This article in the light of never-before-seen sources provides original insights into the colonial state's incentive system for stimulating the recruitment drive during the First World War. The case study material drawn from the colonial Shahpur district argues that the state raised the expectations of rewards which played a crucial role in the army recruitment process. From common soldiers to the landed elite associated high hopes with the grateful colonial state for its largesse. The state lured the subjects to join the military service by dangling such rewards that would appeal to the oriental mind. These included titles of honour, land grants, revenue remission, robes of honour and certificates. The range of rewards catered for both social prestige and material benefits. The colonial notions of ‘service’, ‘reward’ and ‘loyalty’ were the continuations of the indigenous concept of izzat. This provides cultural justification for their internalisation. The indigenous concept of izzat, the aforesaid colonial notions and the British incentive system derived the recruitment process by mutually reinforcing each other. People had become so accustomed to the phenomenon that they would collect a chit for any contribution that they would make and use it as a testimonial to get rewards after the cessation of hostilities.
Introduction

After the war of independence, the British reversed their policy of viewing the martial tribes of the Punjab as a threat to their rule in the province. This was the natural outcome of the loyalty that had been demonstrated by the Punjabis to restore the British control in India. With this change of heart the British gradually began to rely more and more on the Punjabis to fill the ranks of colonial Indian army. Punjab gradually emerged as ‘sword arm’ of the British India. This had number of reasons. Punjab had a strategic location as it had an adjoining border with Afghanistan which was to become a major theatre of conflict towards the second half of the nineteenth century. The soldiers from other parts of India were not fit to garrison the border and to chastise the warlike Pathan tribes in the north-western areas of the province. These soldiers had to be paid extra allowances for their service in Punjab. The military authorities started recruiting locally. They came to appreciate the fighting prowess of the Punjabi soldiers directly under their command and began to view their martial spirit in the light of martial race theory. According to this theory, certain tribes possessed innate soldierly qualities and were capable of bearing arms. In this way, Muslim Rajput tribes, Sikhs, Janjuas, Baloches and Awans of Punjab became designated martial tribes. Punjab’s proportion in army increased dramatically and the province became home of the colonial Indian army in the late nineteenth century. When the First World War started Punjab, owing to its share in the army, had to face the brunt of the war. The province provided almost 50 percent of army troops on the threshold of the war which increased to 60 percent during the war. The province also generously made monetary and material contribution to the war which amounted to the tune of Rs. 92,118664.¹

Shahpur district contributed to the war-effort by becoming one of the heavy recruited districts and its men saw action in all the major theatres of war. The district was home to the martial tribes of Tiwanas, Awans and Janjuas. Tiwanas, a Rajput Muslim tribe centred at Mitha Tiwana, had developed military ties when it supported the British in the uprising of 1857. Subsequently they took the lead in supplying recruits for the army. Given the predilection of Tiwanas and Noons for horse riding, they favoured service with the cavalry regiments. Whereas Awans and Janjuas joined the infantry regiments in increasing numbers. Being home to the martial tribes as well as due to heavy enlistment during the war, Shahpur district forms an important case study. During the first five months of the war the district got leading position in the province by raising 4,920 men. For the entire period of
war it was ranked number fourteen in 1918. The existing literature on the military history of the Punjab is mainly provincial, and is heavily based on provincial level sources. It explains the recruitment processes and describes the factors. However, it sheds cursory light on the role of rewards in the recruitment process and peoples’ expectation from their war services. This article aims to address this gap in the existing literature through a case study of the Shapur district.

Among the all other factors, lure of rewards played a key role in enticing people to enlist for the army. Right at the commencement of the war the government had ‘promised that during the war the services done by the individuals will not go in vain’. In fact the British had been rewarding all those who stood with them at their adversarial times such as Sikh wars and the mutiny in 1857. In Punjab colonial state had evolved a complex web of patronage and rewards. It had won the rural designated gentry classes to its side by showering different types of patronage which included land grants, titles of honour, honorary posts and quotas in the government jobs. The local elite served as military contractors for the Raj. British patronage could disturb the local balance of social power. They, therefore, tried to surpass each other in procuring recruits and winning favours from the British. Their local rivalries played an important role in deriving the recruitment process. They could use the colonial state’s patronage to beat of rivals the way state used them for its own interests. Collaborating elite worked with the grain of honour to raise recruits for the army. Colonial notions of ‘service’, ‘reward’ and ‘loyalty’ were imbibed by the elite. These notions played a key role in raising recruits as they were associated with the indigenous concept of izzat (honour). The colonial notions were just the continuations of the concept. In Punjabi culture it was an honourable thing to earn one’s livelihood. Loyalty, service and rewards were deemed prestigious. This provides cultural justification for the internalisation of colonial notions. British being akin to the indigenous culture promised such rewards which could easily entice the ‘oriental mind’. Next we turn to the ‘chit culture’ which has not been discussed in the existing literature.

