

## War as Opportunity: The Ghadar and the Great War

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The outbreak of the First World War (also known as the Great War), affected the world in diverse ways. The colonies of the European powers were involved in a war which they never experienced earlier in their history. India, as a part of the British Empire joined the war as Indian allies of the British and provided requisite support to the British government. On the other hand, the Ghadarites waged another war in India within the Great War. The Ghadar Movement, which originated among Indian immigrants on the West Coast of America, took a violent turn. The Ghadarites took this War as an opportunity to liberate Indians from the burden of the British Empire. The treatment of Komagata Maru in Vancouver galvanized the Ghadar Movement. Both the War and the Komagata Maru incident encouraged the Ghadarites to return to their motherland to avenge atrocities perpetrated on the passengers of Komagata Maru and persuaded them for the exodus to India to wage a war against British rule. *Illan-i-Jang* (Declaration of War) was announced and Indians in general and the Punjabis in particular was exhorted to leave for India to join the revolution.

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### Introduction

The Ghadar Movement was a serious and important aspect of Indian nationalism. It was organised by Indian immigrants especially the Punjabis on the West Coast of America with the objective of getting India free from oppressive rule of the British. They formed 'Hindustan Association of the Pacific Coast' in the United States of America in April 1913; established their headquarter at the *Yuganter Ashram* and launched the *Ghadar*, a weekly paper. The Ghadar party believed that freedom of India could be achieved only by an armed revolt. Its main activities besides the regular campaign of lectures, were the publication of the *Ghadar* in Gurmukhi, Urdu, Hindi, and English and various books and pamphlets. The purpose was to make people aware about the British misrule in India through this literature before the final call for armed revolution was given. The Ghadar Revolt was directly linked with the First World War. The starting of the War gave a violent turn and preponed what the Ghadar leaders had thought to accomplish in the coming years.

### Outbreak of the Great War and the Ghadar Party

On July 28, 1914, the First World War broke out in Europe after Austria declared war against Serbia. England joined the war against Germany on August 4, 1914.<sup>1</sup> It gave new lease to the Ghadarites. They had been anticipating a war between England and Germany. In fact, Lala Hardayal had predicted it around 1920. He said, “We had six years for preparing ourselves. This period was considered enough for the Ghadar Party to create branches within and outside India and raise the level of consciousness of people and prepare them for a revolt”. But the tragedy of *Komagata Maru* and sudden eruption of the war upset their plans and put the Ghadar leaders in a dilemma.<sup>2</sup> The major question before them was whether they should go for revolution in India or not? They were aware they did not have adequate military equipment, money and men for a revolution. They also knew that they had to fight not only against the British but would also have to bear hostility of her Allies. In India, people and national organisations were supporting the British in their War efforts. However, the Ghadarites were confident that people of India who loved their country would rise at the call of the party to overthrow foreign rule.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the leaders of Ghadar Party started informing overseas Indians about the details of the *Komagata Maru* episode and persuaded them to return to India for revolution much before the commencement of the Great War.<sup>4</sup>

Meetings were arranged at all the major centres of Indian population in California and Oregon. The principal speakers included Mohammad Barkatullah, Bhai Bhagwan Singh, Gobind Bihari Lal and Ram Chandra.<sup>5</sup> They addressed meetings at Elton (California) on 5 July 1914 and at Jersey (California) on 7 July 1914. On 26 July 1914, an important meeting was held at Oxnard (California). At this meeting, Mohammad Barakatullah gave a speech that not only articulated a nationalist community between India, Irish, African and Egyptian revolutionaries, but also indicated that the Great War offered the supreme opportunity for a global colonial rebellion.<sup>6</sup> He also stated:

“The Time for rebellion had come and the British were to be expelled as war in Europe had commenced. It was declared that the Britain would be forced into the war and it was a splendid opportunity to go to India, seduce the troops and start the rebellion.”<sup>7</sup>

They cautioned the audience to seize the opportunity and called for an alliance between India, China and Turkey.<sup>8</sup> Two important rallies were held in San Francisco and Fresno on August 4, 1914 (when England joined the War) and on August 9, 1914 respectively. Ram Chandra, Bhai Bhagwan Singh and Maulvi Barkatullah appealed to people to leave for India. Subscriptions were collected and a list of volunteers prepared. About 200 to 300 Sikhs promised to go to India.<sup>9</sup> Their slogan was:

“*Chalo Chaliye desh nun yudh Karne*  
*Eho akhri bachan farman ho gai*”

(Let us go to our country to fight, this is our last compact and the command).<sup>10</sup>

It was reported that there was great excitement among the Indians in America during August 1914. Bhai Bhagwan Singh informed that the native Army was ready for a revolt and only seeking a favourable moment. The Amir of Afghanistan would help them with arms and ten lakh men. Thousands of Indians were ready to return from America and thousands of dollars had been collected. They were looking for a Japanese steamer to take them back to India. However, many of the Ghadarites recognized that as long as Japan remained an ally of England, it would be futile to attempt a rebellion in India.<sup>11</sup>

A special meeting was held at Sacramento on August 11, 1914. It was attended by 5,000 to 6,000 men. Muhammad Barkatullah presided over this meeting and told the audience why should they go to India and how should they go about their work.<sup>12</sup> Prithvi Singh Azad, who was also present at that meeting, described it as “a gathering of true lovers of freedom where every word and gesture was eloquent of the passion”. The leaders and participants speculated about various kinds of methods and actions, purchase of weapons, manufacture of bombs and going into army barracks to win over Indian soldiers for the uprising. He wrote that everyone present at the gathering at Sacramento sensed a crusading fire in everyone around. But none had any clear idea in his mind of the nature or content of the revolutionary programme. So a belief, *Jiwen Da Lagge, Tiwen La Laiyey* (Let us take whatever action seems fit and suitable) appeared to make good sense to the inspired.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, Harnam Singh Tundilat recounted the dilemma of the leadership at that time. He stated that the party was not at all prepared for an immediate armed action. Every leader seemed to be at a loss to decide what course of action they should choose.<sup>14</sup> Sohan Singh Bhakna recalled that he reflected ‘for two nights’ on the dilemma posed by the War. He knew very well that the Ghadrates were as yet nowhere near the kind of preparation that was required on this occasion. But “whatever was the condition, it was necessary to take advantage of the opportunity; there was no alternative”.<sup>15</sup>

