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REPORT
ON THE
PUNJAB DISTURBANCES,
APRIL 1919.

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SECTION I.

INTRODUCTORY.

It would be outside the scope of this memorandum to describe the general nature of the agitation against the Rowlatt Act which was carried on throughout India during February and March, and which terminated in the disorders of April of the present year. Neither the agitation nor the disorder which followed it were confined to the Punjab. Nor would it be germane to the present purpose to discuss those general conditions which contributed to give the agitation so widespread a character or secured for it such ready support from large sections of the population which had hitherto borne no conspicuous share in political movements. The general stimulation of political life and the expectations of political concessions which accompanied the discussions on the Reforms Scheme; the disturbance of economic conditions due to high prices and the restrictions on traffic facilities in military interests; the wave of social unrest set in motion by the war;* the influence of the definite adoption of the Home Rule programme at the All-India Congress meeting of December 1917; these were factors in the situation which were common to the whole of India. The following pages will attempt merely to examine such conditions as were special to the Punjab, to estimate their value in determining the sinister aspect eventually taken by the agitation in that Province, and to describe the disorder which resulted from it. The method adopted has been to refer first, in the present section of the memorandum, to such general conditions as may seem to have acted as causes predisposing to unrest in the province, and to set out in summary form the nature of the disorder; in the second section to give a general history of the events of last April; and in a third section to describe the steps taken by requisitioning the aid of troops and by the administration of Martial Law to re-establish order. The information contained in those sections is based on the fuller details given in the district accounts which follow.† Those of chief importance are Amritsar, Gujranwala and Lahore; the records of Lyallpur, Gujrat and Multan, though of lesser importance, also merit study.

When the Rowlatt Bill was under discussion in the Imperial Legislative Council, its opponents issued an emphatic warning that if it passed into law it would be met by widespread agitation throughout the country.

And the last ground why I oppose this measure is that I do not wish to state it by way of threat or intimidation to Government, but I wish to state it because it is my duty to tell you that, if these measures are passed, you will create in the country from one end to the other a discontent and agitation, the like of which you have not witnessed, and it will have, believe me, a most disastrous effect on the good relations that have existed between the Government and the people.‡

To those who at the time contemplated the possible consequences of the extension of this agitation to the Punjab, it did not appear that there were any circumstances which would either cause it to take an extreme form, or involve eventual disorder in the Province. It is true that in 1914 and 1915 the conduct of a large number of emigrants returning to India from the colonies had necessitated a wide resort to the provisions of the Ingress Ordinance; numbers had been interned, others had been prosecuted for outrages committed within the Province. Again, there had in 1915 been agrarian outrages over a large area of the South-Western Punjab. But the emigrants had after the summer of 1915 given no further trouble, and the majority had been released from internment; the agrarian trouble had shown no sign of recrudescence. The Province had made a response, unequalled by any other part of India, to the appeal for recruits, and had subscribed so freely to the War Loans that the Province ranked third in the general list of contributors.

* "Perhaps the greatest factor of all at this juncture is India's response to the wave of political and social unrest set in motion by the War and now creeping throughout the world. The new spirit impels men and women in all conditions to examine the social structure critically and to question all existing forms of government"—*The Times*, April 9th, 1919.

† They are, for facility of reference, arranged alphabetically and not by divisions.

‡ Mr. Jinnah in the Imperial Legislative Council, 6th February 1919.

It has indeed been suggested that the efforts made by the civil authorities to secure these results were themselves a predisposing cause of disorder. It is a suggestion capable of easy disproof. The Punjab had during the war enlisted over 360,000 men, of whom 300,000 were combatants. There had in many districts been an intensive campaign for recruiting conducted by district officers. The response to that campaign showed that the pressure exerted was not on the whole resented by the people; many classes which had before been conspicuous for their disinclination to enlist had produced large numbers of recruits, and if in some isolated instances (such as in the Shahpur and Multan Districts) there had been incidents which showed that sections of the people resented the efforts of recruiting parties, it was clear that this feeling was far from being general. An examination of the district figures of enlistment gives interesting and convincing results. The Rawalpindi district headed the list with 30,000 combatants, and Jhelum followed with 26,000; but neither district was seriously involved in the disturbances. Lahore provided only 8,000 men, standing seventeenth on the recruiting list; Lyallpur provided only 3,000; but both were among the districts proclaimed under Martial Law. Again, if recruitment had been a cause of discontent, it is difficult to suppose that the large numbers of demobilized men returning to their homes in April would have evinced no sign of sympathy with the agitation. But save for one or two isolated cases of men who joined in attempts at pillage, there was no evidence of their having taken part in the disorder. Disorder was, with few exceptions, confined to the towns; and the towns were the parts of the province least affected by the recruiting campaign. If the towns had been influenced by any of the efforts made to secure co-operation in war purposes, it was that in favour of the War Loans which would have had most effect on them. But the figures of subscription show that districts such as Hissar, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore and Rawalpindi, in which there was no breach of order, were in proportion to the wealth of their trading classes, not less conspicuous in their efforts than those in which the agitation was most successful. Amritsar, possibly the richest trading city in the province, was by no means high up in the list of subscribers to the War Loans.

A further cause has been suggested for the unusual measure of support given by the Punjab towns to the agitation against the Rowlatt Act. It is based on the assertion that the Punjab administration had for some years manifested an attitude of hostility to the aspirations of the politically-minded classes. It has been adduced as one proof of this that the local Government had for over two years maintained an order of exclusion against Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal; and it was asserted that it had utilized, with a severity unknown in the rest of India, the restrictive provisions of the Press Act. The question opened up by this charge is a wide one and would involve a retrospect of Punjab policy which would be beyond the scope of this memorandum. One fact, however, seems clear. If the policy pursued by the local Government in this respect was resented by advanced political thinkers, its direct effect must be sought rather in the fact that it stimulated them to take a prominent part in the agitation, than in the fact that it had itself any definite influence on the feelings of the rank and file. The decision of the All-Indian Congress Committee to hold its 1919 session at Amritsar led, as the district reports will show, to some stirring of political life in Amritsar, Multan and Lahore; but there had been little in the nature of demonstrations of political interest among the population at large during 1917 and 1918. It was not until the movement for an All-India demonstration against the Rowlatt Act had reached the Punjab that the people of the Punjab towns began to frequent mass meetings or to show any signs of an active sympathy with the aims of local politicians.

So far the analysis of the causes put forward as accounting for the prominent share taken by the Punjab in the agitation has yielded a negative result. A constructive explanation can possibly be attained by focussing attention on the different classes which finally interested themselves in the agitation. It is clear that the educated classes as a whole, and pleaders in particular, were deeply interested in it in the Punjab as elsewhere, and they no doubt felt that the termination of the war would mean the removal of the restrictions on agitation which had been necessary so long as it continued. There is a further fact which

has some significance in estimating the share taken by this class in the agitation in the Punjab towns. For many years the agricultural classes in the Punjab had been improving their position in relation to the professional and trading classes, from which the educated classes are mostly drawn. The extension of canal irrigation had greatly improved their material position; the Land Alienation Act had given them a statutory recognition which they themselves regarded as privileged and which the money-lending and professional classes, largely debarred from investment in land, challenged as invidious. The efforts made by the larger land owners and men of leading in rural areas to promote recruiting during the war had brought their class into prominence, and had secured a generous recognition from Government. The rural classes had demanded in the local Legislative Council that a definite share in all Government posts should be reserved to the land-owning classes; they had during the discussion on the new Franchise scheme asked that the representation of rural areas should be confined to members of the statutory agricultural tribes. There was an undoubted feeling on the part of the professional classes that their position had been invaded, and a not unnatural desire to assert their political importance. They would, however, have achieved little success in the agitation but for the ready support of the shop-keeping and trading classes. It was the adhesion of this class which secured the success of the agitation. In many cases the hartal of the 6th April appears to have owed little to direct organization by public men; so ready were the trading classes to accept the suggestion for a universal demonstration that the closure of shops appeared to many observers to be almost spontaneous. It is not to be supposed that this class had, as a whole, been largely influenced either by the newspaper campaign or by political teachings. They were perhaps affected to some extent by such factors as the new Income-tax Act and the more searching methods of enquiry recently introduced, as well as by the direct interference with trade conditions which was necessary during the war; but far the most likely explanation is that they were genuinely frightened by what they heard about the Rowlatt Act. As a class they come less into contact with Government officers than do the leaders of the agricultural community; timid and suspicious by tradition, they are very susceptible to any suggestions of oppression by police or officials, and fell a ready prey to the distorted versions which were circulated about the Act. To this may be added another cause, though it does not apply equally throughout the Province. The Arya Samaj community is a growing one among the Hindu members of the trading classes; and as the experience of 1907 shows a section of its members is in times of public excitement susceptible to anti-European propaganda. Finally, the prolonged duration of high prices had affected adversely all the lower classes in the towns. The monsoon of 1918 had been the worst for 47 years, and foodstuffs had suffered an increase in price equal almost to that of imported articles. Wheat was 47 per cent. in price above that of 1914, European cotton cloth 175 per cent., Indian cloth 100 per cent., ginned cotton 310 per cent., sugar 68 per cent. Those on fixed incomes suffered in special degree from the increase, and economic difficulties largely explain the fact that the railway subordinate staff were in a state of discontent which made them give ready support to the agitation.