Recruitment rewards and the ‘Chit Culture’

The district administration, in order to stimulate army recruitment, raised the expectation of people for rewards through its propaganda campaign right from the beginning of the war. People of the district were already akin to the collection of testimonials for their services. Urban and rural influential people were collecting sanads, as
the certificates were called, for their assistance to police or for any welfare work they had carried out. The war, however, gave a fresh impetus to this trend and people began to associate high hopes with these testimonials and believed that at the end of the war they would be liberally rewarded on their basis. According to the lieutenant governor of Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer:

The rewards were such as would appeal to the Oriental mind, such as Indian titles of honour from ‘Raja’ and ‘Nawab’ down to ‘Rai Sahib’ and ‘Khan Sahib’ robes of honour, swords of honour, guns, revolvers, complimentary sanads (parchment rolls) inscribed with the name and services of the recipient, cash rewards, grants of Government land, of revenue-free land to individuals, and to communities remission of taxation.5

The recruitment testimonials were called ‘chits’.6 Since the people used recruitment as a resource to increase their economic and social position, the ‘chit culture’ sheds light on the socio-economic aspect of the recruitment. The trend of collecting chits permeated all the classes and sections of society. Khuda Bakhsh Tiwana, one of the chief collaborators of the district had chits for about 80 recruits.7 The main motive behind the recruitment was definitely a material one which was quite evident from the collection of the chits. About the chit culture Firoz Khan Noon writes ‘it was not all forced recruitment, because quite a large number of people were doing this work for the rewards which were expected.’ He further writes ‘I remember the case of Malik Yaqub Khan Tiwana who, having rendered war services came home after the war and went one day to Lahore to put forward his claim for a land grant because of his services. As he went in, he saw his enemy and elder step-brother, coming out of the same officer’s room. When he went in and asked the officer for the grant, he said, “How can I reward two men for the same services?” He added that his elder brother had just gone out and told him that it was he, who was responsible for sending his younger brother to the army. That, of course, was incorrect’.8

Expectation of rewards was the main push factor for both the recruits and the people who procured them. However, these testimonials were also a symbol of recognition by the state of the services of its subjects, which had its own social importance. The chits were issued by the recruiting depots or the Assistant Recruiting Officer of the district for the number of recruits enlisted. In addition to their importance as a record of services extended during the war, the chits
had enormous material value for the bearers as they realised that by the end of the war they would be rewarded in proportion to the magnitude of the services manifested by the chits in their possession. Trough propaganda campaigns, the district authorities raised the expectations of the people. It was made explicit in The Civil and Military Gazette that rewards of remissions would be given to the civil officers and zamindars (landlords) of the Shahpur district for their recruitment services. 9 When the war came to a successful conclusion the district authorities highly publicised that it wanted to compile the war services of the district. This was the time when people started submitting lists of their services to the district authorities. The following excerpt from a letter sent by a businessman and philanthropist from Naushehra to the Deputy Commissioner, Shahpur district, epitomises the general mood prevailing in the district.

We are all aware of the fact that the Government of Punjab is under contemplation to take steps in rewarding those people who took any part in the Great War, either in the matters of recruiting or helping in any way in connection with the War, and with this idea, they are now recording the deeds of those men who had practically helped the Government in achieving this great and honourable Victory.10

The people who submitted lists of their services can be classified into three groups: military, non-military and the collaborating elite. The military group included both the serving and retired military personnel. They submitted their applications mostly through their respective depot commanders. The non-military comprised the influential people and the semi officials who procured recruits from their biradaris (brotherhood- a unit of social organisation) and neighbourhoods by using their influential social position. Among them included the zaildars (the heads of different groups of villages), pirs (spiritual leaders), honorary magistrates, tehsildars (officer in charge of a sub-division of a district), members of the municipal corporations and the common people who enlisted their kith and kin.