Those present in the Sacramento meeting were eager to leave for India. The most impatient ones were Kartar Singh Sarabha, Rughubar Dayal Gupta etc. They left for India without waiting for the decision of the meeting.<sup>16</sup> Sohan Singh Bhakna at this time was in Japan. The Ghadar Party sent him there when it received the news of the impending departure of the *Komagata Maru* to India. He had left San Francisco on 21 July 1914, two days before the departure of the ship, with the object of supplying arms and ammunition to the passengers of *Komagata Maru* and ask them to prepare the ground for implementation of party’s programme in India.<sup>17</sup> He was instructed to follow the *Komagata Maru* to India and take as many revolutionaries along with him from the countries on the way as he could to carry out party’s programme.<sup>18</sup> The *Komagata Maru* arrived at Yokohama (Japan) on 16 August 1914. Sohan Singh Bhakna delivered 100 revolvers and ammunition to the passengers at Yokohama Port.<sup>19</sup> He explained to the passengers the decision of the Ghadar Party in connection with

the War and their duty towards India. He told them that the Ghadar Party had already sent some men to India to do revolutionary work. They would meet them and coordinate their activities with them.<sup>20</sup> Bhai Bhagwan Singh also visited the ship at Yokohama and delivered an inciting lecture to the passengers to rise against the British.<sup>21</sup>

At this time, Lala Hardayal was in Switzerland. In April 1915, he went to Constantinople for some time. From there, he wrote a letter which was published in the *Ghadar* issue of 1 August 1915. He stated that the Hindus and the Muslims resided in large numbers in Turkey while lakhs were coming every year to perform the *Haj*. Thus, it was essential to preach the Ghadar among them. He also established a branch of the Ghadar Party in Constantinople.<sup>22</sup> He came back to Geneva in October 1915. It was reported that he was offered employment as an agent by the German Foreign Office but he replied that his anarchist principles forbade him to serve any government.<sup>23</sup>

However, in the Sacramento meeting, it was unanimously decided that the opportunity created by the War must not be wasted. It was better to do something than let the opportunity pass unavailed. Bhai Bhagwan Singh prepared a document on the *Ilan-i-Jung* (Declaration of War) of the Ghadar Party and circulated it widely.<sup>24</sup> The call to go to India was often reiterated with a view to liberate the homeland.<sup>25</sup> Prominent leaders were sent to Japan, Philippines, China, Hong Kong, the Malaya States, Singapore and Burma to exhort people living over there to return home and join the rebels.<sup>26</sup> It was to be an armed struggle waged against the British - a War fought with weapons.<sup>27</sup> They reminded the Indians of ensuring *Ghadar* in India and asked for participation in the struggle.<sup>28</sup> About \$5000 to \$6000 were raised in this meeting to buy passages and arms. Moreover, the audience was informed that a ship would shortly sail from San Francisco.<sup>29</sup> On September 23, 1914, three hundred and fifty Indians gathered at Iwata Theatre, Fresno (California). Lectures were delivered by prominent Ghadarites in favour of revolution in India. A subscription of more than Rs.82,000 was taken up. It was decided to use it for sending literature to India. Ram Chandra, the principal speaker and Chairman of the meeting, in his long speech, pointed out that England is engaged in the War and it was an opportunity of uprising against them and expel them from India. Bhai Bhagwan Singh and Maulvi Barkatullah persuaded Indians to return to their native land and spread the news among their brothers and friends that now was the time for a revolution. They declared that a revolution against England was certain in time, but to strike now would mean victory for India.<sup>30</sup> The speakers explained further that:

“an organization in San Francisco is now active in spreading the news among the Hindus in California that they are needed in their country to take arms against England. Lecturers are being sent to different sections of the state where Hindus are employed in the fruit plantations and mass meetings were held. The money being received from collections at the meetings is being used in sending printed matter to the Hindus. There is

also a general fund and it is reported that much of this is being expended in sending the Hindus to military schools so that they can return to India and teach their countrymen the art of War".<sup>31</sup>

Youth were invoked to fight, sacrifice their lives for freedom of the country and release themselves from atrocities of the British rule.<sup>32</sup> The agriculturists and peasants were similarly instructed to prevent grain from being exported to England either by breaking up railway lines or by pulling down bridges.<sup>33</sup>

### **The Ghadar and the Great War**

Special articles on the War were published in *Ghadar* of July 28 and August 4, 1914, explaining to the readers their duty in the event of War.<sup>34</sup> In the issue dated 28 July 1914, a letter purporting to be written by Ajit Singh urging "patriots" to rise was published. He urged Indians to enlist themselves in the Ghadar Army.<sup>35</sup> In the issue of 4 August 1914 an article "The Bugle of War" was published. It also exhorted Indians to assist Germany. It also remarked that Germany single-handed would not be able to achieve her object. In the same issue, another article entitled "The Trumpet of War" was published. It proclaimed:

"O Warriors, the time you have been awaiting has come. The bugle of War has sounded. The War between England and Germany has started. Now is the time for India. If you set up a mutiny now, the England will come to an end. On the one side, Germany will smite them and the other side you".<sup>36</sup>

*The Portland Telegram* in its issue on 7 August 1914 reported:

"*Hindus Go home to fight a Revolution*".

"Astoria (Oregon) August 7, 1914. Every train and boat for the South carries large number of Hindus from this city and if the exodus keeps up much longer, Astoria will be entirely deserted by the East Indians. The majority of the Hindus employed at the Hammond Mills have gone and the balance are preparing to depart in the immediate future. It is alleged that the men are returning to India by way of San Francisco, where, it is said, a vessel has been chartered to aid in a revolution which is expected to break out in India as a result of England being occupied in the general European War. It is said a Japanese steamer will carry the Hindus to their native land".<sup>37</sup>

In the issue of 11 August 1914, a cartoon appeared showing how the nations of Europe were embroiled in the War and what a golden chance it was for Indians to liberate themselves from the foreign yoke.<sup>38</sup> On 18 August, the "*Hindustan Ghadr*" wrote the following motivating words:

“O beloved Indian brothers! British rule in India rests on the weak foundation. English men are not acquainted with our languages. They did not mix with us. They learned ourselves only from the Indian secret police and from Rai Bahadurs and Khan Bahadurs. At the present delicate time, it will not be difficult to over-awe the Indian secret police or reason with them regular efforts should be made in connection with this matter. It will assuredly lead to success. “O thirty crores Indians! Think a little of the courage displayed by the small nations like those of Belgium and Montenegro and drown yourselves in a handful of water. If you do not take advantage of this great opportunity, your existence will be counted to be a filthy burden on the face of earth. By your awakening, however, the whole world will rejoice and by your freedom the well-being of the entire human race will be safeguarded. Be men and have courage. Leap up like a lion and take your stand. Carry firmly in your hands swords and guns during the mutiny and strike off the heads *Feringhees* and get yourselves liberated forever from the prison of bondage”.<sup>39</sup>