These causes may perhaps appear to some as insufficient to account for the events of April last. But it is necessary to distinguish the course of the agitation from that of the disorder which followed it. The movement against the Act, working up to the general demonstration of the 6th April, was not in itself of an exceptional nature. There was not, as far as can be ascertained, any general intention of carrying it beyond the stage of political demonstration and passive resistance. The Satyagraha movement definitely contemplated disobedience to law; but there is no evidence that there existed, at all events during the earlier stages of the agitation, any organised conspiracy for the promotion of violence. If the impulse came from without, the actual conduct of affairs was almost everywhere in the hands of local leaders, and the character of the agitation varied in proportion to their individual influence and activity; there seems to have been little in the nature of concerted action among them. At Amritsar it early took a more violent form under the guidance of Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew, a barrister who had received part of his education in

Germany, of Dr. Satyapal who had served for a time under the military authorities as a temporary medical officer, and of Dina Nath, a newspaper editor. At Lahore, it was guided mainly by Duni Chand, president of the Indian Association, and Ram Bhaj Datt, who had been the Punjab representative of the Swadeshi agitation in Bengal. Elsewhere there was no local leader who stood out conspicuously. The aim of the agitation at this stage probably extended no further than a desire on the part of the local leaders to put such pressure on Government as would force it to withdraw the Rowlatt Act. It is possible that the Act was not in itself the real objective. There was no doubt a genuine dislike to it on the part of moderate politicians as a measure which conflicted with the claims of India for a material recognition of her loyalty and support during the war; and this class of thinker would in any case be opposed on principle to a measure which gave to executive authority a position independent of judicial control. There was probably among this class little genuine mistrust that its provisions would lead to misuse of authority though they were undoubtedly much impressed by the unanimous opposition of the Indian non-official members of Council. The advanced thinkers, however, such as those at Amritsar and Lahore, probably saw far more than this in the Act. It afforded an opportunity of a unique nature for a general agitation against Government, an agitation which, if successful in securing the withdrawal of the Act, would demonstrate conclusively the power of the political classes to force the hands of Government on any question on which popular sympathy could be roused. In their hands, the agitation was to be used as a weapon for the ultimate intimidation of Government.

If this analysis of the position is correct, the object of those responsible for the agitation, at all events up to the 6th of April, was not primarily to produce disorder. Consciously or unconsciously, they succeeded, however, in producing an atmosphere which made disorder probable; indeed, as some observers thought, made it inevitable. "I ventured to urge before this movement began," says Mrs. Besant, "that its logical result was riot and bloodshed,"* and Mr. Gandhi had himself to admit that when he embarked on a mass movement he "underrated the forces of disorder."† It was in the period of violent excitement which immediately followed the *hartal*‡ of the 6th April that disorder was incubated; there is no doubt that in the minds of many who attended the meetings of the 7th and 8th, and shared in the Ram Naumi celebrations of the 9th, there must have risen the idea that a policy of active resistance and intimidation was the natural sequel to the demonstrations of the 6th. For the disturbances which ensued we must mainly look to local causes. The account of events at Amritsar gives in some detail the local factors which resulted in turning what started as a protest in force against the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal into mob violence marked by murder, pillage and incendiarism. The demonstrations at Lahore followed on the news of the outrages at Amritsar and the exclusion of Mr. Gandhi from the Punjab; the precise degree of violence intended by the crowd may be doubtful, but the danger that violence might arise was open to no doubt, and the progress of the mob was rightly checked by the authorities. The outrages at Amritsar and the check administered to the crowds at Lahore were followed by something like a state of open anarchy in both cities, and a definite exhibition of anti-British and revolutionary feeling commenced in the cities of the central Punjab. This would not have been possible but for the atmosphere of excitement and opposition to authority created by the passive resistance demonstration of the 6th, and it is equally this which is responsible for the violence of the sympathetic outbreaks at Kasur and Gujranwala. In the latter alone does there appear to be any evidence that

* *New India*, Madras, dated 21st April 1919.

† *Times of India*, Bombay, dated 19th April 1919.
 ‡ Compare language used by Swami Shraddhanand (*alias* Munshi Ram) in an open letter to Mr. Gandhi. "I am therefore convinced that under the present conditions in India the civil breaking of laws without producing an upheaval among the masses (for which neither you nor any Satyagrahi is morally responsible) is impossible"—*Independent*, 28th May 1919.

‡ *Hartal* is thus defined by Platts (*Hindustani Dictionary*, 1884):—"Shutting up all the shops in a market (on account of oppression, or as a passive resistance to exaction);—passive resistance."

the leaders of the agitation were responsible for the direct organization of violence; and the conspiracy to this end does not seem to have dated back further than the disturbances in Amritsar and Lahore. In Lyallpur the unrest had somewhat different causes; while there was vigorous agitation by political leaders, much of the unrest was directly due to Sikh colonists from the Manjha, who had close connection with Amritsar.

Such in rough outline is the explanation now offered of the unusual course of events in the Punjab. The agitation drew its strength from causes which did not materially differ from those which regulated its course in other parts of India; the resultant disorder was due to local causes operating in the dangerous atmosphere created by the agitation, an atmosphere of peculiar danger where the population is as virile and quick to action as that of the Punjab. What the Rowlatt Committee wrote of the Sikh population is true of many other classes in the Province.* "With the high-spirited and adventurous Sikhs the interval between thought and action is short. If captured by inflammatory appeals, they are prone to act with all possible celerity, and in a fashion dangerous to the whole fabric of order and constitutional rule." Fortunately the excitement caused by the agitation had not penetrated deeply into the rural areas; the worst of the disorder occurred when the cultivators were engaged in cutting their harvest, a fact which in itself contributed to divert their attention from it; and though subsequent events proved that where villagers thought that law and order had broken down, they were ready to join in the disturbances, the prompt action taken by Government to quell disorder speedily turned the balance in its favour. Many of the leaders of rural opinion from the first demonstrated by their attitude that they had no sympathy with the agitation, while the best of them were throughout ready to lend their assistance to quell the disorder which followed it.

It may be noted here that the Punjab Native States were virtually unaffected by the agitation, though the Railway Staff stationed therein was involved in the prevalent disaffection. The three Phulkian States at the request of Government undertook the protection of all railway lines and stations within their jurisdiction by Imperial Service Troops, the work done in Patiala in this respect under the personal direction of His Highness the Maharaja being particularly valuable. The States of the Bahawalpur Agency were equally ready to assist Government, the Bahawalpur Darbar making admirable arrangements for protecting railways while the Faridkot Sappers and Miners did excellent work in the Ferozepore Brigade. The assistance rendered by the Kapurthala Darbar during the period of unrest at Jullundur was warmly eulogised by the Commissioner of the Division.

* Rowlatt Committee's Report, paragraph 146.

SECTION II.

THE COURSE OF THE AGITATION AND RESULTANT DISORDER.

The agitation against the Act commenced in February, and ultimately extended to every town of importance in the central and South-East Punjab. In its earlier stages it was largely in the hands of the Provincial Congress Committees and of such bodies as the "Indian Association"* of Lahore; the most prominent of their members were in nearly every case pleaders and vakils, but they found a ready sympathy in the commercial and trading classes. The leaders took their tone from the articles in the provincial press, which from the first showed its determination to inspire the most uncompromising opposition to the Act. While the Bill was still under consideration the *Tribune* newspaper† had written:

No civilized Government would adopt a policy of repression in the teeth of opposition from the public. There are now two ways open to us. One is that we should, like the dead, put the noose of this law round our necks, bury in oblivion our ever fair name, as also that of our great men, and sound the death-knell of the so-called liberty of India. The other is that we should afford proof of our life by refusing to accept the law in question.

Another paper‡ on about the same date (the 12th March) calls on Indians to show that they are not prepared to accept a law "calculated to gag their mouths, close their eyes, and bind them hand and foot." "There will now," says another paper, "be caused such unrest in the country no parallel to which will be found in the history of the world."§ Numerous meetings were held to protest against the Act, but at the outset, except in the hands of extremist members of the convening bodies, the criticism of the Act was not accompanied by violent attacks on Government; its main lines may be summed up in the charge that the Act threw unjustifiable power into the hands of the police, and it soon became a catchword that the new Statute would permit "Na Vakil, na dalil, na appeal."|| There appear to have been few attempts to explain the real purport of the Act. At a mass meeting held at Amritsar on the 23rd of March, the audience asked that this should be done, but the chairman remarked that this was "somewhat of a difficult task;"¶ and his promise that a subsequent speaker should undertake it, remained unfulfilled. When speakers of a more advanced type held the field—as for instance in the case of Lahore and Amritsar—criticism went much beyond the condemnation of the Act on its merits. It was represented as the typical product of a bureaucracy bent on crushing India, in spite of her services during the war. "The Boers bit like ants" said a speaker at Amritsar on the 23rd March,

but the British bite like scorpions. When they are in need of help they take it, and then forget it. It was said that this Bill** was intended for a few men only. If this was the case why did the bureaucracy place it like a hanging sword over the heads of all Indians to harass them? If bureaucracy after the experience of a reign of 150 years over this country could not control ten or twenty revolutionists, it ought to select another country to rule over.