The record presented by these people incorporated a variety of expectations. The people who belonged to the Salt Range in the Khushab tehsil (a sub-division of a district)11 mostly wished that they be granted some land suitable for cultivation. This expectation reflected the economic condition of the families belonging to the above mentioned tract. The majority of people had meagre agricultural resources. Their small agricultural holdings were untenable for cultivation because of salinity and lack of irrigation facilities. Military
service for such families was a major source to complement their meagre incomes. War had given them a golden opportunity to augment their social and economic position. Those people who had enough land for their subsistence and were not doing well because of unfavourable agricultural conditions asked for revenue remissions. From both groups people aspired for elevation of their ranks. The military men wanted promotion and the retired people wished to be ordained as sufedposh (yeoman). Those who did not have any title wished that they be granted the titles of honour.

Military Personnel and the Regimental Recommendations for Rewards

Retiring and serving military personnel up to the rank of subedar (a non-commissioned infantry rank) or above freely got recommendations from their depot commanders. Personnel belonging to lower ranks could not get regimental recommendation unless their record was of highly distinguished nature. For example, the case of Malik Allah Yar Khan Noon was very instructive. He came from village Nara in Khushab tehsil. Before joining the army he was very active in recruiting and was one of the first individuals in the district who could appreciate the possible value of recruiting certificates (chits). He joined the army during the war, and in 1919 he was serving as a naik in the Camel Corps No 7 at Multan from where he sent his record of services to M. S. Leigh through a private letter. He had procured 258 recruits from the district and held more than 250 certificates. His village Nara in Khushab had done very well in terms of enlistment.12 His assertion in the letter that ‘I have always been hoping to get some recognition of my services…now that we have been successful and it is time to reward’13 reflects the general post-war expectations of the people of the district. Noon was not alone in having exorbitant hopes. He pleaded that his share in the ancestral land was just ten bighas (a measure of land- one bigha is equal to half of an acre). The land was dry and difficult to cultivate, therefore, he desired for remission of land revenue. However, this was not the only demand. He also aspired to become a sufedposh. There were instances that people supplying one hundred recruits were made an Indian Officer or were ordained into the gentry-class by being entitled as a sufedposh along with a land grant. In the light of this practice he demanded that in the recognition of his services he should be granted some land or be recommended for elevation of his military rank. Such demands had an underlying desire for social recognition as well as material reward. Noon lamented that ‘my people always scorn me that what is the use of
service if others who have given only 25 or 30 recruits are daffadars [a non-commissioned cavalry rank equal to sergeant], you are only a naik [corporal] in the Corps. Given that rewards could enhance the social prestige of the recipient, the lack of rewards meant lack of recognition, and it could have a detrimental effect on the family’s social position no matter what services and contributions one had made. Certainly, Noon was going through this dilemma. The reasons were twofold: firstly, the military personnel who succeeded in getting recommendation from the commanding officers of their depots were mostly of the rank of Risaldar Major whereas he was only a naik. Secondly, it was reported to M. S. Leigh that he had been involved in a case of abduction of a woman, which adversely affected his case. He was not to have any of his demands met, although his services were recorded in the district war history.

On the other hand Risaldar Major Hussain Bukhsh Khan of Katha Masral in Khushab tehsil managed to send his record of services, and that of his family, through the Officer Commanding, Depot Poona Horse, Bangalore. In addition to the award of the title of Khan Bahadur and being mentioned in the war history, he was instantly recommended for the grant of Honorary Rank of Lieutenant on his retirement. This was certainly a matter of pride for the family. In fact his whole family was connected to the same regiment. This lends credence to the fact that the regimental connection was not necessarily limited to the locality; rather it had become a tribal and family connection in most of the cases. Relatives of the soldiers would raise recruits for their regiment to facilitate their promotion. In this regard the example of Hussain Bukhash Khan’s family seems to be very instructive. In his letter he claimed:

One squadron of my tribe has been on Field Service since outbreak of the present European War, during the period of War my elder brother Risaldar Sher Baz Khan deceased obtained about 55 recruits for the regiment. After Risaldar Sher Baz Khan’s death his son Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Ilaqedar who is at present sergeant in Sargodha Police has sent 15 of his relatives to be enlisted in the regiment.