### **The Ghadarites Proceed to India**

Immediately after the declaration of War, a large number of Indians started proceeding to India. The first band of revolutionaries, around seventy in number, sailed from San Francisco on 29 August 1914 by a ship named *S.S. Korea*. Among them, Piara Singh, Inder Singh, Pirthi Singh, Kesar Singh, Mangal Singh, Nidhan Singh and Umrao Singh were important.<sup>40</sup> Before departure, Ram Chandra addressed them as follow:

“Your duty is clear. Go to India and stir up rebellion in every corner of the country. Rob the wealthy and show mercy to the poor. In this way, you will win universal sympathy. Arms will be provided for you on arrival in India. Failing this you must ransack the police stations for rifles. Obey without hesitation the commands of your leaders”.<sup>41</sup>

After *S.S. Korea*, ship after ship, carrying groups of revolutionaries came to the shores of India. Among them was *Tosa Maru*, which arrived in Calcutta on October 28, 1914 with 173 Indian passengers, mostly Sikhs from America, Japan, Manila, Hong Kong and Shanghai.<sup>42</sup> On September 5, 1914, another ship named *S.S. Siberia* left San-Francisco for India. The most important revolutionaries on the board were Mula Singh, Umrao Singh and Dhian Singh. This vessel called at Honolulu, Yokohama and Nagasaki and thence proceeded to Shanghai where its voyage ended. *S.S. Mashima Maru* boarded about 60 or 70 Indian revolutionaries who arrived at Hong Kong on October 3, 1914.<sup>43</sup>

About eight ships carrying big groups of Ghadarites had departed from the ports of Victoria and San Francisco. While on their voyage, they spent most of their time in committing their memory to the songs from '*Ghadar-di-Goonj*'. On the ships, meetings were held to make plans. Members were divided into *jathas* (squads) under different leaders. Prithvi Singh says that every decision was made openly and 'with spies surrounding us everywhere', whatever important decisions were taken by them were promptly conveyed to the British Government in India.<sup>44</sup>

On the way, wherever the ships stopped, at Hong Kong, Singapore, Rangoon etc., they made contacts with the Indian soldiers and stirred them against the British Government.<sup>45</sup> A meeting was organized in the *Gurdwara* at Hong Kong when the *S.S. Korea* and *Mashima Maru* arrived there. This meeting was attended by the Sikh sepoys. They told them about the hardships they faced in Hong Kong. However, sepoys assured the Ghadarites of their assistance.<sup>46</sup> Government reports admit that there was considerable influence of the Ghadarites on the Sikh regiments stationed at Hong Kong. Therefore, the Hong Kong authorities took precautions against the spread of any seditious movement among the soldiers. In April 1914, an Ordinance was passed to prevent the circulation of seditious literature among the soldiers. Under this Ordinance, copies of *Ghadar* were examined and intercepted in large numbers. It was also found that a few copies were brought to Hong Kong by Indians coming from America and Eastern ports. During the months of July, August and September 1914, about 20 copies of the *Ghadar* were posted to Hong Kong. However, these were captured by the authority. Moreover, restrictions were also imposed on the entry of Indians into Hong Kong with a view to exclude seditious agitations.<sup>47</sup>

Efforts were made to tamper the loyalty of the Indian Army and to inculcate the idea of mutiny. Soldiers were asked not to proceed on service to War Fronts in Europe. The Ghadarites generally carried with them the *Ghadar-di-Goonj* (Echo of Mutiny) which is a collection of inciting and bloodthirsty poems. They read aloud from these poems and distributed them among the soldiers.<sup>48</sup> In Singapore, the Malaya States Artillery advised them not to fight against the Germans. They addressed the soldiers using the following words:

- (i) "You go and fight for the sake of the Whites. You always attacked other countries. Why do you not take your own country into your charge?;
- (ii) "We fight bearing the flag of the English. This is a matter of shame";
- (iii) The mutiny party has undertaken to make India free. You have a sufficient number of soldiers. Your brothers are in the army, and there are many reservists and retired soldiers living in the villages";
- (iv) "O' soldiers, have you not to do with Indians? Have you vowed to live as slaves of the English? Are your lives worth on Rs.9 each? You can extirpate the Europeans in a moment. O brave men how long will you remain slaves? Arise and sacrifice yourself"; and

- (v) “Let us preach sermons to the armies to the affect that we must kill the whites and cut them to pieces”.<sup>49</sup>

They sought awakening among the Indians and called upon the soldiers to position themselves and form the government as the enemy had returned to Europe. Moreover, they urged the Indians to rise and raise the revolt.<sup>50</sup> The Mohammedan soldiers were also asked that the *Khalifa* of Turkey had proclaimed *Jihad* against the British, now is the time to liberate India.”<sup>51</sup> On 8 November 1914, the *Hindustan Ghadar* announced that, “the *Sheikh-ul-Islam* had declared that it was the duty of every Mohammedan to fight against the English, French and Russians”. Therefore, special efforts were apparently made to send the *Ghadar* issue of 8 November to the Mohammedans.<sup>52</sup> The Sikh soldiers were also addressed through the Ghadar literature in the following way:

“Sikh soldiers remember the Lion of the Punjab! Your brethren are being hanged. Awake and show the world that you will no longer be the slaves of the English. The British are oppressing India for the sake of money. English soldiers received large pay, you get mere pittance. When there is fighting to do they remain behind and you are placed in front. Keep the example of Singapore soldiers and fight for the liberty of your country”.<sup>53</sup>

Although a large of those already prepared from the Indian settlers had returned to India, yet the Ghadar Party in America continued its efforts among the remainders. On December 23, 1914, a meeting attended by some two hundred Indians was held at Stockton. The principal speaker was Nand Singh Sihra, a Berkeley student. He urged every man present in the meeting to return to India to preach mutiny among the native people. Another meeting was held at the Sikh *Gurdwara* in Stockton in January 1915. In this meeting, it was decided that Indians should return in small parties, not more than six on one ship and enter India by different routes.<sup>54</sup> On January 29, 1915, an important meeting was held at Holt, San Francisco. It was attended by 400 Indians. Photographs of Mewa Singh, the murderer of William C. Hopkinson, Inspector, Canadian Immigration Department, were distributed to each man present. It is reported that a large number of these photographs have been sent to India.<sup>55</sup>