The speaker compared the Act—and he could in the Punjab use no more damning simile—to the proceedings of Nadir Shah. Such criticism, not without danger when addressed to a large audience of townspeople unaccustomed to sift the value of political declamations, became additionally dangerous when accompanied by an appeal to racial animosity.

We are told in the schools of the benefits of Telegraph, Post Office and Railways;†† they are said to be for the benefit of the public, but we know that the contrary is the case. We realize now that famine prevails on account of the Railways which are for the benefit of the Rulers only. Oh! wretched

* Martial Law Commission Case, decided 5th July 1919, file No. 114.

† *Tribune*, Lahore, 11th March 1919.

‡ *Punjab Darpan*, 12th March 1919.

§ *Wagt*, Lahore, dated 29th March 1919.

|| Martial Law Commission Case, decided 5th July 1919, file No. 114, page 11.

¶ Martial Law Commission Order, dated 5th July 1919, file No. 113, page 3.

** File No. 4994, pages 14-15.

†† File No. 4994, pages 14-15.

Indians, look at the plight you are in ; if you vent your thoughts you are liable to get your necks cut, if you move your hands, they will be broken. Despite your degraded condition, new laws in the shape of Black Cobras are being thrust on you.

At another meeting, the point was emphasised that the Act constituted India's sole reward for loyalty during the war ; and it was a common charge that the Act showed that the talk of Reform was nothing short of hypocrisy.

We were encouraged by the Government and our hopes rose. We used to think that we should be given self-government and that both Hindus and Muhammadans would be reigning over our country. We used to think that we would make progress in the world, that our children would receive such education as we wished, and that they would be ready with everything for their nation and country, but we see with regret that all our hopes have turned into dust. As soon as the war has ended, instead of self-government this Act is imposed upon us.

Such arguments are not dissimilar to those used in the Imperial Legislative Council when the Bill was under discussion ; but they were then directed to a different class of audience. Nor was it then sought to drive the lesson home with appeals such as that which follows.

In the world's war only fifty lakhs of people died, but one crore and ninety lakhs have died of starvation in India. I tell you that the stores of grain in India are the greatest in the world, but unfortunately they are not in the hands of Indians. Students are not even allowed to attend political meetings. Ordinarily he who is given food by anyone will not injure him but the bureaucracy passes bills like this though we feed them. The thirty crores of Indians are not dacoits ; a pleader can be procured for a dacoit, but cannot now be procured for you. . . . Government says, do not speak, do not write, do not have weapons, and be deaf.

At meetings of the class described, the speakers made no appeal to violence ; the doctrine of passive resistance had already been preached from Bombay, and it was to passive resistance that the speakers pointed as the single weapon by which the Acts could be countered. "Mr. Gandhi," said a speaker on the 23rd March,* "is determined to overthrow bureaucracy." But the degree of passive resistance which they advocated was of a very advanced type. The audience were called upon to sacrifice their lives if necessary.

Let the sword cut fall, but you should not even move an eye ; if your hands are cut, let them be cut ; let fetters and handcuffs be your ornaments, let prisons be your mosques and temples ; then indeed shall freedom kiss your feet.†

The objective of the agitation at this stage was, indeed, pointed with some force by a Lahore paper in its issue of the 23rd March‡ in a paragraph which was given the additional distinction of being printed with a heavy black border.

"Government by its deliberate contempt for the Indian point of view has shown that it is not in a mood to be sympathetic towards our aspirations. It is now our duty to put Government to trouble in every constitutional way. Unless Government repents of its un wisdom, as it had to do in the partition of Bengal case, we should do our utmost so to confuse the authorities as to render their work in the country almost impossible."

These are typical of the criticisms of the more advanced speakers and writers ; in a large number of centres where meetings were held the language used was far more temperate. But the organized agitation against the Act, and its universal condemnation, had a widespread effect in persuading people who usually took no interest in political questions that a dangerous weapon had been forged against their liberty and peace of mind. Government had as yet taken no definite steps to explain the Act to people at large ; it was not indeed until after the hartal of April the 6th that the Punjab Publicity Board took steps to distribute copies of it in large numbers. In the presence of a concerted agitation by the majority of the educated community, supported by the trading classes, it was

* File 4994, page 19.

† File No. 4994, page 31.

‡ New Herald, Lahore, 23rd March 1919.

only natural that the most sinister rumours about the Act should gain credence among the lower classes in the towns and among the rural population at large. It is not clear how far the leaders of the movement can be held responsible either for initiating or encouraging such rumours; it can only be said that there is no evidence that they took steps to correct them. Of their character there is ample proof. The Deputy Commissioner of Lyallpur was himself told by shopkeepers who were closing their shops on the 6th April that the reason for doing so was that Government had passed a law forbidding more than four persons to meet together. The Deputy Commissioner of Jhelum, who, as an Indian gentleman and a resident of the Punjab, was in a position to acquire first-hand information on the subject, writes as follows about his district :—

The majority of the population consists of illiterate Muhammadan agriculturists hundreds of whom are serving in the military department. They rendered conspicuous services in connection with the Great War, and they knew nothing about the Rowlatt Act. So certain bad characters set afloat false rumours that Government would take half produce instead of cash revenue; that not more than four men would be allowed to accompany funerals and marriage processions; that rupees fifty would be charged per marriage of a girl, and that if more than four men were found together at a place they would be arrested by the police.

A manifesto issued by a number of prominent land-holders* after the disturbances had terminated referred to rumours that Government would charge fees on birth, death and marriage ceremonies, that no land-holder would be allowed to keep more than a few acres of land, and that Government would take a one-fourth share of the produce. One of the Martial Law Commissions recorded its impressions on the subject in an interesting passage† :—

There may perhaps have been some few persons who believe that the Rowlatt Bills, if enacted, were liable to abuse, and doubtless a good many more were roused to opposition by the speeches in the Imperial Council and the campaign in the press, but the bulk of the city population do not read newspapers and would have remained in complete ignorance not merely of the objections to the Bills, but even of their existence, unless other steps had been taken to educate them. The unanimity which had been announced and was required had to be preached, and preached it was, with a very considerable measure of success. But even of the educated few hardly any one appears to have read or considered the Bills for himself, and it was not the business of anyone to combat all or any of the lies and misrepresentations which were in circulation. It is true that at one meeting Gokal Chand did give reasons of a legal and technical kind for his objections to the first of the two Bills, but the class of persons, who attended the Lahore meetings, did not go there to hear legal arguments and did not carry them away. What they learnt generally was that in spite of the opposition of the whole of India and in particular of a saint named Gandhi, who, they were taught to believe, was the Rishi of the Hindus and the Wali of the Muhammadans, an alien Government was trying to pass and eventually did pass an exceedingly harsh law which threatened the liberties of the humblest individual; and that unless all classes and religions united against the Government there was no hope of averting the imminent peril. This teaching was enforced with all the arts of demagogues, who were unsparing in their abuse of a Government, which, they said, was meting out tyranny in return for loyalty and sacrifice. Such speeches fell on the ears of ready listeners, some of whom, deliberately or otherwise, must have retailed a still more garbled version of the iniquities of Government. As the result, the catch phrase "Na Vakil, na dalil, na appeal" was on many lips, and it was commonly believed that all and sundry, though innocent of all crime could be arrested at the will of the police and condemned without trial; that all assemblies of more than three or four people would be prohibited; and that in some mysterious way even the women and children would be made to suffer.‡

From an early date in the agitation certain sections of the press had published cartoons and articles about the Act which tended to add to the general impression of its injustice. Thus the *Waqt* of Amritsar on the 22nd of March published a cartoon showing "the Secretary of State in the act of handing the order of liberty to India, when a black cobra, released from a

* *Civil and Military Gazette*, 10th May 1919.

† Order dated 5th July 1919, file No. 114, page 10.

‡ A rumour was reported to be current that no marriage would be allowed to take place until the parties had been medically examined by a Government officer.

basket by Mr. Rowlatt, bites her." Further cartoons show the funeral of liberty, and depict an Indian soldier, who, returning as a conqueror from the war, is given an iron box as a reward. The *Aftab*,* in a poem published by it, actually gave authority to the rumours to which reference has been made above.

"Its (Rowlatt Bill's) object is that all persons should be separated from one another,

"Even four friends should not sit together anywhere.

"Father should be separated from his son and brothers should be separated from brothers.

"Nobody should come to us and we should not go anywhere.

"One should not express one's views to another.

"They should not consult each other in connection with important matters."

The better class papers gave the widest publicity to the accounts of protest meetings; but they did nothing to correct the distorted versions current as to the provisions of the Act. The *Tribune*,† indeed, seemed to think it unnecessary that correct information on such a subject should be conveyed to the masses.

It is absurd to seek to minimize the character of the demonstrations by saying that the multitude which took part in it did not know what the Rowlatt Act was.† It was not necessary for them to know the detailed provisions of the Act. No multitude ever knew the details of any Act. It was enough for them to be told by their leaders, by men in whom they had the fullest confidence, that the Government had passed a measure by which one of their most fundamental rights, a right which was the chief security for all their other rights, had been considerably curtailed.