The channelling of all the recruitment efforts in the direction of the same regiment was due to the belief that the more strongly a family or tribe could identify itself with the same regiment better the chances would be to secure the regimental recommendations for the land grants. This is evident from the keen interest taken by the
commanding officers of various depots who in some cases strongly recommended the people for land grants even without chits. This was because in some regiments the chits were not without stigma and they were detested by certain Tiwana personnel who considered them against their martial dignity. This shows the complex nature of the ‘oriental mind’. Carrying chits was considered against the martial pride but receiving rewards in return for services and sacrifices was considered prestigious. The commanding officer 36th Jacob’s Horse wrote to Deputy Commissioner Shahpur that

May I write a word of recommendation to you on the behalf of my old friend Risaldar Major Malik Ahmed, Khan Bahadur, Mitha Tiwana, late of my Regt. the 36th Jacob’s Horse? He has come to me to help him in his difficulties about obtaining some land which he is anxious to get in recognition of his services and those of his family to Government…The Risaldar Major has no ‘chits’ to show because in my Regt. we discouraged the collecting of them as derogatory. He brought in a good number of recruits to our depot after his return from France but he did not himself take the receipts for them as his object was to keep up the strength of his old squadron rather than the merit of collecting a bundle of receipts for them. He, therefore, was content to let other men draw the receipts provided he got the men.19

His family connection with his regiment can be ascertained from the fact that out of 22 family members the 18 eligible were in the regiment including his son, brother and nephews.20 Besides land grants, revenue remission was a prized reward for the families of the soldiers. Nur Muhammad of village Khura in Khushab tehsil had four sons in the army. His fifth son was rejected on medical grounds.21 The commanding officer, Indian Coast Artillery had recommended the family for the reward.22 The family received the land revenue remission of Rs.10 annually.23

Family connection and channelling of recruitment services for the same regiment were, however, not the only criteria for obtaining regimental recommendations. The people who had made the greatest possible sacrifices on the front were given preference by the military authorities in the process of selecting their candidature for the land grants. The lists of those specially recommended for the land grants at the end of the war began to be prepared right in the first year of the war when men from the district saw action in France and Belgium. The respective commanding officers of the regiments were tasked to prepare lists of people whom they would recommend for such grants.
However, they were under order to hold over the lists until the end of the war when they would be sent to no less than the Commander-in-Chief for approval.

In the Punjab, 178,000 acres of canal irrigated land were earmarked for the most deserving Punjabi soldiers and was put at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief. Besides this, in the Khushab tehsil, 10,000 acres were reserved for military and civil grantees who might like to have two acres there for each acre sanctioned in the colonies. By March 1918 out of the latter, 50 to 75 per cent was distributed among the deserving soldiers and civilian grantees. Those who could not obtain a share re-approached the commandants of their regiments.

Some retired military personnel, after reading the publicity in the Civil Military Gazette, approached the depot commanders to recommend them for remission in land revenue. One such case was that of Subedar Rur Singh who owned one square of land in Chak No. 120 S.B tehsil Sargodha. He wrote a letter to his commanding officer of the depot asking to recommend his case to the district authorities for remission of land revenue. The Subedar was a pensioner and had sent three sons to the army. His eldest son joined the 1/34th Sikh pioneers in 1912. His second son was studying at Khalsa College, Amritsar but he made him join his old after the outbreak of war. His third son was enlisted in the same regiment in 1917. In 1914-15 he actively helped his regiment in procuring recruits. The subedar got a job in the railways after retirement but he presented his services to the military after the outbreak of war. He was re-employed in the 81 Sikh Pioneers for the training of a Punjab Christian Company. After 13 months his services were hired by his old regiment to work in the depot 1/132nd Sikh Pioneers. In lieu of his meritorious services the commanding officer of his depot forwarded his case recommending for the remission of land revenue.

Retired and serving military personnel who aided the authorities in their recruitment work were careful to enlist recruits in their own regiments in order to have the best chances of rewards. If it was direct enlistment, they took the recruits along with them to the depots of their old regiments. Moreover, they supported the recruitment parties of the respective regiments in their areas. This was because they knew that the regimental depots would give them the chits for the number of people they would help recruit. Expectations of rewards
strengthened regimental connections which played a very important role in the recruitment process.