### **Ghadar Activities in India**

On reaching India, the Ghadarites found that the atmosphere in India was far from conducive to revolution. People were not ready to take advantage of the situation created by the War. Moreover, political parties and other local organizations in the Punjab were supporting the British in their War efforts. The Punjab supplied its best men for the War. The native Kings and Princes, in whom the Ghadarites put so much faith turned out to be stooges of the British. Moreover, the religious leaders issued a *fatwa* against them, excommunicated



and expelled them from their faith, branded them traitors. *Gurdwaras*, temples, churches and mosques were all filled with those who prayed for the victory of the British. Despite this unfavourable atmosphere, the Ghadarites held meetings at various places in the country especially in the Punjab and made plans for their revolutionary activities.<sup>56</sup> The Punjab was the main centre of their activities. They made desperate efforts to get support of the peasantry but received little response. They were short of funds and weapons. Therefore, they decided to organize dacoities and raids on the treasury and arsenals of the Government.<sup>57</sup> The dacoities were one of the programmes of the returning Ghadarites in India. It was approvingly mentioned in the *Ghadar* poems. It was suggested as legitimate means for raising funds. *Paisa Lut Faranghee Da Kam Karna* (work is to be done with money looted from the British) appeared as one of the notions with many of them. Ram Chandra also instructed them to rob the wealthy and show mercy to the poor. The proposal of committing dacoities for collecting money was discussed during their journey to India.<sup>58</sup>

On the other hand, the Government was fully aware of the activities of the Indian emigrants. A Foreigner Ordinance had already been passed by the Government on 28 August 1914 in order to prevent the entry of the emigrants into India.<sup>59</sup> An Ingress Ordinance was issued on 5 September 1914, which empowered the Government to restrict the liberty of any person entering India after 5 September 1914. Under this Ordinance, the Government could restrict the movement of persons entering India whether by sea or land in order to protect the state from the danger of anything prejudicial to its safety, interests or tranquility.<sup>60</sup> Thus, under the Ingress Ordinance, many Ghadarites who returned to India by different ships were arrested by the Government on their arrival at Indian ports. Leading Ghadarites such as Sohan Singh Bhakna, Bhai Kesar Singh, Bhai Jawala Singh, Bhai Sher Singh, Ishar Singh, Udham Singh were arrested at the very outset. Up to 16 December 1914, the Punjab Government interned 119 returned emigrants to India under the Ingress Ordinance. Of these, one hundred were the passengers of *Tosa Maru* ship.<sup>61</sup> This meant a great setback to the movement. Many of them, however, escaped successfully including Kartar Singh Sarabha, Bhai Nidhan Singh, Harnam Singh Tundilat etc. Bhai Bhagwan Singh, Santokh Singh, Maulvi Barkatullah and Ram Chandra had stayed back in California hoping to develop collaboration with the Germans.<sup>62</sup>

However, the Ghadarites who escaped made their first task to contact all their comrades and to reorganize the party. In the Punjab, meetings were organised at Moga, Amritsar and Khanna (District Ludhiana). At these gatherings, Kartar Singh Sarabha and Bhai Nidhan Singh explained to the people the miserable conditions in which they had to live under British rule.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, steps were taken for manufacturing of bombs and for the procurement of arms. Bomb manufacturing hideouts were also established. The hardships expressed by the people, due to rising prices because of the War were fully utilized by the Ghadarites to arouse anti-British feelings among the masses.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, the Ghadarites gathered at public fairs, during *Diwali* and *Amawas*, at Sikh religious places like Amritsar, Nankana Sahib, Tarn Taran and Muktsar and openly exhorted people to rise against the British. Some of them, such as Harnam Singh

‘Tundilat’ and Banta Singh toured through the villages, delivering highly emotional lectures to try to get cooperation from the people.<sup>65</sup> They advised the people to boycott the English Courts, not to pay revenue to the *Lambardars* and rob them when they went to deposit revenue in the treasuries. Lectures were delivered in *Dharamsalas* and attempts were made to raise men to oppose the Government.<sup>66</sup> There were reports that similar emotional speeches were made in the United Provinces as well by returning Sikhs.<sup>67</sup>

The dacoities were conducted by them in different parts of the country especially in Punjab. On October 16, 1914, the first act of violence in Punjab occurred at Chauki Man Railway Station, Ludhiana. It was said that a consignment of arms was expected at this Station. Three men came to the station on the night of October 16, 1914. They entered the Station Master’s Office and shot at him and took away the money they found there. Subsequently, two men were arrested by the police in this particular case.<sup>68</sup> Two important meetings were organized at Nankana Sahib (Gujrawala) and at Khalsa (Amritsar) in October 1914. The Khalsa meeting was attended by Kartar Singh Sarabha and Amar Singh. In this meeting, it was decided that a general outbreak of activities would take place on November 15, 1914.<sup>69</sup> On November 13, 1914, a burglary was committed in Lyallpur District. On November 17, 1914, there was a robbery of mail bags in the Ferozepur Cantonment. Subsequently, a group of Ghadarites murdered a Sub-Inspector and *Zaildar* in Ludhiana District and looted the *tehsil* treasury at Moga.<sup>70</sup> On 23 November, another meeting was held at Ladowal railway station, Ludhiana district. This meeting was attended by Amar Singh, Nawab Khan, Jagat Singh, Bhai Nidhan Singh, Kanshi Ram, Chanda Singh, Rahmat Ali Khan etc. In this meeting, they decided to attack the Mian Mir Cantonment, Lahore. After the meeting, Nidhan Singh instructed them to meet at Moga on 24 November for attack on the Mian Mir on November 25, 1914.<sup>71</sup> On the night of January 27, 1915, about 16-17 ‘dacoits’ entered the house of a money-lender at Mansura, Ludhiana district. The villagers assembled and were told by the ‘dacoits’ not to attack them as they were doing no harm to the common people and they were only robbing the moneylenders. The villagers asked them that were they not afraid of the British Raj. The ‘dacoits’ replied that the British Raj was nearly at an end and the German Raj would come soon.<sup>72</sup> On February 2, 1915, a dacoity was committed in which a Brahmin moneylender was murdered in Amritsar district. The men were armed with bombs, pistols. They carried off property worth Rs.18,000. On February 3, 1915, the house of a woman of Ludhiana district was attacked by a group of 14 or 15 persons armed with pistols, two axes and a sword and property worth Rs.2,000 was carried off. On February 12, 1915, a dacoity took place in Hoshiarpur district.<sup>73</sup> Bhai Kesar Singh, a Sikh chauffeur from Calcutta tried to distribute the Ghadar literature among the troops in the garrison but he was arrested and prosecuted at Jubbulpore.<sup>74</sup> Many more such dacoities are mentioned in Government Reports. It is not clear whether they all were committed by the Ghadarites but the Government laid the blame for all these dacoities on the Ghadarites in Central Punjab.