Such was the general character of the agitation in its preliminary stage, that is, the stage previous to March 30th. Its intention up to this date did not probably extend further than the desire to promote a general demonstration against the Act, manifested mainly by adhesion to the movement for passive resistance. It was believed in many parts of the Punjab that the 30th March had been appointed by Mr. Gandhi as the date for his general Satyagraha demonstration. That belief was subsequently shown to be an error, but on the 30th a complete hartal was observed at Amritsar and Multan, in some towns in Ferozepore and in Hoshiarpur and Karnal.‡ The hartal at Amritsar and Multan was complete and was proclaimed by the Lahore newspapers as a triumph for its organizers. The hartal at Amritsar was followed in the evening by a mass meeting, estimated in various quarters as consisting of from 15,000 to 40,000 persons. The speeches were on the whole of a somewhat less provocative nature than those delivered in the course of the agitation for the hartal; perhaps the only passage which calls for notice was a reminder by Dr. Kitchlew that India could very easily have turned out the English during the course of the war, had they chosen to organize a revolution.§ The news of the outbreak at Delhi on the 30th might well have conveyed to the leaders of the movement a warning of the dangers which underlay the agitation. It was far from doing so. On the contrary, the general tendency was to speak of the event as a militarist outrage|| and to treat as martyrs those who were killed by the fire of the troops. On the 29th March an order of the Punjab Government had been served on Dr. Satyapal of Amritsar, forbidding him to speak in public, and on the 4th of April, a similar order was served on Dr. Kitchlew, Pandit Dina Nath, Pandit Kotu Mal, and Swami Annubhava Nand, all of whom had taken a prominent part in organizing the Amritsar meetings. Encouraged by the success of the preliminary hartal at Amritsar and Multan, the promoters of the movement now made strenuous efforts to secure a hartal, on even more complete lines, throughout the Punjab on the 6th. The papers¶ insisted on this as a manifestation of the sympathy of the Punjab with Mr. Gandhi's movement, and his proclamation was given wide publicity.

* *Aftab*, Lahore, 8th April 1919.

† *Tribune*, Lahore, dated 8th April 1919.

‡ *Partap*, Lahore, 1st April 1919.

§ *Tribune*, Lahore, 2nd April 1919.

¶ *Desh*, Lahore, 4th April 1919.

§ File No. 4998, page 7.

|| See e.g. *Tribune*, 3rd April 1919.

¶ *Tribune*, dated 4th April 1919.

A 24 hours fast,* counting from the last meal on the preceding night, should be observed by all adults, unless prevented from doing so by considerations of religion or health. The fast is not to be regarded, in any shape or form, in the nature of a hunger-strike or designed to put any pressure upon Government. It is to be regarded by Satyagrahis as necessary discipline to fit him for the civil disobedience contemplated in this pledge, and for all others as some slight token of the intensity of their wounded feelings. All work except such as may be necessary in the public interest, is to cease.

University students, were conspicuous in their zeal for the hartal, subscriptions were raised for the purchase of mourning badges, and poems about the Act were composed and recited in the hostels. It is possibly to the student class that must be attributed the crop of posters on the subject of the hartal which began to appear in the streets of Lahore. The following are typical :—

Alas the tyrants with gallows are ready to hang me. O! my two sons, Hindus and Muslims, wouldn't you help me in my release from this distress? Is your silence through fear of these tyrants the reward for having brought you up? No, never, my sons are not so timid. My sons like Mahatama Gandhi and Mr. Shaukat Ali are still alive. They would certainly endeavour to save me from the gallows. O! residents of Lahore you should follow the footsteps of these two Mahatamas and should comply with their commands. You should observe a fast (hartal) for full 24 hours on Sunday the 6th April and should all close your business for the day. It was the only means for the welfare of your motherland otherwise you should bear in mind that you all will be ruined.

He who tears this up shall go to Hell.

Think for a while that your country has to face a mountain of troubles and yet you refrain from helping her. Who would like to be so wretched as not to keep fast and close shops on Sunday (the 6th instant) and not partake in the distressed condition of the country. May they go to hell who will not suspend their business and keep fast.

Open your eyes,† oh! children of Bharat, see what tyranny is being done to your country. These tyrants are determined to annihilate you. Remember if you don't give up your lives, each child of yours will be laid low by the guns of the tyrants.

The hartal duly took place on the 6th April, and there can be no doubt of the success achieved by those who had organized the movement. The northern districts were little affected, and there were a few outlying areas such as Attock, Kangra, Dera Ghazi Khan and Mianwali, which were hardly touched by the agitation. Nor was there up to this point any sympathy with the movement manifested by the agricultural classes. The rumours set on foot regarding the Act were such as would affect them in an especial degree; but the cultivators were occupied in preparations for cutting their harvest, and even had they, as a whole, been moved to unrest by such rumours, the moment was inopportune for any demonstration on their part. The great majority of the towns of any importance in the Punjab, however, observed the hartal, accompanied in many places by a complete fast, and followed in the evening by meetings of protest against the Rowlatt Act. The demonstrations were unmarked by violence. In Amritsar a notice posted in the Clock Tower called on the people to "die and kill," but the general attitude of the people was orderly; and the large mass meeting held in the evening passed off without any incident of note. In Lahore the crowds were tumultuous and there was at one time a risk of serious collision with the police and troops, but the danger was averted with assistance from the leaders of the crowd. The mass meeting which assembled in the Bradlaugh Hall during the afternoon was unusual in size, and betrayed much excitement. It hissed the police officers present, and passed a resolution of sympathy with the "innocent persons shot without justification at Delhi." The crowd on dispersing showed some active resentment against certain Honorary Magistrates who were believed to have attempted to persuade their tenants against the hartal and against all supporters of Government. One cry raised by the crowd was "Death to these Government stallions and all our enemies." Copies of the Rowlatt Act were publicly burnt. If in the course of the protest meetings throughout the

* Tribune, Lahore, dated 6th April 1919, file No. 4081.

† File No. 4901, page 172.

province there was a general condemnation of the attitude of Government, the crowds in the streets on the 6th displayed no personal hostility to Europeans or Government officers. Many may have doubts as to the exact value which must be attributed in India to organized demonstrations of this nature. Those who have experience of the ways of Indian cities know that it is not difficult to promote meetings, and that it is an easy task to organize processions; they are not always proof of sympathy or even of great interest in the objects of the promoters. Fasting has always a certain air of merit in the East, and a call to fast will always find a readier support than it would be likely to achieve in Europe. Employers of labour know only too well the readiness with which their employees take any excuse for a holiday. But it would be a mistake to allow these considerations to minimise the substantial success of the movement. The 6th of April showed that the people of the Punjab towns had, rightly or wrongly, been stirred to deep feeling on the subject of the Rowlatt Act. There was little evidence of real coercion by those interested in the hartal; in very many cases there had been so little previous organization or canvass that it might almost be described as spontaneous: and where persuasion was needed, the response was ready and unhesitating. More than one Indian officer of Government was struck by the unanimity with which all classes of townspeople, even the lowest, joined in the closure of shops or abstained from labour. On the other side of the account, it was freely admitted in the Press* that the authorities had acted with tact and forbearance. On the 2nd of April public processions in the streets had been forbidden in Lahore under the Police Act.† Processions without license thus became technically illegal, but on the 6th the authorities did not take steps to disperse them, as they showed no inclination to violence. The crowds were tumultuous, and at one time there was danger of serious collision with the police and military, but no actual disorder resulted.‡

It at one time seemed possible that with the successful conclusion of the hartal and day of fasting on the 6th, the agitation had achieved its object, and that no further demonstration would occur. But the agitation had created an atmosphere of tension which had in it many elements of danger. The appeal had been for a peaceful resort to passive resistance: and passive resistance is not a solution that easily commends itself to the Punjab character. A quotation from a speech delivered at the Lahore mass meeting of the 6th shows that others than the officers of Government were alive to this difficulty. It was reported in the press§ as follows:—

Passive resistance was not mainly a matter of undergoing physical suffering, but it was a question of soul force, and for that reason it might not be easy for Punjabis. For them it was the easiest thing to lay down their lives in a just cause, but to bear every humiliation, to undergo every indignity, to put up with every suffering, not to lift the little finger, and not to let the heart feel the slightest resentment, that was a task indeed and required that the heart should undergo a transformation. For the other provinces it was easy to resort to passive resistance, but for the Punjab it was far more difficult.

