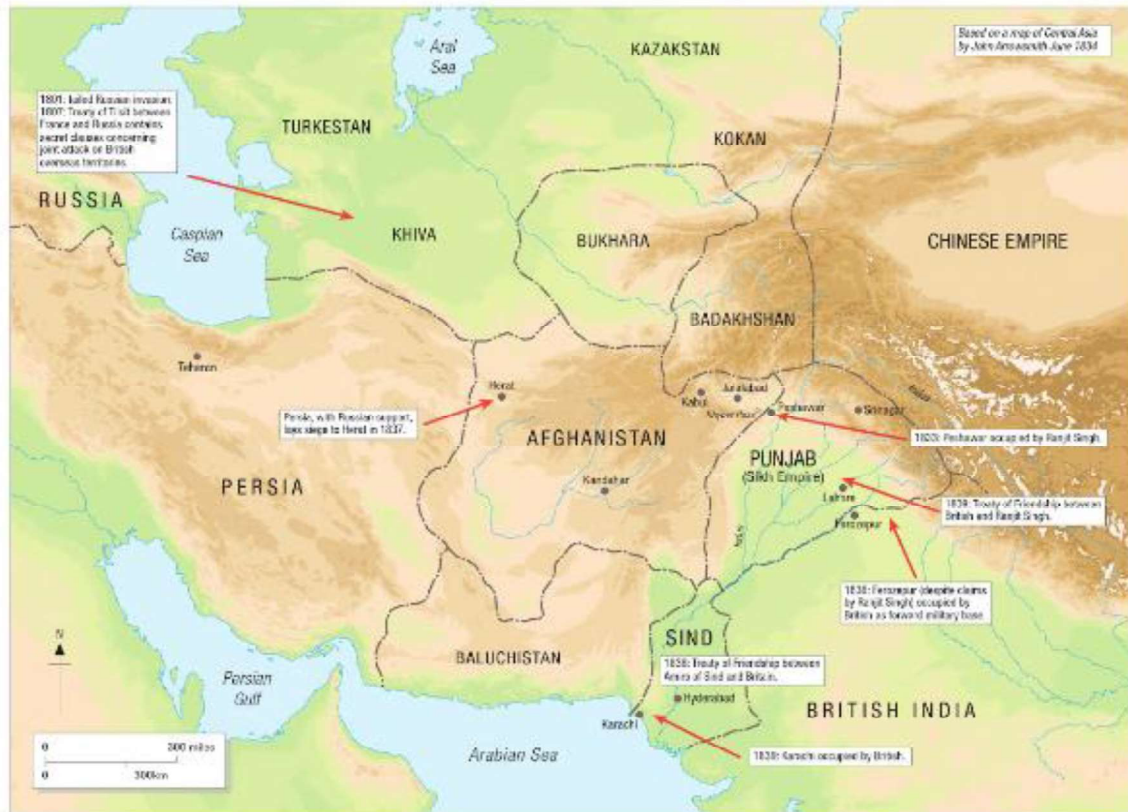
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<sup>33</sup> Jamrud Fort had situated beside the Bab-e-Khyber at the entrance to the Khyber Pass. It had remained very important strategically for the Sikhs as well as for the Afghans. The last brutal battle between Sikhs and Afghans had been fought here in 1837 and Sikhs had annexed the fort of Jamrud in the Sikh Raj (Nalwa, 2009, p. 185).

and a source of real concern. As an ally, it could provide a valuable buffer against any threat from Russia and Persia without overextending the territorial outreach of the East India Company. A Treaty of Friendship had agreed between the British and Ranjit Singh in 1809. On the hand, historians had considered Ranjit Singh to be a greater potential threat to British interests in Punjab. Moreover, he was the major factor in maintaining the stability in the region. There were increasing concerns about his ambitions to invade Sind, then under the control of independent Amirs (Emir of Afghanistan, Dost Mohammad Khan remained from 1826 to 1839 and from 1843) with whom the British were also allied. There were also concerns as to whether, if it ever came to a conflict with the Sikhs, the British would necessarily win against such a formidable army. The secret committee of the EIC (East India Company) noted at that point of time that if Ranjit Singh persisted in further expansion, his position would require on our part an increase in military force which would be ruinous to our embarrassed finances.

In this backdrop, it became a necessity for the British to occupy the Punjab region. However, Punjab was the last province but remained very significant from its geostrategic and geopolitical locational point of view. Pettigrew (1991, pp. 29-30) had argued that for the annexation of Punjab, British had waged two wars with the Punjabis people so-called Anglo-Sikh Wars. In future, these wars had played a crucial role in the reconstruction of Anglo-Sikh relations.

**Map 4. 2- The Great Game and Afghanistan, early 19<sup>th</sup> century**



Source: Macrory, 2016, p. 4

### 4.3 Anglo-Sikh Wars: The Fall of Sikh Kingdom

After the First Anglo-Afghan war (1839-42), the annexation of Punjab had become inevitable. Ample studies like Singh (1969, p. 3) and Yong (2005, p. 19) frequently mentioned that Punjabis had always been remained very keen in making the history but very slack in recording it. The British rulers of the Indian sub-continent had seen a fearless and freedom-loving spirit in the Sikhs in Punjab. The Sikh Empire (Sikh Khalsa Raj),<sup>34</sup> was a dominant power in the Indian subcontinent. It had aroused under the leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Because he had established a secular empire in the Punjab. The Empire existed from 1799-1849 when Ranjit Singh laid the foundations of the Khalsa from a collection of autonomous Sikh Misls.<sup>35</sup> At its peak in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Empire extended from the Khyber Pass in the West to Western Tibet in the East and from Mithankot in

<sup>34</sup> The Sikh Empire was established under the dynamic leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It is also known as Sarkar-i-Khalsa (Singh, 2017).

<sup>35</sup> Misl is a term which originated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the history of Sikhs. Generally, these were considered as a sovereign states of the Sikh Confederacy. But with the coming of Ranjit Singh, all the Misl had been united into the Sikh Empire in 1799 (McCann, 2011).

the South to Kashmir in the North. It was the last major region of the Indian Subcontinent to be conquered by the British.

#### **4.3.1 Historical Context: Era of Sikh Raj (1780-1839)**

The name '*Punjab*' is derived from the Persian words of '*Punj*', meaning 'five' and '*aab*', meaning 'water.' They had referred it a land of five rivers.<sup>36</sup> The Punjab region had seen many rulers over the centuries. It is well recognized that Punjab had remained the entryway to India since ancient times. In this backdrop, many invaders came to the region and inhabited here like Indus Valley Civilization (2500-1500 BC), Indo-Aryan People (1500-1000 BC), Indo-Scythians (200-100 BC). Moreover, Persian, Greeks, Kushans, Ghaznavids (10<sup>th</sup> century), Timurids (11<sup>th</sup> century), Mughals (16<sup>th</sup> century), Afghans (16<sup>th</sup> century), British (17<sup>th</sup> century) and many more European companies.

McCann (2011) and Singh (2017) mentioned that Maharaja Ranjit Singh<sup>37</sup> (1780-1839), as responsible for the large-scale unification of Sikh Raj in the Punjab in 1801. In his study, Kaur (2008, p. 153) has demonstrated that he named his kingdom the Lahore Sarkar (government) after his empire's capital. In the Raj, approximately 10% population was Sikhs. Ranjit Singh continued to expand his empire beyond the Punjab, to include parts of Kashmir and Afghan territories. Peshawar, conquered in 1834, is considered one of his greatest successes. Sikhs began to increase their power until Ranjit Singh (1790-1839) turned Punjab into a robust and independent Sikh Kingdom.

After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839, the Sikh Empire had begun to fall into disorder. A work entitled "The Making of Punjab" done by Jain (2003, pp. 116-17) had argued that the successors of Ranjit Singh was short-lived rulers and unable to rule the Sikh Raj. As a result of tensions had increased in Central Durbar (court) and between the Army and the Durbar. Meanwhile, The EIC (East India Company) had begun to build up its military strength on the borders of the Punjab. Eventually, the increasing tension had been goaded the Sikh Army to invade British territory, under weak and possibly treacherous leaders like Lal Singh

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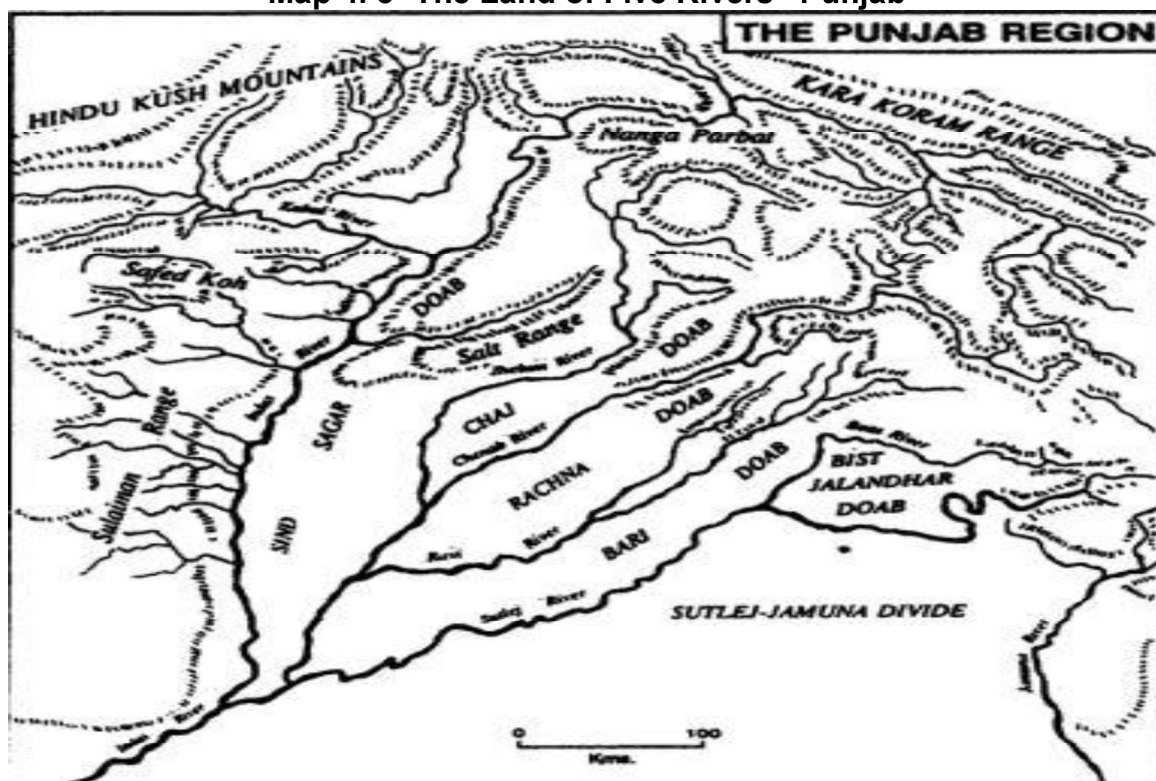
<sup>36</sup> The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part One)

Available At: [https://www.rgs.org/NR/rdon lyre s/64D5A277-42AA-44ED-B019-BA 08 E 6 6 7850 F /0 / The Pun jabMovingJourneysPart1.pdf](https://www.rgs.org/NR/rdon%2F%2Fs64D5A277-42AA-44ED-B019-BA08E667850F/0/ThePunjabMovingJourneysPart1.pdf) (Accessed on 12 March 2016).

<sup>37</sup> Maharajah Ranjit Singh (1780-1839), also known as "Sher-e-Punjab" ("The Lion of Punjab"), was the first Sikh Emperor after uniting the 11 Sikh Kingdoms of Punjab on the foundations of the Khalsa. He had ruled under the banner of '*Sarkar-i-Khalsa*', from 1799-1839 (Singh, 2017).

and Teja Singh.<sup>38</sup> The hard-fought First Anglo-Sikh War (1845-46) ended in defeat for the Sikh Army.

**Map 4. 3- The Land of Five Rivers “Punjab”**



Source: Grewal, 1998, p. 2

#### **4.3.2 Anglo-Sikhs Wars: Annexation of Punjab**

Several studies had well admitted that Sikhs remained very bold and fearless throughout the history. A chain of scholars including Grewal (1998), Singh (2005)<sup>39</sup> and Tatla (2005) pointed out that the British rulers had found a courageous and freedom-loving spirit in the Sikhs of Punjab. The Sikhs were distinguishable by their long beards and long hair, which they were forbidden to cut, martial characteristics regarding physique and fearlessness. Given the geostrategic location and entry of foreign invaders to India, Punjab had suffered for centuries of persecutions by the foreign invaders until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Consequently, the numerous warring clans were united as a result of the dynamic

<sup>38</sup> Lal Singh and Teja Singh were the senior most commander of the Khalsa Army during the First Anglo-Sikh War (1845-46). Because of the betrayal of these leaders, The Sikh victory had been converted into a defeat in the war. Consequently Sikhs had lost to the British (Jain, 2003, p. 118).

<sup>39</sup> Anglo-Sikh Relations & The World Wars  
Available At: [http://gurmat.info/sms/s\\_mspublications/AngloSikh\\_Relations\\_AndThe\\_World\\_War\\_s.pdf](http://gurmat.info/sms/s_mspublications/AngloSikh_Relations_AndThe_World_War_s.pdf)  
(Accessed on 16 September 2016).

and visionary leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1787-1839). During the regime of Maharaja, the British Empire did not dare to enter Punjab. However, in order to ensure the safety from the Western flank from the Russian invasion, the English had signed the 'Amritsar Treaty'<sup>40</sup> in 1809. During this time, The Sikh Empire was so powerful that obligated the British Empire not to postpone it's taking over any longer. Under this compulsion, the empire started working in direction.

The first test came following the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780 – 1839). Weak, greedy and treacherous leadership had been emergent in the post-Ranjit Singh reign. In his study Mehta (2005, p. 698) had expressed that it led to the internal instability a disorder in the Sikh Raj. Moreover, bribery and corruption had been remained strong instruments in the hand of the English officials to use the Indian people. Moreover, the divide and rule policy on the part of the British Empire rather expedited the death knell of the Indian states. The same fate had been met by the Sikh Raja. Prime Minister Teja Singh and Lal Singh and a high official of Sikh Raj had been entrapped in clutches of bribery and corruption of the British Officials. During the Anglo-Sikh Wars, these leaders and officials treacherously sided with the British Army which broken the courage of the Sikh Army and lost the war. The Sikh who were known for their bravery, martial characters were dashed to the ground by their own political and military leadership.

On the other hand, the British had started to build up armed forces 1845 onwards around the Punjab borders. In his work, Singh (1969) had argued that the two Sikh Wars of 1845-46 and 1848-49 were the last serious trials of strength for the British in India. Ram (1988) pointed out that the many tribes and people with whom the British fought to establish their rule in India, the Sikhs were probably the most formidable. The Khalsa army became restless and crossed River Sutlej to face the perceived British threat to the Sikh kingdom. Two wars were fought: the first in early 1846, and the second at the beginning of 1849. There were a number of skirmishes during these wars, of which three were decisive. The most famous

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<sup>40</sup> Ranjit Singh was the first ruler of Punjab who had established independent Sikh Raj. Due to his expansionist policy, British Had signed the 'Treaty of Amritsar' with him in 1809. Fundamentally, it was friendly agreement between the British East India Company and Ranjit Singh. However the treaty had limited the expansion of Ranjit Singh towards the south of the Sutlej. But on the other side, the treaty had given full freedom for expansion to the north of it (Mehta, 2005).



was the Battle of Chillianwala<sup>41</sup> on 13 January 1849. This was a last-ditch stand by what remained of the Khalsa army. Such was the bravery of the Sikhs despite the treachery of their own generals in earlier battles. Even the British generals admired the courage and the fighting skills of the gallant Sikhs. Soon after the annexation of Punjab on 29 March 1849, the British decided to raise Sikh battalions to form part of the Indian Army of the British Raj.

By a combination of cajolery and force, he united the Sikhs and pacified the Punjab, and then looked for further fields to conquer. Heath (2005) had expressed that he fought the Afghans and took from them the fertile provinces of Kashmir and Peshawar. He extended his rule southwards to Multan and had ambitions in Sind. He dearly wished to bring under his control the Sikh clans who lived to the south and east of the River Sutlej, but that river formed the boundary between the Sikh Empire and that of the East India Company. Ranjeet Singh was determined not to antagonize the influential British and he signed a treaty with them at Amritsar in 1809. He had adhered faithfully to it thereafter.

The British plenipotentiary who negotiated this treaty was Charles Metcalfe<sup>42</sup>, and he was accompanied to Amritsar by an escort of Bengal sepoys. On the other side, Prinsep (2011) argued that the king of Punjab, Ranjeet Singh was greatly impressed by their discipline and appearance and decided to train his soldiers along the same lines. In this direction, he had obtained the services of various European mercenaries, paid them well, and gave them a free hand to produce an army as good as the Company's. He was particularly interested in artillery and established an arsenal in Lahore which produced great Soldiers. Within a comparatively few year, the Sikh army was probably capable of taking on the Bengal Army all equal terms.

With the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, a bitter, protracted, and bloody struggle had been started in the Sikh court. The court at Lahore was divided against itself. The Sikh army accordingly 'crossed the River Sutlej on 11 December

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<sup>41</sup> The Battle of Chillianwala was fought in January 1849 between the Sikhs and British. It was one of the bloodiest war of the Second Anglo-Sikh War (Kaur, 2008).

<sup>42</sup> Charles Theophilus Metcalfe is well known as Sir Charles Metcalfe (30 January 1785 – 5 September 1846). In 1806, he came in the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh as a British official and played very important role in shaping the Anglo-Sikh relations. In spite of this, he had also appointed as an acting Governor General of India from 20 March 1835 – 4 March 1836 (Princep, 1970).

1845, and war with the British was inevitable. A large British force had been collected on the Punjab frontier under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, with whom the Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge, was serving as second-in-command. This force, 'The Army of the Sutlej,' took some hard knocks from the Sikhs at Mudki and Ferozeshah before finally driving them from the field at Sobraon.

As Lunt (1970) had mentioned that Sita Ram Pande<sup>43</sup> admired the courage of the Sikhs and the handling of their artillery. He was, however, critical of their leadership, and with good reasons, for treachery and divided counsel on the part of the Sikh leaders weighted the scales against their forces. The Company's army occupied Lahore on 20 February 1846, and the First Sikh War was over. Much to everyone's surprise, including the Sikhs, the British did not annex the Punjab. The frontier was advanced from the Sutlej to the Beas incorporating the fertile district of Jullundur in the Company's dominions, and a British Resident was established in Lahore.

In his study 'Sepoy to Subedar', Lunt (1970, p. 13) had argued that he found poor spirit in the Bengal Army when he returned from his captivity in Afghanistan. In spite of his research, all authorities of the company also demonstrated that there was a significant and progressive deterioration in discipline among the Bengal regiments from about 1830 onwards. On the other side, the Anglo-Sikh Wars had interwoven the bravery and capability of the Sikhs in the eyes of the British. In their study, Rand & Wagner (2012, p. 239) had pointed out that following the Anglo-Sikh Wars (1845-6 and 1848-9), both Sikhs and Muslims from Punjab entered the Bengal Army. In the early 1850s, the Governor-General noted the 'high soldierly qualities of the Sikhs', declaring, 'In every instance, these men have behaved as good soldiers, worthy of trust, and are highly regarded by the officers under whose command they serve.'

It was recorded by the British in the very next year of Punjab annexation (1849) that "Sikh soldiers proved their fighting quality and loyalty in the Anglo-Burmese war of 1852 and two years later against the nomad tribe on the North

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<sup>43</sup> Sita Ram Pande was one of the Indian soldiers who helped the British to conquer Indian subcontinent. He was recruited in 1812 as a sepoy into an infantry regiment of the Bengal Native Army and got pension in 1860. During the period of service, he had taken part in the campaigns against Gurkhas, Pindaris, Marathas and Sikhs (Lunt, 1970, p. 14).

West frontier." In the mutiny of 1857, the British realized that it was the Sikh soldiers who played such a great role in curbing the mutiny. The Sikhs were acknowledged for their strong role in suppressing the mutiny. It was recorded in the secret correspondence of the British:

The Sikhs were raised at a most crucial season when other recruiting grounds were in the hands of the mutineers or a state of rebellion. They were called on to save the empire and have fulfilled their mission, and we all owe our warmest thanks to that bold and sagacious policy which called them into the field and which I am sure will also devise means for keeping them under command for future.<sup>44</sup>

However, with the expansion of the imperial dominion, colonial service also offered a means of pacifying the annexed population. In a government report entitled, 'Further Papers Respecting Proposed Changes in the Indian Army System' (1879) sent to the secretary of India by the Government of India, in which it had pointed out that after the 1857 rebellion, British opened the gates of British Indian army for the Punjabis. Streets (2004) reported that the Indian uprising of 1857 was certainly a crucial event in the construction of racialized martial identities in colonial India. The commonly accepted narrative of 1857 that the sepoys who mutinied were excluded from future recruitment, while those who remained loyal were transformed into the 'Martial Races.' Further Rand & Wagner (2012, pp. 240-41) had demonstrated that from Punjab, Jat Sikhs and Punjabi Muslims constituted the majority of the Punjabi troops and played a role in defeating the rebels of 1857 and remained a vital component of the colonial Indian army right up to 1947.

The British had been played an important part in preserving and promoting the Sikh religious and cultural identity, and Sikh martial tradition. The Sikhs were also given important positions in the Indian Civil Service and recognized as shareholders in the British Raj. Some argued that the British were using the Sikhs as guardians of the British Raj. Both, the British and the *Punjabi's* benefited from the Anglo-Sikh friendship.

Moreover, the Geographical location of Punjab as the gateway to India for traders, invaders, and conquerors meant that resistance, relocation, and

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<sup>44</sup> Sikhs under the British Rule (1849-1947)

Available at: <http://americanpunjabinews.com/files/Chapter-9.pdf> (Accessed on 13 July 2017).

reinvention would all play their part in constantly molding and remolding Punjabi identity. Supplementary, Singh & Thandi (1999) claimed that the region was repeatedly subjected to annexation, partition, and reorganization. Consequently, people of the region received distinctive physical traits. "Handbooks for the Indian Army: Sikhs" published in 1899, written by Captain A.H. Bingley and Singh (2013), quotes from a report by Lepel Griffin which gives a graphic description of how Jat Sikhs were perceived:

Hardy, brave and of intelligence too slow to understand when he is beaten, obedient to discipline, devotedly attached to his officers, and careless of the caste prohibitions which render so many Hindu races difficult to control and feed in the field, he is unsurpassed as a soldier.

Further Bingley (1899) had expressed that this also throws light on what the British conceived as the 'ideal' soldier body. Their idea of militarized masculinity was one who was obedient, could be controlled and disciplined. In the British conceptualization of Sikh martial body was their understanding of Jat Sikhs as slow-witted, easy to control, temperamental but loyal (Militarization of Sikh Masculinity). Consequently, it was Sikh Jats who were favoured for recruitment in the British Indian army. During the World War I (1914-18), they formed the majority percentage of all Indian 'fighting men' that were Sikhs.

Thus, Anglo-Sikhs relations turned into long life relations between both the parties. But the geostrategic importance of Punjab could not be underestimated. Loyalty in 1857 mutiny, benefitted a lot in the construction of Anglo-Sikhs relations. Out of Russophobia, Punjab emerged as a significant geostrategic region for the British in the Indian Subcontinent and acquired a lot of attention from the empire.

#### **4.4 Old Great Game: Emergence of Punjab as the Sword Arm of the Empire**

Talbot (1988, pp. 11-13) frequently mentioned that Punjab was the gateway to rich Gangetic plain and a landlocked region in the North Western corner of the Indian sub-continent. On the other hand, Yong (2005) also revealed that since the times of Alexander the Great (326 BC), successive invaders made their way along the Northern Grand Trunk Road which ran from Kabul to Delhi via Punjab. Most of the region's towns had grown as route centres on or near this highway. As earlier pointed out that, Punjab became the part of the 'Great Game' and threats of

Russian expansion through Central Asia were alarming to the British.<sup>45</sup> In the context of such an impending invasion from the expanding Russian empire, to save and secure the empire, the British had built high military infrastructure in the Punjab during the 19<sup>th</sup> century to annex and guard its Afghan border to thwart the Russia's eastward expansion through Central Asia. Further, Talbot (2007, pp. 3-7) pointed out that it is unlikely that Punjab would have assumed importance as a fertile ground for colonial military recruitment if it had not been near the Indian army's main theatre of war in Afghanistan. The geostrategic location and the fear of Russian attack, made Punjab one of the most militarized province of British India, a garrison state, to the extent of becoming headquarters of the British Indian Army and its most significant recruitment ground.

As per the studies of Omissi (2016) and Yong (2005), the mutiny of 1857 had been proved as a watershed event in the Indian military in general and Punjab military in particular. It became the principal cause of substantial recruitment ground of the British Indian Army from Bengal to Punjab and North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of the Indian sub-continent. As per the study of Soherwordi (2010, p. 6), it has been popularly known as *De-Bengalisation* and the *Punjabisation* of the British Indian Army.

In his study, Kohli (2016, p. 49) had demonstrated that in the post-1857 mutiny, colonial rule in India repositioned various communities and classes as "Loyal/Traitorous" and "Martial/Effeminate." On the other hand, the British Army's senior officers believed that certain classes and communities in India were warrior races – "Martial Races."<sup>46</sup> Further, Rand & Wagner (2012, p. 243) had pointed out that such classes and communities were believed to be brave soldiers and more suitable for army service. As a result, by the first half of the twentieth century, the army was dominated by the soldiers from the North and North West of India. In this, Gurkhas (Nepal), the Punjabis (Punjab), and the Pathans (NWFP) were classified as 'Martial Races' and preferred to be enlisted in the army which led to the increasing the number of Punjabis in the British Indian Army. In his work,

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<sup>45</sup> The 'Great Game' refers to the strategic rivalry between the British Empire and the Russian Empire for supremacy over central Asia. The period is generally regarded as between 1813-1907 (Khawaja, 2012, p. 4).

<sup>46</sup> The Eden commission reported in 1879 that the Punjab was the "home of the most martial races of India" and it was 'the nursery' of the best soldiers (Soherwordi, 2010, pp. 6-7).

Lieutenant-General Sir George MacMunn (1933, p. 2) entitled “The Martial Races of India” strikingly sketched the picture of martial races, as given below:

To understand what is meant by the martial races of India is to understand from the inside the real story of India. We do not speak of the martial races of Britain as distinct from the non-martial, nor of Germany, nor of France. But in India we speak of the martial races as a thing apart and because the mass of the people has neither martial aptitude nor physical courage. The courage that we should talk colloquially as guts.

As a result of this, during the period 1875-1914, the composition of the British Indian Army altered dramatically and by 1875 half of the British Indian army was recruited from Punjab (Chandra, 2009, pp. 164-165). The world wars highlighted Punjab’s domination of the British Indian army; in which about 64,000 Indian soldiers killed, over half of the 1.4 million Indian soldiers involved were from the Punjab and a third of the 1.8 million Indian soldiers who supported the British call to arms in the Second World War were *Punjabis*. This became the largest all-volunteer force in history, and Indian soldiers fought alongside allied troops in many of the major battles during these wars.<sup>47</sup>

Due to the strategic position of Punjab, it became the bulwark of British Indian army. However, they constructed some buildings, but the primary emphasis was given to securing the frontier buildings and building forts and fortifications along the long border for the military purposes. In this backdrop, Mazumder (2003, pp. 49-50) had assessed that the martial race theory, strategic position, and emergence as a part of the great game out of Russophobia made the Punjab special to the British, which had converted the Punjab into the ‘Province of cantonments.’

In many studies, this is well demonstrated that after the rebellion of 1857, Punjab had emerged as a sword of the British Indian army. For their loyalty, bravery and strong physique, the Punjabis become the backbone and nursery of the British Indian Army in India. More important is, *Punjabis* not only remained loyal towards British but also had played a very constructive role in maintaining, expanding and enlarging the empire within and outside the Indian subcontinent.

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<sup>47</sup> The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part Two)  
Available at: <http://www.rgs.org/NR/rdonlyres/8BABBC10-EEA4-470C-A583-B06694174129 / 0/ The Punjab MovingJourneysPart2.pdf> (Accessed on 12 March 2017).

After the 1857 mutiny, the British government after taking over the reins of the East India Company (EIC), completely changed the shape of three wings of the British Indian army. In August 1858, the British government had been introduced a significant shift in their organizational setups and stressed the need to maintain a disciplined, professional and loyal, trained army. In his study, Soherwordi (2010, pp. 4-6) had mentioned that the British Indian army was divided into four commands: the Madras Command, the Bombay Command, the Bengal Command and the Punjab Command, each headed by a Lt. General. The former Bengal Army was

At the outbreak of war in 1914, some three-quarters of the Indian infantry were recruited from the continent's so-called 'Martial Races.' In his study, Schaffer (2016, p. 71) mentioned that Roberts was widely recognized as the architect of the ideology of 'Martial Races.' His preference for Sikhs, Gurkhas, and Pathans usually were seen to reflect the 'lessons' of the rebellion, and the emergence of the Russian threat in the Northwest. Despite the crucial role played by the Punjabis in wars, even then, the scholarly discussion and debate, have been remained missing from the pages of history.

#### **4.5 Role of Punjab in World Wars: Silenced Stories of Black Lions**

Punjab had enjoyed the important position in united India during the British rule and dominated on all fronts during the two World Wars. Punjab was the last province which was annexed by the British. This left a substantial impact on the socioeconomic character of Punjab. Holland (2005) wrote a detailed accounts in 'How Europe is Indebted to the Sikhs', which he had mentioned that as per the report of Census 1921, the Muslims had 50.6 percent share in the Punjab's population, followed by 35.7 percent (Hindus); 12.1 percent (Sikhs). The remaining less than two percent populations was comprised of Christians, Parses, Janis, and Buddhists, etc. (Roofi & Alqama, 2013).

Holland (2005) revealed in his work entitled "How Europe is indebted to the Sikhs" that Guru has taught them to live with conviction, to sacrifice their life ever for humanitarian causes it and this has set their mind to live or die for conviction, for truth and to win the battle even by losing their life. Thus, if Guru is great, his Sikhs are equally great. So it is considered great factor for achieving the title of

'the finest soldiers of the world.' In this historical roots, Next, to farming, the military remained the most favoured occupation of the Punjabis particularly Sikhs.