Early in 1915, the Ghadarites made contacts with the terrorist groups in other parts of country. In January 1915, Rash Bihari Bose (leader of the group which had tried to assassinate Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy in December 1912) arrived at Amritsar, Punjab with V.G. Pingley. He pinned his hopes on the defection of the men of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Cavalry at Lahore and 28<sup>th</sup> Punjabi at Ferozepur. In fact, some of them had agreed to mutiny. He also sent his agents to other cantonments; Ambala, Agra, Kanpur, Allahabad, Banaras, Lukhnow, Multan, Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Kohat and Peshawar. On receiving favourable reports, he fixed the night of February 21, 1915 for the general uprising of Indian troops at Lahore, Ferozepur and Rawalpindi Cantonments. Copies of the *Ilan-i-Jung* were cyclostyled for distribution.<sup>75</sup> An important meeting was held on February 16, 1915 and at this meeting, Jagat Singh, Karak Singh and Kartar Singh were deputed to Ambala for collecting men for the uprising. Vishnu Ganesh Pingle was sent to Ferozepur and Gurmukh Singh was deputed to Rawalpindi, Jhelum and Hoti Mardan. These men took with them copies of *Ghadar di Goonj*. They were directed not to leave the stations allotted to them till the uprising.<sup>76</sup>

This grand Ghadarite plan, however, was foiled. Information of the projected rising was received by the Government through a spy, Kirpal Singh. When Rash Bihari Bose came to know about it, he preponed the date of revolt to 19 February. But the police raided Rash Bihari's headquarter at Lahore on that day.<sup>77</sup> Amar Singh Rajput was the leader of the Lahore Group. In fact, he had taken three houses on rent in Lahore for accommodation for himself and his men. These houses were searched by the Police on 23 February 1915.<sup>78</sup> Thirteen revolutionaries including Amar Singh were captured. The police also seized a number of national flags, copies of *Ilan-i-Jang* (Declaration of War), certain number of firearms and twelve bombs.<sup>79</sup> However, Rash Bihari Bose and Vishnu Ganesh Pingley escaped. But V.G. Pingley was arrested at Meerut Cantonment on March 24, 1915.<sup>80</sup> On February 24, 1915, three more members of the same group were arrested when police raided another house in Lahore. The police seized one revolver, one sword stick and some revolutionary literature. They also found a considerable quantity of blank papers.<sup>81</sup>

### Colonial Government Responses to Ghadarite Activities

On March 19, 1915, the Government passed Defence of India Act. Its most important provision was the appointment of Special Tribunals for the trial of revolutionary crimes.<sup>82</sup> The Act was brought into force in 16 out of 23 districts of the Punjab to restrict the movement of suspicious characters.<sup>83</sup> Despite the passing of the Defence of India Act, the revolutionary activities continued. Arms and revolutionary literature at Thikriwala in Gurdaspur district were captured on April 3, 1915.<sup>84</sup> On 25 April 1915, Chand Singh, *Zaildar*, Hoshiarpur district was killed by the Ghadarites. Because of this, two Ghadarites, Banta Singh, village Sangowal, Jullundur district and Buta Singh, village Akalgarh, Ludhiana district were hanged.<sup>85</sup> On 2 August 1915, Kapur Singh, *sahukar*, village Padri Kalan, Amritsar was murdered by the Ghadarites.<sup>86</sup> However, after August 1915, the Ghadar Uprising started declining in India. Nearly all the leaders and

many of their most active adherents had been captured by the authorities. The Ghadarites who were arrested and jailed at different places were tried in many trials. Among them most famous were held at Lahore. Many of those convicted were hanged and scores of them were sent to *kala pani*, that is, across the black water to Andaman Islands.<sup>87</sup> In a series of conspiracy trials that followed, 291 accused were tried, 42 of them were sentenced to death, 114 transported for life and 93 awarded varying terms of imprisonment.<sup>88</sup>

As the British colonial State was brutally suppressing the Ghadar rising, the Ghadarites turned towards future with high hopes that India would soon be free.<sup>89</sup> The *Hindustan Ghadar*, on 20 June 1915, published the translation of a number of extracts from American papers dealing with the Lahore Conspiracy Case. The most interesting was 'the San Francisco Call', containing a defence of Ghadar propaganda by Ram Chandra. He denied the existence of a secret conspiracy in America against British rule in India.<sup>90</sup> The following letter by Ram Chandra, editor of *Ghadar*, appeared in the *New York Times* on July 21, 1915:

"I have honour to represent, as editor, the Hindu Nationalist organ, the *Hindustan Ghadar*, a weekly, published from San Francisco. A number of misleading reports have been circulated in this country by the British official news-agencies, which have a direct bearing on our work. Newspapers have published here that the powerful and numerous uprising which have thrown India into turmoil were 'hatched and plotted' by the staff of our paper, *The Hindustan Ghadar*. The British rule in Indian is in grave peril. Nobody can deny that. But the British have entirely to thank themselves for it. The revolt in India is as widespread as it is indigenous. It has not been artificially 'hatched by the Germans or the Austrians' or even by the Hindus who have come out of their country in search of meagre living or of education. As regards the work of *the Hindustan Ghadar* there has never been any secret. It is published by the Hindu residents of the United States and is an uncompromising advocate of complete political independence and liberty for India".<sup>91</sup>

### Germany and the Ghadar Party

The Ghadar Party in the USA tried to get support from other anti-British countries during the War. Moreover, in the USA and Germany, they renewed their efforts to enlist the sympathy and support of the Germans. Germany was equally utilizing the activities of the revolutionaries against the British.<sup>92</sup> On September 1, 1914, the *Ghadar* advised Indians to go back to India as it indicated that Turkey would be an ally of Germany against the British.<sup>93</sup> By September 3, 1914, the Foreign Office in Berlin had agreed that Germany would assist nationalists. For the next few weeks, there were almost daily Indian

German meetings to discuss next probable steps.<sup>94</sup> In a meeting on June 4, 1915 at Orwood Island, California, Ram Chandra said that the assurance of German help for revolution in India had been received. It was also decided that Indians who wished to fight for their country would be sent to Germany where they would preach anti-British sentiments.<sup>95</sup> In the issue of November 15, 1915, the following assurance was given:

“The German have great sympathy with our movement for liberty because we both have a common enemy (the English). In future, Germany can draw assistance from us and they can render us great assistance also”.<sup>96</sup>

In May 1915, the Indian National Party was established in Berlin, Germany with the efforts of Chandra Kant Charkravarty, Hamendra Kishore Rakshit and Champarkaran Pillai.<sup>97</sup> Later, Indian National Party was renamed as the Berlin India Committee.<sup>98</sup> The main work of the Berlin Committee was to organize the revolutionaries, both in India and abroad with a common plan of action. They sent men and money to India with instructions to inform the leaders of both nationalist and revolutionary organization that help would be forth-coming from Germany by way of supply of weapons and that they should organize themselves accordingly and prepare plans beforehand.<sup>99</sup>