The Martial Law Commission|| speaks of the temper of the people at Lahore as being in a dangerous condition as the result of the hartal. A leading Lahore newspaper,¶ whose editor was afterwards prosecuted for the articles written during the period following the 6th April, itself admitted that the atmosphere was "highly surcharged," and that the public mind was "in a state of unusual excitement." It is clear that, whatever the feeling elsewhere, there was at all events no intention on the part of the leaders at Amritsar** to allow this excitement to die down. They continued to hold a series of private meetings to concert measures for keeping alive the agitation; while at Lahore the papers†† contributed to the excitement by their

* *Tribune*, Lahore, dated 6th April 1919.
 * *Desh*, Lahore, dated 8th April 1919.
 * *Aftab*, Lahore, dated 8th April 1919.
 * *Paisa Akhbar*, Lahore, dated 8th April 1919.
 † Section 30, Act V of 1861, as amended by Act VIII of 1895.
 ‡ See page 72.
 § *Tribune*, Lahore, dated 8th April 1919.
 || Martial Law Case, decided 5th July 1919.
 ¶ *Tribune*, Lahore, dated 9th April 1919.
 ** Martial Law Case, file No. 123, order, dated 5th July 1919.
 †† Martial Law Case, decided 28th May 1919, file No. 71.

criticism on the steps taken to suppress the riots at Delhi. At Multan, which was closely connected politically with Amritsar, the hartal still continued in full operation. On the 9th April was celebrated the Ram Naumi, a Hindu festival of some importance to the townspeople of the central districts of the Punjab, such as Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Gujranwala and Lahore. The authorities nowhere took any steps to interfere with the celebration, and it was nearly everywhere made to assume a political aspect. Writing of the celebration at Amritsar an Indian officer of high standing, himself an eyewitness of it, noticed "the very high pitch which the feelings of the people against Government had reached" and stated that to him it "appeared not a religious but altogether a political function." In Lahore the Martial Law Commission considered that the procession* was of a "highly seditious and inflammatory character." In the larger towns it was the occasion for scenes of public fraternization between Hindus and Muhammadans. The growth of these demonstrations during the progress of the agitation deserves some comment. The strained relations between the two religions which have led to outbreaks such as those at Shahabad in Behar or of Katarpur in the United Provinces, have been less marked in the Punjab. Even in the agrarian disturbances in the South-West Punjab of 1915, the underlying motive of attack on the village Hindus was economic rather than religious. Religious antagonism has, however, been a standing feature of municipal life for many years in Delhi (where it led to the outbreak of 1887) and in some of the districts of the old Delhi Division. For the last two or three years, a political *rapprochement* between Hindus and Muhammadans has been a feature of Delhi Congress and Home Rule politics; and in the early days of the present agitation, the movement extended from Delhi to the old Delhi districts of Hissar, Karnal and Rohtak. It now became a prominent feature of the agitation in Lahore, Amritsar and Multan. In the meetings leading up to the general hartal of the 6th, constant allusion had been made to the necessity of "unity," and the meetings had resounded with the cry of "Hindu-Musalmanon ki jai." While the majority were acclaiming the name of Gandhi, the stauncher Muhammadans joined with his the names of the Pan-Islamist internees, Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali. Speakers and newspapers alike made much of the growing spirit of unity between the communities; and at Amritsar, in particular, every effort had been made by the Congress Committee to enlist Muhammadan support by demonstrating sympathy with the Turkish cause. The celebration of the Ram Naumi gave an opportunity for more practical demonstrations of unity. In the principal towns the Muhammadans joined in celebrating the festival, and the cry of "Hindu-Musalmanon ki jai" was substituted for that of the names of Hindu deities. At Amritsar the Hindus drank formally out of vessels held by Muhammadans; at Lahore drinking booths were erected for the common use of both communities; at Batala the crowd had the names of Ram and Allah, and the word Om stamped on their clothes as a mark of union. The celebration of Ram Naumi added much to the general excitement; and even if there was no disorder or open exhibition of racial feeling, it is clear that the spirit which produced the subsequent disorder was bred in the three days which followed the hartal of the 6th.

Late on the evening of the 9th, the local authorities at Amritsar received the orders of the Punjab Government for the deportation from Amritsar of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal. As already shown, previous orders had issued prohibiting their speaking in public, and they had not taken an open part in the meetings immediately preceding the hartal of the 6th. But, as the evidence subsequently taken before the Martial Law Commission showed, they had continued an active agitation during the 6th, 7th and 8th, and the order of the Commission held that agitation to have been of the nature of a criminal conspiracy. It was now decided to remove them to Dharamsala. On the same day occurred a further incident which was destined to affect materially the subsequent course of the agitation. Mr. Gandhi, on his way up to the Punjab, was detained at Palwal by an order under the Defence of India

* Martial Law Case, decided 5th July 1919.

† Martial Law Commission Case Order, dated 5th July 1919, file No. 113.

Act, and required to return to Bombay. There is no need to dilate on the importance attached in the Punjab towns to his approaching visit, or to the extent to which the expectation of his arrival had kept alive the agitation after the 6th. The leaders of the movement had freely invoked the inspiration of his Satyagraha vow in advocating the hartal of the 6th; people at large had learnt to look on him as the national saint and hero who would remove the burden of wrongs under which they had been told that they were suffering. A speaker at Multan on the 9th of April had likened the coming of Mr. Gandhi to the birth of Moses, the coming of Jesus Christ, of Muhammad and Sri Krishna. It is probable that in the Punjab there were few (except perhaps in Amritsar) who actually took the Satyagraha vow; and it is clear that the Punjab townspeople understood little of its real import. But the invocation of Mr. Gandhi's name became a habit* throughout the hartal period; his portrait headed the processions on the 6th, and continual shouts of "Gandhi ki jai" punctuated the periods of the speakers at the protest meetings. So fixed was the habit, and so little did it connote any real appreciation of the Satyagraha intention, that in the subsequent scenes of outrage, men committed arson and assaulted women† with the name of the apostle of passive resistance on their lips. The case for excluding Mr. Gandhi from the Punjab was clear. "Mr. Gandhi" said an Indian paper‡ "was proceeding to Delhi on a peaceful and high mission. His object was not to fight the authorities there, but to preach to the people a noble aspect of the Satyagraha movement, namely to learn self-restraint and not to retaliate even when wantonly oppressed by the police. The Governments of the Punjab and Delhi should have welcomed him as a friend." Mr. Gandhi's mission may have been peaceful and his motives high. But the townspeople and the Punjab had been thrown into a ferment by an agitation which largely centred round his name. The excitement in the towns was still acute; and Mr. Gandhi's arrival in the Punjab would only give it renewed vigour. What, it might reasonably be asked, would be the effect when this excitement extended to the rural areas, and they learnt that the man, whose name was known only to them as the leader in the attack on Government, had been allowed by Government to pursue his mission in the Punjab?

It has been suggested§ that the action of Government in ordering, practically at the same time, the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, and the exclusion of Mr. Gandhi from the Punjab, was a provocative act leading directly to the subsequent outrages. That they followed immediately on the news of the order of Government becoming known is of course the case. But it is always a question of the greatest difficulty to judge whether preventive steps such as those then taken will, in a time of high popular excitement, quiet the general atmosphere, or produce active disorder. The probability seemed to be that they would achieve the former result. The deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh in 1907 quelled at once an agitation which was rapidly assuming a dangerous form in the rural areas. The element of difference in the present case lay in the much more highly charged atmosphere created by the agitation for passive resistance, and in the recent success of the Bombay device of an universal hartal.

Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal were removed from Amritsar at 10-30 A.M. on the morning of the 10th. By midday a mob, bent on violence and incendiarism, held possession of the city. The exact course of events is given in detail in the district report;|| it will suffice to say here that collision with authority first occurred when the crowd, bent on making a demonstration in

* Defence witness No. 54 before the Martial Law Commission (5th July 1919) stated "I have no notion whether Gandhi is a man or a thing. And do not know what the "Rotal" (sic) Act is."

† Martial Law Commission Order, dated 29th May 1919, file No. 70. Compare Mrs. Besant's letter in *Times of India*, dated 19th April 1919.

‡ The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated 12th April 1919.

§ { *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated 12th April 1919.
Viswa Mitra, dated 19th April 1919.
 { *Swadeshbhami*, Madras, dated 9th May 1919.
Maharashtra, Nagpur, dated 16th April 1919.
Independent, dated 1st May 1919.

|| See pages 35-8.

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the Civil Station, attempted to force back a piquet posted at the Hall Gate Bridge and were fired on by the troops. Up to that time they had committed no act of violence. Repulsed by the piquet, however, they broke loose in the city, and taking courage from the inactivity of the police at the Central Police Station, murdered five Europeans, burnt banks, and Post Offices, and destroyed a Mission Church. Later in the day, and on receipt of the news from Palwal and Amritsar, the crowd at Lahore attempted to force back a small body of police stationed on the Upper Mall to prevent their progress towards the Civil Station, and were fired on by the police. Later on, at the Lohari Gate, a further collision occurred and the police had again to fire. Here, again, the full details are given in the district report.* Both at Amritsar and Lahore further outrage was prevented by the arrival of troops, but the Amritsar mob had already initiated the attack on communications which was afterwards so marked a feature of the disorder. It had burnt Bhagtanwala Railway Station, about a mile from Amritsar, and an attack had been made on the Chheharta Station a short distance away. On the 11th the mob were reported as in practical possession of Amritsar and the excitement had communicated itself to Multan, Jullundur, and Gujranwala. In Lahore all the shops were closed, and there was a large and violent mass meeting in the Badshahi Mosque—an incident of peculiar significance in the progress of Hindu-Muhammadan fraternization. An organized band of roughs began to parade the streets, and the mob destroyed pictures of the King-Emperor. Attempts were made to close the railway workshops. For all practical purposes, the mob ruled the city. On the following day, the 12th, the mob still had the upper hand in Amritsar, and were only kept in order by the exhibition of military force; and an attempt on the Tahsil at Tarn Taran showed that the mischief was spreading to the rural areas. In the Lahore district there were violent disorders at Kasur, ending in the wholesale destruction of Government property,† the murder of two Europeans and a violent assault on two others. In Lahore itself the crowd stoned the cavalry brought in to clear the streets near the Badshahi Mosque, and the police were obliged to fire on them. Elsewhere, as at Jullundur, Karnal, Rohtak, Gurdaspur, Gujranwala and Multan, the revival of hartals seemed to portend the prospect of active disorder. The growing menace to communications was evidenced by the cutting of the telegraph wire at Jullundur, and by attacks on Khem Karan and Patti Railway Stations. On the following day, the 13th, despite the most careful precautions to proclaim throughout Amritsar city that meetings would be dispersed, a large meeting was assembled in the Jallewalian Bagh, and dispersed by the Officer Commanding the Troops. There was evidence of renewed attempts at Lahore to paralyze the railway system by causing a strike; at Lyallpur, where at the time no troops were available, crowds adopted a hostile attitude and seemed to be prepared for violence. The attacks on communications were again such as to cause great anxiety. The railway telegraph wires were cut near Barara on the North-Western Railway; the line was cut between Chheharta and Kharsa near Amritsar and a goods train derailed; damage was attempted at Chuharkana on the Shorkot line; the telegraph wires were cut near Batala in Gurdaspur, and Wagah Railway Station was burnt.