So far we have discussed recruitment rewards and regimental recommendations in the light of the record presented to the district administration. However, a number of letters were sent home by the military personnel from the war front. Not all these letters are related to the theme of rewards and recruitment. But there are some letters which did highlight that regimental recommendation was important to secure rewards and promotion. For example a daffadar requests his father to procure recruits for his regiment:

Show me favour and enlist 15 or 20 men from the Mianwali or Bannu District, and hand them over to Captain Nixon at the regimental depot at Amballa. After you have done so, get a letter of recommendation from him and send it to the CO here. Get recommendations from the Deputy Commissioner and others, to the effect that you and your family have rendered services to the Government, and that you and I have attained such and such a rank in Government service, and that you have now helped to raise recruits, and asking that your son be promoted to Jamadar. If I become an officer it will increase your izzat and I will also benefit.

Besides the military personnel the civilians also used recruitment as a resource to elevate their social and economic position which we turn next to.

Civilians and their Rewards

On the civilian side, people had collected a variety of testimonials to prove their case, which they submitted to the district authorities in order to qualify for the rewards. A number of them wrote letters to M. S. Leigh and despatched copies of their testimonials. These included sanads from different government authorities for the services they rendered. Like the recruitment certificates, these testimonials were believed to fetch a considerable number of material benefits. These people, like their counterparts in the military, had pitched their demands very high, which in many cases were difficult to realise. From amongst the pirs, Jumla Shah was very active in collecting these testimonials. He had land in Khushab tehsil as well as in Pind Dadan Khan tehsil of the Jhelum district. Using his spiritual influence in both the districts he managed to raise 450 recruits.
assisted Umar Hayat Tiwana in recruitment work in the Khushab tehsil for which Umar also gave him a chit.30 The pir was serving as nambardar (hereditary village headman) in village Dhudi in the Thal and had the position of kursinashin (person entitled to attend public audience held by high ranking official).31 However, his aspirations to become a zaildar and to get some land which was of superior quality to that he already owned in Dudhi did not succeed. Leigh, however, proposed that he would be considered for land grant in the future schemes of Sind Sagar Colony or Jalalpur Jattan Canal. When zaildar of Lila, Bahadur Khan, was dismissed he was asked to carry on work at his post. The zaildar was reinstated but he continued to assist police in the investigations. Regarding his claim for a permanent post of zaildari Leigh suggested that it should be considered together with the claims of other aspirants.32

Some people, as already noted, used recruitment as a resource to elevate their social and economic position. In this regard seats on the Municipal Committees were considered as much prized rewards. The example of Daswandhi, an urbanite, is very instructive. He aspired to have a seat on the Municipal Committee, Sargodha. He wrote to the Deputy Commissioner that ‘I have procured nine fit combatant recruits (as motor drivers) for the Afghan War during the last two months.’33 Although he did not wield much influence, nor was a man of substantial means, still he managed to procure 94 recruits during the First World War and also provided them with subsistence and travelling allowances. He gave assistance to the Commanding Officer of the depot of 2-124th Balochis, which was the first local depot in Sargodha, and also helped the Assistant Recruiting Officer to enlist men. In the recognition of his services he was given a sanad and a watch in 1917. Later on in 1919 he was given a sanad signed by no less then the lieutenant governor of Punjab, Sir Michael O’Dwyer. Much to his satisfaction he was Municipal Commissioner.34 On the other hand some of the existing members of the Municipal Committees of the district sought more recognition. For example, Jagan Nath, Vice-President of Miani Municipality, tehsil Bhera35 wrote to M. S. Leigh that ‘as you are writing History of the District I venture to submit’ that ‘I have procured 15 recruits’ and ‘I was President of the War Loan subcommittee and collected Rs. 10,670 as war loan. I myself contributed Rs. 1,610 as war loan.’36 For playing a significant role in collecting subscriptions to the war loan and war funds he was given a 3rd class Khillat in 1919.37
People who did welfare work during the war also approached the district administration that their services should be mentioned in the district war history. War caused inflation and brought many hardships for the people. All imports from Europe were stopped causing shortage of imported goods. Medicines were especially in short supplies in the public dispensaries. During this demanding time some philanthropic people came forward and tried to ease the difficulties of the public. For example at Naushehra, a businessman, Meghraj, opened a charitable dispensary with an annual cost of Rs.200. At the time of the influenza epidemic, medicines became short and he contributed another sum of Rs.200.38 He also wanted his services to be mentioned in the district war history. Next we turn to the land revenue remissions.