It is well established that Punjab had maintained a very close military relationship with the British. In his study, Fox (1985) explored that after the Anglo-Sikhs wars, reorientation of relations between both sides had taken place. As during the Anglo-Sikh wars, Punjabis had shown striking examples of great valour and bravery to the British Indian Army. On the other hand, British officials had also noted the same during the first Anglo-Afghan war for the British Empire. In this war, the British Empire had realized and recognized the boldness and warlike qualities of the Punjabi people.

Repeatedly in Indian recruitment handbooks and Army histories of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries like Constable (2001, pp. 1-2) had argued out that the self-sufficiency, physical and moral resilience, orderliness and hard work, fighting tenacity, and above all, a sense of courage and loyalty the characteristics attributed to this martial race. Thus, Major-General George MacMunn (1933) wrote about the Sikhs: "As a fighting man, his slow wit and dogged courage give him many of the characteristics of the British soldier at his best."

Given the 1857 mutiny, Russophobia, instability in Afghanistan, the British Empire had brought a lot of structural changes in the British Indian Army. Cohen (1995, p. 71) demonstrated that they had punished the rebels and rewarded the loyals. In this context, Punjab found a special place in the defence policies of the British Empire. On the other hand, the empire had also nurtured *Sikhs* and *Punjabis* by classifying them as martial races. It was only a slight exaggeration to say that the British had maintained an imperial presence in India and abroad given the contribution of 'Black Lion' (Punjabis). It is worth to mention here that the Punjabis had played an instrumental role in suppressing the 1857 mutiny in general and World Wars, in particular, to maintain and expand the British Empire. In the coming years, the empire had opened military recruitment for the Punjabis. Due to the strategic location, a chain of cantonments had mushroomed in the region and converted into 'Province of Cantonments'. Consequently, Punjab became the chief supplier of soldiers for the British Indian army and emerged as a nursery for the British Indian army.



With the opening of World War I, enlistment of the Punjabis in the British Indian army rose speedily and lags behind the other provinces of India in the building of British Indian Army. Holland (2005) pointed out that British government sent the Punjabi soldiers in several war fronts overseas to fight against the enemies. With the outbreak of the World War I and World War II, thousands of Punjab soldiers fought for the British Indian army in Belgium, France, Italy, Holland, and Greece and shed their blood for the British Empire. These soldiers had shown exemplary courage, bravery, and patience in the various battlefield and the achieved victories by defeating the mightiest enemy forces. They fought in trenches, on land, in groups, and in individual combats. Even heavy bombardment couldn't dishearten their resolve to win in the battlefields. Ironically, even the people of Punjab don't know the gallantry achievements of their forefathers. Thus, The Role of Punjabis in the World Wars had remained the watershed event in the military history of colonial Punjab. Paradoxically, saga of the great contribution of Punjab particularly in World Wars remained missing from the pages of history.<sup>48</sup>

#### **4.5.1 Punjab and World War I**

During the World War I, Punjab gave full support politically to the empire and rendered services in the World War I. In their studies, Mittal (1977, pp. 102-103) and Lloyd (2010, 365) had mentioned that a resolution regarding the War in the Punjab Legislative Council came up for discussion on September 19, 1914, by O'Dwyer.<sup>49</sup> On behalf of Punjabi Sikh aristocracy, Sardar Daljit Singh M.L.C. assured to O'Dwyer full support and remarked that "there will be no greater honour for us than to shed our blood in service of our Empire." On behalf of the Muslim community, Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi, another M.L.C. promised, 'support of the mighty flag under which they enjoy the priceless blessings of liberty and prosperity.' Other members of the Legislative Council, Sir Protul Chandra Chatterji, Sardar Sunder Singh, Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Dass, Rai Bahadur Hari Chand, Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan of Kunjpura, Rai Bahadur Bakhsi Sohan Lal, Lala Kanshi Ram and Sardar Gojjan Singh supported the resolution.

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<sup>48</sup> Indian Soldiers of World War I

Available At: <http://indiandiasporaclub.com/file/2014/12/Indian-Soldiers-of-WORLD-WAR-I-ver-final.pdf> (Accessed on 18 March 2017).

<sup>49</sup> Sir Michael Francis O'Dwyer (28 April 1864 – 13 March 1940) was appointed as a Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab in 26 May 1913 till 26 May 1919. During his tenure, Jallianwala Bagh massacre (13 April 1919) took place (Lloyd, 2010, p. 365).

Marston (2014, p. 13) and Barstow (1898, p. 29) mentioned that during the 1857 mutiny, Punjab had supplied about 44% in the construction of Bengal Army. At that time, it was only a quarter of the entire British Indian Army. Immediately after suppressing the 1857 mutiny, Punjabization of the British Indian had been started. By June 1858, the total strength of the Bengal army was 80,000 'native' troops, out of these 75,000 were comes from Punjab. In 1893, Punjab allied with NWFP (until 1901) and Nepal had contributed 44% of the entire British Indian Army. In 1904, the scale of mobilization had increased to 57%. This is the point where one can see a sharp under-representation of other regions in the building of British Indian Army. Here, it may argue that after the 1857 mutiny, the other castes and classes, as well as areas, were practically ignored in the new recruitment policy.

A chain of scholar provides lucid information about the World War I statistics including Roy (2011) had mentioned that just before the outbreak of the World War I, the Indian Army comprised of 159, 134 soldiers and 34, 767 reservists. The total strength of the army in India including the British soldiers was about 263,555 all ranks. There were 100,000 Punjabis serving in the British Indian Army, of whom 87,000 were combatants. By the end of 1914, about 100,000 sepoy and sowars of the Indian Army were serving overseas.

With the opening of World War I, the strength of British Indian Army had increased exponentially. During the war, 380,000 Punjabis soldiers enlisted in the British Indian Army. Out of these, 231,000 soldiers were combatants. Thus, during the war, Punjab had mobilized 480,000 soldiers for fighting in the various theatres of war. According to another estimate, the Punjab supplied 54% of the total combatant troops in the Indian Army during the World War I.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), UK gives a count of 1.2 million soldiers from the subcontinent while as per Omissi (2016, pp. 5-6) and Mazumder (2013, p. 15), during the war years, till December 1919, 1,440,437 men were recruited, including 877,068 combatants and 563,369 noncombatants. By the end of the war, Punjab had provided some 360,000 combat recruits (almost half of the total force from the subcontinent), 1, 36,000 Muslims, 88,925 Sikhs and 23,000 Hindus. Leigh (1922, p. 13) wrote an excellent account of the histories of the British Indian Army, in which he had demonstrated that of the total number of the

Indian army personnel, half the number was provided by the Punjabis, the majority of them being the Sikhs. Further, Leigh (1922, p. 41) revealed that before the opening of World War I, 100000 Panjab's soldiers were serving in the British Indian Army which comprised 50% of the total strength. With the opening of World War I, it had been increased exponentially to 400000 combatant soldiers and by the end of World War I, the overall strength of Punjab in the British Indian Army was 4,70000 troops. Thus, Panjab had mobilized 40% of the combatant soldiers during the World War I for the British imperial army. Throughout the war period, Punjab had remained much ahead in the "Recruiting Clock" than other provinces of India.

**Table 4. 1- Recruitment of the Martial Races: (1914-18)**

Races	From 28 July 1914 to 31 <sup>st</sup> July 1915	From July 1915 to 31 <sup>st</sup> July 1916	From 31 <sup>st</sup> July 1916 to July 1917	From July 1917 to 31 <sup>st</sup> July 1918	From 1 Aug to 30 <sup>th</sup> Nov. 1918	Total From July 1914 to 30 Nov. 1918
Punjabi Muslims	15,597	33,302	23,938	54,460	19,229	136,126
Sikhs	12,293	14,973	16,231	31,265	14,160	88,925
Rajputs	6,248	7,676	9,313	25,266	13,687	62,190
Gurkhas	10,430	17,418	12,040	13,208	2,493	55,589
Jats	6,307	9,449	11,591	18,018	9,874	55,239
Hindustani Muslims	1, 777	3,435	7,372	15,826	7,943	36,353
Pathans	3,699	5,958	4,647	8,412	3,128	27,857
Dogras	3,699	3,954	5,391	7,836	2,611	23,491
Garhwalis	1,139	1,165	1,231	2,761	871	7,167

Source: Roy, 2013, p. 82

Now, this is well established that Punjab had become a big nursery for the military recruitment during the World War I and remained the fertile ground for the British Indian Army recruitment. But on the other side, Yong (2010, pp. 374-75) had disagreed with Leigh (1922) about the soldier's mobilization during the World War I, in which Yong (2010) had given different statistics about war contribution. In his work, "An imperial home-front: Punjab and the First World War", he claimed that Punjabi martial races had formed 54 percent of the entire British Indian Army during the World War I. Omissi (2012, p. 41) also pointed out that the Sikhs were a

minority community in India, but they had figured prominently in the army and were overrepresented when compared with numbers of Muslim and Hindu soldiers from the Punjab. Thus, with the opening of World War I, more than one million soldiers had been mobilized from the India and out of these, near about half number of troops had recruited from Punjab. As per the study of Major Amin (2001)<sup>50</sup>, entitled “Ethnicity, Religion, Military Performance and Political Reliability” had pointed out that British Army had mobilized 1,097,642 from the Indian subcontinent during the World War I. In which, Punjab had supplied 446,976 soldiers in the British Imperial Army, out of these soldiers, 349,688 were combatants. Moreover, Punjab had also provided 97,288 noncombatants in the World War I.

There are a lot of contradictions regarding the statistics of soldiers in the World War I but on the other side, it is well vindicated by many scholars like Leigh (1922), Fox (1985), Talbot (1988), Mazumder (2003), Yong (2010), Roy (2011) and many more that Punjab had remained the fertile recruitment ground for the British Indian Army and supplied very substantial proportion in the building of British Indian Army. As Yong (2010) also mentioned that due to highest contribution in the recruitment, Punjab had emerged as imperial front for the World War I. The following table is making more clearance regarding the Punjab’s contribution in World War I as per the studies of various prominent scholars of colonial history of Punjab including the official records.

**Table 4. 2- Punjab’s Recruitment (Combatants) in the World War I - 1914-1918**

Area	Kaushik Roy	Omissi & Mazumder	M.S. Leigh	Official Records
Punjab	349, 688	360,000	480,000	415,000
Rest of India	388,209	517,068	497,000	570,000
Punjab share (%)	47.4	41	49.2	42.2

Source: Roy, Omissi, Mazumder, Leigh, Official Record of Calcutta

Thus, Punjab had given an exceptional contribution for all the war fronts during the World War I. Beyond the British’s expectations, Punjab had also shown passion and boldness for their masters. Punjabis soldiers had fought in

<sup>50</sup> Defencejournal.com. (2017). Ethnicity, Religion, Military Performance and Political Reliability. Available at: <http://www.defencejournal.com/2001/feb/ethnicity.htm> (Accessed on 28 August 2017).

Mesopotamia, France, Gallipoli, Salonika, Somaliland, Egypt, Persia, Aden, West Africa, Palestine and the North-West and North-East frontiers of India itself. Consequently, Punjab had played very significant role in the ultimate victory of British forces. In spite of men power, Punjab had also supplied money and material in substantial amount for various war fronts.

#### **4.5.2 The War Loans & Funds**

The British government had taken many practical steps for winning the World War I. For winning a war, lot of men and material is required. In this direction F.E. Wilkins (Editor of the "Civil and Military Gazette") has proposed the idea to get loan and funds from Punjab. In this backdrop, the British government had inspired the public for raising war loans and funds. In order to get this, the British government had made appeal to the Indian people for loans and funds. Reciprocating to the appeal, the Indian subcontinent had been supplied a lot of war loans and war supporting materials. In his study, Marston (2014) demonstrated that Punjab had not only contributed regarding men, rather in terms of money and material had also been contributed in a substantial amount to the British Empire.

As per the report entitled Administration of the Punjab and Its Dependencies (1917) had mentioned that with the approval of British Government, an appeal was made to Punjab to provide the seven Aeroplane (approximate cost of Rs.75, 000 each). Further, Beotra (1997, pp. 36-37) and Nanda (2010, p. 126) revealed that British officials had also promised to name the aeroplane after the five rivers of Punjab including Indus and Jumna. For the contribution to the fund, the subscription had remained open till 15 March 1916. During the short of a period, Punjab had demonstrated exceptional enthusiasm for helping the colonial masters. Within the short span of time, Punjab had contributed more than Rs. 14, 52,900 for the "Aeroplane Fund," which was far greater than the expectation of the British officials. This proved to be sufficient to provide 51 aeroplanes. British official had given number and name to each aeroplane.

It is worthy to mention here that each district of Punjab had contributed very significantly and several of them had provided more than one aeroplane during the World War I. Leigh (1922) had mentioned that all classes and creeds of Punjab had contributed money to the World War I: Ruling chiefs, officials and non-officials,

urban and rural residents, college students and school pupils, artisans and traders, bankers and professional men, - all helped to make the tribute worthy of the province.

In his study, Leigh (1922) had noted that from all the divisions of Punjab province, approximately Rs. 51, 71,328 had been supported for the British. British Government had published, Punjab District Gazetteers (1936) in which role of Punjab in the World War had given in lengthy details. From that report, some important imperial war funds and a chunk of Punjab is showing in the below table.

**Table 4. 3- Aeroplanes and their contributor: 1914-18**

Serial No.	Name	Contributor
16, 17, 40, 44	Lahore	Lahore District
21, 39	Ferozpur	Ferozpur District
27	Lyallpur	Lyallpur District
21 (A) & 41 (B)	Rawalpindi	(A) Rawalpindi District (B) Rawalpindi and Attock Districts & Poonch State
30	Mianwali	Mianwali District
38	Amritsar	Amritsar District

Source: Punjab District Gazetteers, 1936

**Table 4. 4- Punjab's Contribution in Cash to the War Funds: 1914-1918**

Division	Punjab Aeroplane Fund	Imperial Indian Relief Fund	Hospital, Ambulance, and Red Cross Funds	Total contributions
Ambala Division	1,27,781	3,04,865	3,66,735	799,381
Jullundur Division	1,49,318	3,37,422	4,16,566	903,306
Lahore Division	2,10,810	3,59,561	3,83,695	954,066
Rawalpindi Division	2,77,850	176470	4,74,866	929,186
Multan Division	1,34,595	3,35,273	3,51,696	821,564
Total	9,00,354	15,13,591	19,93,558	4,407,503

Source: Punjab District Gazetteers, 1936

The effects of World War I had been reached in every district of Punjab province. On the other side, British officials had appealed for funds for the war victims (known as The Imperial Indian Relief Fund). In his study, Mittal (1977, p. 108) mentioned that with the opening of World War I, the Imperial Indian Relief Fund was established to relieve distress among the families of those who have

gone to the war fronts. Therefore, the decision was taken to assist the widows and orphans of those who had died during the war services. For this, near about twenty lakhs of rupees were collected from all classes and localities from the Punjab. No single district gave less than Rs. 10,000 for the Imperial Indian Relief Fund. Notably, Lahore had contributed more than Rs. 1, 40,000. Besides this, Ferozpur (more than one lakh) Lyallpur (nearly one lakh) Ludhiana (more than Rs. 80,000) and Ambala (approximately Rs. 70,000) had funded very significantly. In 1918, the British government had published a report entitled 'Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India'. The report had mentioned that with the opening of World War I, lot of loan and funds had been collected like Punjab Aeroplane Fund, Imperial Indian Relief Fund, Hospital, and Ambulance Fund, Red Cross Funds, Comforts Funds, Recruiting Funds.

#### 4.5.3 Casualties of World War I: Punjab's Paralysis

During the World War I, Indian subcontinent had mobilized near about one and a half million soldiers for the colonial masters. As earlier pointed out that Punjab had played a very significant role. These soldiers had fought very bravely and shed their blood for maintaining imperial interests. During the World War I, a lot of Indian soldiers had lost their lives, wounds and much more kept under imprisonment. In his study, Kapur (2010, p. 39) had given casualties details of the British Indian Army soldiers in the World War I. For more clearing the details, we are projecting the details in the table given below:

**Table 4. 5- Casualties of British Indian Army: 1914-18**

	Died	Missing	Wounded	Prisoners of War	Total
<b>Indian Officers</b>	681	43	1448	214	2,390
<b>Indian Rank</b>	25,456	2,940	57, 540	5,928	93,083
<b>Followers</b>	11,100	176	782	1,315	13,788
<b>Total</b>	37,237	3,159	59,770	7,457	109,256

Source: Kapur, 2010, p. 39

Here, it is also essential to show the casualties of Punjabi soldiers along with the other contributions. As Yong (2002) pointed out that being as an imperial front for the World War I, Punjab had involved at the larger scale in the war. Due to greater mobilisation, India had suffered at the massive level. Saleem (1995, p. 453) had argued that as compared to European partners, India had suffered

numerous casualties. British districts like Rawalpindi, Ludhiana, Mianwali, Jhelum, Jullundur, Jind, Ambala and Lahore, all had lost more than 3 percent of their army men. In an actual situation, Rawalpindi suffered a heavy loss during the World War I, given its substantial share in the British Indian. Jhelum was the second district which was most affected by the war. In order to highlight the loss suffered by Punjab, a member of the Sangat Group (2008) had rightly pointed out that, “Thousands of Punjabis died in the First World War; I think that is one of the greatest tragedies of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, they were cannon fodder.”

**Table 4. 6- Punjab Casualties: World War I**

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Casualties</b>	<b>Number</b>
1	Died	12,794
2	Missing	1,083
3	Wounded	20,536
4	Prisoners of War	2,562
5	Total	36,975

Source: Saleem, 1995, p. 453

Thus, Punjab’s contribution towards the World War I was very significant. Ironically, the place of the region had been remained overlooked and behind the curtain. As upper mentioned, the contribution of the region was very pivotal. Singh (2010, p. 161) validated that not only in the World War I, in the World War II also. Moreover, during the World War II, the scale of military mobilization had remained higher than the World War I.

#### **4.5.4 World War I & Punjab: Awards and Honours**

British official and retired ICS officer, Leigh (1922, p. 110) documented an important report, in which he had brought out that the heroic qualities of Punjabis soldiers had recognized by the British officials. British official’s reports had also mentioned that Punjab had decorated due to given “Distinguished Service in the field” or “For gallantry and devotion to duty in the field.”

**Picture 4. 1- Punjabi Soldiers in Mesopotamia during World War I**





Source: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/timelines/zw2q7ty> (Accessed on 13 August 2017).

British official's report had cited that Punjabis officers and noncommissioned officers had remained ready to take the responsibilities in the absence of British officers. They had never taken care of personal dangers and pains when they rescued the war operations. They were very determined and never left their posts and bunkers until death. Here is an example of Sepoy Partab Singh mentioned by Leigh (1922),

Sepoy Partab Singh, a Jat Sikh, 90<sup>th</sup> Punjabis, Chuga village, Ferozpur District, was awarded the Indian order of Merit, 2<sup>nd</sup> Class, for very gallant conduct and devotion to the duty near nasiriyah, Mesopotamia, on July 24<sup>th</sup> 1915, when he had two bullet wounds, in the upper part of his right arm, didn't pause to bind up the wounds, and refused to go back. He had continued in the attack and was again wounded. He had two fingers cut off and was unable to handle his rifle. He again refused to go back and busied himself in helping to bind up the wounds of others and generally assisting them.

For the commemoration of the sacrifices, the British government had honoured these war soldiers. Great military historian and British official had mentioned that numerous orders and decorations had been given to the British Indian Army. Thus, Punjab had played very significant role in the World War I. Below the table is making a better understanding about the honouring of Punjab soldiers in the war:

**Table 4. 7- Decorations for Punjab: 1914-18**

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Decorations</b>	<b>British Districts</b>
1.	Victoria Cross	3
2.	Military Cross	19
3.	Order of British India, 1 <sup>st</sup> Class	3
4.	Order of British India, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Class	82
5.	Indian order of merit, 1 <sup>st</sup> Class	7
6.	Indian order of merit, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Class	324
7.	Bar to Indian Distinguished service medal	3
8.	Indian Distinguished Service medal	981
9.	Indian Meritorious service medal	411
10.	Miscellaneous Rewards and special promotions	30
11.	Foreign Decorations	175
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2038</b>

Source: Leigh, 1922, p. 110

#### **4.6 Militarization, Mobilization and Punjab: A Garrison Province in World War II**

Despite the disastrous affects in terms of men and material loss given the WWI, the nationalistic government had not learnt any lesson from the same. Thus, within a short span, the second most disastrous war had been started in the human history of the world. As Weigold (2010) mentioned that on 1 September 1939,

Germany had attacked Poland and kicked the World War II (1939-45). On the other hand, England had declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939. More importantly, Lord Linlithgow (the Viceroy, 18 April 1936–1 Oct 1943), had declared that India as a partner of the British Government in WW II, without consulting the Indian political leaders. The Indian National Congress had strongly reacted against this one-sided decision of the Viceroy. The Congress made it clear to the British Government that India was always willing to help England to the best of its ability and might provided the latter makes a clear declaration to free India after the war. But the British attitude had been remained evasive. Consequently, all the Congress ministries had resigned on 22 October 1939. Yong (2002) had argued that in such situation, India had been handled very badly during the World War II.

Subsequently, a lot of fluctuations took place in Indian politics. In their studies, Greenough (1983), Habib (1995) and Taneja (2005) argued that Indian politics had taken new heights and coloured with communal politics after declaring the participation of India in the World War II. At the same time, Muslim League put forward the demand of separate nation. On the other hand, left-wing Congressmen of Indian political parties, prominently Jawaharlal Nehru (14 Nov 1889 - 27 May 1964) and Mahatma Gandhi (2 Oct 1869- 30 Jan 1948) had opposed the decision of British government. On the contrary, Gandhi had adopted new programmes and launched the 'Quit India' movement in 1942. Out of this, the relations between Muslim League and Indian National Congress had become more worsened and brought into direct conflict. However, the prominent political party of India, the Indian National Congress had opposed the war efforts of India for the British. On the other side, All India Muslim League had taken the side of Allies against the Axis powers. In the supporting of World War II, Jinnah (25 Dec 1876 – 11 Sep 1948)<sup>51</sup> had also told that if Britain lost, the Muslims were likely to suffer (Zaidi, 1976).

Perry (1988) had written a significant work, 'The Commonwealth Armies: Manpower and Organization in Two World Wars', and another historian, Roy (2009), in which they had argued that despite the apathy of the Indian populace

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<sup>51</sup> Muhammad Ali Jinnah was great proponent of the Muslim league during the freedom struggle of India. He was the founder of Pakistan as well as a lawyer and politician. He had served as leader of the All-India Muslim League from 1913 until Pakistan's independence (14 August 1947). After the Independence of Pakistan, he had remained Governor-General of Pakistan until his death (Zaidi, 1976).

and the hostility of the Indian political parties, the Indian Army remained more or less loyal to the British during World War II. In spite of such turmoil, India had supplied a bulk of soldiers for the British Army against the Axis powers. As Punjab had shown great enthusiasm in World War I. Moreover, Punjab had played a very momentous role in the World War II.

India was passing through layers of chaos at the opening of World War II. Even then Punjab had come forward to keep safe the British Empire in the world, argued by Singh (1940). However, the war was declared in 1939 without consulting with Indians by Lord Linlithgow (18 April 1936–1 Oct 1943). Even then, Punjab was the foremost state in coming forward for participating in the World War II. At that time, the Unionist government had given the open and active support to the British Empire which was the ruling political party in Punjab. In his study, Heathcote (1995) had pointed out that the Chief Minister of Punjab, Sikander Hayat Khan (1937–1942) confidently assured Governor of Punjab, Henry Craik (1938–1941) that his province could supply half a million recruits for the Indian Army within weeks if needed. When British Government declared war on Germany, Punjab premier, and provincial Muslim leader, Sikander Hayat Khan, had issued a statement calling on the people of the Punjab to 'maintain their splendid traditions as the sword arm of India' by supporting the imperial war effort. At the outbreak of the war, Sikander and his ministers toured the districts to drum up enthusiasm for enlistment to the Indian Army. Until 1945 (even though Sikander was to die suddenly of a heart attack in December 1942), the Unionist government remained fully behind the mobilization process, by which some 800,000 combatants were recruited from the Punjab and twenty-five crores of rupees gathered through war loans.

On the other side, Saleem (1995) brought out from the British reports that British officials from the military districts in Rawalpindi, Lahore and Ambala divisions had been reported strong support from the local population for the war. As a demonstration of their loyalty to the British war efforts, rural notables and their supporters personally toured villages to drum up enthusiasm amongst prospective recruits for the army and to raise funds to fill the war coffers. These tour parties, which on occasions comprised students, university professors, and local officials, carried out activities that included pro-war propaganda and war

service exhibitions to generate recruitment and to counter anti-war activities. It was evident that the civil-military edifice that had been set up during the Great War more than two decades earlier was once again functioning, and with great efficacy. Propaganda, publicity, fundraising, recruitment, maintenance of law and order proceeded without much difficulty simply because the structures that enabled recruiting officers, deputy commissioners and local notables to act rapidly and with minimum friction were already in place.

When the World War II started, the initial responses in the Punjab were very enthusiastic and kicked greater mobilization from the region. Yong (2002) and Das (2011) pointed out that the nexus between the landed communities and the colonial state in the Punjab was further strengthened by its close association with the Indian army. On the other side, from the 1880s the Government of British India had pumped crores of rupees into this strategic frontier province to build an extensive military infrastructure of railways, roads, and cantonment towns, while state resources, most notably land, were diverted for military purposes. The military penetration went beyond infrastructure; it deeply involved the local population as well. Moreover, Yong (2002) pointed out that the landlords and the yeoman peasantry in rural Punjab saw the war as an opportunity to increase rural employment and raised the prices of agricultural products. The rise in prices had provided the much-needed economic lift for a province still feeling the effects of the agricultural depression of the 1930s. Remembering how they had been amply rewarded for their services in the last war, the soldiering community in the military districts saw this as yet another unique occasion for acquiring cash, titles and generous allotments of land in the canal colonies.

On the other strands, Cohen (2001) identified that within two years of the start of the war, the Indian army had quadrupled in size - from about 200,000 men in late 1939 to 865,200 by the end of 1941. These Indian soldiers had served in Africa, Middle East, Burma, Europe and many more places during the war period.

In his study, Prasad (1956) revealed that on 1 September 1945, the total number serving in India's armed forces, inside and outside India, was 2,128,000. According to the official history, the total strength of armed forces in India on 1 October 1945 was 2,644,323 including 240,613 from the British Army, 2,018,196 from the Indian Army, 99,367 from the Indian States Forces, and some others.

According to Roger (1999), in 1939, the total strength of the Indian Army was 205,000 Indians, 63,469 British troops, and 83,706 troops from the princely states and by the end of the war, the number of soldiers had been reached to near about two and a half million. It is well testified that the British Indian Army was the largest volunteer force in history. In a strictly legal sense, the men were indeed volunteers who enlisted of their own will; but most of them, desperate for jobs, were forced to join up through necessity. Out of this, Punjab had mobilized bulk of soldiers to the British Indian Army. Equally impressive was the amount of money collected for the war chests from within the province. By the end of 1941 a total of fifty-five lakhs of rupees had already been collected, the amount surpassing the total donated for the entire duration of the previous war (Yong, 2002). World War II also remained very critical to the society as was World War I. It had also taken numerous lives. Another scholar, Kamtekar (2002) had mentioned that the Casualties amounted to 24,338 killed and approximately 64,000 soldiers had been wounded. Besides this, 12,000 soldiers had been missed and nearly 80,000 taken prisoner during the World War II.

With the opening of World War II, Punjab had again become the 'Pile Arms of the Raj' and supplied cannon fodder for the various theaters of war. Interestingly, by the end of September 1939, General Sir Robert Cassells (from 1930 to 30 November 1935), the Commander-in-Chief for India, had recruited about 34,000 men out of whom 18,000 or 19,000 were from the Punjab, and without the knowledge of its Governor. Many scholars including Nakra (1946), Yong (2002), Green (2009) and Singh & Fenech (2014) verified that in the beginning of World War II, Punjab had shown enthusiastic spirit for the recruitment in the British Indian Army. On the other side, the British Government had also given the order to the British Indian officials to expand the British Indian Army in the chaos of war and Russia-Afghanistan rivalries. In this backdrop, recruitment in the British Indian Army had got recorded escalation (50,000 per month) in middle of August 1941. The growth of British Indian Army had been remained to continue up to the end of World War II. In 1940, the strength of British Indian army was 166,377, and in 1941, it had touched the numerical of 3, 26,497. Moreover, it had been reached up to 6, 51,655 in 1942. In his study, Roy (2009) had argued that the policy of 'Martial Races' reshaped again with the opening of World War II.