This, then, was the general situation which Government had to meet on the 12th and 13th April. The agitation for a general manifestation of passive resistance had resulted in grave disorder in two of the principal towns of the Punjab, and to a series of attacks on communications. There was every indication that disorder might spread widely through the rural areas. The Martial Law Commissions which afterwards sat in judgment on the cases arising in Amritsar and Lahore were of opinion that there had been at the former town a criminal conspiracy against Government commencement from the 30th of March and at the latter commencing from the 11th April. But Government could, at the moment, deal only with the visible manifestation of disorder. The generally peaceful demonstrations of the 6th had given place, in Amritsar and Lahore districts, to an attitude which was definitely anti-Government and anti-British. Europeans had been murdered and assaulted,

* See pages 73-7.

† See page 84-5.

Government property had been singled out for destruction, banks had been burnt and looted. The attacks on the railways and telegraphs had not indeed given evidence of any concerted and organized action, but were so general as to show that if they were not speedily countered, they would paralyse communications and prevent the movement of troops. On the 13th Lahore was practically cut off from communication with the supreme Government, except for the wireless installation. The Punjab was full of lately demobilized soldiers, and though the event showed that these nowhere gave way to the agitation, it was not at the time possible to say with certainty that they would withstand the temptation to join the forces of disorder. The public fraternization of Hindus and Muhammadans had been pushed to such lengths, that Islamic leaders had afterwards to complain of the misuse of the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore as open sacrilege. Portraits of the King and Queen had been deliberately destroyed. There was evidence that efforts were being made in the worst affected centres to excite in every way the animosity of the lower orders against the British Government. A poster in Lyallpur reminded the crowd that there were European women to be ravished. The *Danda Akhbar** in Lahore spoke of English officials as 'pig monkeys', and announced that the Sikh regiments had revolted in Amritsar. It called on Sikhs, Muhammadan and Hindus alike to rise and kill the *Kafirs*. Deliberate attempts† had been made to seduce the police from their allegiance. The judgments of the Martial Law Commissions, dealing with isolated cases of attacks on the communications, show that in more than one of the central Punjab villages there was a growing belief that the power of the administration to maintain law‡ and order had broken down. So far the administration had adopted no repressive or punitive measure of an unusual nature. The military had been called in to assist both at Amritsar and Lahore; in the former case they had not fired until they had been ordered to do so by a magistrate, whose small force was being pushed back by an angry mob. At Lahore only the police had fired, and in each case in order to quell deliberate disorder. Of civil measures of an unusual nature, the only one so far taken was the sanction given to the application§ of the Seditious Meetings Act to Amritsar and Lahore.

It was in these circumstances that the local Government applied to the Government of India on the 13th April for exceptional powers|| to meet the situation. It had to utilize the wireless telegraph to get into communication with Simla. It requested sanction to suspend the functions of the ordinary criminal courts in Amritsar and Lahore District, to establish Martial Law therein, and to direct the trial of offences under Section 2 of Bengal Regulation of 1804. The Regulation is an antiquated one, and its application gave rise to some difficulties of detail; but it seemed to possess the definite advantage of giving legislative sanction for putting Martial Law in force. The matter was one of extreme urgency, and in the circumstances narrated above it was impossible for the supreme Government to come to any other conclusion than that the districts named were in a state of open rebellion. The required sanction¶ was, therefore, given, but subject to the modification that for the ordinary Courts Martial would be substituted tribunals similar to those constituted under the Defence of India Act. The nature of the various ordinances issued to meet circumstances as they arose from time to time will be subsequently described; it is advisable to resume here the interrupted narrative of events. Sanction to the proclamation of Martial Law was given on the 13th, but owing to delays in the communications** it was not until the 15th that the proclamations were issued in Lahore and Amritsar. On the 14th the Governor-General in Council issued a Resolution stating his determination to use all the forces at his command to quell disorder, and promising support to all who were charged with the duty of

* Martial Law Commission Case, decided 5th July 1919, page 8. See also page 78 below.

† *Crown versus Moti Ram*.

‡ See e.g., Martial Law Commission Order, dated 6th May 1919, Aulakh Case, and the Gumanpura Case, decided 12th May 1919.

§ { Punjab Government Telegram, dated 11th April 1919.

{ Government of India Notification No. 541, dated 13th April 1919.

|| Wireless Telegram, dated 13th April 1919.

¶ Telegram P., dated 13th April.

** Government of India Telegram No. 561-P., dated 15th April 1919.

suppressing it.* Meanwhile disorder had continued to spread. On the 14th attempted dacoities in some force occurred at the villages of Makowal and Jagdeo Khurd in Amritsar, and fresh danger at Tarn Taran was only averted by the arrival of British troops. The Gujranwala district† now showed itself to be seriously affected by the example of Amritsar and Lahore. At Gujranwala a crowd attacked the railway station and though at one time driven away by the police, returned and set fire to it, looting the goods shed of property valued at eight lakhs of rupees. They set fire to the Tahsil, Dāk Bungalow, Court House and Church. They were more than once fired on by the police, though with slight casualties, and did not disperse until the arrival of aeroplanes sent from Lahore. At Hafizabad a serious attack was made on a European traveller in a passenger train. Much damage was done to the railway communications at Sheikhupura and Sangla; and at Moman the station was burnt and looted by a mob of villagers. At Lahore persistent attempts were made to deter railway employees from going to work, and telegraph wires were cut in three places on the Amritsar line. The local Government took action against the principal leaders in the agitation, Messrs. Ram Bhaj Datt, Harkishan Lal and Duni Chand and ordered their deportation under the Defence of India Act. At Lyallpur affairs took a serious aspect, and definite attempts were made to incite the agricultural classes to disorder. Elsewhere sporadic attacks were made on the communications; telegraph lines were cut near Sialkot; at Pathankot and Okara attempts were made to interrupt the permanent way; at Bahadurgarh a railway bridge was set fire to. Serious unrest began to manifest itself in the railway staff; there was a strike at Jakhal and Tohana, and the staff came out for a time at Samasata.

The news of the outbreak at Gujranwala on the 14th made it necessary to seek sanction for the application of Martial Law here also; this was duly accorded on the 15th, though proclamation‡ was not made till the following day. Meanwhile the Seditious Meetings Act was proclaimed on the 15th. There was no further disorder at Amritsar, now held in force by the military; Martial Law was now formally proclaimed. Disorder still continued in Gujranwala, though the headquarters town was held by the military. At Akalgarh and Hafizabad damage was done to the station by a mob; Ramnagar distinguished itself by burning the King in effigy; at Chuharkana the station was burnt and looted and the railway lines torn up; railway lines were cut at Sangla, and at Wazirabad a mob, undeterred by the presence of a military detachment, did some damage to the station, cut the wires, and burnt down a missionary's house at the neighbouring village of Nizamabad. Trouble, though in less serious a form, extended itself to Gujrat. A crowd attacked the railway station and burnt the telegraph and telephone instruments; it did not disperse till fired on by the police. Martial Law was proclaimed in Lahore and the first of the Martial Law Regulations issued. The hartal continued, and there was still disorder in the area outside the Lahore City, a train being stoned at Kot Radha Kishen, wires cut and obstructions placed on the line at Chhanga Manga, and Grass Farm stacks burnt at other stations. In the Lyallpur District hartals still continued, and a crowd at Gojra tried to prevent the starting of a train. In other places, such as Rawalpindi and Rohtak there were isolated cases of wire cutting. The unrest among the railway staff continued to cause anxiety; there was a strike at Kundian and an incomplete strike at Khanewal.

As shown above, Martial Law had been proclaimed at Amritsar and Lahore on the 15th, and it was proclaimed at Gujranwala on the 16th. From the 16th order began slowly to assert itself; no large town was henceforth seriously affected and disorder was confined to isolated attacks on the communications, and to outrages by villagers. Thus at Aulakh in the Gujranwala district a body of villagers burnt the village records; villagers attacked and burnt the Dhaban Singh Railway Station; there was wire cutting at Muridke and Baroha, and at Sangla a fanatic Sikh made a murderous attack on a European Telegraph Inspector. In Gujrat there was an incident of minor importance at Jalalpur

* Resolution No. 549, dated 14th April 1919.