In October 1915, the Indo-German Mission was sent to Kabul by the German Government. The main object of this Mission was to get favour of the *Amir* of Afghanistan for the Germans and make Kabul the base for military training of Indians.<sup>100</sup> Mahendra Pratap personally visited the German Foreign Office and suggested that he, Maulvi Barakatullah and a few ex Indian prisoners-of-war should be included in the Mission.<sup>101</sup> He carried twenty six letters from Bethmann Hollwed, the German Chancellor, addressed to Indian Princes requesting them to rise against the British and assuring them of German support.<sup>102</sup> On the way, the Mission visited the Turkish Sultan at Istanbul who gave him a letter for the Amir of Afghanistan. Significantly, Maulvi Barkatullah procured a *fatwa* from *Shiekh-ul-Islam* asking the Muslims of India to join with the Hindus against the British.<sup>103</sup> The Mission reached the Afghan capital, Kabul on October 2, 1915.<sup>104</sup> Many official meetings were held between the members of the Mission and the Afghan officials. As a result, ‘A Provisional Government of India’ was set up in Kabul on December 1, 1915 with Mahendra Pratap as its President and Maulvi Barkatullah and Maulvi Obeidullah as the Prime Minister and Home Minister respectively.<sup>105</sup> This Government sent several letters to the Princes of India as well as one letter each to the King of Nepal and the Czar of Russia calling for a collaborative onslaught on the British. Maulvi Obeidullah Sindhi, a Sikh converted to Islam, wrote a series of letters to different influential persons of the Muslim world, describing the constitution of the Pan Islamic Army (Army of God) with headquarter at Medina. These letters, dated 9 July 1916, were written on Yellow Silk and sown up inside the lining of the coat of a special messenger who was to convey them in person to Mahmud Hasan for sending to proper places. But this ‘Silk Letter Conspiracy’ was disclosed and no positive result came out of it.<sup>106</sup>

### Conclusion

Thus, the outbreak of World War I opened a window for the Ghadarites to launch their armed struggle to liberate Indians from the burden of British Imperial slavery. They felt that it was a golden opportunity to throw the British out of India. The *Komagata Maru* incident also incited them to join the war against the British Government. Moreover, starting of the First World War provided them the strategic advantage. They began to establish contacts with various nations. They wanted to eliminate British officers in India, free political prisoners, rob government treasuries, disrupt the means of communications and transportation, train young people for the revolution and organize people-peasants and workers. But in India, all major national political parties and socio-religious organisations, especially in Punjab were busy in supporting the Government and did not favour the Ghadarites. Moreover, the peasantry and soldiers were also not ready to respond to the Ghadar revolution. The superior intelligence of the British Empire and its police and military might crushed this movement.

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### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> On July 28, 1914, Austria declared War against Serbia. The immediate cause of the War was the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the Prince of Austria, and his wife. They were shot dead on June 28, 1914 at 10:15 am in Sarajevo by Gavrilo Princip, a 24 years old Serb: Raj Kumar, *Empire, the Punjab and the First World War*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 2016), p. 22.
- <sup>2</sup> Lala Hardayal was a great orator and scholar. He was born in Delhi in 1884 and got his Bachelor Degree from Saint Stephen's College, Delhi. In 1905, he was selected for state scholarship and joined St. John College, Oxford. Here, he met revolutionaries from India as well as other countries. He resigned his scholarship in 1907 and started taking part in the revolutionary movement. In 1911, he went to the United States and joined the faculty of Stanford University. In 1912-1913, he addressed Indian immigrants and prepared them for revolution in India. Therefore, his role in the Ghadar movement is considered very important. He was the General Secretary of the movement and editor of the *Ghadar* paper. In March 1914, he was arrested by the American Government because of his inflammatory speeches. He jumped bail and went to Switzerland leaving the affairs of the Ghadar movement in the hands of Ram Chandra: Raj Kumar, "Understanding Lala Hardayal's Role in Ghadar Movement", Joginder Singh (Ed.),

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*Reflections on Ghadar Movement*, (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 2014), pp. 123-141.

- <sup>3</sup> H. K. Puri, "Revolutionary Organisation: A Study of the Ghadar Movement", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 9, September-October 1980, pp. 53-66. See also, Satya M. Rai, *Punjabi Heroic Tradition 1900-1947*, (Patiala: Punjabi University Press).
- <sup>3</sup> H. K. Puri, "Revolutionary University, 1978), p. 49.
- <sup>4</sup> The treatment of the passengers of *Komagata Maru* at Vancouver harbour accentuated the Ghadarites' enmity against British Imperialism. The incident had moved them emotionally against the British Government and they had made up their minds to lay down their lives for country's freedom: Raj Kumar, "Komagata Maru Incident and the First World War: A Study of their Impact on Ghadar Movement", Joginder Singh (Ed.), *Reflections on Komagata Maru Episode*, (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 2015), p. 144.
- <sup>5</sup> Weekly Report of the Director of Criminal Intelligence (hereafter DCI's Weekly Report), 20 October 1914: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, December 1914, File Nos. 218-222 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>6</sup> Matthew Erin Plowman, "Irish Republicans and the Indo-German Conspiracy of World War I", *New Hibernia Review*, Vol.7, No.3, 2003, p. 86.
- <sup>7</sup> Mohammad Barakatullah was a well-known revolutionary, born at Bhopal in 1859. He spent his whole life outside India for the freedom struggle of India. In May 1914, he joined the Ghadar Party with Bhagwan Singh after the departure of Lala Hardayal from America. He was appointed as Vice President of the Ghadar Party. During the War, he played an important role in impression upon the Indians to go to India for revolution in his public addresses. He also accompanied Mahendra Pratap in Indo-German Mission to Kabul in 1915-16: Mohammad Ayub Khan, "A Unifying Figure: Maulana Barakatullah Bhopali", Prithviraj Kalia (Ed.), *The Ghadar Movement and India's Anti-Imperialist Struggle*, (Canada: Progressive People's Foundation of Edmonton Alberta, 2013), p. 249. See also, *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, October 1915, File No. 91.
- <sup>8</sup> For the original in Gurmukhi see *Ghadar Lehar Di Kavita* (Kesar Singh Navalkar), August 25, 1914. (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1995), pp. 146-147.