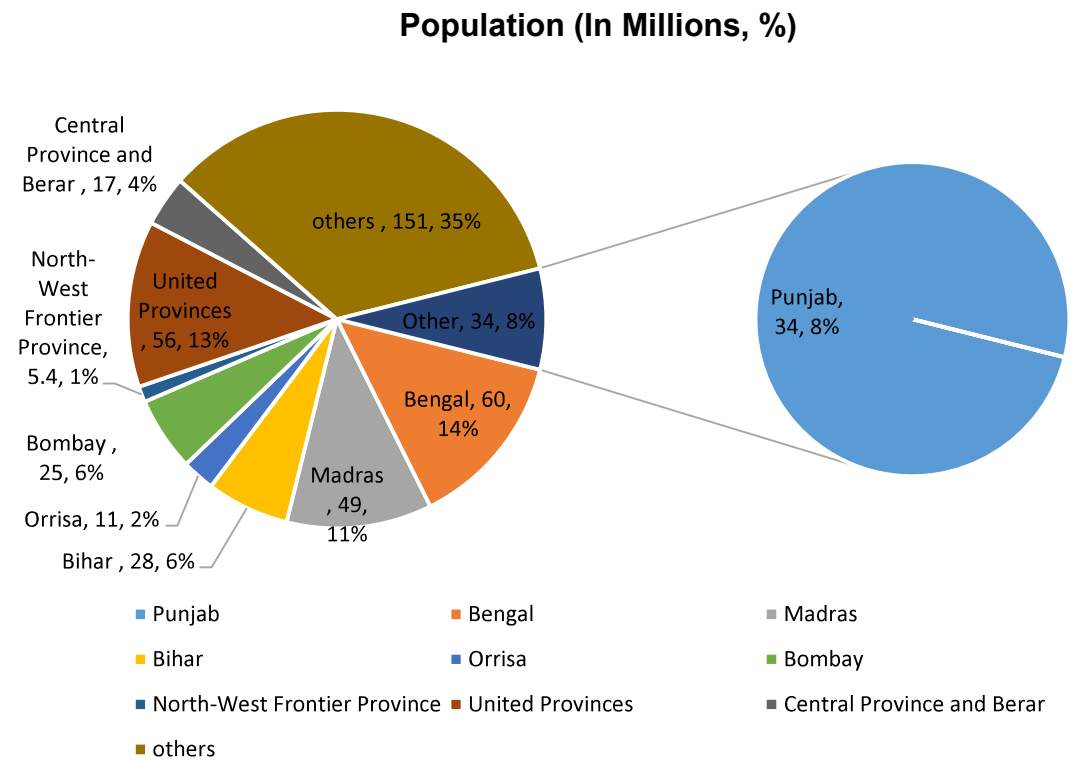
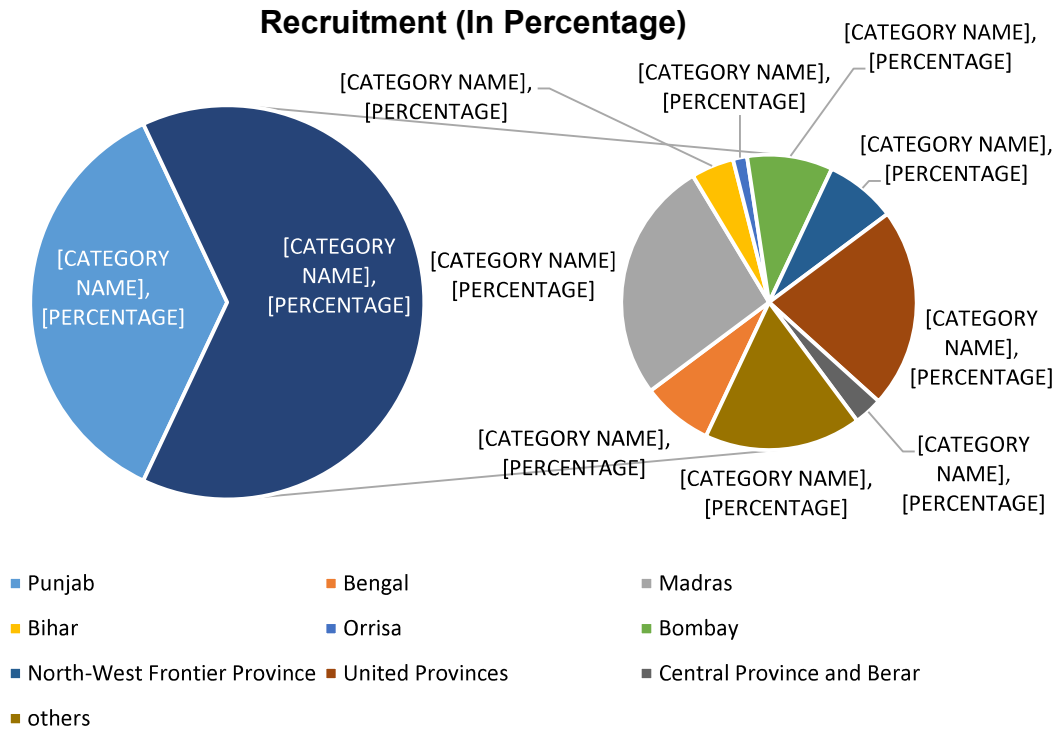
Now, onwards not only 'Martial races,' even nonmartial races like Mazhbis, Ramdasi Sikhs, Christians, and Ahmdiyas also started to recruit in the British Indian Army. For the building of larger British Indian Army, the rules for physical standards were relaxed substantially. Therefore, the lower castes of Punjab, who had earlier been denied recruitment, were welcomed now (Kamtekar, 2002). In this backdrop, Beaumont (1977), Yong (2002) and Roy (2013) pointed out that Punjab had remained the major supplier of the soldiers for the British Indian Army, approximately about 36 percent of the British Indian Army recruited from Punjab during the World War II.

**Table 4. 8- Indian Combatants and Non-Combatants Recruitment in World War II: Pivotal Role of Punjab**

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Province</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	Punjab	36.67
2	Madras	17.51
3	United Provinces	13.7
4	Bengal	5.22
5	Bombay	6.22
6	North-West Frontier Province	4.72
7	Bihar	2.76
8	Nepal	5.16
9	Rajputana and Central India	3.61
10	Central Province and Berar	1.59
11	Assam	.67
12	Sind	.36
13	Delhi	.26
14	Orissa	.22
15	Baluchistan	.07
16	Others	1.26
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Roy, 2013, p. 126

**Figure 4. 1- Punjab's Recruitment and Population Share as Compared to Others Provinces in WW II**



Source: Roy, 2013, p. 126

With the greater mobilization of Indian soldiers, the profile of the British Indian Army had been changed very rapidly. In this, Punjab had contributed



significantly. In the World War II, Punjabi Muslims had been recruited extensively. In 1940, the total strength of the Punjabi Muslim was 43,291, and it had been increased upto 165, 497 in 1942. On the other hand, Punjabi Sikhs had also played very significant role in World War II. However, Mazumder (2003, p. 232) argued that Sikh had been kept aside during the World War II. But fundamentally, the Sikh soldiers once again stepped forward as the mainstay of British Indian Army and fought on a number of fronts (Sikhs in World War II). Because, the perception of Sikhs as martial, brave and willing to sacrifice had been dominantly reflected in the recruitment of British Indian Army. Kohli (2016) cited that historically, Sikhs had been seen as formidable warriors. But the projected study had pointed out the very important had been played by Sikhs in the World War II as well. Because, the share of the Sikhs had increased from 24,723 in 1940 to 72,059 in 1942, and that of the Jat Sikhs from 18,465 in 1940 to 42,087 in 1942. In the World War II, the total strength of 300,000 Sikhs soldiers had been served in the British Indian Army. More important, approximately most of Sikhs soldiers were recruited as a combatant in the armed forces. During the World War II, Dhan-Potohar area of the Rawalpindi district had remained the pivotal recruitment ground for the British Indian Army. In the war, approximately 120,000 Punjabis soldiers were recruited from this area alone, the majority of them were Muslims and Sikhs. Out of nine Victoria Crosses (VCs) awarded to the entire army from the subcontinent for valour and bravery, eight of them are Punjabis but at a hefty cost of 61,041 Punjabis soldiers dead and 67, 771 wounded.

An army train is crossing bridges in leaps, taking our poor sons locked away this is one of the countless departing images narrated in Punjabi folk songs by women for their soldier sons and beloved. There is this unbearable pain, rage and lament about induction of Punjabi youth as colonial subjects where women cry and their men stand speechless. Chandler once wrote: "To say goodbye is to die a little." But for Punjabis mothers and lovers these goodbye were outright deaths, foretold bereavement gestures of lonely travelers.

**Picture 4. 2- Mobilization of Punjabi Soldiers in World War II**



Source: <http://indianexpress.com/article/cities/delhi/front-runners/> (Accessed on 13 August 2017).

In their studies, Churchill (2010, p. 182) and Kamtekar (2002) cited that the British Indian army had expanded very fast: from 1, 50,000 in 1939 to 10 lakhs in 1942, increasing by 50,000 men per month. Between November 1941 and September 1942, 50.7 per cent recruitment was from the pre-war catchment areas. Here it is more important to note that the 49.3 per cent soldiers for the British Indian Army had been enlisted from the new groups of people. On 1 January 1944, the total strength of the army in India and overseas was 23, 62,156 which included only 1, 75,323 of the British army. In keeping such a greater

mobilization, Churchill felt gratified that the two and a half million Indians volunteering to serve in the forces, this was the biggest army ever raised without conscription. The mobilization reached 20 lakh, of which about 50 percent were Punjabis. The World War II was viewed in the Punjab as 'a total war,' leading to unprecedented 'mobilization of manpower and economic resources.'

#### **4.6.1 Mobilization of Food Grains & War Materials from Punjab**

At the opening of World War II, agrarian production of India was very turbulent, and the food production had been declined at an annual rate of 0.02 percent during 1924-44. In his study, Kamtekar (2000) quoted that in 1943-44, Bengal famine was major disastrous for the British government which had taken approximately 3.5 % of the total population of the region. This situation was further had become critical with the opening of World War II.

Punjab was the most fertile area of the Indian subcontinent for agriculture production. Due to the massive irrigation networks, the Punjab had emerged as 'a new agrarian frontier' for the British during the World War II. Stone (2002) had revealed that the Punjab had the largest irrigation system with 20 million acres under irrigation, with a canal network running over 3220 kilometers. The total irrigated area accounted for 52 percent of the total cropped area in the Punjab. Given irrigation and fertility of the land, Punjab had achieved a high rate of increase in the both food and cash crop production during the times of World War II.

In order to meet famine situation, On 26 August 1939, the Department of Supply was created and reconstituted (November 1939) to deal directly with the problems concerning supplies of all kinds required for the execution of the ongoing war. The 'Grow More Food' campaigns had been started in 1942-43. The rural population was rallied to intensify the area under cultivation through 'Grow More Food' campaign in the Punjab. The total cropped area increased from about 30 million acres in 1939-40 to nearly 35 million acres in 1942-43. By then, the area under food crops in the Punjab reached 25.6 million acres which exceeded by nearly half a million acres over the year 1933-34.

In July 1943, the South India in general and Bengal in particular suffered from famine. Shortage of food had become the major concern for the British government in India. In such chaos, Punjab had stepped forward and had

promised to supply wheat to the famine-stricken areas prominently to Bengal. Sohal (2013) mentioned that on 1 December 1944, 21,410 tons of food grains had been dispatched wheat 13,109 tons; millets 1450 tons; and rice 6,851 tons to the various war fronts by the Punjab Government. Moreover, by the beginning of July 1945, approximately 7,632 tons of food grains had been sent from the Punjab to the famine-stricken areas. In such a typical case, total 6, 80,000 tons of foodgrains had been exported to war fronts from March 1945 to February 1946.

Thus, Punjab had remained very special for British Indian Army, particularly during the World Wars. It is well established that it was one of the most fertile ground for the recruitment. For maintaining and expanding the British Empire, Punjabi soldiers didn't fear to shed their blood. In this background, they had mobilized in substantial number to the various theater of World Wars. In spite of this, other war supporting materials also sent from Punjab. Ironically, their contribution remained away from taking appropriate place in the pages of history.

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## Chapter 5

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## **5 Building of British Indian Army: A Comparative Analysis of Recruitment Pattern – Punjab versus India**

*The Punjabis had always been soldiers, but they had to be soldiers because to survive, they had to fight.* Qureshi, 2013, p. 406

The Indian Army was the vein blood of the British army during the colonial rule. It is also recorded in the history that Indian Armed Forces was the component of biggest army in the world. Moreover, British Indian army was responsible for the defence of both British India and the Princely states as well as maintaining, sustaining and expanding the British Empire in India as well in the various colonies of the British in the world. Thus, The Indian Army was an important part of the British Empire forces, both in India and abroad, particularly during the World War I and II and played a very pivotal role in the expanding of British Empire. In his study, Browne (1970, p. 102) pointed out that the 1857 revolt had considered as a watershed event in the history of British India especially in the field of defense and consequently such certain regions and areas had received a peculiar position in the British defense policies with some compulsions. In this trajectory, Punjab had got a very paramount place. The theory of martial races and geo-strategic position of the Punjab contributed a lot to become special for the British.

It is well proven in the previous chapter that Punjab had played a pivotal role in the construction of British Indian Army. Moreover, Punjab had lagged behind the other provinces of British India in the 'Clock of Recruitment.' Because, before 1857 mutiny, the British Indian Army fundamentally used to recruit from Bengal, Bihar, and Bombay. But immediately after the mutiny, the grounds of British Indian Army shifted towards Northern India. In this backdrop, the present chapter had attempted to bring out the comparisons of recruitment from the various regions of British India, particularly from 1857 to World War II.

### **5.1 Making of the British Indian Army: Historical Perspective**

Many studies like Wheeler (1886) and James (2010), had demonstrated that with the coming of European to the subcontinent started a period of clashes and wars

between European companies and native powers. In Europe, British, Spanish, Portuguese, and French came to the region and out of these British and French were the most powerful companies. However, primarily they approached to the region for commercial purposes, but slowly they motivated with political desires. Finally, out of this contentions, British remained champion. Behind all this, the army had played very strategic and significant role in defeating the enemies and making hegemonic influences. Thus, the British Indian Army was the major army of India during the colonial times. It was responsible for the defence of both British India and the princely states, which could also have their own armies. The Indian Army was an important part of the British Empire's forces, both in India and abroad, particularly during the World Wars I and II.

### **5.1.1 Beginning of the Raj: Imperial Designs and Motives of EIC**

The Indian subcontinent which includes the present-day Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka had been a region that attracted explorers, traders, and invaders from ancient times onwards. Wheeler (1886) expounded that the invaders included the Aryans, Mongols, Mughals, and Turks who used the land route to reach the South Asian subcontinent through the great passes of the North Western areas. Another scholar Chaurasia (2002) pointed out that since the recorded history, it had been well accepted by many studies including Basham (1966) and Jha (1998) that India had been a rich and prosperous country.

The richness of the subcontinent attracted the Europeans from the fifteenth century onwards which changed the course of its subsequent history. Rahmani (2011) had argued that the British had ruled over India for about 200 years. Chandra (2009) and Talbot (2011) mentioned that the British East India Company (EIC), which came to explore and exploit the wealthy subcontinent and during this period a policy of systematic exploitation and loot of the Indian economy was followed. As a result, the old economic systems of India broke down, the industrial structure collapsed, the burden on agriculture mounted, and hence the poverty increased. Consequently, the British became the masters of the land and brought drastic changes in the fields of education, military, economy, society, judiciary, civil

administration, communication, law and order in the Indian Subcontinent. Thus, British rule changed & transformed the face of Indian Subcontinent.

The British rule in the Indian subcontinent was also important as it brought new systems of military mobilization and defence. Kaushik (2005) detailed that a number of military training institutions had established, in which Seven Officers Training Schools were established in India to meet the huge demand for officers to serve in the Indian and Commonwealth Armies during World Wars. The forces were reorganized under the British armed forces and provided with modern arms and ammunition. It had a definite advantage for the Raj as it was not only sustained and maintained the British Indian Empire, but the British Indian army also fought for them in the World Wars.

The policy of the British for mobilizing and stationing army throughout the subcontinent was not the same, but shown a significant amount of regional variation, depending on the specific strategic demands and perceived fighting spirits available in certain regions and people. This resulted in region-specific military histories in Indian sub-continent. Such regions, due to military infrastructure and massive recruitments benefited due to the spillover effect of militarization.

In these dynamics, Punjab had acquired a very exceptional place. In his study, Barkwi (2006) demonstrated that it was not only converted into a garrison state coincided with a process called De-Bengalisation and Punjabization of British Indian army which further played a very crucial role in maintaining and expanding the British Empire especially during the World Wars at various 'Theatres of the War.' but also much more allied transformations like urbanization, irrigation, technological advancement, modern education and modern means of communications. In this backdrop, Military had played paramount place in acquiring and enlarging the colonial interests in the region.

### **5.1.2 Military as a Device of Expansion: Indian-Subcontinent & Punjab Contexts**

During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the English East India Company (EIC) was a minor player in India, controlling just a few small coastal enclaves at that time. Slowly but



steadily they had established their footprints in the Indian subcontinent. Gavin (1975, p. 11) pointed out that it was in 1612 the first British settlement was established in Surat,<sup>52</sup> followed by the construction of Fort St. George at Madras in 1639 and acquiring of Bombay in 1661. In the beginning, the East India Company's (EIC) small forces were repeatedly defeated by the indigenous powers such as Mysore, Hyderabad, Sikhs, and Maratha, etc. However, it was not continued, but this started changing rapidly from 1750 onwards. Thereafter, the native powers like Mysore, Hyderabad, Sikhs, and Maratha, etc. were defeated and destroyed one after another.

The army played a major role in getting political paramountcy in India by the EIC. In his study, Roy (2011) and (Talbot 2007) demonstrated that between 1688 and 1815, Britain had become the strongest military power in the world, and unsurprisingly between 1815 and 1865, the British Empire grew at the rate of 100,000 square miles per year. The construction of an overseas empire by Britain led to the overseas expansion of the European maritime powers also during the early modern era, and the availability of local allies and military constituted locally provided a lot of aid in the rise of the west over in the rest of the world between 1500 and 1800. On the other side, Muhammad (2011) stated that British acquired military supremacy in the Indian Sub-continent between 1750 and 1850. It expanded its military establishment by adapting itself to the requirements of the subcontinent. This was in tune with the changing character of the British Empire and the strategies it adopted at different places according to the requirement of the time and space.

Heathcote (1995) specified that the revolt of 1857 changed the recruitment grounds of the British Indian army. In which Punjab has placed significant position converted into 'Sword of the Raj.' In their studies, Streets (2004), Anderson (2007) and Soherwordi (2010) anticipated that De-Bengalisation and Punjabization of the British Indian army was the punishment to the rebels and rewards to the loyalist. In spite of this, some compulsions made Punjab special in the defence strategy of

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<sup>52</sup> The Surat city is situated on the left bank of the Tapti River. In 1759, British took full control on the Surat. After coming under the British rule, the city became prosperous port city of the Indian subcontinent. Further, it had played very key role in connecting the local economy of India with the international economy (Gavin, 1975, p. 11).

the colonial masters which further made Punjab special for the British Empire, resulted in waterfalls of the cantonments with supporting institutions nourished in the Punjab region.

## **5.2 Punjab - A Pile Arms of the Raj**

With the coming of British in Punjab, a greater mobilization of the European people had entered and settled here. With the presence of Europeans in the region, a new taste of the Westernization started spreading in the region. Moreover, as recorded in the history, Punjab had obsessed due to some compulsions out of which 'Great Game' and geo-strategic location of the Punjab. Out of these obligations, British had compelled to invest here. Further, a wave of developments had started in the Punjab region. In this, Punjab got special attention from the defense point of view which remained under consideration among the academicians. With the Initializations of cantonments and military infrastructure to the region, Punjab had converted into the province of cantonments which further played very important role in the changing of geography and lives of the people.

### **5.2.1 Punjab: Geographical and Geostrategic Significance**

In their studies, Talbot (1988, p. 11) and Roofi & Alqama (2011, p. 2) demonstrated that Punjab was a landlocked region in the northwestern corner of the Indian subcontinent. From the time of Alexander, the great, successive waves of invaders looted and made their way along the northern Great Trunk Road which ran through Punjab, connecting Kabul to Delhi (Talbot, 1988, p. 13). Most of the region's towns had grown as route centers on or near this highway. During the British rule, Punjab had become the part of 'Great Game' and threats of Russian expansion through Central Asia were alarming to the British.<sup>53</sup> In the context of such an impending invasion from the expanding Russian empire, in order to save and secure the empire, the British built a strong military infrastructure in the Punjab during the 19<sup>th</sup> century to annex and guard its Afghan border in order to foil Russia's eastward expansion through Central Asia. As Talbot (1988, p. 14) pointed out, it is unlikely that the region would have assumed importance as a

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<sup>53</sup> The 'Great Game' refers to the strategic rivalry between the British Empire and the Russian Empire for supremacy over central Asia. The period is generally regarded as between 1813-1907 (Khawaja, 2012, pp. 4-5).

Centre of colonial military recruitment if it had not been near the Indian army's main theater of war in Afghanistan. Further, Talbot (2007, pp. 3-7) and Yong (2005) acknowledged that the geo-strategic location and the fear of Russian attack, made Punjab one of the most militarized province of British India, a garrison state, to the extent of becoming headquarters of the British Indian Army and its most important recruitment ground.

It was the 1857 revolt that shifted the recruitment ground of the British Indian Army from Bengal to Punjab and North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of the subcontinent. This era also heralded the colonial theory of divide and rule on the basis of the so-called 'Martial Races.' The British Army's senior officers believed that certain classes and communities in India were warrior races - "Martial Races" as they called it.<sup>54</sup> And such classes and communities were believed to be better and braver soldiers and more suitable for army service. As a result, by the first half of the twentieth century, the army was dominated by the soldiers from the North and North West of India. In this, Gurkhas from Nepal, the Punjabis, and the Pathans were classified as martial races and preferred to enlist in the army which led to increasing the number of Punjabis in the British Indian army (Soherwordi, 2010, pp. 7-8). On the contrary of 'Martial Races' theory, Philip Mason in his classic book entitled 'A Matter of Honour' had argued that it was not the effort for the division the Indian society into martial and non-martial. Additionally, it was an effort to turn the peasants and moneylenders into soldiers.<sup>55</sup>

British were also grateful to the Punjabis for their role in suppressing the rebellion of 1857, particularly the contributions of the Sikh soldiers. Dorn & Gucciardi (2011) had revealed that after 1857 mutiny major part of the British Indian army recruitment drawn from these strategic areas and martial races which were considerably suited for the harsh campaigning conditions of the frontier itself. The North had also possessed endowments—the hardy men, experienced in warfare, who had joined almost every invader, from 12<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century, who came to India through the North-West frontier (Khawaja, 2012, p. 3). They were able to

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<sup>54</sup> The Eden commission reported in 1879 that the Punjab was the "Home Of The Most Martial Races Of India" and that it was 'the nursery' of the best soldiers (Soherwordi, 2010, pp. 6-7).

<sup>55</sup> Anglo-Sikh Relations & the world wars

Available At: <http://gurmat.info/sms/smspublications /AngloSikh RelationsAnd TheWorld Wars .pdf> (Accessed on 30 August 2016).

survive comfortably in temperatures which froze soldiers from Bengal and Madras to death. In spite of this, they could move as swiftly as any Afghan or Pathan tribesmen across the narrow ridges and steep hillsides of the frontier passes (Talbot, 1988, p. 42). They were seen as best suited to guard the frontier region and resist the Russian attack in case of an onslaught through the North West.

Due to the strategic position, Punjab had become the bulwark of British Indian army. Therefore, they constructed a number of buildings, but the major emphasis was given in securing the frontier buildings and building forts and fortifications along the long border for the military purposes. In his study, Mazumder (2003, pp. 49-50) had pointed out that thus marital race theory, strategic position, and emergence as a part of the great game made the Punjab special to the British, which in consequence emerged as a province of cantonments.

### **5.2.2 Cantonments in Punjab: A Source of Multidimensional Transformations**

After the annexation of Punjab (1849), as already pointed out, these cantonments were necessitated by the strategic location of Punjab, the availability of 'Martial Races' in the region and above all the fear of a Russian expansion towards the subcontinent. Most of these cantonments were constructed on the most strategic positions in the province and also in uncultivated or under-cultivated areas of this region. These cantonments were joined to each other with the commercial cum strategic road and railway networks, which facilitated steady movement and mobilization of the British Indian army whenever required. Communication channels across the cantonments were also promptly established which were also primarily determined by the military and strategic requirements. No doubt, these cantonments infused abundance transformations in the geography of Punjab during the colonial time and brought a lot of changes in multiple directions of this frontier region.

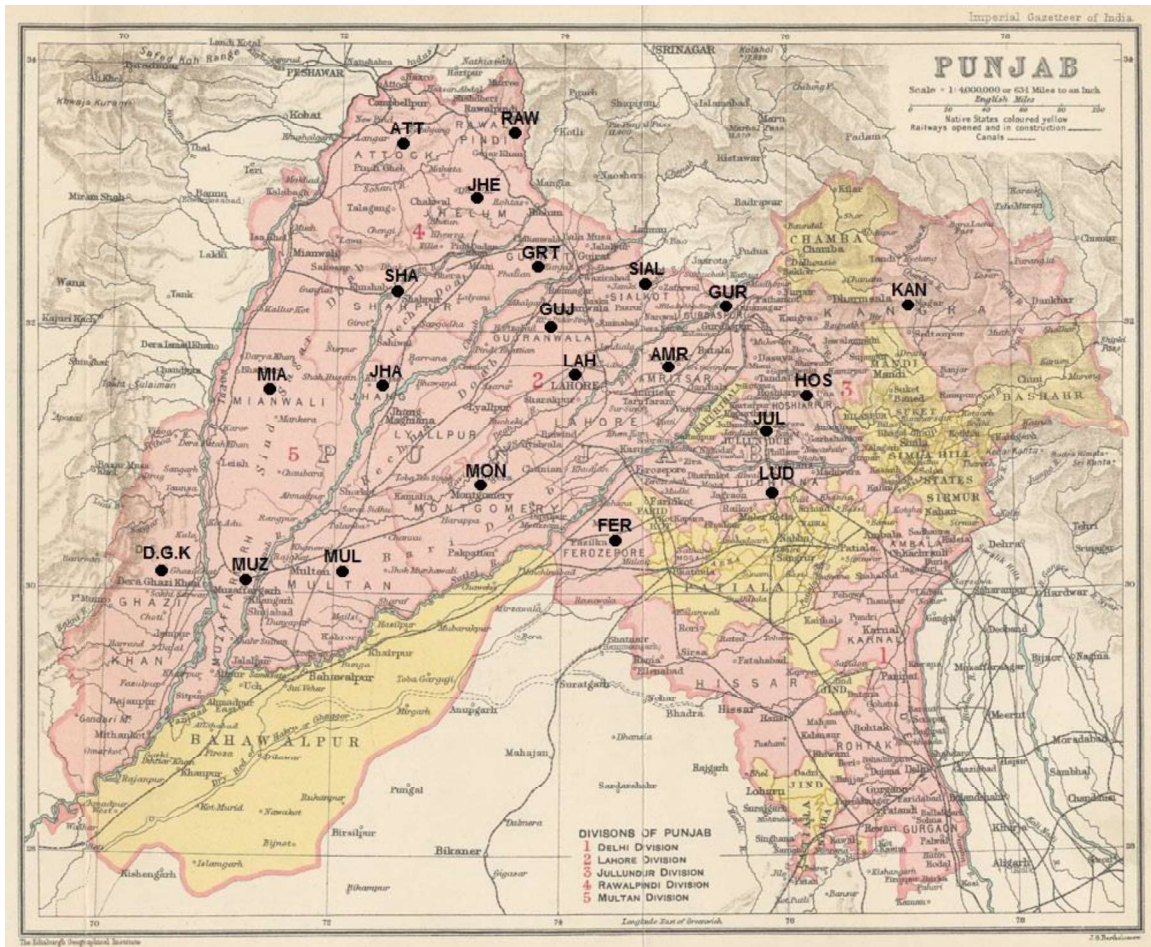
The cantonments like Lahore, Rawalpindi, Amritsar, Sialkot, Ferozpur, Dera Ismail Khan, Peshawar, Attock, Ambala, Delhi, Jhelum, Jullundur, were established soon after taking over Punjab. It is cited in the Ferozpur District Gazetteer (1915, pp. 35-40) that the Ferozpur Cantonment was considered to be

the earliest cantonment built by the British in Punjab, which was opened in 1839 during the time of Anglo-Sikh rivalry itself by Lt. Governor Sir Henry Lawrence. The cantonment was of great importance as it played an important role in protecting the British Indian Empire and was famous residence place for the British officers and troops. Along with this, Lahore was another one of most prominent cantonments among them. It was first established as a Military station in the Lahore<sup>56</sup> in 1851-52 (Known as Meean Mir till 1906) and joined with the fort of Lahore subsequently (Lahore District Gazetteer, 1916, pp. 211-212). The locality for the Lahore Cantonment was selected in 1851-52 and was subsequently expanded during 1893-94 (Lahore District Gazetteer, 1893-94, p. 239). Though Lahore was the capital of the Sikh kingdom before the arrival of the British, however, after the coming of the British. Lahore's importance was reached its peak and become the cultural capital. It was an enormously huge that it contained 3 percent of the total area, 4 percent of the cultivated area and 5 percent of the population of the British territories of the Punjab during the British era (Lahore District Gazetteer, 1893-94, p. 239). For locating the position of various cantonments in Punjab under the British rule, a map has been inserted below (5.1).

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<sup>56</sup> The Lahore district takes its name from Lo ha war means "The Fort of Loh" (Lahore District Gazetteer, 1916, p. 1).

## Map 5. 1- Undivided Punjab (1909): Districts and Cantonments of the Punjab Province



Source: The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908

It is mentioned in the Lahore District Gazetteer (1883-84, pp. 124-125) that the ordinary garrison of Meean Meer consists of two batteries Royal Artillery, one regiment British infantry, one of the Bengal cavalry, one of the native infantry and one of Punjab pioneers. The fort of Lahore is held by detachments of royal artillery and British and Rajapur and native infantry from Meean Meer. The Total strength of the garrison, as it stood in July 1883, is shown in the given below table:

**Table 5. 1- Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers and Men in Lahore, 1883-84**

Station	Regimental & Staff officers	Artillery	British Cavalry	Native Cavalry	British Infantry	Native Infantry
Meean Meer	110	314	.....	537	885	1,632
Fort Lahore	06	61	.....	.....	55	92
Total	116	375	.....	537	940	1,724

Source: Lahore District Gazetteer, 1883-84, p. 125

The average amount of transport available (Lahore District Gazetteer, 1883-84) is shown below, but this was, of course, fluctuated as per the requirement of the army stationed at Lahore cantonments.

**Table 5. 2- Transport stationed at Lahore Cantonment, 1883-84**

Detail	Elephants	Camels	Mules	Battery bullocks	Siege train bullocks	Army carts	Bulk for army carts	Camp follower
In Depot	9	61	27	107	58	50	83	444
With Pioneer Regiment	.....	63	32	.....	.....	.....	.....	12
Royal Artillery	.....	16	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Total	9	140	70	107	58	50	83	460

Source: Lahore District Gazetteer, 1883-84, pp. 126-27

Another large cantonment was established in Sialkot, located about a mile from the city. This cantonment was under the Rawalpindi division. Sialkot town had a population of 45,762 by the 1880s and was lying north of the center of the district and the same distance from Wazirabad (Sialkot District Gazetteer, 1883-84, pp. 1-2). Sialkot district assumed importance in the province under the British because it contained a larger population than any other districts, and to the extent of cultivation it was stood on 9<sup>th</sup> position from the British territory and in the amount of land revenue was second from the British territory of Punjab (Sialkot District Gazetteer, 1894-95, pp. 38-39). And as per the 1891 census, the population of the Sialkot cantonment was 15,475 (male 10, 686 female 4,789) and Sialkot was come twenty-third in order of area and first in order of population among the 31

districts of the province during the colonial period (Lahore District Gazetteer, 1893-94, p. 1).