† See pages 47-49.

‡ Punjab Telegram, dated 16th April.

Jattan, but a serious attempt to interrupt communications was made by a small gang at Malakwal. They removed a rail on the main line causing a serious accident which resulted in the loss of two lives. Again, in the Jhelum district, which hitherto had had no record of disorder, a gang of men removed a rail at Kala and succeeded in derailing a passenger train. In both cases members of the railway staff had shared in the attack on the permanent way. Matters were still in a serious condition at Lyallpur; there were seditious meetings in the villages, and the canal telegraph wire was cut. In view of the reports of continued hartals at Jullundur and the delivery of undesirable speeches at Multan, the Seditious Meetings Act* was on this day extended to both these districts.

The 17th April showed a further improvement in the recovery of law and order. By this time not only had Martial Law been proclaimed in the worst affected districts, which were also being patrolled by mobile columns, but detachments of troops had been despatched to the more important railway stations and to the headquarters of outlying districts. There was some wire cutting in Gurdaspur and Jullundur and Mianwali districts, and an attempt was made by villagers to derail a train near Jallo in the Lahore District; but the only district which gave signs of still harbouring unrest of a serious type was Lyallpur, where there was good reason for believing that villagers were concerting an attack on the Government property at headquarters, and a fire which destroyed a large quantity of straw belonging to Government took place near the railway station. The record of the 17th repeated itself on the 18th. There were still sporadic attempts on the communications; an obstruction was placed on the line in the Ferozepore district, and the telegraph wire was cut in the Jullundur district. There were some attempts to revive the hartal at Karnal, apparently due to influence from Delhi, but again Lyallpur was the only area which caused serious anxiety. There was a rumour of an impending attack on Mumn Kanjan Station, and a party of Sikhs tried to wreck the line between Toba Tek Singh and Janiwal.

On the 19th matters may be said to have definitely begun to return to the normal in the greater part of the province. The derailments of trains in the Gujrat district had seemed to require the application of some special measure of protection for the railway, and the local Government† had on the 18th recommended the application of Martial Law to this district for the purpose. This was sanctioned and proclaimed‡ in the district on the 19th. With the exception of the burning of a store in the lines of an Indian regiment at Ambala—an incident of doubtful origin—nothing further occurred on this date calling for notice. The 20th was equally devoid of serious incident, though the reports of the attitude of the villages in Lyallpur caused the local Government§ to ask for the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to that district. Sanction|| was given on the same date. For the same reason the local Government¶ applied on the 21st for the application of Martial Law, and this was sanctioned** on the 22nd April, being proclaimed at the district headquarters on the 24th April.

There is no further record of open disorder. The five proclaimed districts were under the administration of Martial Law, and steps were being taken to bring to justice as rapidly as possible the chief agents of disorder. The Commissions opened on the 23rd April and showed great expedition in disposing of the simpler cases which first came before them. Except in some of the towns in the old Delhi Division, where the influence of Delhi is still strong, agitation rapidly died down throughout the province. Even before the actual restoration

* Government of India Notification No. 570, dated 16th April 1919. It was not actually proclaimed at Multan till the 18th.

† Telegram No. 57-C. S., dated the 18th April 1919.

‡ Government of India telegram No. 620, dated the 19th April 1919.

§ Telegram No. 15-S. W., dated 20th April 1919.

|| Government of India Notification No. 623, dated the 20th April 1919.

¶ Telegram No. 67-C. S., dated the 21st April 1919.

** Government of India telegram No. 646, dated the 22nd April 1919.

of order, there had been many proofs that responsible and moderate opinion was declaring itself against the campaign of lawlessness. On the 13th April the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Gujjan Singh issued a manifesto exhorting Sikhs to stand aloof from the agitation. On the 17th two manifestos issued from Rohtak contradicting the unfounded rumours in regard to the Rowlett Act that were current in the villages; on the 18th a manifesto signed by a number of prominent men in Gurdaspur advocated a return to order; a similar manifesto issued from Ferozepore district; on the 20th a number of the leading Muhammadans in Lahore, on behalf of the leading Muhammadan Associations, condemned the passive resistance movement and its results. On the 21st a manifesto issued from the Chief Khalsa Diwan, the chief political organization of the Sikhs, urging the latter to stand by Government. On the 24th the Punjab Zamindars Central Association, Lahore, impressed on all landholders the paramount necessity of putting an end to "the sad conditions resulting from the passive resistance movement," and on the 25th the leading Hindus of Lahore issued a manifesto condemning in the strongest terms all resistance to law and order whether active or passive. A similar manifesto was also issued by the Anjuman-i-Ahmaddiyya, Lahore. On the 23rd May the Pirs of the Chief Muhammadan shrines in the Punjab assembled at Lahore, and expressed their sense of loyalty to Government and their condemnation of the recent disturbances.

Even the Indian papers in some cases showed a tardy regret that the agitation for passive resistance had led to deplorable active disorder, and that doctrines of this nature could not safely be preached in the Punjab. "Even if the passive resistance movement" says the *Desk* of the 21st April "be admitted to be constitutional, its offshoots are, in the existing condition of education and civilization, dangerous and fatal."*

* { See also *Siyasat*, 2nd May 1919.
 { *Paisa Akhbar*, 29th April 1919.

SECTION III.

THE USE OF THE MILITARY FORCES AND APPLICATION OF MARTIAL LAW.

It is proposed now to give some fuller detail of the use made of military forces to restore civil order, and in particular of the administration of Martial Law. It may be well to state with some precision the points which this will cover. Martial law was applied by proclamation in five districts only, namely, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpur. In these districts there was a preliminary period before Martial Law was proclaimed, during which Officers Commanding troops were called upon to take certain action in assistance of the civil power; in a number of other districts troops were called in, and were utilized in various ways and in various degrees, for the maintenance of order. All these cases stand on the same basis; the legal sanction covering the action of the Commanders of Military forces was that their aid had been requisitioned by the civil authorities for the restoration of order. With the definite proclamation of Martial law in the five districts, and while such proclamation remained in force, military action fell into a somewhat different category; the authority wielded by Military Commanders was exercised under the terms of a statutory proclamation. Whatever the ultimate constitutional difference between these two conditions, it is convenient for practical reasons to deal with them separately.

It may be said at once, that in the great majority of cases in which troops were called to the assistance of the civil power, they were simply held in reserve as a precautionary measure; detachments were sent to guard railway stations; in some cases they were marched through a district. They proved of the utmost value in restoring an atmosphere of confidence and dispelling unrest, but were not called on to share in punitive or repressive measures. There were other cases in which they were called upon to take a direct share in dealing with disorder, and at the risk of some repetition, it is advisable to treat of these in some detail, district by district. At Amritsar they were on the 10th April utilized as piquets on the approaches to the civil station, and they fired on the crowds at the Hall Gate Bridge. Here they were at the disposal of a Magistrate, and fired at his request when they were being driven back by the crowd. Later in the day, the Officer Commanding at the railway station used part of his piquet to protect the Telegraph Office from the crowd which had destroyed the goods shed and murdered a Guard. In the afternoon they again fired on the mob at the Hall Gate Bridge, this time at the request of the District Magistrate. On the arrival of the Commissioner on the night of the 10th he informed the Officer Commanding the Troops that he was "to consider himself in charge of the military situation and take whatever steps he thought necessary to re-establish civil control." In pursuance of this, the General Officer Commanding on the 11th and 12th established piquets over the approaches to the town, and also marched his troops through it. Further, on the 13th he, at the request of the District Magistrate, issued proclamations prohibiting public meetings and processions; and at his own initiative dispersed by fire the crowd in the Jallewalian Bagh.* He also issued notices prohibiting egress from the city, and confining residents to their houses at night, notifying that those disobeying the latter notice were liable to be shot. Martial Law was proclaimed on the 15th, and any subsequent steps taken by him were under his authority as Martial Law Administrator. At Gujranwala the first step taken by the military authorities to quell disorder was the dropping of bombs by aeroplanes on the evening of the 14th; there was, as the Gujranwala account† shows, one bomb dropped also on the 15th. No other measures, other than that of patrol were taken by the military on the 15th, and on the 16th Martial Law was declared. At Wazirabad a party of cavalry had been sent to protect the railway station, and when it was attacked on the 15th by a mob, the cavalry dispersed them by a charge (which does not appear to have caused casualties) and on a second occasion fired into the air. No further military action was taken until the proclamation of Martial Law on the 16th. In the Sheikhpura Sub-Division

* Amritsar account, pages 39-40.