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- <sup>9</sup> *Lahore Conspiracy Cases I and II, Ghadar Movement Original Documents*, Vol. I, (Eds.) Malwinderjit Singh Waraich & Harinder Singh, (Chandigarh: Unistar, 2008), p. 123.
  - <sup>10</sup> *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, October 1915, File No. 91 (NAI, New Delhi).
  - <sup>11</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 20 October 1914: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, December 1914, File Nos. 218-222 (NAI, New Delhi).
  - <sup>12</sup> *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, October 1915, File No. 91 (NAI, New Delhi).
  - <sup>13</sup> Prithvi Singh Azad, *Kranti Path Ka Pathik* (Hindi), (Agra: Pragya Prakashan, 1970), p. 66.
  - <sup>14</sup> H. K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation & Strategy*, (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University Press, 1983), pp. 82,151.
  - <sup>15</sup> Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, *Meri Ram Kahani*, Rajwinder Singh Rahi (Ed.), (Samana: Sagar Publication, 2012), p. 120.
  - <sup>16</sup> H. K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation & Strategy*, p. 82.
  - <sup>17</sup> *Home Department, Political-A, Proceedings*, GOI, September 1914, File Nos. 211-224 (NAI, New Delhi).
  - <sup>18</sup> The Komagata Maru affairs produced a deep impression on the minds of Indian immigrants in Canada and America. It contributed significantly towards the homeward move of the Indians: Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*, (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1977), p. 200. See also, Raj Kumar, "Komagata Maru Incident and the First World War: A Study of their Impact on Ghadar Movement", p. 146.
  - <sup>19</sup> *Home Department, Political-A, Proceedings*, GOI, September 1914, File Nos. 211-224 (NAI, New Delhi).
  - <sup>20</sup> Sohan Singh Josh, *Tragedy of Komagata Maru*, (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1975), p. 65.
  - <sup>21</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 15 September 1914: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, December 1914, File Nos. 216-217 (NAI, New Delhi).



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- <sup>22</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 28 September 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, September 1915, File Nos. 582-585 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>23</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 17 August 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, August 1915, File Nos. 552-556 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>24</sup> Bipin Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence 1857-1947*, (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1988), p. 153.
- <sup>25</sup> For the original in Gurmukhi see *Ghadar Lehar Di Kavita* (Kesar Singh Navalkar), December 20, 1914. (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1995), p. 176
- <sup>26</sup> Raj Kumar, *Empire, The Punjab and The First World War*, p. 147.
- <sup>27</sup> For the original in Gurmukhi see *Ghadar Lehar Di Kavita* (Kesar Singh Navalkar), November 17, 1915. (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1995), p. 224.
- <sup>28</sup> For the original in Gurmukhi see *Ghadar Lehar Di Kavita* (Kesar Singh Navalkar), February 23, March 1, 1916. (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1995), pp. 237-418.
- <sup>29</sup> *Lahore Conspiracy Cases I and II, Ghadar Movement Original Documents*, Vol. I, p. 124.
- <sup>30</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 17 November 1914: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, December 1914, File Nos. 223-226 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>31</sup> F. C. Isemonger and J Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy (1913-1915)*, (Lahore: Government Publication, 1919), reprint 1998, pp. 57-58.
- <sup>32</sup> For the original in Gurmukhi see *Ghadar Lehar Di Kavita* (Kesar Singh Navalkar), January 15, 1915. (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1995), p. 185.
- <sup>33</sup> For the original in Gurmukhi see *Ghadar Lehar Di Kavita* (Kesar Singh Navalkar), September 8, 1914. (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1995), p. 150.

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- <sup>34</sup> *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, October 1915, File No. 91. See also, F.C. Isemonger & J. Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy (1913-1915)*, p. 19.
- <sup>35</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 15 September 1914: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, December 1914, File Nos. 216-217 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>36</sup> *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, October 1915, File No. 91.
- <sup>37</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 20 October 1914: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, December 1914, File Nos. 218-222 (NAI, New Delhi). See also, James Campbell Ker, *Political Trouble in India 1907-1917*, (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1969), p. 224.
- <sup>38</sup> *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, October 1915, File No. 91.
- <sup>39</sup> Extract from the "Hindustan Ghadr", San Francisco, 18 August 1914: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, February 1920, File No. 373 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>40</sup> *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, October 1915, File No. 91 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>41</sup> Sohan Singh Josh, *Tragedy of Komagata Maru*, p. 64. See also, F.C. Isemonger & J. Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy (1913-1915)*, p. 50.
- <sup>42</sup> George MacMunn, *Turmoil and Tragedy in India 1914 and After*, (Delhi: S.S. Publishers, 1989), p. 96. See also, Michael O' Dwyer, *India As I Knew It 1885-1925*, (Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1988, First Published 1925), p. 195.
- <sup>43</sup> *Home Department, Political-A, Proceedings*, GOI, December 1914, File Nos. 82-92.
- <sup>44</sup> J. S. Grewal, H.K. Puri and Indu Banga (Eds.), *The Ghadar Movement: Background, Ideology, Action and Legacies*, (Patiala: Punjabi University, 2013), p. 157.
- <sup>45</sup> H. K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation & Strategy*, p. 160.

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- <sup>46</sup> *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, October 1915, File No. 91.
- <sup>47</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 24 November 1914: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, December 1914, File Nos. 223-226 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>48</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 13 April 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, April 1915, File Nos. 416-419 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>49</sup> *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, October 1915, File No. 91.
- <sup>50</sup> For the original in Gurmukhi see *Ghadar Lehar Di Kavita* (Kesar Singh Navalkar), September 20, 1916. (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1995), pp. 264-265.
- <sup>51</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 22 February 1916: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, February 1916, File No. 54 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>52</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 2 February 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, February 1915, File Nos. 777-780 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>53</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 22 February 1916: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, February 1916, File No. 54 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>54</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 6 April 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, May 1915, File Nos. 416-419 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>55</sup> Mewa Singh along with his companions killed William C. Hopkinson on October 21, 1914 at Vancouver Court House on Georgia Street, Canada: DCI's Weekly Report, 18 May 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, May 1915, File Nos. 855-858; *Home Department, Political-A, Proceedings*, GOI, January 1915, File Nos. 3-6 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>56</sup> F.C. Isemonger & J. Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy (1913-1915)*, p. x; Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*, pp. 205-209. See also, S. C. Mittal, *Freedom Movement in Punjab (1905-1929)*, (Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1976), p. 82.
- <sup>57</sup> Khushwant Singh & Satindra Singh, *Ghadar 1915: India's First Armed Rebellion*, (New Delhi: R & K Publishing House, 1966), p. 40.