Sialkot cantonment was built on a high belt of land, having for its natural drainage, with the Palkhu stream on the north and the Bhed stream on the south. It has been well laid out and was fully supplied with the good metalled roads. There was a convent inside the cantonment, which was one of the most flourishing institutions in the cantonments. It was founded by the Right Rev. M.A. Jacopi in 1856 (Sialkot District Gazetteer, 1894-95, pp. 163-65). Further Sialkot Gazetteer (1894-95) had pointed out that the fort of Sialkot was also a principal building which afforded shelter to the European inhabitants during the mutiny. The garrison consists of one battery of royal house artillery, one regiment of British cavalry and two regiments of the native infantry stationed as of 1894-95 (Table 5.3).

**Table 5. 3- Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers and Men in Sialkot Cantonment, 1894-95**

<b>Staff and Regimental Officers</b>	<b>Royal Artillery</b>	<b>Horse</b>	<b>British Cavalry</b>	<b>British Infantry</b>	<b>Native Cavalry</b>	<b>Native Infantry</b>
89	157		601	983	625	1,824

Source: Sialkot District Gazetteer, 1894-95, p. 165

Amritsar was the religious capital of the Punjab during the Sikh kingdom. The need of having a cantonment at Amritsar was seen as necessary to occupy and subjugate the whole Punjab. It was with such a perception Amritsar cantonment was set up in the year 1856 (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part Three), 2004, pp. 4-5).<sup>57</sup> The city of Amritsar lied in the north and contained a population of 135,401 excluding the cantonment in 1891. Including the Amritsar Cantonment, the city's population was 136,766 (Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1892-93, pp. 146-147). The city of Amritsar was one of the most populous and a wealthy city in the Punjab, and it was located mid-way between the Beas and Ravi on the Grand Trunk road, 35 miles east of Lahore (Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1892-93, pp. 146-147).

<sup>57</sup> The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part Three)

Available At: [http://www.rgs.org/NR/rdonlyres/D11C5008-02DD-4E16-AEFF-1930B640A52F\\_/0/The\\_Punjab\\_MovingJourneysPart3.pdf](http://www.rgs.org/NR/rdonlyres/D11C5008-02DD-4E16-AEFF-1930B640A52F_/0/The_Punjab_MovingJourneysPart3.pdf) (Accessed on 19 March, 2016).



The troops were stationed at the Amritsar Cantonment and fort of Amritsar. The ordinary garrison of cantonments consisted of three companies of British territory. To supplement this, a small detachment of garrison artillery was supplied from a battery of Ferozpur. The total strength of the garrison varied, but it consists at present of 5 officers, 1 medical officer, 300 British infantry, 100 native infantry and about 20 artillerymen as of the early 1890s. There was also one company of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Punjab volunteers stationed at Amritsar (Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1892-93, p. 144). British Indian army apparently got great popularity among the people of this area under the British rule (Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1914, pp. 162-163). The nearby Tarn Taran has made one of the chief recruiting-grounds for the British Indian army and especially the Sikh Jatts who were seen worthy to be contributed to World War I (Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1914, pp. 162-163).

As indicated already, after the second Afghan war of 1878 the British became obsessed with the 'Great Game'<sup>58</sup> and remained apprehensive that Russia would invade India through the Afghanistan. Defending India against Russia had become the major concern of the British Indian army. The selection of Rawalpindi, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, to house the headquarters of the British Indian Army in Punjab was determined by its strategic location in this connection. It was close enough to the full range of passes in the North-West and was yet far away to be overrun in the very first offensive. As the British proceeded with the plan of establishing its military headquarters Rawalpindi, the villages of Rawal turned into the second largest city in Punjab, next only to Lahore (Khwaja, 2012, p. 6). The cantonment of Rawalpindi was first occupied by British troops in 1849 to subjugate Punjab permanently.<sup>59</sup> This military station was seen as the favourable station for the British troops and officers on their first arrival from the England because it was well built and also comforts were available for the European troops and officers

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<sup>58</sup> The 'Great Game' refers to the strategic rivalry between the British Empire and the Russian Empire for supremacy over central Asia. The period is generally regarded as between 1813-1907 (Khwaja, 2012, p. 4).

<sup>59</sup> Rawalpindi was a great historical city of undivided India and British made it modern town by establishing cantonment. Due to the great political and geographical importance of the region British established a permanent military garrison in the Rawalpindi in 1851 and this city was positioned on the frontier of Afghanistan, which increased its importance. Available At: <http://blogs.transparent.com/urdu/rawalpindi-the-other-twin/> (Accessed on 22 October, 2016)

(Rawalpindi District Gazetteer, 1883-84, pp. 120-121). The railway station, telegraph office and post office were all fine massive buildings. While its connectivity with the main railway system by the extension of the North-Western Railway to Peshawar immensely developed both its size and commercial importance.<sup>60</sup> The cantonment was developed to its full extent in the latter 19<sup>th</sup> century in the context of the increasing Russian scare. Due to this Rawalpindi Cantonment became the largest cantonment in upper India and b/w 4,000 to 5,000 troops were quartered here by the early 1890s (Rawalpindi District Gazetteer, 1893-94, pp. 254-55). Rawalpindi's rise to prominence owes to the British as they modernized the town by founding a flourishing cantonment with numerous of modern architecture and thus brought major transformations in this barren and less productive region (Rawalpindi District Gazetteer, 1883-84, pp. 120-21).

Besides this, three smaller cantonments, namely Attock, Jhelum, and Murree, were set up in the northern region and two of these were located on the way to the Peshawar cantonment. The Peshawar Cantonment too was an important one strategically as it was situated only 50 miles away from the border with Afghanistan. Immediately after the occupation of the Punjab in 1848-49, a major military station was established at Peshawar, which situated two miles westward of the Peshawar city (Peshawar District Gazetteer, 1897-98, p. 365). The strategic position of the Peshawar raised the importance of the cantonment. During the British rule in the 1880s, Peshawar stood at 20<sup>th</sup> position in the order of area and 17<sup>th</sup> position in the order of population among the 31 districts of the province, comprising 2.35 percent of the total area, 3.16 percent of the total population and 5.28 percent of the urban population of the British territory. The city occupied a space of 49,420 acres, and its population was 55,610, including cantonment during 1883-84 (Peshawar District Gazetteer, 1883-84, p. 35). The Ambala city and Ambala Cantonment had given in a table below:

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<sup>60</sup> Rawalpindi district

Available At: [http://dsal.uchicago.edu/REFERENCE/\\_gazetteer/text.html?objectid=DS405\\_1\\_134\\_V21\\_278.gif](http://dsal.uchicago.edu/REFERENCE/_gazetteer/text.html?objectid=DS405_1_134_V21_278.gif) (Accessed on 3 September 2016).

**Table 5. 4- Population of Ambala City and Cantonment, 1891-1921**

Sr. No	Year	Ambala city	Cantonment
1	1891	28,278	51,016
2	1911	25,908	54,223
3	1921	28,581	47,745

Source: Ambala District Gazetteer, 1923-24, p. 34

Ambala Cantonment was originally founded in 1847, and the cantonment was situated four miles to the southeast of the city and covers an area of 9, 93, 017 acres. The district of Ambala contained five towns, with more than 10,000 people in the early 1890s (Ambala district Gazetteer, 1923-24, p. 34). Ambala stood 18<sup>th</sup> in order of area and in order of population among the 31 districts of the province and with 5.79 percent urban population of the British territory in the early 1890s (Ambala District Gazetteer, 1892-93, pp. 1-3). Ambala is well situated from a commercial point of view, about midway between the Yamuna and Sutlej, just at the point where the Grand Trunk Road and the north western and Delhi-Kalka railways meet. Due to the central position of Ambala, a lot of trade activities were taking place and due to this Ambala Cantonment boasts a large number of English shops (Ambala District Gazetteer, 1892-93, pp. 132-33).

Multan cantonment was another important and biggest military station located about three miles from the city of Multan and the new fort (Multan District Gazetteer, 1923-24, p. 257). But the original name of the city is difficult to discover. It is said that Hiuen Tsang, who was in the city in 741 A.D., called it "Mu-lo-san-pu-iu", which is considered being a transliteration of "Mulasthanapura" (Multan District Gazetteer, 1880-84, p. 151). Albiruni writing at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, on the other hand, called the town, apparently, Mula-tana (Multan District Gazetteer, 1901-02, pp. 326-327). During the colonial rule Multan district contained a total area of 5,879 square miles. The district of Multan stood 3<sup>rd</sup> in the order of area and 12<sup>th</sup> in the order of population among the thirty-two districts of the province, comprising 5.51 percent of the entire population and 3.61 of the urban population of the British territory (Multan District Gazetteer, 1883-84, pp. 1-2). The population of the cantonments varied naturally from time to time according to the number of troops stationed in them, as shown in the following table as in the case of Multan (Multan district Gazetteer, 1901-02, p. 73).

**Table 5. 5- Population of the Multan Cantonment, 1881-1901**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Persons</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>
1881	11,203	7,900	3,303
1891	10,297	7,358	2,939
1901	12,767	8,801	3,966

Source: Multan District Gazetteer, 1901-02, p. 73

Beside this, there was an English club a Masonic Lodge in the Multan Cantonment. A clock tower, combined with a municipal hall and police station was built at the Lohari gate of the city (Multan District Gazetteer, 1883-84, pp. 154-55). It was the most south-western of the four districts of the Multan division that time and the Multan was the only one town with more than 10,000 populations. Its population in the early 1920s was 68,674 (Multan District Gazetteer, 1923-24, p. 1).

The military depot of Solan was situated on a small spur at the foot of which the Grand Trunk Road passed, and the military depot of Jatogh was a little less than four miles from Shimla (Shimla District Gazetteer, 1888-89, pp. 81-82). Dagshai was 11 miles from Kasauli, and it contained accommodation for a European infantry regiment and quarters for a small convalescent depot (Shimla District Gazetteer, 1888-89, pp. 81-82). The British recognized Shimla and Delhi as hot and cold seasonal headquarters for the British officers and troops respectively (Shimla District Gazetteer, 1888-89, pp. 81-82). In the Attock, there were two major cantonments- Attock and Campbellpur (Attock District Gazetteer, 1907, p. 255). Attock district, with 110 persons per square mile, area wise stood at the 23<sup>rd</sup> place of among the 31 districts of the Punjab in the early twentieth century, and more than half of the area of Multan was uncultivated even after more than half a century of colonial rule (Attock District Gazetteer, 1907, p. 245).

The establishment of cantonment in general increased the population of Shimla, though it fluctuated according to seasons. Once Shimla was seen as the summer capital a huge number of Europeans were attracted towards this district, which brought a general increase in the population, though there were variations according to the seasons (Table 3.7).

**Table 5. 6- Population Growth of Shimla District, 1868-81**

Sr. No.	Year	Population
1	1868	7,077
2	1869	14,848
3	1878	17,440
4	1881	13,258

Source: Shimla District Gazetteer, 1888-89, p. 138

It is mentioned in the Dera Ismail Khan District Gazetteer (1883-84, pp. 201-203) that Dera Ismail Khan District was the central one of the three districts of the Dera Jat division during the colonial era, and it was divided into five tehsils. This district contained only one town of more than 10,000 populations, namely Dera Ghazi Khan with a population of 22,164 in 1881. This district assumed greater importance because Dera Ismail Khan stood first in order of area and twenty-second in order of population among the 31 districts of the province, comprising 8.72 per cent of the total area, and 1.96 in the urban population of the British territory in the early 1880s. The Dera Ismail Khan cantonment was situated between the town and the river Indus and the small fort of Akalgarh situated half-a-mile from the northwest angle of the city. The Fort was originally built by Nao Nihal Singh in 1836 and has been strengthened by the English government and subsequently had an extensive military accumulation of the weapon from which all the stations of the Derajat draw their military stores. It was formerly garrisoned by a company of British infantry, but this had been withdrawn later. It is said that supplier for two months for the garrison of Dera was always maintained in the fort (Dera Ismail Khan District Gazetteer, 1883-84, pp. 201-203). During the census of 1868 and 1875, the population of this cantonment was 5,371 and 3,176 respectively, and the population of the town was 19,536 and 18,988 for the respective years (Dera Ismail Khan District Gazetteer, 1883-84, p. 202). With the coming of Europeans, Dera Ismail Khan was converted into an agricultural area and with the development of rail and roads became the major trade center. There were also a lot of fruit and flower gardens surrounding the town (Dera Ismail Khan District Gazetteer, 1883-84, pp. 3-4).

In March 1849, the area of Kangra was annexed by the British after the Second Anglo-Sikh War, and soon after a cantonment for the troops stationed at

Kangra was established and later new cantonment was erected at Dharamsala (Kangra District Gazetteer, 1924-25, pp. 465-466). During the colonial rule, the town of Kangra was a hill station where the British spent the hot summers. As the British flocked overtime in the town, Kangra became overcrowded, and then a new cantonment was established in the same year at Dharamsala and in 1852 Dharamsala became the administrative capital of Kangra district. With the coming of European influx to these places, by 1855 two twin towns McLeod Ganj and Forsyth Ganj continued to grow steadily. In 1860, the 66<sup>th</sup> Gurkha Light Infantry, later renamed the historic 1st Gurkha Rifles, was moved to Dharamsala.<sup>61</sup>

It is also interesting to note that the vast number of these cantonments were either established or strengthened to their limits particularly around the 1857 mutiny (Yadav, 2012, pp. 41-42). The Russian scare and the much doubted Russian Imperial plans to expand itself to Central Asia and Afghanistan further reinforced the British move of making/strengthening cantonments in the province (Krishna, 2007, p. 7).

### **5.3 Punjab—Becoming a Nursery of the Best Soldiers**

The British Indian army was the mightiest pillar of the empire. It protected the state from internal dangers and external aggressions, and it helped to fulfill the global imperial objectives. The bulk of this British Indian army was made up of Indian regiments in which loin share of recruitment had taken from Punjab. Mazumder (2003) had investigated that the uprising of 1857 revolt, frequently changed the recruitment grounds of the British Indian army. He also argued that Punjab's military significance resulted in a uniquely interdependent relationship between the colonial Punjab and dominant elements within Punjab. Further, two-fifths of the Indian army comprised Punjabi peasant's recruits. The pay and pensions of these soldiers enabled the recruited classes to live better than their non-recruited counterparts. Moreover, Punjab was favoured with other benefits like the creation of a vast transport and communication network to protect the North-West Frontier grew into the infrastructure on which Punjab's massive agricultural took place.

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<sup>61</sup> McLeod Ganj

Available at: <http://lit-dharamsala.org/mcleod-ganj/> (Accessed on 10 May 2016).

### **5.3.1 Phobia of Great Game & 1857 Mutiny: Punjabis turned into Guardians of the Raj**

During the British rule, Punjab became the part of the great game, and threats of Russian expansion through Central Asia were alarming to the British.<sup>62</sup> In the context of such an impending invasion from the expanding Russian empire, in order to save and secure the empire, the British fabricated strong military infrastructure in the Punjab during the 19<sup>th</sup> century to annex and guard its Afghan border in order to foil Russia's eastward expansion through Central Asia. As Ian Talbot has pointed out, it is unlikely that the region would have assumed importance as a Centre of colonial military recruitment if it had not been near the Indian army's main theater of war in Afghanistan (Talbot, 1988). Subsequently, the geo-strategic location and the fear of Russian attack had been made Punjab one of the most militarized province of British India, a garrison state, to the extent of becoming headquarters of the British Indian Army and its most important and fertile recruitment ground admitted by a chain of scholars Talbot (2007), Yong (2005) and Chuadhary & Dasti (2014).

It was the 1857 revolt that shifted the recruitment ground of the British Indian Army from Bengal to Punjab and North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of the subcontinent. In their studies, David (2003) and Unsinger (2004) pointed that the era also heralded the colonial theory of divide and rule on the basis of the so-called 'Martial Races.'

The British Army's senior officers had been believed that certain classes and communities in India were warrior races – "Martial Races."<sup>63</sup> Such classes and communities were believed to be better and braver soldiers and more suitable for army service. As a result, by the first half of the twentieth century, the army was dominated by the soldiers from the North and North West of India. The Gurkhas from Nepal, the Punjabis, and the Pathans were classified as 'Martial Races' and preferred to enlist in the army which led to increasing the number of Punjabis in the British Indian army (Soherwordi, 2010).

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<sup>62</sup> The 'Great Game' refers to the strategic rivalry between the British Empire and the Russian Empire for supremacy over central Asia. The period is generally regarded as between 1813-1907 (Khawaja, 2012).

<sup>63</sup> The Eden commission reported in 1879 that the Punjab was the "Home of The Most Martial Races Of India" And that it was 'The Nursery' of the best soldiers (Soherwordi, 2010).

On the other side, British were also grateful to the Punjabis for their role in suppressing the rebellion of 1857, particularly the contributions of the Sikh soldiers and after 1857 revolt major part of the British Indian army recruitment drawn from these strategic areas and 'Martial Races' which were superlatively suited for the harsh campaigning conditions of the frontier itself (Khawaja, 2012). Besides this, the North was possessed another endowment—the hardy men, experienced in warfare, who had joined almost every invader, from 12<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century, who came to India through the North-West Frontier. They were able to survive comfortably in temperatures which froze soldiers from Bengal and Madras to death. They were seen as best suited to guard the frontier region and resist the Russian attack in case of an onslaught through the North West.

The growth and domination of Punjab in the British Army started with the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh<sup>64</sup> in 1839. The British fought two wars with the Sikhs which further highlighted the bold determination and braveness in the eyes of British. After the Anglo-Sikh War in 1849, the British annexed Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province (Heath, 2005). The Sikhs had also allied with the British in the First Anglo-Afghan War (1838-1842). And another side, discontent sparked among the Bihar, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and part of Madhya Pradesh people and soldiers. At the same time, the valour of Punjabi recognized by the British during the First Anglo-Afghan War and rewarded after the 1857 mutiny. Physically stronger and loyalty spiked the importance of Punjabi's in the eyes of British. When the second Anglo-Afghan War broke out, Punjab obsessed as a Great Game (Verma, 2008).

The period from 1890 to 1914 is often referred to as 'the Punjabization of the Indian Army.' A noble work entitled 'Migration, Mobility and Multiple Affiliations' had been conducted by Rajan, Varghese, and Nanda (2016 Eds.), in which they mentioned that the British had divided Indian ethnic groups into two categories: Martial and Non-Martial. The following were identified as martial (military) races: Jats, Awans, Gujjars, Balochs, Gurkhas, Sikhs, Pashtuns/ Pathans and Rajput. This period saw extensive recruitment into the Indian army from the 'Martial Races' and led to accusations about 'divide and rule.' During the World War I,

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<sup>64</sup> Maharaja Ranjit Singh also called "Sher-a-Punjab" (Lion of the Punjab) (1780-1839) was a Sikh ruler of the sovereign country of the Punjab and the Sikh empire (Heath, 2005).



Punjabi martial races formed approximately 54 percent of the entire British Indian Army. The Sikhs were a minority community in India, but they featured prominently within the army and were overrepresented when compared with numbers of Muslim and Hindu soldiers from the Punjab. However, thousands of Punjabis died in the World War I. but they never comprising with their bravery. Thus, Punjabis enlisted very enthusiastically in the British Indian Army and shed their blood to keep safe the British Empire. Here is a best an example of their fighting spirit and loyalty towards their colonial masters:

My old brother fought in the World War I, and he got a pension. Many Punjabis enrolled in the British Indian army. We were the right hand of the British. With all the fighting in Punjab (the Anglo-Sikh wars in the mid-1800s) the British saw that we were very feisty. It was our tradition to join the army, and it is now in the blood.<sup>65</sup>

Not during World War I, the story of Braveness and boldness reiterated during the World War II (1939-45) as well. In this, approximately 2 million Indian soldiers supported the British call to arms, and out of the total, near about 40 percent were Punjabis. Due to this, it had become the largest all-volunteer force in the world history. During the World War II, Indian soldiers fought bravely and around 35,559 Indian soldiers had lost their lives.

In this background, we have carried out that role of Punjab in the British Indian Army had remained very pivotal and exceptional. After 1857 mutiny, Punjab had become the savior of the Raj. British recruitment policies had also made it one of the fertile ground for the British Indian Army. Moreover, here study is going to bring out the exit contribution or place of Punjab in the building of British Indian Army. In the following pages, comparative analysis of Punjab recruitment will be made with other major areas of recruitment in general and during World War I & II particularly. Through this, the projected objectives of the study will be achieved and justified.

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<sup>65</sup> The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part Two)  
Available At: [http://www.rgs.org/NR/rdonlyres/8BABBC10-EEA4-470C-A583-B06694174129\\_/0/The\\_Punjab\\_Mov\\_ingJourneysPart2.pdf](http://www.rgs.org/NR/rdonlyres/8BABBC10-EEA4-470C-A583-B06694174129_/0/The_Punjab_Mov_ingJourneysPart2.pdf) (Accessed on 16 December 2016).

#### **5.4 Comparative Analysis of Military Contribution: Punjab versus other Provinces of British India**

Storm & Tuma (2015, p. 121) pointed out that, the British army was heavily relied on its colonies for building its armed forces. In this allusion, local provinces and certain regions had enlisted in a large number of the British Indian army. As it is frequently pointed out that British came to India as a trader in 1600 AD, but consequently it didn't take much time to convert into political power. For securing and expanding their commercial cum political motives, the military was the foremost institutions to fulfill their dreams. Thus, British had started to build up its armed forces. Primarily, it was focused on Bengal, Madras, and Bombay but slowly but steadily the grounds of British Indian army shifted towards some other Northwestern Provinces.

In shifting the grounds of military recruitment, the mutiny of 1857 played a very fundamental role as described upper very broadly. Yong (2005, p. 46) argued that in this circumstantial, Punjab and areas of Northern Western Frontier Provinces had a special position in the defence policies of British India. One of the most distinctive features of Punjab's colonial experience was its close and sustained relationship with the military. In the aftermath of the 1857 mutiny, they established military labour market in North-Central India the mainstay of the Bengal Army, gradually gave way to an alternative, but equally established, the military labour market in North-Western India, and centered on the old Sikh empire in the Punjab. By the 1880s, with the 'Great Game' in vogue and the 'Martial Races' doctrine dominating recruiting policies, the Punjab province became the principal recruitment ground of the British Indian Army. Here, it is very pivotal to find out the emerging genesis in the defense strategy in the British recruitment policy and how the Punjab lags behind the other provinces of the British India in military recruitment during the colonial rule. With the help of Punjab, British built up a mammoth empire in the British India as well as out of the country. So, in the following, we have adopted a very novel approach to compare the recruitment area of the British India to find out the exit importance of Punjab's military. Later, we will define the difference between recruitment pattern and scale of proportions between Punjab & India in the British Indian army. Thus, through this approach, we will bring out the substantial results. Through this, the study will bring out the

probable exact scale of Punjab's contribution in the British Indian army, and it will also make easy to find out the contribution of Punjab in the World Wars, which we will map in the next chapter.

#### **5.4.1 Punjab: Becoming Garrison State and Hub of British Indian Army**

Roy (2009) mentioned that the colonial army was one of the largest employers in India, and therefore it is very important to see where it was recruited. The origins of this massive army were surprisingly modest. It began in the 17<sup>th</sup> century as the East India Company's irregular force guarding a cluster of four or five factories with a few hundred men. But with the passage of time by 1856, grew to a body that had 2, 14,985 native troops and 39,375 Europeans. Later, it constituted as an army of three different and distinct Presidencies. Each presidency had its own commander-in-chief, too, with the commander-in-chief of the Bengal army becoming recognized as the commander-in-chief of India. Below table shows how the three armies were constituted just before the 1857 Mutiny. By 1857, the Bengal army consisted of 1, 37,000 regulars including a cavalry of 20,000, and had become the largest of the three forces, with men stationed all across India and up to the North-West Frontier.

These three presidency armies had recruited from their own recruiting areas. In this, Bengal drew its recruits mainly from high-caste Rajput's and Brahmans from the Purabiya region of Avadh and Bihar. Unlike the Bengal regiments, the Madras army was mostly recruited locally and did not prefer high-caste men. A similar situation existed in the Bombay army, which even included Eurasians and Jews. Thus, the high-caste regionally confined recruiting a base of the Bengal army was in sharp contrast to more localized, caste-neutral armies of the other two presidencies. In fact, low-caste men had by regulation been prohibited from enlisting in the Bengal army in 1855 (Majumdar, 2003). The constitutions of the three presidencies army given below.

**Table 5. 7- The Army of the Presidencies, 1857**

<b>Army</b>	<b>Cavalry Regiments</b>	<b>Infantry Regiments</b>
Bengal	41	118
Madras	13	61
Bombay	8	32
Total Native Army	62	211

Source: Majumdar, 2003

With the British Government taking over the reins of the East India Company, the structure of all the three armies was entirely changed. In August 1858, the British Government introduced a major shift in their organizational setups. For such drastic changes, the Peel Commission (1859) and the Eden Commission (1879) played a major role. The commission reports had stressed the need to maintain a disciplined, professional and loyal army. The strength of the British troops was raised to 80,000, of which 50,000 were for Bengal, 15,000 for Madras and 15,000 for Bombay. They were also given total control over artillery and some other branches of the Army. All such developments were the after-effects of the Mutiny War of 1857. The homogenous nature of the Bengal army was one of the factors that contributed to the outbreak of the mutiny of 1857. Further, to avoid unity amongst native soldiers, the Peel Commission report had recommended that “the Native Army” should be composed of different nationalities and castes, and as a general rule, mixed promiscuously through each regiment. In the year of 1895, the Eden commission recommended that the all the three armies should be amalgamated to create the Indian Army, headed by a Commander in Chief (C-in-C). Under the C-in-C, there were four commands such as the Madras Command, the Bombay Command, the Bengal Command and the Punjab Command, each headed by a Lt. General. The former Bengal Army was split into Bengal and Punjab Commands. The title of the Indian Army began to be used officially from 1 January 1903.

Given the uprising of 1857, British started to rethink about the recruitment places for the British Indian army. After long deliberation and discussion, the recruitment was shifted from Bengal to Northwestern provinces in general and Punjab in particular. In general, communities with richer war experiences like Punjab had been given pivotal place over the intellectual ability and literary status

of the Eastern provinces like Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. For example, praising the fighting skills of Jat Sikhs, Falcon (1892, p. 107) writes, “Hardy, brave and of intelligence too slow to understand when he is beaten, obedient to discipline, devotedly attached to his officers.”

In order to have an understanding of the comparative strength of the Punjab in the Indian Army, one to have to see through the Punjab’s share. Marston (2014) and Jarboe (2015) had demonstrated that in 1857, the Punjabis constituted about 44% of the Bengal Army and the Punjab Frontier Force, but only a quarter of the entire Armed forces. By June 1858, of the total 80,000 ‘native’ troops in the Bengal army, 75,000 were Punjabis. In 1893, the Punjab, which also included the NWFP until 1901 and Nepal, formed 44% of the entire Indian Armed Forces. This further increased to 57% in 1904. This is the point where one can see a sharp under-representation of other regions. The other castes and classes, as well as areas, were practically ignored in the new army recruitment policy adopted in the post-1857 period. So much so that in 1929, 62% of the whole Indian Army was Punjabi. Now the chemistry of conscription was such that, in Bengal, there were 7117 combatant recruits out of a total population of 45 million; whereas Punjab offered 349689 out of a total population of 20 million. One out of 28 males was mobilized in Punjab; this ratio was one to 150 in the rest of India.

**Table 5. 8- Four commands of the Indian Army and their areas of Recruitment in 1895**

<b>Command</b>	<b>Recruitment Area</b>
Punjab	Punjab, NWFP
Bengal	Assam, Bengal, the United Provinces, parts of Central Provinces and Central India
Madras	Madras Presidency, the Garrisons in Hyderabad and Mysore and Burma
Bombay	Bombay Presidency including Sindh, Aden, Baluchistan, Rajputana, and Parts of Central India and the Central Province

Source: Marston, 2014

The perceived Russian threat to India was one of the major reasons for indigenous recruitment from the Punjab and NWFP. Keeping a very cautious country Afghanistan in view, Russia was the prime fear of the British Empire from the North West. The Russo-Afghan cordiality was not only threatening to India but

also to the entire empire. Due to the extreme importance of the region, the Simon Commission of 1930 observed: 'The North West frontier is not only the frontier of India; it is an international frontier of the first importance from the military point of view for the whole empire.' Therefore, the Russians were kept at bay by the British by their defensive arrangements on the border and by maintaining Afghanistan as a buffer zone.