**Land Revenue Remissions**

The colonial state used its land revenue policy to reward the war services. Individuals as well as communities on the whole were granted revenue remissions who did excellent services during the war. Life *mafis*, as revenue remissions for the entire life were called, were given to 81 individuals for recruiting the majority of their family members of military age. Remissions to the tune of Rs.70,000 were distributed among a number of villages in all tehsils (see the table below). Land revenue remissions were proportionate to the number of soldiers enlisted from each tehsil. Tehsils raising greater number of recruits stood to gain larger remissions. This trend was also visible within the tehsils. For example, from the Hill circle in Khushab, 30 per cent of men of military age were recruited and its villages received Rs.17,369 in land revenue remission.

**Land Revenue Remissions for Villages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tehsil</th>
<th>Number of villages</th>
<th>Amount remitted (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khushab</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35,753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahpur</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>14,459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sargodha</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhulwal</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7,837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


On the other hand the Thal Circle of Khushab tehsil did not perform well and its villages were granted remissions of only Rs.1,250. In the matter of recruitment ‘pride of place’ was given to the Hadali
village, tehsil Khushab, the home town of so-called martial races of Awans, Janjuas, Noons, Tiwanas and Baloch. In total, 437 individuals from the village served during the war. In the *rabi* (winter crop) harvest of 1919 this village was granted Rs.2,866 in land revenue remissions. Khushwant Singh who was born in Hadali in 1915 writes in his autobiography:

The village consisted of about three hundred families, most of them Muslims of Baloch extraction. They were enormous men, mostly serving in the British Indian Army, or having retired from it. A fair portion of the Viceroy’s bodyguard came from Hadali. A marble plaque on a wall alongside the Railway Station Master’s office stated that Hadali had provided proportionately more soldiers from its population for World War I than any village in India....We lived in slight awe of the Muslims because they were more numerous and much bigger built than us. Fortunately for us, they were split into different clans – Waddhals, Mastials, Awans, Janjuas, Noons and Tiwanas.

In Shahpur tehsil, Kalra was a small village from where 202 people served during the war and the village received Rs.3,210 worth of remissions. The policy of rewarding through land revenue remission was followed all over the Punjab. According to the Michael O’ Dwyer, ‘Village communities in each district which had the best record – some had given half their male population – were entered on a Roll of Honour and received remission of land-revenue exceeding £100,000.’

Rewarding localities proportionate to the size of enlistment was also observed in the settlement policy. Owing to war the settlement in the district was delayed and was only completed in 1916. In appreciation of the services of Awans of the Salt Range and of the tribes of Jhelum riverain the term of settlement for these two circles was increased from 20 to 30 years. For the Thal circle, where recruitment was not good, it was fixed for 15 years. For the Mohar Circle too it was fixed at 15 years, but because of good recruitment it was recommended to increase it to 30 years for the villages which would not benefit from irrigation from the proposed Sind Sagar Doab Canal. In the district a number of landed gentry grants were also distributed among the notables and the rural collaborating elite. All the leading collaborating elite received titles and land grants. Umar Hayat Tiwana was the first volunteer from the Shahpur district who saw action in France and Mesopotamia. After being invalided to India
he rendered invaluable services and assisted the authorities during the recruitment-related disturbances. He provided recruits from his tenants and lesser kinsmen. Other leading figures from the Tiwana tribe were Mubariz Khan Tiwana and Khuda Bakhsh Tiwana. Both served on the home front during the war. Mubariz Khan served as a president of the District War League. Khuda Bakhsh offered his bungalow at Sargodha for the housing of district recruitment board. In addition to raising recruits he assisted the authorities to maintain law and order in Shahpur as well as in the neighbouring districts. Both Mubariz Khan and Khuda Bakhsh were awarded an Order of the British Empire and then Companion of the British Empire. They also received 15 squares of land each. Umar was awarded Knight Commander of the Indian Empire and Commander of the British Empire and was granted 15 squares of land. The British officers of the district were also rewarded. For example, M. S. Leigh, sub-divisional officer, Khushab, and Major W. C. W. Miller, were made officers of the British Empire for their invaluable services.