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- <sup>58</sup> H. K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation & Strategy*, pp. 164-65.
- <sup>59</sup> *Sedition Committee Report 1918*, (Calcutta: Government Printing Press, 1918), p. 149.
- <sup>60</sup> *Home Department, Political-A, Proceedings*, GOI, September 1914, File Nos. 211-224 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>61</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 29 December 1914: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, January 1915, File Nos. 278-282 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>62</sup> H. K. Puri, "Revolutionary Organisation: A Study of the Ghadar Movement", p. 60.
- <sup>63</sup> Satya M. Rai, *Punjabi Heroic Tradition 1900-1947*, p. 55. See also, Harjot Oberoi, "Ghadar Movement and Its Anarchist Genealogy", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 44, No. 50, December 12-18, 2009, p. 42.
- <sup>64</sup> T. R. Sareen, *Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad 1905-1922*, (New Delhi: Sterling Publisher, 1979), pp. 100-101.
- <sup>65</sup> H. K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation & Strategy*, p. 86.
- <sup>66</sup> *Lahore Conspiracy Cases I and II: Ghadar Movement Original Documents*, Vol. I, p. 192.
- <sup>67</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 8 December 1914: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, December 1914, File Nos. 227-229 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>68</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 30 August 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, August 1915, File Nos. 552-556 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>69</sup> G. S. Deol, *The Role of Ghadar Party in the National Movement*, (Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1969), pp. 109-111.
- <sup>70</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 8 December 1914: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, December 1914, File Nos. 227-229 (NAI, New Delhi).

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- <sup>71</sup> *Lahore Conspiracy Cases I and II: Ghadar Movement Original Documents*, Vol. I, p. 156.
- <sup>72</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 2 February 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, February 1915, File Nos. 777-780 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>73</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 26 February 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, February 1915, File Nos. 777-780 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>74</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 8 December 1914: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, December 1914, File Nos. 227-229 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>75</sup> Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs 1839-1988*, Vol. II, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 184. See also S.C. Mittal, *Freedom Movement in Punjab (1905-29)*, p. 83.
- <sup>76</sup> *The Tribune*, Lahore, May 4, 1915, p. 5.
- <sup>77</sup> *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, March 1915, File No. 56.
- <sup>78</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 8 March 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, April 1915, File Nos. 412-415 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>79</sup> Rash Bihari Bose made Lahore as Headquarter on February 2, 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, March 1915, File No. 56.
- <sup>80</sup> Vishnu Ginesh Pingley, a young Maratha Brahman, was a native of Poona district. He returned from America in December 1914 with other Ghadarites. After his arrival in the Punjab, he attended various meetings with other revolutionaries. A house was procured for him in Amritsar, where he lived with other Bengalis till the beginning of February 1915. He fixed day of 21 February 1915 as general uprising with Lahore as headquarter. When police raided at Lahore, he escaped with Rash Bihari. But he was arrested on 23 March 1915 at Meerut with a bomb in his possession: *Sedition Committee Report 1918*, p. 154.
- <sup>81</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 23 February 1915; *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, February 1915, File Nos. 777-780 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>82</sup> *Sedition Committee Report 1918*, p. 156.

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- <sup>83</sup> Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs 1839-1988*, Vol. II, pp. 182-183.
- <sup>84</sup> S.C. Mittal, *Freedom Movement in Punjab 1905-29*, p. 84.
- <sup>85</sup> *Lahore Conspiracy Case IV (Supplementary): Ghadar Movement Original Documents*, Vol. III, (Eds.) Malwinderjit Singh Waraich & Harish Jain, (Chandigarh: Unistar, 2012), p. 203.
- <sup>86</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 17 August 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, August 1915, File Nos. 552-556 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>87</sup> F. C. Isemonger & J. Slattery, *An Account of the Ghadar Conspiracy (1913-1915)*, p. xi.
- <sup>88</sup> H. K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation & Strategy*, p. 167. See also, Michael O' Dwyer, *India As I Knew It (1885-1925)*, p. 206.
- <sup>89</sup> For the original in Gurmukhi see *Ghadar Lehar Di Kavita* (Kesar Singh Navalkar), February-March, 1917. (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1995), p. 284.
- <sup>90</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 24 August 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, August 1915, File Nos. 552-556 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>91</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 7 September 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, September 1915, File Nos. 582-585 (NAI, New Delhi).
- <sup>92</sup> R.C. Majumdar, *History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, (Calcutta: KLM, 1971), p. 404.
- <sup>93</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 17 August 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, August 1915, File Nos. 552-556.
- <sup>94</sup> Thomas L. Hughes, "The German Mission to Afghanistan 1915-16", p. 452.
- <sup>95</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 17 August 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, August 1915, File Nos. 552-556.

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- <sup>96</sup> Home Department, *Political-B, Proceedings*, GOI, October 1915, File No. 91.
- <sup>97</sup> DCI's Weekly Report, 17 August 1915: *Home Department, Political-B, Proceedings*, August 1915, File Nos. 552-556.
- <sup>98</sup> N. N. Bhattacharya, "Indian Revolutionaries Abroad 1891-1919", *The Panjab Past and Present*, Patiala, Vol. VIII, October, 1974, pp. 351-365.
- <sup>99</sup> R.C. Majumdar, *History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, p. 407.
- <sup>100</sup> H. K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation & Strategy*, p. 98.
- <sup>101</sup> Mahendra Pratap was born in a family of chief or Hatras. He was inclined towards patriotic activities from his boyhood. When the First World War broke out, he went to Europe. He met Lala Haradaya at Geneva and proceeded with him to Germany. With the help of German high officials, he succeeded in getting the German Government interested in India's struggle for freedom. On the eve of the departure of Indo-German Mission under his leadership, Bethmann Hollweg, the Chancellor of Germany gave him a letter with his signature promising him support in his work for India: R.C. Majumdar, *History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, p. 434. See also, A.C. Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad 1905-1922*, (Patna: Bharti Bhawan, 1971), p. 107.
- <sup>102</sup> N. N. Bhattacharya, "Indian Revolutionaries Abroad 1891-1919", p. 363.
- <sup>103</sup> J. S. Grewal, H.K. Puri and Indu Banga (Eds.), *The Ghadar Movement, Background, Ideology, Action and Legacies*, p. 167.
- <sup>104</sup> Thomas L. Hughes, "The German Mission to Afghanistan 1915-16", p. 464.
- <sup>105</sup> *Indian Revolutionary Committee Berlin Activities in the First World War 1914-1918*, Rare Documents, Accession No. 11276, DBYL, Jalandhar, p. 8.
- <sup>106</sup> Michael O' Dwyer, *India As I Knew It (1885-1925)*, pp. 180-181, See also, N.N. Bhattacharya, "Indian Revolutionaries Abroad 1891-1919", p. 362.