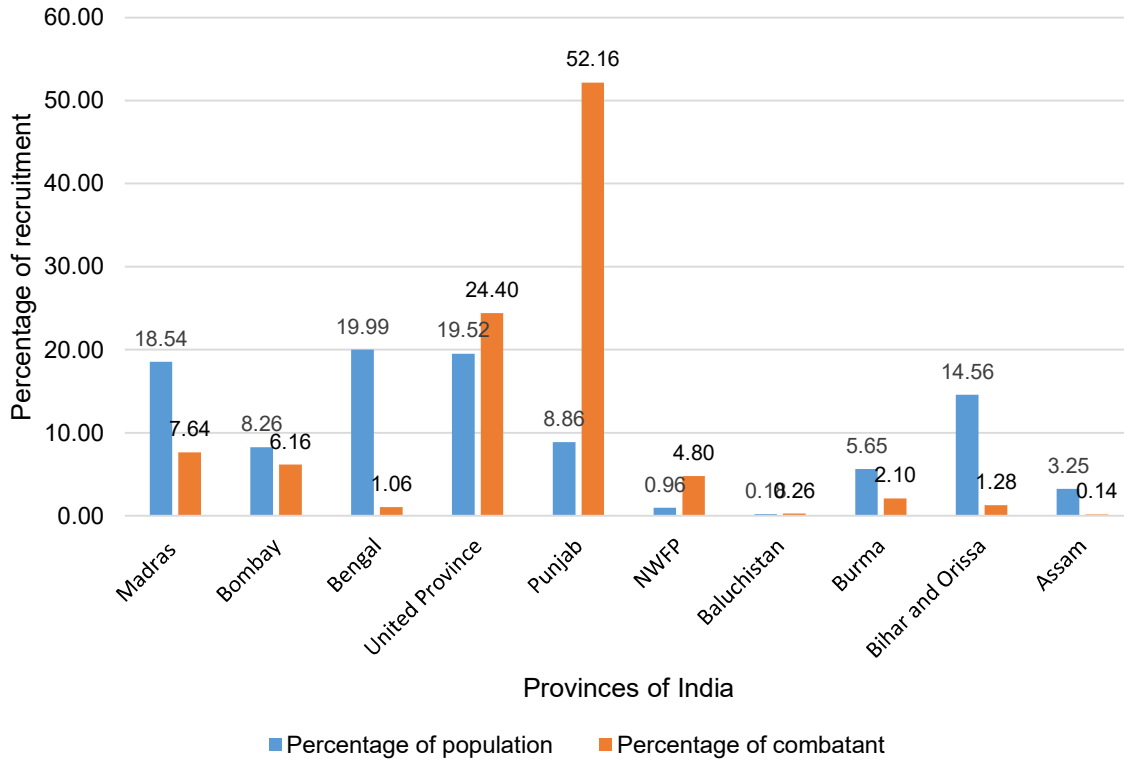
When England declared war on Germany, India involved in the war. Referring to India's supply of manpower, L.F. Rushbrook Williams, in his report to Parliament wrote,

The efforts made by India in the war of manpower have greatly surpassed all expectations. At the outbreak of the war, there were some 80,000 British officers and men in India and some 2, 30,000 Indian ranks, combatants, and non-combatants. During the war, the Government of India recruited on a voluntary basis over 8, 00,000 combatants and more than 4, 00,000 non-combatants giving a grand total of 1.3 million men. Prior to the war, the normal recruitment of the combatants for the Indian army was 15,000 men a year. In the year ending May 1917, the figure had risen to 1, 21,000 and in the year ending May 1918 to over 3, 00,000.

Source: Pati, 1996

From another statistics of Das (2011, p. 70) and Kaur (2012), renowned scholars of Punjab colonial studies stated that at the outbreak of the World War I, there were 100,000 Punjabis serving in the army, of whom 87,000 were combatants. Out of these, 380,000 were enlisted during the war, of whom 231,000 were combatants. This made a total of 480,000 who served from the Punjab. According to another estimate, the Punjab supplied 54% of the total combatant troops in the Indian army during the World War I and, if the 19,000 Gurkhas recruited from Nepal was excluded; the Punjab contingent amounted to 62% of the whole Indian Army. In the war recruitments, Punjab took the lead, "At the beginning of the war," said Michael O'Dwyer, "the Punjab had about one hundred thousand men of all ranks in the army. At the close of the year, no less than a half million had served with the colours. The number of fighting men raised during the four years of War was roughly three hundred and sixty thousand, more than half the total number raised in India (Ellinwood, 1978).

**Figure 5. 1- Recruitment in the British India Army: WW I**



Source: Soherwordi, 2010

Upper table making clear about the over-representation of Punjab in the British Indian Army during the World War I. on another side, British official Reports and Gazetteers also well acknowledged the significant role of Punjab. Thus, Punjabis kept a brilliant record in the history of the World War I. In this regard the Duke of Cannought (1 May 1850 - 16 January 1942) had rightly observed,

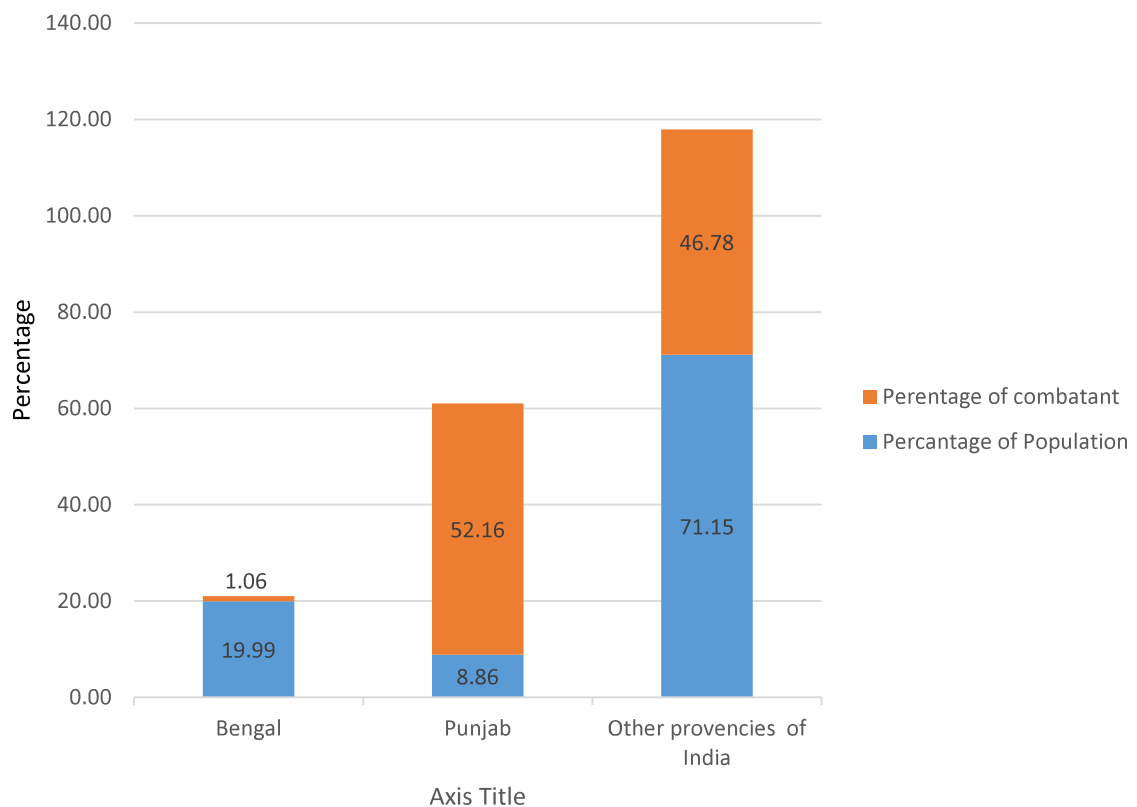
The achievement of Punjab was remarkable. Even before the War, the Punjab had a name familiar in the military annals of the Empire. During the War, the name became a household word, and not only on account of the number of men who joined the colours but also on account of the splendid fighting qualities displayed.

James Willcocks was the Commander of the Indian Corps during the World War I. In his study, Kalsi (1992) had pointed out that James praised the brilliant records of Punjabis shown during the war times. Particularly, he had written vividly

about the braveness and enthusiasm of the Sikhs. Somewhere, James Willcocks had inserted that “The Sikhs were the best among all the Indian soldiers, and they formed the backbone of the British Military prestige in the East.”

In his study, Sharma (1990, p. 34) widely acknowledged that with the opening of World War I (1914-18), recruitment number of the certain region was sharply contrasted between the other regions of Indian subcontinent. We can figure an example here, Bengal with a population of 45 million, provided 7,000 combatant recruits, the Punjab, with a population of 20 million, provided 349,688 such recruits. NWFP, with a population of 2.25 million, contributed 32,181 combatant recruits. For more understanding, the comparison between Punjab and Bengal recruitment has been shown in figure given below.

**Figure 5. 2- Comparison of Punjab and Bengal Recruitment: WW I**



Source: Sharma, 1990, p. 34

We have inserted a table of combatant, and noncombatant’s recruitment from the various regions is towards the World War I. Table clearly indicated the over-representation of Punjab region in the British Indian army. (Appendices-A)



Immediately after the World War I, the two major developments took place in the British Indian Army. The first was a massive reduction in numbers and the second was the acceptance of Indians in the officer's rank in line with long outstanding Indian demand to admit Indians as officers. Reduction in the army meant reversion to the pre-war recruitment policies. In his work, Cohen (1969) pointed out that by 1923 the number of soldiers in the British Indian army had been reduced from 500,000 in 1918 to 120,000 in 1923 as per the 1922 reorganization the number of cavalry regiments was reduced from 39 to 22 by amalgamating two regiments except the guides and the 7<sup>th</sup> Light Cavalry, the infantry units were also reduced and the old 131 separate regiments of 1913 were reorganized into nineteen infantry regiments of the line (each of five active battalions, one training regiments for recruits/reservists and one territorial battalion), four regiments of pioneers (which were later disbanded in 1931), and ten regiments (each of two battalions) of Gurkha Rifles. Thus, by 1929 the Punjabisation of the British Indian Army again hurled. The following table illustrates the 1930 situation of the grounds of the British Indian army.

Thus, Punjab remained the leading province in the British Indian army and lagged behind the other provinces of the Indian subcontinent. For better understanding, the study has added with supplementary map, showing recruitment statistics of the various regions in the British Indian army (Appendix-B)

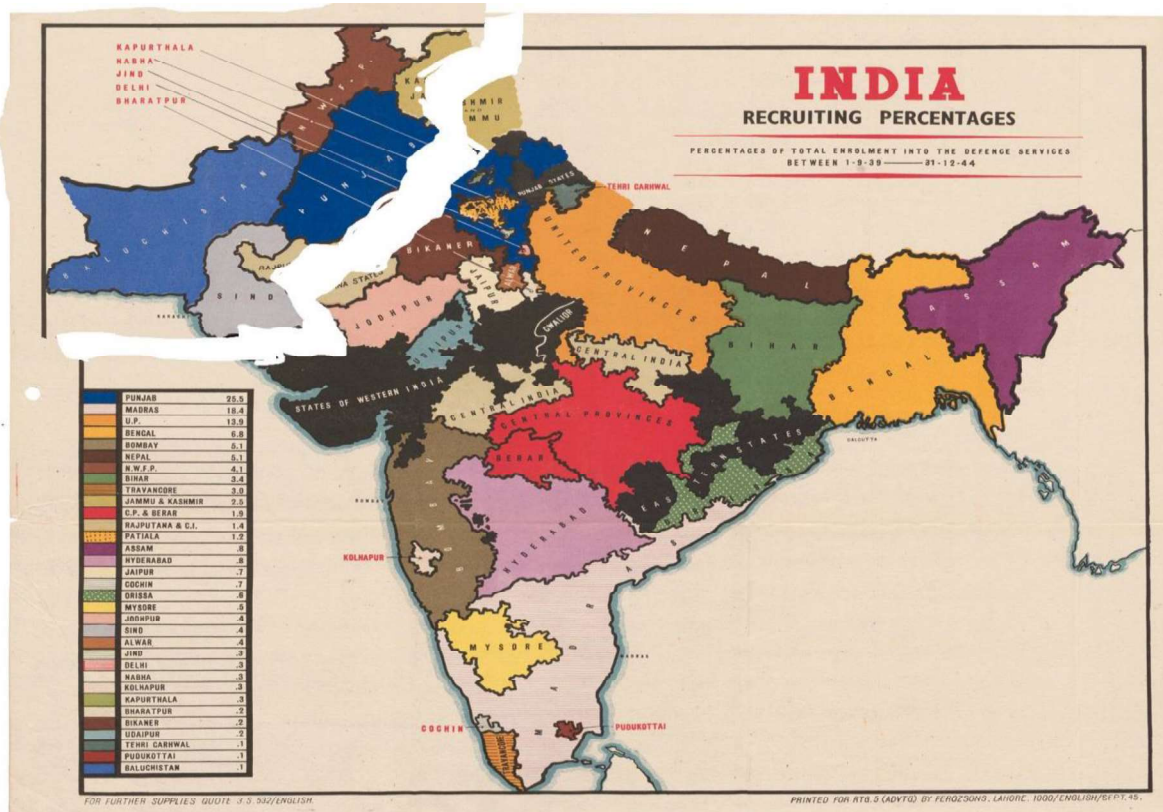
**Table 5. 9- Areas of Recruitment in the British Indian Army: 1929**

<b>Number</b>	<b>Area</b>	<b>Recruits</b>
1.	<b>Punjab</b>	<b>86,000</b>
2.	Nepal	19,000
3.	United Provinces	16,000
4.	Bombay	7,000
5.	Rajputana	7,000
6.	Kashmir	6,500
7.	North West Frontier Province (NWFP)	5,600
8.	Madras	4,000
9.	Burma	3,000
10.	Hyderabad	700
11.	Bihar and Orissa	300
12.	Baluchistan	300
13.	Central India	200
14.	Central Provinces	100
15.	Mysore	100
16.	Assam	Nil
17.	Bengal	Nil
18.	Miscellaneous	1,900
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>158,200</b>

Source: Majumdar, 2003

Not only in 1857 mutiny and World War I, moreover Punjab had played a more significant role during the World War II. Yong (2002) and Qureshi (2013) demonstrated that throughout the colonial period the Punjab had remained closely associated with the British Indian army. Thus, Punjab had remained the army's main recruitment ground for more than half a century (from about 1880 to 1947). From 1939 to 1945, Punjab was mobilized once again to support Britain in a major world conflagration. In his study, Qureshi (2013) By the end of the World War II, Punjabi Muslim soldiers numbered over 380,000 – more than a quarter of the Indian Army and 160,000 Sikhs also joined the World War II.

**Map 5. 2- Various Provinces Recruitment in the British Indian Army: 1939-1945**



Source: <https://www.arrse.co.uk/community/threads/soldiers-of-the-british-empire-pakistan.249112/pag-e-12>

It is well-known that Qureshi (2013, p. 406) conducted a significant work entitled 'Diasporic citizenship and militarization: Punjabi soldiers in the world wars', in which he had mentioned that military historian Paul Corrigan had mentioned that 'the Sikhs had always been soldiers, but they had to be soldiers because to survive, they had to fight.' The role of the British in producing this militarism is explained as the British harnessing the Sikh army's power to strengthen its hold over India. Now, it is well testified that Punjab was the major recruitment ground under the colonial rule. Upper figured tables made clear, Punjab given its 'Martial Race,' good physique, sincerity, loyalty, and a soldier like qualities, made its pivotal place in the Indian recruitment policies over the other provinces. On the other hand, it is very essential to relocate the mobilization of other provinces in the British Indian army, because finally, it will enable us to bring out a comparative analysis of recruitment pattern.

#### **5.4.2 British Indian Army: Contribution of Other Provinces**

The British Indian Army was the strong arms of the British Raj. Its main purpose was to quell internal disturbances and to counter external aggression in the Indian sub-continent. In their studies, Biddulph (1901) and Lunt (2017) revealed that Major Stringer Lawrence,<sup>66</sup> who was regarded as 'the father of the Indian Army,' organized the British Indian army that was divided into three presidencies: Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. It has already been pointed out that the three presidencies formed their own armies which later on constituted the Indian Army: the Bengal Army, the Madras Army, and the Bombay Army. At this time, British Indian army was mainly recruited from Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Out of these, Bengal was the foremost contributor to the British Indian army.

From the second half of the eighteenth century, the Bengal Army was recruited from the communities that had served the Muslim dynasty in the past. During this time, the recruitment was predominantly focused on high caste Hindus, particularly from Bihar, Oudh, and Agra. However, Gurkhas and Punjabis were also recruited, but the scale of mobilization was very minor. On the other hand, the Madras Army usually recruited Madras, Hyderabad, and the Central Provinces and later on Burma was also made part of recruitment. The Bombay Army's mainly recruited from Bombay, Sindh, Rajputana, and Aden provinces. Unlike the Bengal Army, the recruitment Madras and Bombay armies were supra-caste and supra-religion.

In August 1858, the British Government introduced a major shift in their organizational setups. As Rizvi (2000) had mentioned that for such drastic changes, the Peel Commission (1859) and the Eden Commission (1879) played a pivotal role. The Commission reports stressed the need to maintain a disciplined, professional and loyal, trained army. All three armies were retained, but the position of the C-in-C (Commander-in-Chief) was braced with more powers. The strength of the British troops was raised to 80,000; of which 50,000 were for Bengal, 15,000 for Madras, and 15,000 for Bombay. They were also given the total control over artillery and some other branches of the Army. Additionally, according to the Peel Commission, the native forces were not to bear a greater proportion to

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<sup>66</sup> In 1752, he became the first army officer to be appointed Commander-in-Chief (C-in-C) of all the East India Company's forces in India (Lunt, 2017).

the European, in Cavalry and Infantry, than two to one for Bengal, and three to one for Madras and Bombay respectively. All such developments were the after-effects of the Mutiny War of 1857.

The homogenous nature of the Bengal army was one of the factors that contributed to the outbreak of the Mutiny. Singh (1982) had revealed that it was in the year 1895 that all the three armies were amalgamated to create the Indian Army, headed by a C-in-C (Commander-in-Chief). Under the C-in-C (Commander-in-Chief), there were four commands: the Madras Command, the Bombay Command, the Bengal Command and the Punjab Command, each headed by a Lt. General. The former Bengal Army was split into Bengal and Punjab Commands. The title of Indian Army began to be used officially from 1 January 1903.

In the aftermath of mutiny, the recruitment shifted from Bengal to the North and North Western regions of India (Present-day Pakistan) at the expense of other regions. As a result, during the next first half of the twentieth century, the army was dominated by the soldiers from the North and North West of India like Gurkhas from Nepal, Punjabis, and Pathans were preferred. The number of Punjabis increased exponentially. The main 'Martial Races' of the west Punjab recruited were the Tiwanas, Noons, Gakkhars, Janguas, Awans, Baluchis, Khattars, Khokhars, and Sials (Barua, 2003).

The British Army's senior officers believed that certain classes and communities in India were warrior races - martial races. Such classes and communities were believed to prove better and braver soldiers and to be more suitable for army service. In their studies, Rizvi (2000) and Fair (2014) had pointed out that the Eden Commission (1879) reported that the Punjab was the 'Home of The Most Martial Races Of India' and that it was 'the nursery' of the best soldiers. Lt. Governor of Punjab Michael O'Dwyer (1913-19), had endorsed the praise and appreciation of the Punjabi soldier expressed by such authorities as Lords Roberts and Kitchener. The Punjab's population accounted for less than 10% of British India but contributed more than half of the entire Indian army. The British accommodated communities like Punjabis and Pakhtoons in the Army more than others. The Russian Empire expanded in Central Asia, and, by 1850, it was about

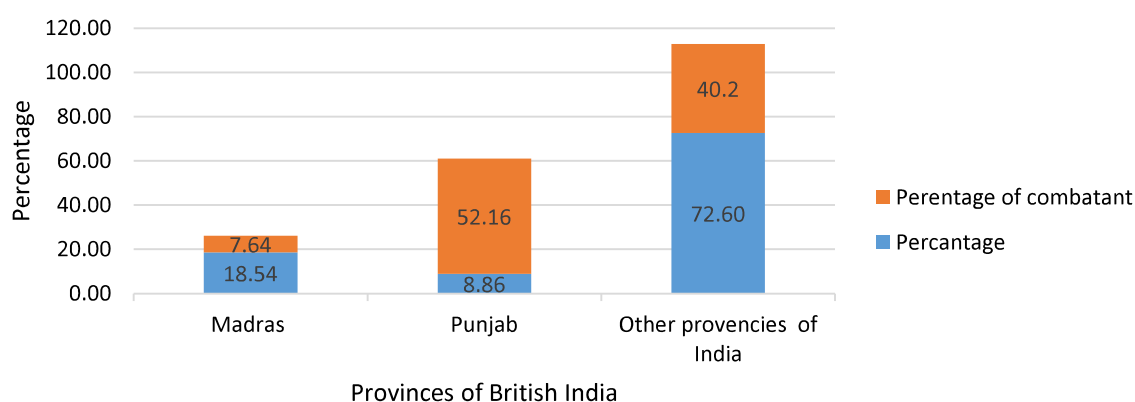
a thousand miles from the British Indian Empire. Afghanistan a buffer between the two empires. Keeping Russians out of Afghanistan, or extending British influence over it, became a principle of British foreign policy. According to Field Marshal Roberts, the presence of a 'European army near our frontiers' had 'completely changed' the position. Thus more focus was given to filling the deficiencies in the Indian Army by concentrating on recruitment from the areas closer to these borders, namely the Punjab.

During the late 1920s, Bombay and Madras furnished only 13000 troops, on average, the Central Province, Bihar, and Orissa provided 500 each, and Bengal and Assam offered none at all. In this background, Mukherjee (2017, p. 109) had stated that before 1857, the British Indian Army was called the Bengal Army. By 1929, the same Bengal region was contributing none in that army. It was the revenge of the British from the region called the Regional Recruitment Shift. Whatever the recruitment, NWFP, and the Punjab kept their numerical lead. In 1929, the 62% of the whole Indian Army was Punjabi. Now the chemistry of conscription was such that, in Bengal, there were 7117 combatant recruits out of a total population of 45 million; whereas Punjab offered 349689 out of a total population of 20 million. One out of 28 males was mobilized in Punjab; this ratio was one to 150 in the rest of India.

During the World War I, despite the emergency, the recruitment number was sharply contrasted between the regions. Bengal, with a population of 45 million, provided 7,000 combatant recruits; the Punjab with a population of 20 million, provided 349,000 such recruits. NWFP with a population of 2.25 million, contributed 32,181 combatant recruits (Pati, 1996). At the outbreak of the World War I, there were 100,000 Punjabis serving in the army, of whom 87,000 were combatants. 380,000 were enlisted during the war, of whom 231,000 were combatants. This made a total of 480,000 who served from the Punjab. According to another estimate, the Punjab supplied 54% of the total combatant troops in the Indian army during the World War I and, if the 19,000 Gurkhas recruited from the Independent State of Nepal was excluded; the Punjab contingent amounted to 62% of the whole Indian Army (Pati, 1996). For more understanding about Punjab and Bengal recruitment, a figure (5.2) may be seen inserted above.

After Bengal, Madras was the second largest Province and remained a major supplier of soldiers for the British Indian army before the 1857 mutiny. Same story of Bengal happened with Madras and also rejected for recruitment for the British Indian army. However, it was the second largest Province (as per population 43,300,000) of British India, but it also supplied only marginal soldiers (51,223 combatants and noncombatants 41,117) during the World War I. For more detailing, we are inserting a figure (5.3) below:

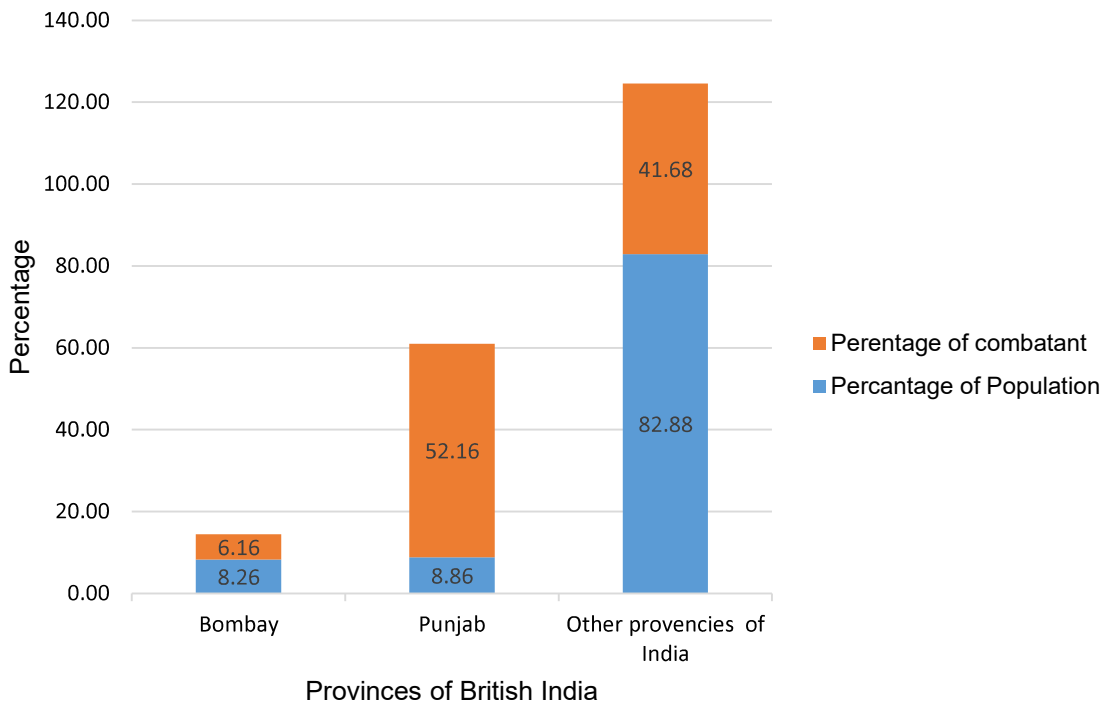
**Figure 5. 3- Comparison of Punjab & Madras Recruitment: World War I**



Source: Pati, 1996

Besides the Bengal and Madras, Bombay was another province of British India. Before the reconstruction of British Indian army, it was also the big player in the building of British Indian army. But immediately after the great uprising, the military importance of Bombay province also declined. During the World War I, Bombay had provided only (combatants 41,272 and noncombatants 30,211). Thus, it was very marginal proportion in the British Indian army. If we kept aside these three provinces (Bengal, Madras, and Bombay) of British India, other provinces also supplied very marginal ratio for the British Indian army. During the World War I, Ajmer Merwara (combatants 7,341 and noncombatants 1,632), United Province (combatants 163,578 and noncombatants 117,565) had supplied to the British Indian army. Some other provinces of British India like Baluchistan (combatants 1,761 and noncombatants 327) and Assam (combatants 942 and noncombatants 14,182) also provided to the British Indian army.

**Figure 5. 4- Comparison of Punjab & Bombay Recruitment: World War I**



Source: Qureshi, 2013

However, the other provinces of India also played an important role in the supply of manpower. The report on the Administration of Chelmsford said, “The efforts made by the Punjab though calling for special mention as the most striking example, is generally typical to find from the other provinces of India.” However, the role of Punjab was very substantial and heavily participated. On the other hand, other provinces of India also enlisted their soldiers, but their role remained very marginal during the war times. The number of recruits raised during the war by other states was as follows: Bombay- 5,000, Madras- 46,000, Bihar and Orissa- 8,000, Central Provinces- 5,000, Bengal- 6,000, Ajmer- 8,000, Assam- 1,000, Burma-13,000 and the Native States under the Government of India- 80,000 (Pati, 1996).

Immediately after the end of World War I, British Indian soldiers disbanded in large number. During the late 1920s, Bombay and Madras furnished only 13000 troops; on average, the Central Province, Bihar, and Orissa provided 500 each; and Bengal and Assam offered none at all. From this onwards, British had started to modernize the British Indian army. However, Indian soldiers in great proportions had disbanded, even then the Punjabi soldiers remained in great numerical (Yong,



2002). During the year of 1929, the Punjabisation of the British Indian army again hurred. As it is already pointed out that before 1857, the British Indian Army was called the Bengal Army, but in 1929, the same Bengal region was contributing none in British Indian army. It was the revenge of the British from the region called the Regional Recruitment Shift. Whatever the recruitment, NWFP and the Punjab kept their numerical lead (Pati, 1996).

In 1929, Punjab had supplied 86,000 soldiers in the British Indian army. Thus, after the World War I, Punjab remained the major recruitment ground and continuously played a very pivotal role in the construction of British Indian army. On another side, Bengal which was the major supplier of soldiers before the 1857 revolts, contributed none to the Indian army in 1929. Like Bengal, Bombay and Madras also remained very significant grounds for the British Indian army. But immediately after the great uprising of 1857, these areas of recruitment also pushed away by the British officials. During 1929, Bombay (7000) Madras (4000) supplied only very marginal proportions for the British Indian army.

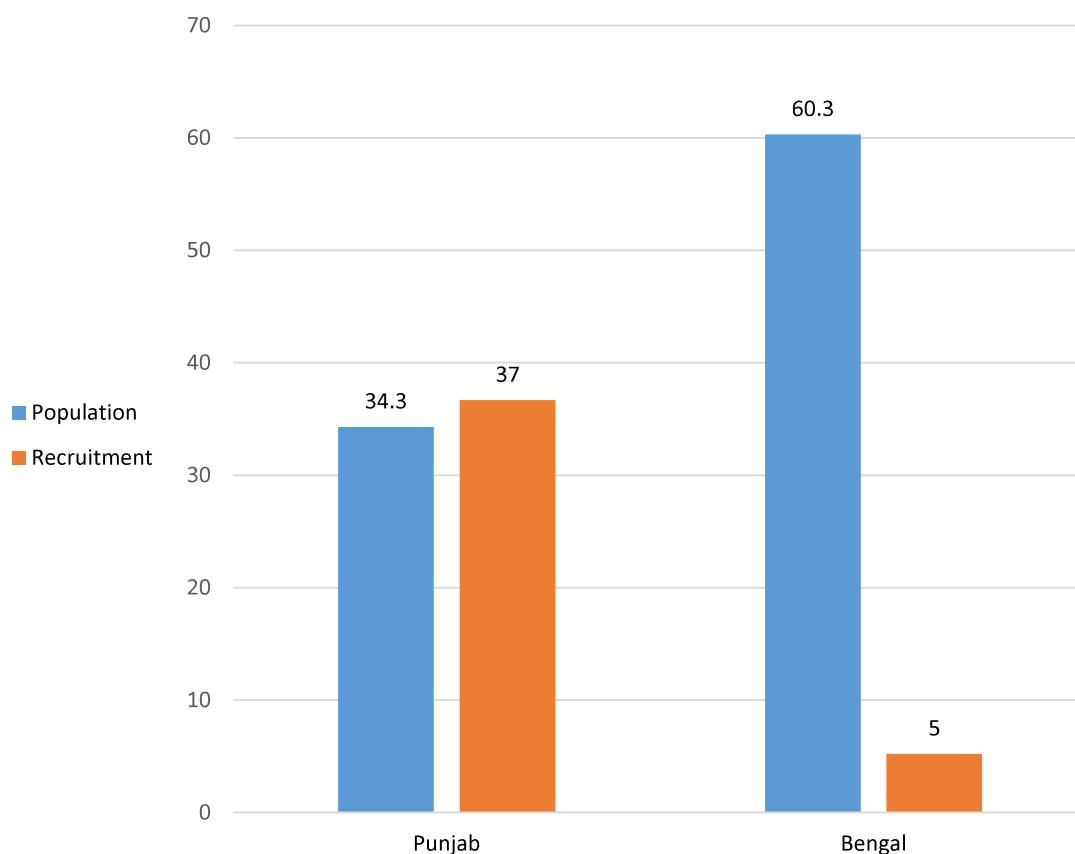
Besides the three presidencies of the British Indian recruitment (Bengal, Bombay, and Madras), some other areas of British territory had also provided manpower for the recruitment. In this, United Provinces of British India had some importance. During the period of 1929, United Provinces had mobilized 16000 soldiers in the British armed forces. In spite of this, Bombay (7000) Rajputana (7000) Kashmir (6500) had supplied to the imperial army (Soherwordi, 2010). Some other regions of the British India also contributed to the British Indian army at this time. In this, Hyderabad (700) Bihar and Orissa (300) Baluchistan (300) Central India (200) Central Provinces (100) Mysore (100) Assam (Nil) and Miscellaneous (1900) had also mobilized the men power but played a very insignificant role in the building of British Indian army.