**Conclusion**

This grassroots study has shed fresh light on the recruitment process. It presents a nuanced understanding of the recruiting rewards and peoples’ expectations from the colonial state in the key Shahpur district of the British Punjab. The study has demonstrated that the British were akin to the Punjabi culture and offered rewards which were considered highly prized by the indigenous society. The British understanding of the ‘oriental mind’ had its cultural basis as they offered such rewards which had the greatest appeal to the indigenous mind. Material incentives and social recognition were culturally tied through the indigenous concept of *izzat*. Recognition of services through rewards added to the social prestige of recipients. This was catered through land grants, titles of honours, honorary posts, revenue remission, robes of honour and certificates. This helped the internalisation of the colonial notions of ‘service’, ‘reward’ and ‘loyalty’ as they were mere the continuations of the concept of *izzat*. The British were also able to appreciate the complex and discursive nature of the concept. Certain sections of Tiwanas detested the collection of recruitment certificates as they considered it against their martial dignity; yet they approached the authorities to seek the rewards for social recognition and material benefits. The indigenous concept of *izzat*, internalisation of the colonial notions, and the British incentive
system stimulated the recruitment process by mutually reinforcing each other.

This study has highlighted that there were a variety of motives behind the enlistment process. Most importantly recruitment was seen as a resource by locals to improve their socio-economic position. The state, of course, could not come up to all the expectation of the people though it used its land revenue policy effectively to reward their services. Moreover, this study has demonstrated the use of ‘chits’ as an incentive system. People from all classes collected them in order to be rewarded after the cessation of hostilities. Building a family connection with the regiment played a vital role in obtaining regimental recommendations for the rewards. The ‘chit system’ of incentives and the British ability to reward the recruitment services derived the recruitment process.
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9 *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 27 March 1918. Also see, Subedar Rur Singh, pensioner, to the Officer Commanding Depot 1/32nd Sikh Pioneers, Sialkot, 28 April 1919, in File U/XIV/194, DCRO, Sargodha.
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19 Major 36th Jacob’s Horse Multan to Major Gibson, Deputy Commissioner Shahpur district, 30 January 1919, in File U/XIV/194, DCRO, Sargodha.
20 See remarks by M.S. Leigh dated 9 March 1919 in Ibid.
22 Malik Nur Khan to SDO, Khushab, 26 April 1919, in File U/XIV/194, DCRO, Sargodha.
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25 Subedar Rur Singh, Pensioner, to the Officer Commanding Depot 1/32nd Sikh Pioneers, Sialkot, 28 April 1919, in File U/XIV/194, DCRO, Sargodha.
26 Commanding Officer, Depot 1/32nd Sikh Pioneer Sialkot, to Deputy Commissioner Shahpur district, 28 May 1919, in File U/XIV/194, DCRO, Sargodha.
28 M. S. Leigh, Sub-divisional officer, Khushab, and Major W.C.W. Miller, Assistant Recruiting officer, in lieu of their recruitment services were made officers of the British Empire. Leigh, War Services, p. 49.
30 See certificate given to him by Umar Hayat Tiwana Assistant Recruiting Officer Shahpur district, in File U/XIV/194, DCRO, Sargodha.
31 See certificate given to him by F. Popham Young, Commissioner Rawalpindi Division dated 9 January 1919 in File U/XIV/194, DCRO, Sargodha.
32 See certificate given to him by M.S. Leigh dated 1 December 1919 and by H. W. Waite, Superintendent of Police dated Khokhar Bala 7 January 1919, in File U/XIV/194, DCRO, Sargodha.
33 Daswandhi, Municipal Commissioner, Sargodha, to the Deputy Commissioner Shahpur district, 11 August 1919, in File U/XIV/194, DCRO, Sargodha.
34 Leigh, War Services, p 69.
35 Tehsil headquarter was shifted from Bhera to Bhulwal in 1917.
37 Leigh, War Services, p.81.
38 Meghraj (of Naushehra) to the Deputy Commissioner, District Shahpur, 13 February 1919, in File U/XIV/194, DCRO, Sargodha.
39 Leigh, War Services, p.33.
40 Ibid., p. 33.
42 Ibid., p.34 & Appendix III.
43 O’Dwyer, India as I knew It, p. 224.
44 Ibid., p. 51.
45 Leigh, War Services, p. 48.