With the opening of World War II, Punjab again played a very significant role. Scholars of Punjab history, Yong (2002) and Qureshi (2013) demonstrated that Punjab had remained the army's main recruitment ground for more than half a century (from about 1880 to 1947) and remained closely associated with the British Indian army. From 1939 to 1945, Punjab was mobilized once again to support Britain in a major world conflagration (Yong, 2002). By the end of the

World War II, Punjabi Muslim soldiers numbered over 380,000 – more than a quarter of the Indian Army and 160,000 Sikhs also joined the World War II. On the other side, Bengal (6.6%), Bombay (6.1%), Madras (22.0%) and Bihar (3.3%) had mobilized very marginal soldiers in the British Indian army during the World War II (Qureshi, 2013).

During the World War II, Punjab emerged as a chief supplier of soldiers for the British Indian Army. On the other hand, British official again ignored the traditional recruitment ground of the colonial masters. It remained well acknowledged throughout the history that Bengal was the first province of India where British kept its foundation in the subcontinent. However, historically, Bengal remained important for the British. Moreover, before 1857, it played a significant role in the building of British Indian Army. Ironically, during the World War II, it had supplied only 5.22 percent soldiers of the total British Indian Army (Figure 5.5).

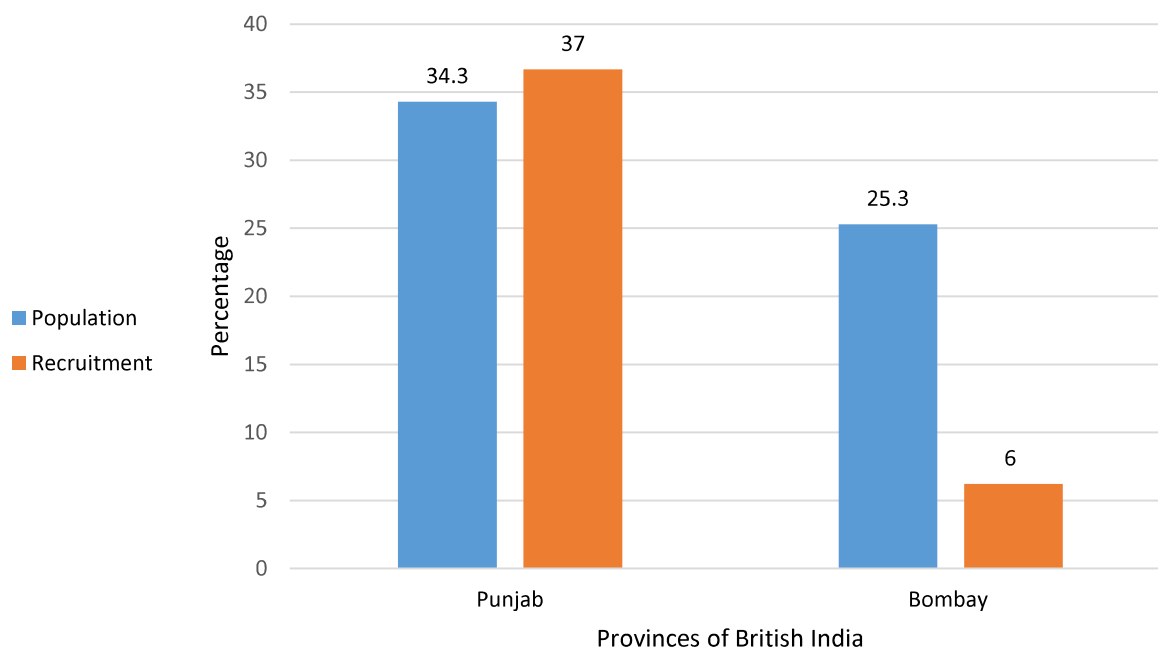
**Figure 5. 5- Comparison of Punjab & Bengal Recruitment: World War II**



Source: Qureshi, 2013

Not only Bengal had been neglected in the defence policies by the British government. Moreover, Madras and Bombay also pushed away from the recruitment. Both the areas were major areas for the British Indian Army. In this background, Bombay had contributed only 6.22 percent soldiers in the World War II. As earlier stated in details, Punjab supplied men power in substantial number to the war. For creating additional understanding, we are figuring a figure below for comparing the Punjab & Bombay areas of recruitment during the World War II.

**Figure 5. 6- Comparison of Punjab & Bombay Recruitment: World War II**



Source: Yong, 2002

Through upper detailed discussions, the study had carried out that the contribution of Punjab played very significant role in the building of British Indian Army. Particularly during the World War I & II, Punjab supplied men and material insubstantial amount. British officials also admitted through their reports that Punjab remained the savior of the raj.

### 5.5 Punjab’s place in the British Indian Army

Now, this is well established that Punjab’s place remained very significant in the construction of British Indian army. Yong (2002) and Qureshi (2013) frequently advocated that Punjab had remained the army's main recruitment ground for more

than half a century (from about 1880 to 1947) and remained closely associated with the British Indian army. At the outbreak of 1857, Punjab remained loyal towards the colonial masters and kept the British Empire safe and secure in the Indian subcontinent. At the same time, Bengal and Bombay had mutinied against British for pulling out foreign rule from India. After the passing of these events, British had compelled to rethink about their defence policies in which some areas/regions got a very peculiar place. In this backdrop, Punjab acquired extremely significant place. Moreover, geostrategic and geopolitical importance of Punjab was another important factor, which was working behind the whole story. Consequently, Punjab became the major recruitment ground for the British Indian army. During the World War I and World War II, Punjab was the major supplier of soldiers in the British Indian army. These Punjabi's soldiers had fought very bravely at the various theatres of war and shed their blood for saving the empire of their colonial masters. It was not only the major area of recruitment, moreover lagged behind the other provinces of India in the recruitment. Consequently, Punjab had got an extremely central place in the British Indian army.

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## Chapter

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## **6 Punjab Socio-Economic Development under British Rule: Mapping the World Wars' Legacy**

The World Wars had left indelible imprints throughout the length and breadth of the world. The present chapter is an attempt to explore the impacts of British rule on Punjab and particularly mapping the spillover impacts of World War I & II on the region. Dev (2009) had pointed out that Punjab got involved in the wars at a massive level and felt the impacts in full measure. Consequently, Punjab in particular and India in general could not remain unaffected from the World Wars impacts. Moreover, geostrategic location of Punjab had compelled the British to massively invest in Punjab.

As earlier pointed out that Punjab had become the part of 'Great Game' the so called Russian expansionist policy towards the India. Kept it in mind, British had installed the strongest military infrastructure in the Punjab. For protecting its imperialistic designs and restraining the Russian expansion, a chain of cantonments had been built up. Moreover, canals, rail-road links, hospital and other infrastructure had excellently fabricated. On the other side, it is well established that Punjab had remained the imperial war front for the colonial masters during the World War I & II. Due to such a large scale mobilization, Punjab had got remarkable results - positive and negative. On the one hand, the world War had brought drastic changes in the geography and socio-economic life of the region. On the other side, a lot many drastic impacts on its geography, economy, society and its existing system. However colonial rule had started the process of modernizing and urbanization the various aspects of Punjab and having an enormous impact on the socio-economic and cultural lives of Punjab. Along with this, Punjab wore the heavy burden of World Wars as well.

### **6.1 Urbanisation and Demographic Change: Social & Economic Perspective**

According to Census of India (1971, p. 209) that urbanization refers to the population shift from rural to urban areas, "the gradual increase in the proportion of people living in urban areas", and the ways in which each society adapts to the change. In this backdrop, Punjab had enjoyed a significant phase of urbanization during the colonial period. Because, with the coming of British, multifaceted and

multi-layer transformations had come and changed its face. Grewal (2009) wrote a vibrant accounts about Punjab urbanization entitled 'Colonialism and Urbanization in India: the Punjab Region,' in which she had pointed out that the history of urbanization in modern Punjab is largely linked with the British rule.

Due to the European presence in the region, western taste had been spread in the region. Punjab District Gazetteers (1916) mentioned that the cantonments, transport, communication, educational and health facilities had also contributed plentifully to maximize the speed of urbanization in the colonial Punjab. More importantly, the European presence in Punjab had further kicked faster pace of modernization and changed people's outlook. Because it had exposed the western style of life and attitudes to the local people which brought enormous social and cultural changes in the society.

Chattha (2012, pp. 201-202) had pointed out that Lahore and Amritsar may be cited as examples here and both cities were important from the commercial and industrial point of view. Its population was 152,000 in 1881, which was larger than the capital and cultural city of Lahore (149,000). It is also admitted in Ambala District Gazetteers (1923-24, pp. 130-132) that the Existence of the Westerners and their styles of consumption led to a rapid growth in commodity trading and the opening up of new retail shops and grocery stores in the new urban environment, giving a new dimension to the urbanization process. European trading and shopping centers were opened near and within the every cantonment primarily to fulfill the needs of soldiers.

Amritsar District Gazetteer (1883-84, pp. 164-65) also revealed that with the opening of European stores, alcohol shops and general merchandise stores had opened in the cantonment areas also changed the taste of Punjabi's soldiers and trickled it down into the rest of society and brought a lot of variance in the food and taste. The Mall roads housed big bazaars, which lined with large European shops in the Amritsar, Rawalpindi, Ambala, and Lahore in huge number. By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the cantonments, civil lines and the areas of upper Mall road had been electrified at various cantonments.

After becoming special for the British, numerous building had been built up in the Punjab. Most importantly, influx of European led to the wide construction of cantonments for stationing its military. On the one hand, it had protected the British empire from the Russian policy of expansion towards India and the other

hand it had kept revive the imperialistic motives of colonial masters. Along with this, other supporting infrastructure had also developed which released significant amenities to the region. In such, cantonments, hospitals, schools, and recreational religious and cultural heritage had very significant place. British established numerous cantonments like Lahore, Rawalpindi, Ferozpur, Amritsar, Multan, Peshawar, and Ambala at the various strategic locations. Moreover, they had introduced western technology in health and education systems as well. Best example may be cited here, about the Mayo hospital (1871), which was established at Lahore during the British rule. It played very important role in facilitating the health awareness and to improve the health of the people. The Medical College, the veterinary school and a lunatic asylum were also opened at Lahore during the same time. Out of these, Lock hospitals were opened at various cantonments of the province especially in Amritsar, Lahore, Ferozpur and Rawalpindi. Fundamentally, lock hospital was specialized in treating transmitted diseases. Consequently, it improved significantly the health of region and reduced the death rate proportionately.

The new institutions in the cantonments and adjoining areas like missionary hospitals and educational institutions also opened up. Consequently, it had created a lot of new employment opportunities for the local population. These jobs had given a source of income and step for transformations in their lives to the local people. The presence of a large European population in the city had enhanced the local business too; for example, the consumption of potatoes grew considerably in the civil lines and cantonment areas at various places. In contrast, old occupations like pashmina shawl, leather-working, and paper-making suffered severely because the opening of new European markets badly affected these traditional occupation of the region, changing the urban character of such towns and cities.

With the opening of World War I, the people of Punjab got a chance to have more prosperity which led to their social mobility in the society. Because, with the building of rail-road and communication links, their journey had been started from one place to another. Out of this, Punjabi Muslim (Lohars and Tarkhans) and Sikh (Ramgarhias) artisans, had been benefitted a lot given their state of the art of the weapons making. The government of India conducted a survey (1917), under the titled 'All Classes of Labour' in Lahore, in which it had been projected that with the opening of World War I, the 'Skilled workers' benefitted more than three times the



wages from those which they were getting decades earlier. For example, the 'Mistri' classes were drawing 18 rupees monthly, while the average increase was over 23 percent in the period between 1912 and 1917, as the table below reveals.

**Table 6. 1- Urban wage increase in the city of Lahore, from 1912 to 1917**

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Class of Labourers</b>	<b>Percentage Increase</b>
<b>1</b>	Workers in Iron and Hardware	+25
<b>2</b>	Workers in Brass, Copper, Base Metal	+25
<b>3</b>	Carpenters	+13
<b>4</b>	Masons and Builders	+25
<b>5</b>	Unskilled Labourers	+29
<b>6</b>	Average	+23.4

Source: Chattha, 2012, p. 194

Along with this, the flow of European to the various cities of Punjab spread the taste of western culture in the region. In his study, Walker (2006) had pointed out that due to the presence of European, the demands of Westerners and their styles of consumption led to a rapid growth in commodity trading. Moreover, it had led to the opening up new retail shops and grocery stores in the new urban environment.

This is also well acknowledged that urbanization had speeded up more exponentially after the World War I. Because after closing the war, numerous soldiers from the British Indian Army had been disbanded. Further, these soldiers had moved into the cities because of its modern amenities and opportunities for education. As per the study of Richards, Hagen, and Haynes (1980), the war-time boom in trade stimulated the process of urbanization, as a large number of labouring classes had been drawn into the city in search of work. The population of Lahore was 176,854 in 1891, a tenth largest city in population size in India, and climbed to 281,781 by 1921- ranking it fifth-place.

Mittal (1977, pp. 99-100) claimed that World War I had also created a lot of economic problems for colonial India in general and for Punjab in particular. The whole transport system put to use for the war and neglected the trade and commerce. Due to the lack of transport, the trade was badly declined. The same author mentioned that British official had also admitted that the rise of prices and

increase of taxation are the major causes of discontentment among the masses. With the opening of the war, every commodity of daily uses had been hiked in prices. For example, in Rawalpindi wheat was sold at rupees four per maund. The following table shows the wholesale prices for a maund of wheat and salt at Lahore.

**Table 6. 2- World War I: Wheat Prices in Punjab**

	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915
<b>Wheat</b> <b>(In Rs. As. Ps.)</b>	2.15.5	3.3.0	3.10.0	4.13.6	4.7.0

Source: Mittal, 1977, p. 100

**Table 6. 3- World War I: Salt Prices in Punjab**

	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17
<b>Salt</b> <b>(In Rs. As. Ps.)</b>	1-6-5	1-6-1	1-6-4	1-11-3	2-6-9

Source: Mittal, 1977, p. 100

Thus, the prices of various commodities had reached at the peak at the end of World War I. In his study, Mittal (1977) noted that wheat, barley, jowar, bajra, gram, and maize were largely consumed by the poor people. In this backdrop, the prices of these commodities had also been risen enormously as indicated in the following table.

**Table 6. 4- Various Commodities Prices in Punjab: World War I**

Sr. No	Commodity	Retail Prices during the fortnight ending 1912 (for a Rupee)		Retail Prices during the fortnight ending 1919 (for a Rupee)	
1	Wheat	12 Seers	4 Chittacks	6 Seers	9 Chittacks
2	Barley	15	13	8	3
3	Jowar	15	12	4	3
4	Bajra	12	3	4	2
5	Gram	15	1	7	7
6	Maize	16	3	6	6

Source: Mittal, 1977, p. 101

## **6.2 Development of Infrastructure: Cantonment, Rail-Road & Communication Links**

After the occupation of 1849, British had invested handsomely on military infrastructures, connectivity, and communications. In his study, Kerr (2012) noted that strategic position of Punjab had obligated the government to undertake massive construction of large-scale military infrastructure in which a chain of cantonments, military stations, railroads, public building and communications links had been established.

Khawaja (2012) and Grewal (2005) had projected the cantonments as major instruments of socio-economic change in the Punjab under the British rule. Moreover, these cantonments played a vital role in sustaining and upholding the colonialism in India and maintaining its dominance over the sub-continent. In spite of this, these cantonments had played very significant role in transforming the life and geography of the respective locations/areas. On the other side, Yong (2005) and Qureshi (2013) also noted that these cantonments had connected with canals and roads for steady mobilization of the military and keeping the empire safer. Due to the construction of a chain of cantonments like Ferozpur (1838), Jullundur (1848), Jhang (1849), Lahore (1850), Sialkot (1852), Multan (1854), Amritsar (1856), Peshawar (1868), Rawalpindi (1883), kicked a lot of amenities in the region. On the other hand, Punjab had been called a province of cantonments.

The cantonments had generated employment, urbanization, connectivity, markets along with many other amenities in Punjab. The army was the most spending department of the British government in India. Here, the point is, the British Government spent over than 50 percent of the total military expenditure, directly on the soldiers as pay. It had well recorded by the scholars like Baqai (2010) and Talbot (2011), that military had played a very key role in development of Punjab, however, it was meant for the expansion of the empire.

In this background, British had given special attention towards its military in India. They spent a substantial amount of their budget on military expenditure. Mazumder (2003), did a significant piece of work entitled 'The Indian Army and the Making of Punjab,' in which he had argued that they had spent less in every other segment which it budgeted than its army. Further, he argued that net military expenditure as a percentage of total net expenditure was never below 43 percent of it between 1884-85 and 1912-13 and usually averaged 50 percent of it. In other

words, British India's military expenditure was equal to the sum of all its other expenditures. On the other side, British also spent more than 4 percent on the pensions of the ex-soldiers out of from the total military expenditure. Taking the two together, it is safe to say that at least half and usually 55 percent, of the total military expenditure was spent directly on military men.

**Table 6. 5- Total Expenditures V/S Military Expenditures: 1884-1912**

Year	Net Military Expenditure (£)	Net Total Expenditure (£)	Percentage
<b>1884-85</b>	12,207,681	23,407,591	52.2
<b>1889-90</b>	14,486,643	27,824,517	52.1
<b>1894-95</b>	15,263,147	32,949,446	46.3
<b>1899-1900</b>	15,485,147	30,715,625	50.4
<b>1904-05</b>	20,056,662	37,582,120	53.4
<b>1909-10</b>	19,056,330	41,891,152	45.5
<b>1912-13</b>	18,972,900	44,173,800	43.0
<b>1939</b>	46,000,000	-----	---
<b>1943</b>	59,300,000	-----	---
<b>1944</b>	77,300,000	-----	---
<b>1945</b>	86,900,000	-----	---
<b>1946</b>	7,69,000,000	-----	---

Source: Mazumder, 2009 & Sohal, 2013

It is well known that Punjab remained the backbone of British Indian Army. A substantial share of military expenditure had gone into the Punjab province. It may be assumed that out of total government expenditure, approximately 40 percent of its spent on military expenditure. Further, out of this, 20 percent had spent on the salaries of soldiers of the British Indian Army. So, it is important to correlate high expenditure of military with most recruited area of the time. In his study, Mazumder (2009) had demonstrated that Punjabi soldiers had received massive share of budget as salaries. Consequently, it had paid massive dividends given the transformations of economy and society.

Before the arrival of European, the Indian transportation network was poor. In his study, Kerr (2012) had claimed that Roads were few and poorly constructed with many being inaccessible in the monsoons. The cantonement and urbanization

had obligated the government to focus on roads and rail networks. In this background, British gave pivotal place to railways in developmental projects. General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories (1856, p. 50) had mentioned that after the 1860s, the British started to invest in strategic-cum-commercial railway and road communications. Montgomery District Gazetteer (1933, p. 290) pointed out that the two railway stations had been established in the Lahore division; one at Meean Meer East, on the railway line - Lahore to Delhi which were opened in 1862. On the other hand, Multan District Gazetteer (1883-84, p. 154) noted that Multan had been connected to Sindh, Punjab and Delhi in 1865. It was further extended to Kotri in 1878. Since Kotri was the busiest river port city which now had been well connected with the Karachi port. The new railway line established a connection with the seaboard, which augmented the commercial importance of the Multan and from the militarize point of view as it was connected with other military cantonments by sea routes. Later on, the other military stations were linked with the other strategic places of the North. The development of transport and communication links brought immense developmental transformation in Punjab. However, the Indian British Government has taken it as, "utterly waste and desolate for a long time after the annexation in 1849."

A scholars of Punjab studies, Bogart and Chaudhary (2012, pp. 9-10)<sup>67</sup> revealed that the opening of the North-Western Railway connected Ambala with Rajpura (which was 9 miles far away the Ambala district), Simbhu (6 miles), Ambala city (7 miles), Ambala cantonments (6 miles), Mustafabad (8 miles), Jagadhri (3 miles). From Rajpura, another railway line had joined to Patiala and Bathinda, where a junction was joined with the Delhi line. These railway links thus increased the importance of Ambala, by connecting it with other parts of the country. It also facilitated the linking up various cities and military stations at different places, which speeded up the mobility of the troops and arms and ammunition from one military cantonment to the other. Another line under the name of "East Indian railway" runs through the Ambala district joined Ambala with Chandigarh (which was 10 miles from Ambala cantonment) and Kalka (only 9

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<sup>67</sup> Bogart and Chaudhary (2012). Railways in Colonial India: An Economic Achievement?. Available at SSRN: [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2073256](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2073256) (Accessed on 6 March 2017).

miles far away from Ambala Cantonment), and mainly it was built for the military purposes. Further, Ambala District Gazetteer (1923-24, pp. 99-102) had revealed that this made easy for the mobilization of people and troops to the summer capital of Shimla. Moreover, British had developed communication and transport links between Ambala, Shimla, Multan, Lahore, and Delhi.

Besides, the labour works many other forms of the railway employment also came into being like clerical work, engineering, etc. Kerr (2012, pp. 12-15) pointed out that with the opening of employment opportunities, immigration had increased into such cantonment cities which further brought a lot of structural changes in their social composition. While Europeans were employed at the supervisory and highly skilled jobs, the ordinary workers were mobilized from the natives. The construction of railway lines and the network of railway workshops generated employment opportunities. The following table shows the case of Lahore workshops alone.

**Table 6. 6- Employment in the Railway Workshops of Lahore, 1870-1929**

Sr. No.	Approximate Date	Approximate Numbers Employed Daily
1.	1870	1000
2.	1880	2000
3.	1890	2500
4.	1906	4500
5.	1911	7000
6.	1916	10,000
7.	1925	10,600
8.	1929	12,200

Source: Kerr, 2012, p. 14

These developments had fetched fruitful results within the layer of its geography. Lahore District Gazetteer (1883-84, pp. 164-66) mentioned that various cantonments had been connected to each other for their imperial designs and for military connectivity. Moreover, it had also given significant impact on the Punjab economy and society from various perspectives. For example, Lahore had been remained capital of the Sikh Raj. Moreover, it had become the cultural capital of the British Empire.

Khawaja (2012) argued that Railway and Roads were primarily developed and operated to satisfy the administrative, commercial and military needs to serve

the colonial interests. But at the same time, it led to engineering, construction, and host of other jobs and the usual economic effects associated with the transport infrastructure of the region. The employment opportunities thrown up by the cantonments and railways made the population more mobile than another province of Indian-subcontinent. Moreover, the military service provided the peasantry an opportunity to see the ways of the Europeans life styles within the Punjab as well as while serving on war fronts in Europe. This had a positive social, economic and cultural impact on the soldiers and their families (Singh, 1982).

It is well-acknowledged that the British government was keen to exploit the railway's inherent potential to consolidate its grip over India. In his study, Verma (1998) had noted that during the time of Dalhousie, most of the railway links constructed were from the commercial and strategic point of view to facilitate the trade and troops' movement. But as pointed out already, this has greatly transformed the social and economic life of Punjab. The British also placed Sarai's (it was like a rest house special built on the roads for the traveler) for the comfortable mobilization of the people in the every district, which was placed on the various roads of the Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan, Amritsar, Ferozpur, Peshawar, Delhi, etc. and due to these Sarai's communications have vastly upgraded and from the commercial point of view, apart from helping the British in the exploitation of rich geography of the Punjab (Rawalpindi District Gazetteer, 1893-94, pp. 152-155).

### **6.3 Education: A Spring of Modernity**

The British rule witnessed "A New Spring" in the field of education in Punjab as numerous educational institutions were established in the province during colonial time, particularly in the cantonment areas. It is stated in the Lahore District Gazetteer (1883-84, pp. 116-118) that British opened six girl's schools in the Lahore district alone under the management of the Deputy Commissioner and out of these schools one was at the Bhatti gate of the Lahore city, four at Kasur and one at Patti. The Normal school, St. John's Divinity school, the schools of Lahore and Meean Meer cantonments, Anglo-Vernacular grant-in-aid middle school, which were all independent of the control of the Deputy Commissioner, also spread a new wave of education in the region. Moreover, Lahore district Gazetteer (1916, pp. 215-222) demonstrated that the most important contribution of the

British in the field of Education was the establishment of the University of the Punjab in Lahore (1882) and nine of its affiliated colleges were opened in the city itself. Among the well-known institutions that were affiliated to this university were the Government College, Oriental College, Training College and Law school. The other twelve colleges were scattered over the territories assigned to this university during this period. In his study, Chatta (2012, pp. 201-202) revealed that after increasing the presence of Punjabis in the British Indian Army, educational institutions had been established in substantial number in the region. For instance, in Lahore, there were 3,560 college students and 150 college teachers in Lahore district alone. Due to the larger extension in the educational opportunities, Lahore became the educational and cultural center in India, and consequently, a lot of cultural exchanges took place within the region.

The same process had happened in most of the other cantonment cities and towns during the era. Ambala District Gazetteer (1923-24, p. 130) demonstrated that immediately after the occupation of the Ambala district, the British had started to engage in the field of education, and they enabled opening of 10 high schools for boys in the Ambala city and two which were most prominent Banarsi Das High School and Hindu-Muhammadan High School were opened in 1892 at Ambala Cantonment. Multan District Gazetteer (1923-24, p. 262) had mentioned that with the establishment of Ambala cantonment in 1843, it became not only a place of colonial power but also a sought-after educational destination. During the British time, a number of education institutions were recognized in the Multan too, among which the Anglo-vernacular middle school located within the cantonment and the one at Shujabad started basically in response to the local demand for English instructions were prominent.

Kasauli in the Shimla district have a mountain slope and was seen as a very suitable site for educational institutions. Shimla District Gazetteer (1888-89, p. 87) had pointed out that Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B founded in 1847 a school, which came to be known as "Lawrence Military Asylum," for the benefit of the children of European soldiers. This institution was very near to the cantonments of Kasauli, Dagshai and Sabathu to "obtain protection from their garrison in time of need." The Lawrence Military Asylum has apparently held a high place in the list of secondary educational establishments in the country and spread a wave of



discipline among the Indian and European students. On the 28<sup>th</sup> March 1883, the school had 235 boys and 186 girls on its role.

It is revealed in the Montgomery District Gazetteer (1883-84, pp. 276-279) and Attock District Gazetteer (1907, pp. 45-46) that before the introduction of the British rule, Montgomery district was the more backward in the field of education and only 1.1 percent of people had attended the schools. The British acknowledge that the majority of the population in the district, 70 percent, were Musalmans and they were more reluctant to modern education, especially in respect of female education. But the British ensured considerable transformation in the field of education in the Montgomery district during their regime. The education report of 1929-30 showed a wonderful advance in the education of the Montgomery district; there were 990 schools in the district, attended by 43,736 students at that point in time and out of these schools 442 were the public schools.

Further, the Montgomery District Gazetteer (1933, pp. 297-298) had demonstrated that the important schools opened at this were the government high schools “at Montgomery, Pakpattan and Renala Khurd and “district board high schools at Dipalpur and Haveliand and notified area committee high school at Okara and Chichawatni. An intermediate college was opened at Compbellpur, though the British were not satisfied with the progress in the field of girl’s education (Attock District Gazetteer 1883-84, pp. 96-97). Out of the schools mentioned above, 38 were secondary schools with 6,598 students enrolled and government high school was shifted from Palampur to Dharamasala in 1914. Kangra District Gazetteer (1924-25, pp. 482-83) had cited that it was also pointed out that there was no provision for university education in the Montgomery district and the progress in female education was not impressive. The British opened some schools for women at urban areas like Pakpattan, Arifwala, Renala Khurd and Okara and the Compbellpur College to address this issue. Due to ample investment in the field of education, literacy rate increased very rapidly. The Below given table is giving vibrant transformations of education in the various regions during the colonial rule:

**Table 6. 7- Progress of Education since 1881 to 1921 (Number of Literate Per Mile)**

District	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
Gujranwala	51	59	62	52	62
Amritsar	51	64	74	72	69
Lahore	54	69	74	95	100
Faridkot State	34	51	58	67	60
Ludhiana	48	67	83	85	99
Ferozpur	42	63	67	60	61
Jullundur	51	63	64	63	76

Source: Census of India, 1921, p. 301

Thus the upper table shows that Punjab got stupendous progress in literacy per mile during the World War I and later. Heavy inflow of European to the region had compelled the British to invest heavily for western education. For the expansion of modern education, British had opened numerous schools. Moreover, they had continuously increased the expenditure on the education.

**Table 6. 8- Expenditure Rupee on Education in Punjab: 1890-1921**

Sr. No.	Year	Expenditure
1	1890	24,32,855
2	1895	27,70,430
3	1900	33,02,046
4	1905	43,37,615
5	1910	58,43,382
6	1915	1,07,18,807
7	1920	1,41,93,952
8	1925	2,32,45,461

Source: Census of India, 1921, pp. 304-306

Before the coming of colonial masters, the position of female education was also very in bad condition. People bequeathed less attention towards female education. In this point of view, there was no demand for education to the women and girls. Moreover, the system of child marriages was the major reason of withdrawal of girl's education from the schools. 'Report on the Progress of Education in Punjab' (1916-17, p. 42) and Mathur (1973) pointed out that with coming of education commission of 1882, female education had acquired a lot of

reinforcement. In this backdrop, the Lahore school for women had opened in 1905 and it marked a new era of female education in the Punjab province. The Victoria Mary Anglo-Vernacular School for girls had opened in 1908 at Lahore. In the midst of 1916-19, a lot of efforts made to improve the female education. For improving the education system and teaching, women inspecting agencies were constituted and strengthened. With all these initiatives, the position of girl's education improved significantly in Punjab.

It is cited in the 'Report on the Progress of Education in Punjab' (1916-17, p. 42)<sup>68</sup> that the total number of female students studying in the various schools' during 1897-98 was 20,495 in the province. It was less than 1.42 per cent of girls of school going age. With the introduction of western education, the enrollment of girls improved significantly. In 1916, there was 990 schools for the girls and approximately 51, 496 girls were studying in these schools. By 1919, the number of girl's school had increased up to 1,074 and 57, 732 girls students were getting education.

Mazumder (2003, p. 137) pointed out that during the World War I, education had become the major undertaking of the people, particularly for soldiers. Because military employment had amplified their incomes. Increasing incomes of Punjabi's families brought a significant changes in their thinking and routines. In this backdrop, Punjabi's soldiers had handsomely invested their additional income for the schooling of their children. On the other hand, the British government also provided special privileges for the children of Punjabis soldiers of the war. Moreover, they had also made promises to provide free education for those children whose fathers had died/wounded during the World Wars. For such students, especially schools opened in the various cantonments of the province. For this, the King George's Patriotic Fund had created, and through this, the fund had released Rs. 7, 84,874 by 1926 for a school each in Jhelum and Jullundur, both in Punjab.

Most importantly, with the introduction of European knowledge, Punjab was introduced with the ideas of "Modernity" and it generated a space for western thought in the Punjabi's society. In his study, Diamond (2009, p. 161) pointed out that this knowledge was associated with the "Advances" of European powers,

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<sup>68</sup> Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year (1917). Lahore. 1917

helping to justify and facilitate imperial expansion in Asia and Africa. At the same, it allowed societies like India to look inwardly and see some of its socio-cultural maladies, which unleashed a robust movement for social reform. At the same time, the western knowledge and system of justice was more egalitarian and democratic and opened chances for mobility for the downtrodden sections of the Indian society. The introduction of western education has double effects to the people of Punjab too. The British rule also provided spaces for the local languages to grow and transform according to the modern norms. For instance, the period witnessed the transformation of Urdu from a poetic language to a language for scientific inquiry, debate, and education. At the same time, it should be acknowledged that the British could not generate the desired rate of success in women education and in promoting native traditions of knowledge.

#### **6.4 Medicine & Health: Changing Lives of the People**

Before the coming of colonialism, Punjab was too much lagged behind in the medical sciences. For centuries, Punjab had remained suffered from dangerous diseases like Plague, Small-Pox, and cholera. Due to this, heavy lives had died. On the other hand, it had also revealed that even under the colonial rule, these diseases took numerous lives. But slowly and steadily, British had developed well-organised health system in Punjab. Being a major recruitment ground for the British Indian Army, the region got special schemes of health facilities. The establishment of the cantonment also brought western medicine and research to the region. Moreover, natural hazards made the situation more difficult to live here.

After the First Anglo-Afghan war (1839-1842), Europeans migrated to Punjab in considerable number and settled down in the various cities of Punjab, particularly in the several cantonments. For making the place more domesticated, it become the major concern in the British policies. In this background, British took a lot of measures to develop a good medical and health systems. The existence of European had kicked a new upsurge in the medical and health facilities. For the given, new health institutions had been developed in the Punjab. These institutions had unleashed drastic changes in the health system of the region. Fundamentally, these institutions were connected with the military cantonments where European inhabited. In his study, Krishna (2007, p. 5) argued that British had developed western medical and health system to keep the Europeans healthy in the

insalubrious areas of Punjab. On the other hand, he had also pointed out that with the development of such health system, local people were also benefitted.

It cited in the Lahore District Gazetteer (1883-84, pp. 122-125) that a number of hospitals like the Mayo hospital (1871), the Medical College, the veterinary school and a lunatic asylum were started at Lahore and lock hospitals were opened at Anarkulli and Meean Meer cantonments. Further, Lahore district gazetteer (1916, pp. 208-211) mentioned that the lock hospital was founded in 1879 in the cantonment Anarkulli and one at Meean Meer was opened in 1859.

After the annexation of Sialkot, a civil hospital was laid down in the year 1849 at the Sialkot Cantonment. It is revealed in the Sialkot District Gazetteer (1894-95, p. 169) and Amritsar District Gazetteer (1914, pp. 174-175) that in the same year another civil hospital was established at Amritsar immediately after its occupation. With the passage of time, it had become the principal health institution in the district and a number of other health dispensaries also established. In order to improve the health conditions of the local people, British had established a line of dispensaries in the district at Tarn Taran, Ajnala, Majitha, Atari, Mahta, Serai Amanat khan, Fattehabad and Chabbol.

Apart from upper, for checking the death rate, new health hospitals had been set up at the various places. According to the Peshawar District Gazetteer (1883-84), British established the Egerton Hospital in 1854 at Peshawar cantonment. Further, the Multan District Gazetteer (1901-02, pp. 363-365) and Multan District Gazetteer (1923-24, p. 263) had also mentioned that a 'General Hospital' had established in the Multan cantonment. Apart from these, two more health institutions, namely the civil hospital and the 'Victoria jubilee hospital' were established in the Multan, which were also situated near the Multan cantonment. The Delhi District Gazetteer (1912, p. 214) pointed out that the three military hospitals were established in Delhi: the station hospital for British troops in the fort, the Indian infantry hospital at Daryganj and the Indian cavalry hospital in the Rajpur. These hospitals catered to the health requirements of the European military officers and Indian troops. Significant strides were also made in the field of women's health. Such efforts also greatly catered to the local health needs of Punjab, though after overcoming initial resistance and distrust.

However, before the closing of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a well-developed health system was built up in this province. On the other side, it is well acknowledged that

Punjab had remained most suffering and undomesticated space for living. As it is well mentioned in the Census Report of India (1931, pp. 26-28) that Punjab had suffered from such serious diseases like cholera, small-pox, and plague under the British rule. Census Report of 1951 had mentioned that Punjab had agonized from Plague 1901-1911 very ferociously and again Plague remained active in 1915, 1918, 1924, 1925 and 1926. It is also significant to mention here that a serious cholera outbreak took place in Lahore and Ferozpur in 1924-1926. Dealing with the situation, the British government had introduced a standard plan for relieving the people in 1925. Through this, the British government had opened 375 new dispensaries in the rural and urban areas of Punjab. Moreover, the government had also agreed to give a grant of Rs. 4,500/- for the construction and Rs. 1,600/- for the equipment of each such dispensaries. Detailed information about the development of Medical infrastructure given below:

**Table 6. 9- Development of Medical Infrastructure in Punjab: 1921-1931**

Year	Hospitals & Dispensaries	In-door Patients	Out-door Patients	Total
<b>1921</b>	583	93,005	4,921,076	5,014,081
<b>1922</b>	610	97,808	5,051,268	5,149,076
<b>1923</b>	626	104,999	5,576,776	5,681,775
<b>1924</b>	640	109,506	5,825,573	5,935,079
<b>1925</b>	666	117,592	5,866,648	5,984,240
<b>1926</b>	780	122,818	7,022,633	7,145,451
<b>1927</b>	885	135,978	7,825,545	7,961,523
<b>1928</b>	964	153,797	8,822,962	8,976,759
<b>1929</b>	1,026	173,320	10,617,136	10,790,440
<b>1930</b>	1,035	181,482	11,561,187	11,742,669

Source: Census Report, 1931, p. 27

Census report of India (1931, pp. 26-28) and Lahore District Gazetteer (1916, pp. 239-42) also admitted that British had made efficient arrangements for the women health. During the period of 1921-1931, a good number of new females' hospital and dispensaries had been opened. Out of these, the Lady Aitchison

hospital, Lahore and the Lady Reading hospital for women and children at Shimla have gained much popularity. In his study, Mushtaq (2009) pointed out that Lahore becomes the hub of medical services during the British rule. Further, he cited that Medical School (later named King Edward Medical College) opened in 1860, considered as a one of the most significant developments in the history of medical in Punjab during the colonial era. Census report of India (1931, pp. 26-28) had also admitted that at the same time, more than 15 new hospitals had started in which special section had been added for the women. British had also opened a college for medical education for the Punjabis women. In this backdrop, Women's Christian College opened in Ludhiana for medical studies. Consequently, it had given a chance to become surgeons in the hospitals and dispensaries.

On the other hand, Punjab had again suffered from Plague, Small-Pox, and Cholera before opening the World War II. However, during the previous decades, splendid measures had been adopted by the British government to coup these problems. Even then, the situation becomes more dangerous during the World War II. During 1936-1950, Small-Pox remained one of the biggest problems in front of the British government in Punjab. Because cases of Small-Pox continuously kept the same pace throughout the whole decade. Like Small-Pox, Cholera also had taken heavy lives of the people during the World War II and later as well. On the other hand, Census of India (1951, p. 46) had revealed that the Plague could not spread as Small-Pox and Cholera. In such point, it may be pointed out that except 1937-1938, Punjab had remained free from Plague. For more clearing the points, all figures has been given in the below table:

**Table 6. 10- Deaths from Plague, Small-Pox, and Cholera in the Punjab: 1936-1950**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Plague</b>	<b>Small-Pox</b>	<b>Cholera</b>
<b>1936</b>	--	1,337	434
<b>1937</b>	4	837	95
<b>1938</b>	1	1447	4292
<b>1939</b>	--	2548	20
<b>1940</b>	--	2006	111
<b>1941</b>	--	353	507
<b>1942</b>	--	92	30
<b>1943</b>	1	456	174
<b>1944</b>	61	1055	821
<b>1945</b>	203	743	917
<b>1946</b>	245	881	341
<b>1947</b>	1,905	1490	2070
<b>1948</b>	211	2051	1676
<b>1949</b>	241	565	257
<b>1950</b>	--	506	121

Source: Census of India, 1951, pp. 44-45

For checking diseases, the British government took significant measures. To control the plague expansion in the region, British Public health department had started to deliver the free use of Sulpha-Diazene for the treatment of the actual plague affected cases. Moreover, the destruction of rats' holes, destroying of rat burrows with 10 per cent D.D.T. government also ordered to destroy the rat fleas by creosol fumigation and spraying with pyre-thrum and D.D.T in the region. On the other hand, Cholera had taken heavy lives from the Punjab during the war times. As soon as the disease broke out, steps were taken to isolate infected areas and to treat the cholera cases. Disinfection of public water supplies, infected houses, and anti-fly measures, as well as mass inoculations are started. Due to preventive measures, the number of cases of cholera had drastically declined. For example in 1947, there were 2,070 deaths, in 1948 there were 1676 deaths, and in 1949 there were 257 deaths.

Due to the up gradation of the health services, undomesticated places of Punjab had been converted into one of the best pleasurable sites in India. For example, before coming under the British rule, Ferozpur was a ruined and a place in the air and it was not a catching city of Punjab. It is cited in the Ferozpur District Gazetteer (1915) that during the 'Great Game', Ferozpur got utmost importance in



defence strategy of the British. They had established a cantonment in 1839 here. After short span of time, it had become one of the most domesticated place. Moreover, European officials had also given more preference to Ferozpur than Lahore for posting during the time of great game. It was not the story of Ferozpur only, moreover all cantonment cities profited significantly from the same. Further such health facilities had attracted a lot of internal/external immigrants to these areas. On the other hand, Krishna (2007, pp. 4-5) and Chatta (2012, pp. 201-203) had analyzed that the construction of medical institutions created a high demand for labour in these regions. It had also contributed a lot to intensify the mobilization of the people in search of work in such areas. Beside this, it had transformed the lives of people such regions and brought significant changes in their incomes.

### **6.5 Irrigation & Agriculture: Advancements & Transformations**

Punjab had remained relied on agriculture for their livelihood before colonialism. On the other hand, most of its land remained undomesticated for lives and barren for agriculture. Because, Irrigation innovation persisted unknown for Punjab peasants for times. It is well acknowledged by Singh (1984) and Arora (2003) that Ranjit Singh had taken some significant steps to provide the irrigation facilities to the farmers. In this context, he had developed considerable wells in the region. Even then, it had remained much behind in cultivating more production in their lands.

For the British, it was very important to keep the frontier region prosperous and satisfied to garner the support of the people. Because, they were wanted to secure the British Indian Empire by restraining the impending attack from Russia. In his study, Talbot (1988, p. 11) demonstrated that after the 1857 mutiny, took a major turn in the relation of British and Punjab. After 1857 loyalty, British affirmed their believes in the Punjabi people. For this given, British brought structural changes in the various perspective of Punjab's layout.

With the coming of British, expansion and domestication of the region had progressed very rapidly, predominantly in agriculture and irrigation. They had built up world's largest canal system in the region. This led to a tremendous agricultural expansion in the region. Approximately twenty-six million acres of land was brought under a new irrigation system being watered by canals, leading to the

establishment of canal colonies. The canal colonies transformed the region from one of the poorest agricultural areas in the subcontinent into its granary and became a major commercialized agriculture center in the South Asia during the colonial rule (Ali, 1988, pp. 2-6). From mid-1880, Punjab saw the great economic growth and extensive engineering projects of irrigations. Due to such developments, vast uncultivated area in the western and central Punjab transformed into one of the richest agriculture tracts in the region.

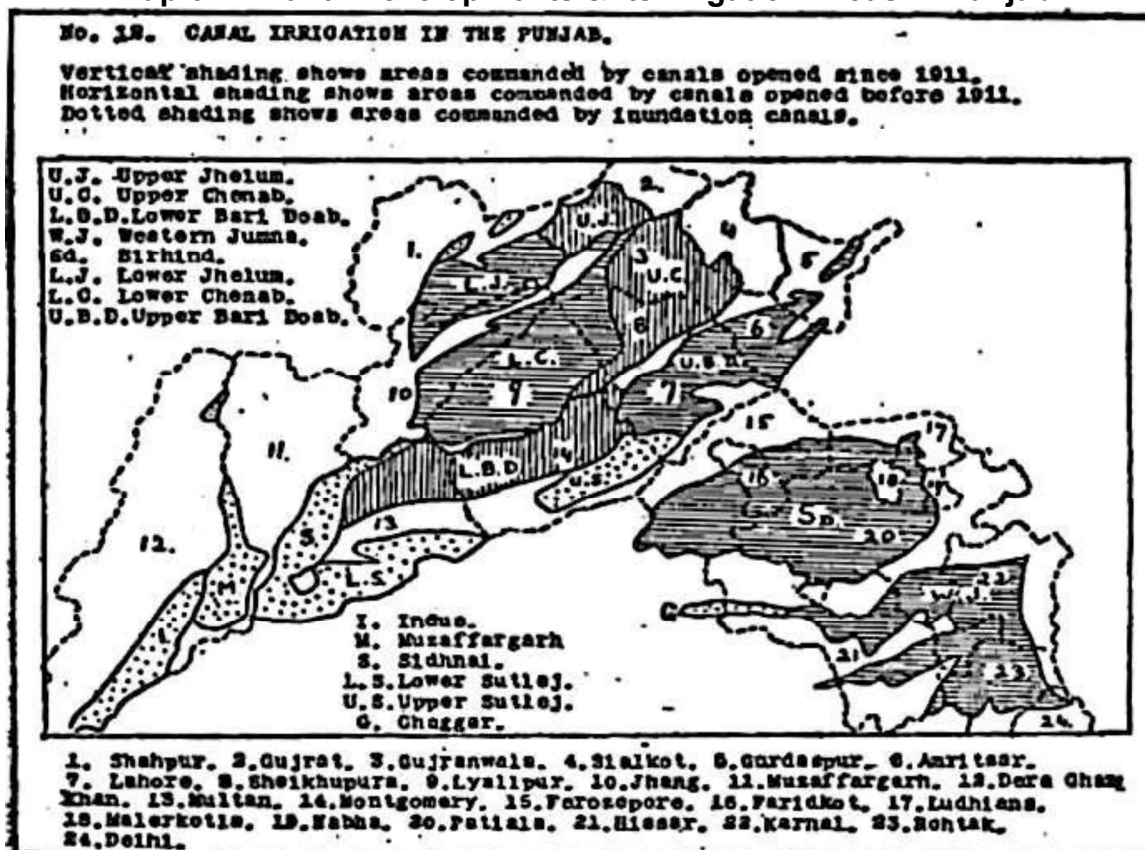
The nine canal colonies had redefined the demography of Punjab. In this view point, barren and abandoned areas of the Punjab had converted into spaces of production and high human activity (Singh, 1982, p. 192). The Chenab Colony, for instance, which was the largest canal colonies established by the British, constituted 809,500 hectares (2 million acres) of land and was considered to be the most extensive irrigation system in India. It was started in 1892 and continued expanding till the 1930s, and with the extension of this canal colony, Lyallpur (Faisalabad) became an important market center and the areas around Amritsar, Ludhiana, and Jullundur were also developed under this irrigation project.<sup>69</sup> As another instance, we may look at the case of Peshawar region, which was more like a barren space before the coming of cantonment and the arrival of water to the region through the canal colony project. After a short time, it became famous for gardens on the south of the city, for their fruit, quinces, pomegranates, plums, limes, peaches and apples and over time these productions increased in luxuriant abundance. The growth of greenery changed the face of picturesque of the Peshawar cantonment and city (Peshawar District Gazetteer, 1883-84).

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<sup>69</sup> The Punjab: Moving Journeys

Available At: <http://www.rgs.org/NR/rdonlyres/64D5A277-42AA-44ED-B019-BA08E667850F /0/The Punjab MovingJourneysPart1.pdf> (Accessed on 21 October 2016).

Map 6. 1- Canal Developments & Its Irrigation Areas in Punjab



Source: Census of India, 1921, p. 12

Census Report of India (1921, p. 14) cited that work on the Upper Jhelum had commenced in 1905. It was opened to irrigation in 1915 and completed in 1917. In 1921, it had irrigated approximately 345 thousand acres of land in the region. The Upper Chenab was commenced in 1905 and completed in 1917. But it was opened for irrigation in April 1912. Besides this, the Lower Bari Doab was commenced in 1906 and completed in 1917. It had opened for irrigation in July 1913. Due to the opening of these river colonies, barren lands of Punjab converted into one of the fertile lands of South Asia. These colonies brought significant socio-economic changes in the lives of local people. Moreover, demographic changes attracted a lot of immigrants to the region. In his study, Chatta (2012, p. 201) had pointed out that new cities and towns also sprang up in the canal colonies along the main transport corridors and where the population was getting concentrated. Table No (6.11) is vividly projecting the role of irrigation projects in transforming the Punjab region as given below:

**Table 6. 11- Canal Irrigation (Acres) in Punjab: 1912-1920**

Year	Upper Jhelum	Upper Chenab	Lower Bari Doab
1912-13	-----	123, 236	-----
1913-14	-----	164, 110	73, 578
1914-15	-----	211, 882	189, 204
1915-16	-----	325, 062	283, 294
1916-17	117, 605	437, 477	514, 936
1917-18	177, 006	382, 935	621, 600
1918-19	246, 609	426, 864	678, 004
1919-20	298, 857	542, 656	869, 432
1920-21	345, 189	601, 347	852, 638

Source: Census of India, 1921, p. 15

Thus, nine canal colonies had played very significant role in transforming the geography of Punjab. After becoming the major recruitment ground, British invested very notably for the agriculture and irrigation projects. During the times of World War II, these projects remained continuously active. Consequently, a vast area of land continuously increased under the canal colonialization. Below inserted table showing the growth of irrigation development in the province over the decades:

**Table 6. 12- Acres Irrigated by Canals in Punjab: 1870-1940**

Sr. No.	Year	Total
1	1870	12,06,216
2	1880	15,65,877
3	1890	30,16,456
4	1900	60,00,551
5	1910	72,27,042
6	1920	1,02,73,690
7	1930	1,29,84,260
8	1940	1,35,88,000

Source: Mazumder, 2003, p. 65

Due to massive irrigation developments, Punjab had become most vibrant and happening place of India (Ali, 1988, pp. 122-25). The transformation of 6 million acres of desert into one of the richest agricultural regions in Asia was a stupendous engineering feat that was seen as the colonial state's greatest

achievement. British Officials Frank Brayne continued to see the canal colonies in the 1920s as a “Modernizing force for social change” (Talbot, 2007). On account of this, Punjab had emerged as a pacesetter for the Indian agriculture development. Per capita output of all its crops increased by nearly 45 percent between 1891 and 1921. British introduced cash crops which helped a lot to increase the income of peasants (Talbot, 2007). In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, new experiments had been conducted in the field of agriculture, and many new varieties of crops had been introduced to tea, coffee, New Orleans Cotton, Sugarcane, Indigo, English fruits, and vegetables, etc. on the other side, areas under the traditional crops (Wheat, Barley, and Rice) considerably declined in the region. Here, we can figure an example of that in the following table.

**Table 6. 13- Area under Various Crops in Thousands of Acres**

Sr. No	Crop	1876	1921
1	Wheat	6,609	8,951
2.	Cotton	668	1,540
3.	Oilseeds	118	1,172
4.	Rice	708	829
5.	Barley	1,874	1,099

Source: Singh, 1982, p. 200

The colonization of the Punjab was the most stunning development in the history of the productive irrigation in India. It had manifold impacts. Because, the ‘Canal Colonies’ had become a zone of major economic change in the Punjab. First, the irrigated area in Punjab almost increased 3 times from 5.98 million acres in 1868–69 to 9.37 million acres in 1901 and finally 16.5 million acres in 1939. With the result that people from Central Punjab, mainly Jullundhar and Hoshiarpur, migrated in the thousands to these new agricultural areas of Punjab opened by irrigation. This eased the congestion in the over populated areas.

The colonial rulers saw Punjab differently from the other provinces of India. In his study, Saini (1975, p. 154) demonstrated that they had developed it as a factory of raw material for the Lancashire cotton textile industry. For the given, extension of canal colonization had converted the arid tracts of land into one of the fertile area of the raj. Moreover, the British government had established seed farms in the canal colonies. Improved cotton seeds were distributed to the peasants. For instance, during 1912-13, about 45 mounds of improved cotton seeds of indigenous varieties and 83 maunds of American cotton seeds from

Punjab Agriculture College and Research Institute, Lyallpur were exhibited for sale to the peasants. In 1926, approximately 32, 100 maunds of improved cotton seeds were sold to the peasants. Further, it had increased up to 91, 100 maunds in 1937-38. In all these, Agriculture college of Lyllapur and agriculture department of Punjab had played very vital role in improving the varieties of cotton seeds.

In addition to this, the rewards, robes of honour, the sword of honour, cash rewards, grants of government lands, revenue-free land to individuals and communities had been bestowed on Punjabi soldiers. Moreover, numerous land grants had been given to the families of the soldiers during the war times. For this given, most of the Punjabi families had started to settle down in these land grants of canal colonies. Consequently, the military service and agriculture had become the major source of employment for Punjabis during the British period. On the other side, these rewards had left indelible imprints on the socio-economic life of the Punjabi people (Chandan, 2009). Whilst during the same period, the socio-economic life of Bihar and Orrisa had been experiencing the bitter taste and as well as undergoing agricultural crisis (Singh, 1982).

Kaur (2011) pointed out that the colonies also fulfilled the imperial interests of the British as larger holdings, known as Yeoman horse-breeding grants, were given to elite families with a rider that they had to maintain several mares at the rate of 40 acres per mare. This was created to address the need of a regular supply of mares and camels during the World Wars. Moreover, these colonies were designed “to create villages of a type superior in comfort and civilization to anything which had previously existed in the Punjab. However, as is characteristic of all the colonial powers, the paramount and sometimes only interest is self-interest. In the mid-nineteenth century, the agriculture in England was in bad shape. Its state was due to the Industrial Revolution’s effect where small farmers left agriculture and were being absorbed in small and big industries. The production of food grains and other agricultural produce was in decline. Thus, the policies followed by the British in the Punjab were a result of ‘Imperial Need’ more than anything else. The British went about the economic exploitation of resources in the Punjab in a most methodical way. Agricultural progress came with both prosperity and indebtedness. The dual phenomena of prosperity and indebtedness led to the migration of Sikhs from Punjab. The British government’s approach

produced a strong infrastructure and raised production but led concurrently to increased exploitation of the small and middle peasantry.

Extension of irrigation expanded the area of land under cultivation extensively. Moreover, the British had introduced numerous technological advancement in the agriculture of Punjab like Persian wheel and modern fertilizers. New technologies combined with plenty of water, played a significant role in increasing the agriculture production (Singh, 1982, pp. 195-96). The improved means of communications and transport joined the local market production with the regional, national, and even international markets. Further, this converted the Punjab into hubs of commercial activities too (Chatta, 2012, pp. 201-204).

At the same time, Bopegamage (1971) and Chatta (2012, p. 205) pointed out that the British had developed canals, railways, and many other related infrastructures essentially to serve there with self-interests. The expansion and commercialization of agriculture in this view were attempts to exploit natural resources of Punjab and transform its agriculture in tune with the global capitalistic economy. The changing of cropping pattern with importance to cash crops were aimed at serving the industries in England and satisfying new global consumption, whereas manufactured goods in British industries are brought back for native consumption. The western manufactured goods ruined the Punjab handicrafts very badly. In short, agriculture, railways and other related developments served the imperial purpose of exploiting the periphery for the metropolitan interests. However, on the whole, new agriculture with the aid of canal water and new technologies, along with cantonments, changed the life of Punjab in significant ways.

## **6.6 Trade and Commerce**

The British presence in India was primarily motivated by trade and profit, leading to massive investment in the road, rail and canal networks. This helped the British in the transportation of raw materials to ports for the export to the British industry and mobilization of army personnel internally/externally (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part One), 2004, p. 8). Thus Railways were indeed the most important infrastructure development in India from 1850 to 1947. In his study, Bogart and Chaudhary (2012, pp. 7-8) had labelled that they inter-connected India,

geographically, economically, politically and socially. In terms of the economy, railways played a major role in integrating markets and increasing trade and with the expansion of domestic and international economic trends. Importantly, the railway connections were mostly across the cantonment cities in frontier regions like Punjab, which in turn facilitated increased trade and commerce. As per the study of Krishna (2007, p. 5) that the linking of major cantonment cities of Lahore, Ferozpur, Multan, and Amritsar with the port cities of Bombay, Calcutta, and Karachi opened Punjab to the outer world to a greater degree than witnessed ever before. In his study, Chatta (2012, p. 202) stated that the city of Lahore, Amritsar, and Multan had become one of the most significant commercial and industrial epicenters in the Punjab by the end of British rule. The opening up of the Suez Canal in 1869, which reduced shipping times between Britain and India, created further opportunities for trade with India.

The story of other areas also was not different. For instance, as already pointed out, the greater part of the district of Rawalpindi may be described as a rough rolling plain, but with the construction of canals, roads and railways it began to get an extensive trade from Peshawar to Attock and Makhad to Sukkar and other southern ports on the river (Rawalpindi District Gazetteer, 1893-94, pp. 107-09).

Previously, Multan was a barren land and life was not possible here. Instead of this, transport and connectivity was very poor. It is pointed out in the Multan District Gazetteers (1883-84, p. 161) that with the coming of colonialism, British had established a cantonment in the Multan. With the passage of short span of time, it had become one of the most cantonment for the British. Consequently, the British had developed extensive infrastructures of transport. Multan emerged as a major trade Centre to collect cotton, wheat, wool, oilseeds, sugar and indigo from the surrounding areas and to export them to the south, to receive fruits, drugs, raw silks and spices. Indigo was one of the most valuable staples of this district as well as chief revenue paying crop of the district; and with the development canals and the availability of water through them the indigo cultivation flourished in the Multan region, bringing money to the region from its export.

World War II had given a great boost to the Indian business class. It is well recognized that before the opening of World War II, the business was slow down.



For example of textiles, had accumulated with manufacturers; after it began, there were substantial orders from the government and the stocks were quickly sold. Kamtekar (2002) had mentioned that during the World War II, the Delhi Cloth and General Mills Co. Ltd (DCM) had remained most successful business company. It was run by Lala Shri Ram. In his authorized biography, Lala Shri Ram had mentioned that the period of World War II like 'an unprecedented boom' and 'bumper profits' for the businessmen. Further, he noted that it was the year of recorded prosperity for the Punjabi business class. The DCM made substantial profits by selling tents and ready-made garments to the armed forces. On the other hand, its sugar division also did very well during the World War II.

On the other side, a widespread hoarding and black marketing had frequently had taken place during the World War II. Because of June 1943, orders were issued to the mills, whole salers and retailers to declare the extent of their stock. Finally, the government had discovered no less than 2,700 million yards of cloth (equal to seven months' national supply). In this background, the textile industry of India particularly Punjab had reep bundle of profits as one of the largest gross profits of their career (Kamtekar, 2002).

There was a lot of enthusiasm among the industrialists during the World War II. Because Japan had become the biggest enemy of the British Empire. In the South East Asia both were fighting for their imperialistic motives. Moreover, Japanese had wanted to extend their control towards India after defeating the British Armies. In this illusion, lack of shipping had curtailed the imports towards India from Britain. This instance had given a big boost to the Indian Industries. For fulling the needs, new Firms and new big companies (chemicals, machinery, and automobiles) had been started. Kamtekar (2002) had stated that the Tata Chemicals and the Tata Engineering and Locomotive Company (TELCO) were established during the war years. The famous Indian businessmen G. D. Birla had set up Hindustan Motors in 1942. Thus, there was an opportunity to make large profits.

But in the 1940s agricultural prices rose, and with them rose the spirit of much of the countryside. Inflation lightened the burden of debts, money rents, and land revenue. The same amount of produce in the early 1940s fetched two or three times what it would have earned five years earlier. Old demands, which remained fixed in money terms, could, therefore, be met by selling a half or a third

of the produce previously required to meet them. The problem of rural indebtedness, hitherto a focus of government attention and legislation, was by August 1943 (according to the Reserve Bank of India) 'relegated to the background almost to the point of being forgotten.' In a pamphlet entitled War-Time Prices, the economist P. J. Thomas wrote: 'In India, owing to the wide prevalence of small-scale production, the number of producers is large, and the advantage of high prices is reaped by a very great number of persons.' According to him, it was 'certain that the cultivating classes have obtained larger net incomes than before.' Such opportunities came to them only once in a blue moon. Suddenly, a large section of the peasantry received more prosperity than its political leaders might have dared to promise. We can see some of these processes unfolding at the level of one village, through the observant eyes of M. N. Srinivas, who became the most distinguished Indian sociologist of his generation. In his celebrated book *The Remembered Village*, Srinivas described the Mysore village in which he lived during his fieldwork in 1948. Chatting with M. N. Srinivas, 'several villagers contrasted their present prosperity with the poverty of interwar years, 1918-1939'. Rice was very profitable, and so was sugar cane. Villagers made profits mainly from sales of their produce on the black market, where prices were very high. Controls existed, not to be obeyed, but to be evaded. Every village with a surplus had sold as much as he could on the black market.

### **6.7 Socio-Economic integration leads to Cultural Assimilation**

Russian expansionist policy brought a massive European flow to the Punjab. The increasing presence of the Europeans due to cantonments and institutions of modern education exposed the local population to the modern western culture and provided chances of learning. Aujla (2012)<sup>70</sup> had pointed out that the missionaries played an important role in this, though their primary aim was to spread the Christian religion, as they spread the western education alongside, it builds the solid path for the exchange of culture and values. As the British built connectivity across the province and beyond, connecting people and facilitating movement of goods, along with human trade interaction among these cities of the Punjab also increased substantially. It is said, for instance, Ferozpur, Lahore, and Amritsar

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<sup>70</sup> Aujla, H. S. (2012, February). A Tale of Three Cities: Lahore, Amritsar & Ferozpur Available At: [http://sikhchic.com/partition/a\\_tale\\_of\\_three\\_cities\\_lahore\\_amritsar\\_ferozpur](http://sikhchic.com/partition/a_tale_of_three_cities_lahore_amritsar_ferozpur) (Accessed on 14 January 2017).

started developing into one composite cultural triangle due to the easy connectivity across them. The barriers of spoken dialects started breaking over a period of time, and cultural affinities developed like never before.

British rule provided an opportunity to the people of Punjab to emigrate and see the wider world also opened up spaces for cultural assimilation. As Soherwordi (2010) and Chatta (2012) demonstrated that many youngsters from peasant backgrounds were enlisted in the British Indian army and fought two world wars, many of them had the chance to visit a number of countries as part of their military assignment. When they returned to Punjab, these soldiers were impressed by the magnificent civic life in the West, as they had seen in London and Paris. Their interaction with the educated class, especially women, led them to reflect on the status of women in Europe and in their respective villages in Punjab. High levels of cleanliness and sanitation and the engineering amaze in the form of their underground train network all left a gigantic impression on the Indian soldiers, as collections of their letters reveal. Back home they were dipped with new thoughts and concepts, leading to efforts to make changes in their lives and surroundings. Thus their exposure to the outside world brought not only prosperity but also positive mentalities in soldiers' lives. Their status as part of the British Indian army has been seen as a social capsule which helped them to rise to a new social status and acquired a new influence in society. In his study, Soherwordi, (2010, pp. 20-22) mentioned that the folk songs of the time richly captured the growing influence and social clout of soldiers in the society. The new life and structures brought by the cantonments and allied development also resulted in a change of mentalities in India, giving way to its modernity. Western education played the dominant role in this transformation, alongside other development like modern health and communication infrastructures whereas, unification of India through new transport infrastructures and through the language of English, facilitated interaction and exchanges across India, leading to greater cultural assimilation and to nationalist imaginations within the country.

At the frontline, the British government had given special attention towards the care of Indian soldiers. They had provided better rations and heightened medical care during the war. From 1943 onwards, cattle, sheep, and goats were sent by railway from central India to Arakan and Assam to feed both the British and Indian troops. In spite of this, London brands of cigarettes were also provided to the

Indian army. Further, it had developed western taste among the soldiers (Roy, 2009).

Recruitment in the British Indian army had drastically impacted the social life and thoughts. Punjabi soldiers had seen the Western civilization more closely during their service in Europe and colonial master also showed himself more splendidly in London (Kaur, 2011). Peasant-soldiers were impressed by the magnificent civic life of London and Paris. Their interaction with the educated class, especially women, led them to reflect on the comparisons between the life of a woman in Europe and in their respective villages in the Punjab. Additionally, the social, cultural structure of Punjab changed with land grants to the soldiers. The establishment of large cantonments, connecting with railway and road links intensified the social and cultural assimilation in the province (Singh & Kaur, 2015).

The World Wars had widened an experience of the Indian troops and increased their knowledge and outlook. They had been exposed to new geographies, cultures, and ideas and this impacted the way they negotiated life in India as well.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, Salaries, living conditions, facilities for the soldiers' families, postretirement benefits and rewards were offered with distinction (Jagirs-grants of land were sanctioned annually), bequeathed the prestige and upward mobility in the society. Their exposure to the outside world also brought with it prosperity and a positive change in soldiers' lives. Additionally, the soldiers on leave home or after retirement provided useful propaganda for the 'Gora Sahib' [Mr. Whiteman], giving a good impression to the civil society for the British (Qureshi, 2014). The war also had a crucial role in changing the geopolitical environment in the country and its impacts on an individual.

Srinivas concluded that they increased prices for agricultural products since World War II was a crucial factor in the economic betterment of the village. In various ways, the black market made rural life in some parts of India more colourful, as there was now extra money to spend. Villagers traveled to town more often, so bus travel became more popular. Sons were packed off, more frequently than earlier, for an education in urban areas. These urban contacts changed rural

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<sup>71</sup> India and WWI: Piecing together the impact of the Great War on the subcontinent  
Available At: <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/indiaatlse/2014/09/24/piecing-together-the-impact-of-the-great-war-on-india/> (Accessed on 25 February 2016).

values. Earlier, surplus cash among the rural rich would have been invested in jewelry and land; after the war, some of the cash accumulated in wartime provided the capital for new enterprises like shops and rice mills. The best view of such changes is from the citadel of colonial state power, the province of Punjab. Despite its distance from the front, Punjab was closely linked to war activities. As the army's traditional recruiting ground, it employed many soldiers, who sent home a flow of remittances; as a producer of surplus foodgrains, it sold much wheat. Malcolm Darling, an Indian Civil Service officer of the Punjab cadre, who authored classic works on the Punjab peasantry, scrutinized their lives with a keen, trained eye. Now onwards, the peasant's women of the villages had started to wear a larger number of silver and gold ornaments like bracelets, anklets, and rings. Moreover, the prosperity was enjoyed by sipping tea because the evening tea began to be taken by a majority of villagers at this time. Thus, the western habit's spread into the village's after the World War I in the recruiting areas of the north. During the World War II, it got more frequency in the Punjab (Kamtekar, 2002).

### **6.8 The British Indian Army: Effective Channel for Upward Social Mobility**

The military had remained one of the most effective channels for upward social mobility. It is well-known that British had unified the Indian armed forces in discipline during the colonial period. Moreover, British army was recruited locally from the subcontinent. Jacobsen & Myrvold (2013) had demonstrated that after 1857 mutiny, Punjab had played significant role in the building of British Indian Army and remained very pivotal for the British Empire. Moreover, it had contributed very significantly in the World War I & II. The thousands of soldiers had fought for the British in Belgium, Holland, France, and Italy and at various other countries.

Due to the heavy recruitment, Punjab got numerous social repercussions. In his study, Singh & Kaur (2015) had revealed that after becoming a part of army, the Punjabi soldiers traveled to various countries of the world. Many of these men later returned to the Punjab or settled overseas. Thus World Wars gave an opportunity to the rural peasants to see London and Paris. This mobilization of Punjabis through military changed their thinking and outlook on a wider scale and leased for reaching consequences on various aspects of Punjab region.

In the beginning, there were some restrictions imposed on the scheduled castes; recruitment was mostly confined to certain classes of people called "Martial Races," and any position of importance in the army was an elite position. But laterally, the rules had been relaxed for the recruitment and now kept it open to all. Thus, it permitted the low-caste people to improve their status in the society through sheer ability, performance and merits. This had given a special place, especially to the untouchables in Punjab. For instance, during the World War II, when recruitment was taking place on a mass scale, a large number of low-class people and tribal rushed in to join the army. This revolutionized the social and political outlook of most of the untouchable castes in the country. Realizing the important role played by the military for the upliftment of the lower classes in the country, B. R. Ambedkar, the leader of the erstwhile untouchable castes, openly encouraged the untouchable castes like the Mahars to join the army in vast numbers for their social and political upliftment. Some of the national leaders of the country, such as Gokhale, Nehru, and Patel, and other popular leaders, such as Subhas Bose, Desai, and Savarkar, also realized the importance of the military as a social and political modernizing force in the country (Bopegamage, 1971).

It had well acknowledged that with the coming of Europeans to Punjab region, the living style, pattern of consumption and taste had been changed significantly. Accordingly, the consumption demand in the region had increased manifold for imported as well as local goods, fine and coarse cloth, textiles as well as jewelry. The expenditures on marriage had also increased, both in terms of throwing marriage parties as well as paying the bride price (Singh, 1982). As Darling stated, while on a visit, after the depression of the 1930s, to one of the salt range settlements (district Jhelum, in the north) found that approximately one-third of the houses have been rebuilt with stone, since the World War I and some of the construction reflected a sense of aesthetics - a luxury only the wealthy can afford (Khawaja, 2012). This was a sharp contrast to the mud-plastered houses found there before the War. The increase in income had also enabled the peasants to pay off the debt due to the exploitative money lender (Yong, 2005). This enormously improved their outlook, created in them a desire for learning, especially when some of them felt handicapped to communicate with their families

from the war fronts but their involvement in the World Wars transformed their lives at multiple levels (Khawaja, 2012).

After the war, the rewards bestowed were numerous: titles of honour from Raja and Nawab to raisahib and khan sahib, robes of honour, swords of honour, guns, revolvers, complimentary sanads, cash rewards, grants of government land, of revenue-free land to individuals. 420,000 acres of land were distributed among VCOs and other ranking officers. Over 40,000 persons received jangi Inams special pensions for two lives-for the pensioner and to his next generation after his death. One can imagine about the economic and social impact of these awards in the Punjab (Das, 2011). The *raj* provided certain material inducements for mobilizing manpower. Revenue assessments were lighter in those regions which provided most of the manpower during the Wars (Roy, 2012).

Notably, the material gains had attracted the Punjabis towards recruitment. All kinds of inducements and rewards were offered to those who brought in recruits; Zamindars were made to supply fixed quotas of recruits from their lands. Special war allowances were sanctioned to all ranks; free rations were granted to Indian ranks, substantial additions were made to the pay and pensions and later, a bonus of Rs. 50 was given to all combatant recruits. Public rewards were given to those who helped the Government. In a durbar it was proclaimed that two books would be kept- one for rewarding those who helped the Government, and the other for punishing those who did not render their services in the recruitment. The rewards given were: the conferring of Indian titles of honour such as Raja, Nawab, Rai Sahib, Khan Sahib etc., robes of honour, swords of honour, guns and revolvers, complimentary sanads inscribed with the name and services of the recipients, cash rewards, grant of government lands, of revenue-free land to individuals and to communities and the remission of taxation. Watches, cash, and sanads had been rewarded to clerks who helped the Government. The village community in each district which had the best records of recruitment was entered on the role of honour and it received remission of land revenue exceeding Rs. 1, 00, 000 (Mittal, 1977).

During the World War II, benefits schemes had been introduced by the British government for the welfare of Indian Soldiers. Tangible and nontangible incentives for the soldiers continued to increase. In January 1944, the British government agreed to distribute "Military Medals" to those Indian soldiers who had

performed “heroic acts” on the battlefield. On the other hand, the Government of India had doubled the monthly monetary allowance of the gallantry decorations like the Indian Order of Merit and Victoria Cross. By March 1944, the British authorities noted that the pay increase had a positive effect on the Indian troops. Between November 1943 and April 1944, twenty-nine monetary grants had been released for the Sikh and Punjabi Muslim soldiers by the Defence Forces Relief Fund. With the passage of time, the number of such grants increased. Between May and October 1944, the government issued thirty-four grants aggregating to a sum of Rs 4,446 for the soldiers from Punjab and their dependents. Such grants were for the marriage of daughters, construction of houses, and so forth. Punjab suffered from shortages of clothes. To meet the requirements of the soldiers’ families, the government opened several shops in big towns like Multan, Ferozpur, Rawalpindi, and Lahore. British government also ordered to the princely states to help the soldiers of British Indian Army. Here an example may be cited that in April 1945, the Ruler of Bilaspur, gave a cash award of Rs 1,000 and sixty bighas (one bigha is equivalent to twenty kathas, and one katha is 700 square feet) of land to sepoy Bhandari Ram, who had received a Victoria Cross during the World War II.

In his study, Diamond (2009, p. 162) had pointed out that spread of education and establishment of health institutions also stimulated the urbanization and the British provided full patronage to develop many of the cantonment cities as hubs of learning. Moreover, it brought profound social and economic changes among other groups of the society as well. In addition, Chatta (2012, pp. 198-201) revealed that once the large military and European population settled, retail activities were boosted, as were commercial activities associated with local dairying and market gardening. The railway construction and other colonial building projects encouraged migration from the surrounding areas to these military stations and the artisan communities in general improved their position as cities provided them new markets and chances to refine their products and increased the demand for their skills and products for the army equipment. Such population flows into the cities not only complicated urban character of the cities but also enlarged the city and its infrastructure. After seeing the situations in the to which they emigrated, including the Western countries, the outlook of Punjabis underwent change with an openness to new ideas and norms of life, which in turn strengthened the urbanization process further (Krishna, 2007, pp. 5-6).



There were propaganda songs as well to encourage war registration which were sung and delivered at the behest of local lords who were assigned recruitment targets. The recruits are at your door step, here you eat dried roti, there you will eat fruit, and here you are in tatters. There you will wear a suit. Here you wear worn out shoes. There you will wear boots. But the promised life was a hell, a horrific experience culminating in nameless graves of these peasant boys all over Europe, Africa and Persian Gulf still waiting their visitors since a century (Singh, 2014).

As regards the British Army, David French writes that adequate food and shelter strengthened morale of Indian soldiers for recruitment. This was applicable in the case of the colonial soldiery. The prospect of economic gain in an underdeveloped society obviously encouraged many men from the countryside to join the army, so creature comforts played an important role in managing and motivating the soldiers. Some scholars of the British-Indian Army have touched on this issue without elaborating on it. Heathcote (1995) and Mazumder (2003) had stated that salary and the hope of gaining glory encouraged Indians to join the British-controlled colonial army. During wartime, the colonial regime resorted to extra tangible and nontangible incentives for motivating the troops; hence, this essay focuses on the welfare mechanism and man-management techniques crafted by the army for the Indian soldiers and also takes into account the effects of broader society on the colonial military organization. Much of this essay remains speculative because, although many Indian officers have written autobiographies, the jawans have left no written records (Roy, 2009).

At the end, the present chapter may be concluded that though the World Wars had opened vast opportunities and brought drastic impacts on the socio-economic life but at the same time, it gave unbearable pain to the Punjabi people. It is a fact that the British colonizer threw these untrained peasant boys knowingly straight into the jaws of death by exposing them directly to the vastly superior Germans and their lethal weaponry. On the other hand, it is fairly accurate to claim that 'Punjab prospered; Bengal suffered.' The wartime economic boom, especially the agrarian boom in Punjab, which is neglected in the historiography, has been emphasized in this projected work (Kamtekar, 2002). As Khawaja (2012) and Sohal (2013) pointed out that the agrarian economy of the Punjab had experienced unprecedented strain and stress during the British rule in

general and world wars particularly. However, British brought drastic changes in the various perspective of the region. On the other side, colonial masters widely extracted its human and material sources. Because, during the war times, Punjab had feed the various theatre of war. Moreover, it had meet the demands of other parts of British India. At the same time, world wars gave a period of food prices and black-marketing in Punjab. In this backdrop, though high prices and war remittances enriched the big zamindar, trader and the moneylender, their possible benefits to the peasant and the tenant were neutralized by an increase in the prices of industrial products. The story not ended here, even after the war, a lot of problems have come out in the front of region. Out of them, the demobilization of soldiers was one of the foremost. Consequently, it had created unemployment and disappointment among the disbanded soldiers.

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## Chapter 7

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## 7 Conclusion

The military had remained the vein blood for every country. It played vital role in protecting and stabilizing the other interests from time immemorial. States and kingdoms had always been maintained a military for protection and security as well as for satisfying their imperialistic designs. It is well acknowledged that military had played a significant role in the making of the British Empire in the Indian subcontinent. In such case, Punjab had played a strategic and pivotal role. In the light of knowledge gap extracted from reviewing the existing literature in context of British Indian Army, particularly role of Punjab in the World Wars, the thesis had set the following objectives. The set objectives to achieve in this research work are:

- Reconnoitring the Indianisation of the British Indian Army.
- To examine the Punjabization of the British Indian Army with special reference to mapping the role of Punjabis in the World Wars.
- To examine the World War legacies, how it had transformed the landscape and life of the region with special reference to migration, urbanization, education, demographic, social, geographical and cultural changes and transformations in Punjab.

The first objective has been achieved in the Chapter-3. For this, the study has used descriptive and analytical methodology. As it is well established that World Wars were not the sudden events but a result of a long struggle to dominate the various countries and their resources. At the same time, the world had divided into blocks and fought with each other. These blocks had resulted in terrible wars, popularly known as World Wars in the world history. In these wars, the fierce competition among various world powers had started to take over more and more colonies. The irony is that, these wars had been fought with the help and assistance of the localized recruited soldiers had been fighting against their own people and other imperial powers. Subsequently, Indian subcontinent had also played pivotal role because it was the colony of the British. So the contribution of the Indian subcontinent had remained historic and admirable for the British people.

In this backdrop, India contributed immensely to the war efforts during the World War I & II. Indian subcontinent had played very crucial role in sustaining,

maintaining and expanding the British Empire at various distant places of the world. Against this backdrop, it becomes obligated to understand the role of Indian in British Indian Army in the World War I and II. It is well accepted that British Indian army had heavily recruited with the opening of World War I. The Indian soldiers had fought the war with full dedication and loyalty and shed their blood for maintaining and expansion of the British Empire.

As the World War I started, the Indian people had substantially contributed to a total strength of 14, 57,000 people in favour of British Empire, out of which about 9, 43,000 had served overseas. The Indian contribution was very enormous. Ironically, it remained less known to the public, but war theatre of Mesopotamia had fought largely by the Indian units. By showing their valour and bravery, Indian soldiers had earned over 9,200 decorations for gallantry including 11 Victoria Crosses by serving the empire in World War I. Further, the greater mobilization of Indian soldiers took a heavy number of lives in the war.

The British India Army had not only played a significant role in the World War I (1914-18) rather wholeheartedly with enhanced scope and substance gave a substantial contribution in the World War II. On the other side, more than two million Indian men had been joined the Indian Armed Forces during the World War II. These soldiers had served in Africa, the Middle East, Burma and Europe. According to the official history, the total strength of the armed forces in India on 1 October 1945 was 26, 44,323 including 2,40,613 from the British Army, 20,18,196 from the Indian Army, 99,367 from the Indian States Forces, and some others. Indian soldiers had fought in Malaya, Burma, East Africa, North Africa, Tunisia, the Middle East, Sicily (Italy), and in some smaller wars ranging from Greece to Indo-China during the war. In these campaigns, the Indian soldiers had suffered massive casualties, including the killing (24,338), wounded (64,354), missing (11,754), and POW's, (79,489), totaling 179,935. It is also important to mention here that the bulk of the Indian Army had fought against the Imperial Japanese Army particularly in the South East Asia. However, the British Indian Army fought at the various war fronts, but the war theatre of South-East Asia had remained very noteworthy for Allies (Great Britain, Soviet Union, China, and United States) as well as Axis powers (Germany, Italy, and Japan), particularly to India during the World War II. At this war front, India had lost numerous soldiers and remained successful in restraining the footprints of Japanese armies towards India.

Hence, British Indian army not only sustained the British Empire within India, rather facilitated to bring under control various other places of the world as well. During the World War I and II, the British Indian soldiers recruited in a huge number and fought for British at the many theaters of war. Due to their bravery and valour, still, the stories of British Indian army are remembered. Despite the sensitive political situation and worsening economic scenario, the Raj remained successful in expanding the size of the Indian Army. So that, British Indian army was the right hand of the British forces during the World Wars and played a significant role in sustaining and expanding the British Empire.

The second objective has been attained in the Chapter-IV and Chapter-V. In these chapters, role of Punjab in the World Wars had been widely discussed. In the Chapter IV, the story of the emergence of the British Indian Army had been plotted. For justifying the second objective with more arguments, the Chapter-V had been inserted. In this, comparison of recruitment between Punjab and other provinces of India had been conducted.

As earlier pointed out that after the 1857 mutiny, the British Indian Army brought a lot of structural changes in its framework and changed the recruitment grounds of its armed forces in the Indian subcontinent. In the defence strategy of British Empire, there were certain regions and geographical areas, had got benefits from the British administration and enlisted enormously in the British Indian Army. In such a typical case, Punjab had been considered an extremely fertile ground for the same. Besides, the geographical location of Punjab, there are certain compulsions which obligated the British to go for recruitment from this region. With the obsession of 'Great Game,' Punjab had become extremely important for the British from the geostrategic and geopolitical point of view to control the Russian expansion towards the region.

Immediately after suppressing the 1857 mutiny, Punjabization of the British Indian had been started. By June 1858, the total strength of the Bengal army was 80,000 'native' troops, out of these 75,000 were comes from Punjab. In 1893, Punjab allied with NWFP (until 1901) and Nepal had contributed 44% of the entire British Indian Army. In 1904, the scale of mobilization had increased to 57%. This is the point where one can see a sharp under-representation of other regions in the building of British Indian Army.

With the opening of World War I, the strength of British Indian Army had increased exponentially. During the war, 380,000 Punjabis soldiers had been enlisted in the British Indian Army. Out of these, 231,000 soldiers were combatants. Thus, during the war, Punjab had mobilized 480,000 soldiers for fighting in the various theaters of war. According to another estimate, the Punjab supplied 54% of the total combatant troops in the Indian Army during the World War I. Thus, Punjab had become a big nursery for the military recruitment during the World War I and remained the fertile ground for the British Indian Army recruitment. Punjabis soldiers had fought in Mesopotamia, France, Gallipoli, Salonika, Somaliland, Egypt, Persia, Aden, West Africa, Palestine and the North-West and North-East frontiers of India itself. Consequently, Punjab had played very significant role in the ultimate victory of British forces. In spite of men power, Punjab had also supplied money and material in substantial amount for various war fronts.

Punjab not only contributed regarding men, rather in terms of money and material had also been contributed in a substantial amount to the British Empire. Within the short span of time, Punjab had contributed more than Rs. 14, 52,900 for the "Aeroplane Fund," which was far greater than the expectation of the British officials. This proved to be sufficient to provide 51 aeroplanes. British official had given number and name to each aeroplane. Due to greater mobilisation, India had suffered at the massive level. Punjab had lost its soldiers 12, 794 (Died), 1,083 (Missing), 20,536 (Wounded) and 2,562 (POWs) in the World War I. Thus, Punjab's contribution towards the World War I was very significant. Ironically, the place of the region had been remained overlooked and behind the curtain.

India was passing through layers of chaos at the opening of World War II. Even then Punjab had come forward to keep safe the British Empire in the world. Punjab was the foremost state in coming forward for participating in the World War II. At that time, the Unionist government had given the open and active support to the British Empire which was the ruling political party in Punjab. In his study, Heathcote (1995) had pointed out that the Chief Minister of Punjab, Sikander Hayat Khan (1937–1942) confidently assured Governor of Punjab, Henry Craik (1938–1941) that his province could supply half a million recruits for the Indian Army within weeks if needed. With the opening of World War II, Punjab had again become the 'Pile Arms of the Raj' and supplied cannon fodder for the various

theaters of war. Thus, Punjab had supplied approximately 37 percent soldiers in the World War II. Out of nine Victoria Crosses (VCs) awarded to the entire army from the subcontinent for valour and bravery, eight of them are Punjabis but at a hefty cost of 61,041 Punjabis soldiers dead and 67, 771 wounded.

Punjab was the most fertile area of the Indian subcontinent for agriculture production. Due to the massive irrigation networks, the Punjab had emerged as 'a new agrarian frontier' for the British during the World War II. It had mentioned that on 1 December 1944, 21,410 tons of food grains had been dispatched wheat 13,109 tons; millets 1450 tons; and rice 6,851 tons to the various war fronts by the Punjab Government. Moreover, by the beginning of July 1945, approximately 7,632 tons of food grains had been sent from the Punjab to the famine-stricken areas. In such a typical case, total 6, 80,000 tons of foodgrains had been exported to war fronts from March 1945 to February 1946.

It is well proven that Punjab had played a pivotal role in the construction of British Indian Army. Moreover, Punjab had lagged behind the other provinces of British India in the 'Clock of Recruitment.' It was not only the major area of recruitment, moreover lagged behind the other provinces of India in the recruitment. Consequently, Punjab had got an extremely central place in the British Indian army.

The third objective of the study has covered in the Chapter-VI, under this objective, an attempt to explore the impacts of British rule on Punjab and particularly mapping the spillover impacts of World War I & II on the region. Due to such a large scale mobilization, Punjab had got remarkable results - positive and negative. On the one hand, the world War had brought drastic changes in the geography and socio-economic life of the region. On the other side, a lot many drastic impacts on its geography, economy, society and its existing system.

Due to the massive mobilization, Punjab got stupendous transformations on its economy, society, geography and many more. However, primarily Punjab was a barren and waste land but with the passage of time, Punjab become one of the most favourite place of living for the European people. With the coming of European, new spring of modernization had started in the every aspect of Punjab. For example, they had constructed a new and modern class of health and education system. Moreover, they had developed one of the best irrigation engineering in Punjab. Further, it had changed the barren tracts of land into fertile



area of Punjab. They had introduced new techniques and fertilizers in agriculture and commerce. On the other side, they had exploited Punjab and ruined it. They developed road and railways but for fulfilling their imperial designs.

At last, study has concluded that the role of Punjab, particularly in World Wars had remained under researched and got less consideration from the academicians. Even, it is there; lot of prejudices and unfairness have been remained part and parcel of the existing research documents. It is well established that Punjab had maintained very close military relationship with the British. During the World Wars, British enlisted Punjabis in the British Indian army. Further, their presence rose speedily and lagged behind the other provinces of India in the building of British Indian Army. These soldiers had shown exemplary courage, bravery, and patience in the various battlefield and the achieved victories by defeating the mightiest enemy forces. They fought in trenches, on land, in groups, and in individual combats. Even heavy bombardment couldn't dishearten their resolve to win in the battlefields. Ironically, even the people of Punjab don't know the gallantry achievements of their forefathers.

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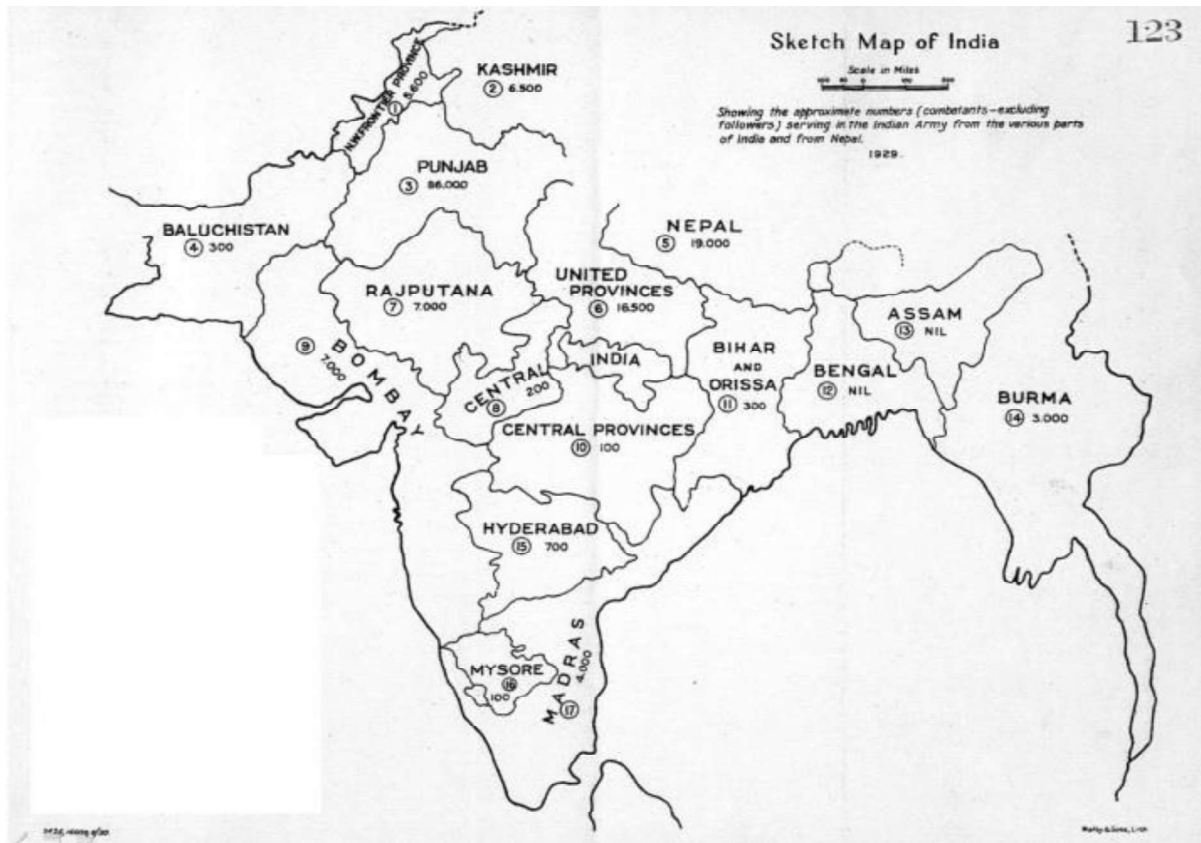
## APPENDIX

### A. Contribution of India to the World War I

Sr. No.	Province	Combatant	Non-Combatant	Total	Percentage
1	Madras	51,223	41,117	92,340	
2	Bombay	41,272	30,211	71,483	
3	Bengal	7,117	51,935	59,052	
4	United Provinces	163,578	117,565	281,143	
5	Punjab	349,688	97,288	446,976	40.72%
6	NWFP	32,181	13,050	45,231	4.12%
7	Baluchistan	1,761	327	2,088	0.19%
8	Burma	14,094	4,579	18,673	
9	Bihar and Orissa	8,576	32,976	41,552	
10	Central Provinces	5,376	9,631	15,007	
11	Assam	942	14,182	15,124	
12	Ajmer-Merwara	7,341	1,632	8,973	
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>683,149</b>	<b>414,493</b>	<b>1,097,642</b>	

Source: Pati, 1996

**B. British Indian Army: Showing Regional Recruitment Trends in 1929**



Source: Soherwordi, 2010