† Gujranwala account, pages 48-49.

of the Gujranwala district an armoured train, manned by a detachment of British troops, dispersed by machine gun fire a large crowd which on the evening of the 15th had assembled to attack the grain market. The proclamation of Martial Law at Gujranwala on the 16th applied also to the Sheikhupura Sub-Division and the incident at Chuharkana* in which troops sent to arrest suspected rioters fired on them, causing a number of deaths, falls into the Martial Law period. In Gujrat district troops were from the 15th to the 19th used for piquet and patrol, and also to guard Malakwal and Lala Musa Junctions; but they did not, save for the small incident of the 17th at Malakwal,† come into active use for quelling disorder. Martial Law was proclaimed on the 20th. Troops were used freely in the Jhelum district, but only for patrol work in association with the civil authorities; the same is true of Jullundur. At Lahore, the troops were used on the 10th in support of the police to push the crowd back into the city after the firing on the Upper Mall; they were not called upon to fire. On the 12th a considerable force was marched into the city and cavalry were used to clear the space in front of the Badshahi Mosque, but the actual firing at Hira Mandi was by the police. Martial Law was sanctioned on the 13th and was actually proclaimed on the 15th. On the 14th April control of petrol was established; but this was an act of civil not military authority. At Kasur troops arrived soon after the outrage on the 12th, but were only used for general guard; the declaration of Martial Law at Lahore on the 15th applied here also, but it was actually proclaimed on the 16th. The flying columns which moved between Lahore and Amritsar, and Kasur and Patti, started after the proclamation of Martial Law. At Lyallpur and Multan troops were used in association with the police, but did not come into conflict with the crowds.

The record of the use of military, other than under declared Martial Law conditions, contains therefore few cases which call for detailed comment. There has never been any doubt as to the legality‡ of calling in troops to aid the civil magistrate in dispersing not only "unlawful assemblies" but any assembly "likely to cause a disturbance of the public peace;" the law on the subject is clear, and the only condition laid down is that the military officer on whom such requisition is made shall "use as little force, and do as little injury to person and property, as may be consistent with dispersing the assembly and arresting and detaining" the persons composing it.§ The Indian statutes give a further authority to a military officer to act on his own initiative, when the public safety is manifestly endangered by such an assembly, and when no Magistrate can be communicated with.|| It has more than once been suggested in the press that it is incumbent on troops when coming into conflict with a mob in such circumstances, to fire blank cartridge before using ball.¶ A convincing answer to this suggestion is contained in the speech of Mr. Asquith, as Home Secretary, in relation to the firing in the Featherstone riots. "Nothing could be more prejudicial to the maintenance of peace,** and nothing in the long run could be more contrary to humanity than that soldiers should be allowed in such circumstances to use blank cartridges." The danger and futility of such a practice is brought home by the incidents at Wazirabad, where the troops fired into the air.†† The only instances in which the degree of "force" used by military officers would appear to demand any species of justification, are the dispersal of the crowd at Jallewalian Bagh, and the use of bombs from aeroplanes at Gujranwala. Neither case can be treated entirely as an isolated incident. At Jallewalian Bagh‡‡ a military officer, charged by civil authority to prevent assemblies among a town population which had for some days been in open rebellion – and the term is true not only in a practical but in a legal sense, — found a large crowd collected in circumstances which proved clearly that it had

* Sheikhupura account, pages 54-55.

† Gujrat District account, page 59.

‡ Chapter IX, Criminal Procedure Code.

§ Section 130 (2), Criminal Procedure Code.

|| Section 131, Criminal Procedure Code.

¶ See e.g., *Bengali*, Calcutta, dated the 13th April 1919.

** Debates, House of Commons, dated 10th January 1894.

†† Gujranwala account, pages 49-50.

‡‡ For full details see page 39.

come together in open defiance of authority. If the suitability of the degree of "force" used remains a question for discussion, two points are nevertheless not open to doubt. It was his duty to disperse the assembly by any means in his power; and the effect of the action taken by him was definitely to settle the attitude of the inhabitants of the central Punjab. In regard to the use of aeroplanes at Gujranwala, the question is less one of the proper use of "force" by the officer in charge of the aeroplanes than of the discretion exercised by superior authority in utilizing this weapon to combat disorder. Here also the general circumstances surrounding the case are of importance. The police had asked for aid early in the morning; since then all communication had been cut off. The aeroplane afforded the speediest and most certain method of conveying assistance to the local authorities. There is no need to repeat at length here the circumstances in which bombs were dropped;* the facts given in the detailed report show that their actual discharge was neither inopportune nor unjustifiable.

So much for the use of military forces, and the discretion exercised by the Commanders, otherwise than under the authority with which they were invested in five districts by the application of Regulation X of 1804. The circumstances leading up to the use of that Regulation have already been described. It would clearly have been within the competence of Government, in the exercise of its general authority as representing the Crown, to notify the existence of a state of what is usually termed "Martial Law" that is, the extra-legal state in which military authority takes administrative control, and displaces the civil magistrate by its own Commanders. "Martial Law" says Professor Dicey—

is sometimes employed as a name for the common law right of the Crown and its servants to repel force by force in the case of invasion, insurrection, *riot or generally any violent resistance to the law*. This right or power is essential to the very existence of orderly Government and is most assuredly recognized in the most ample manner by the law of England.

The existence of the extra-legal condition known as Martial Law would have justified the military authorities, in whom, under such a condition, the conduct of affairs is vested, in setting up Courts-Martial for the trial of all offences not only directly connected with disorder, but in any way incidental thereto. This was done in South Africa in 1900-1902. It would perhaps have been more convenient in some ways if Government had had recourse to its general powers in this respect. It was, however, decided to apply Regulation X of 1804, and Martial Law thus acquired a statutory sanction in the proclaimed districts, instead of being simply the notification, or the *de facto* recognition, of an extra-legal condition of affairs. It will be necessary to detail with some precision the consequences of the application of this Regulation. It, firstly, gave formal sanction to the establishment of Martial Law;† secondly, it suspended the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts in so far as concerned charges against those who "shall be taken in arms in open hostility to the British Government, or in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same, or in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the State or in the act of openly aiding and abetting the enemies of the British Government within any part" of those districts; and thirdly, it directed the immediate trial by Court Martial of all such offences. The penalty provided by the Regulation for all such cases is death and forfeiture of property. It was, however, decided that instead of Courts-Martial constituted in the usual manner such offences should be tried by tribunals similar to those under the Defence of India Act. The action taken to legalise such courts was not under the Regulation, which did not in itself permit of any variation of the method of disposing of cases due to the offences described in its second section. It was necessary to establish the tribunals by resort to the powers vested in the Governor-General in Council, under the Government of India Act, 1915. That Act‡ gives the Governor-General

* See Gujranwala Report, pages 48-9.

† Section 2 of Regulation X of 1804.

‡ Section 72, Government of India Act, 1915.

authority to promulgate Ordinances (which shall remain in force up to six months) having the same force of law as Acts of the Legislative Council, but subject to the same restrictions as in the case of Acts* of the Legislative Council as laid down in section 65. The Ordinance was issued on the 14th April as the Martial Law Ordinance of 1919. Briefly it (1) empowered the Local Government to appoint Commissions of three persons, at least two of whom should be persons who had served as Sessions Judges or Additional Sessions Judges for not less than three years, or persons qualified under section 101, Government of India Act, to become Judges of a High Court; (2) gave the Commissions the power of a General Court-Martial under the Indian Army Act, 1911, and declared that their procedure should be regulated by this Act, with permission to try cases as a Summary General Court-Martial if necessary; (3) declared that the sentences of the Commission should not be subject to confirmation; (4) confined the scope of trial to persons charged with offences committed after the 13th April. A subsidiary Ordinance No. II of 1919, issued on the 16th April, applied the provisions of the first Ordinance to Gujranwala, to which Regulation X of 1804 had been extended on the 15th, and gave authority to the Governor-General in Council to apply that Ordinance in all areas in which Regulation X of 1804 might in future be applied.† On the representation of the Punjab Government that the sentence of death was not suitable as an invariable penalty, a third Ordinance‡ (III of 1919) was issued on the 18th April empowering Courts-Martial or Commissions appointed under the Martial Law Ordinance to give sentences of transportation for life or for a period not less than seven years, or of rigorous imprisonment for a term of not less than seven years or more than fourteen years. It also gave power to remit the penalty of forfeiture of property. A further difficulty now revealed itself in the legal position arising out of the concurrent effects of the Regulation and the Martial Law Ordinance. The earliest sanction given to the proclamation of the former had been the 13th April; and the terms in which the latter had been issued accordingly confined the powers of the Commissions to cases of persons charged with offences committed on or after the 13th April. The first rioting had however occurred on the 10th and the Punjab Government had before them information which seemed to point to direct incitement to offences before that date. They therefore asked that the date should be taken back from 13th April to the 30th March, the date of the first trouble in Delhi. It was therefore decided to issue another Ordinance (No. IV of 1919)§ which empowered the Local Government to direct that Commissions should *try any person charged with any offence* committed on or after the 30th March. The wording is important, because the Ordinance was intended to grant powers not only to try offences as defined in Regulation X of 1804, but to try offences other than those specified in the Regulation. The judicial scope of the Commissions was thus greatly extended; they could try offences committed before the Martial Law proclamations came into force, and offences arising out of the ordinary municipal Law. They had to this extent ceased to occupy the character under which they were originally constituted, that is, tribunals substituted for General Courts-Martial; and this departure was only possible because they ultimately derived their legal powers not from the Regulation of 1804, but from the Government of India Act of 1915. Their precise legal position may be said to be that of concurrent Courts, with defined powers, which by arrangement tried cases which would otherwise have been tried by General Courts-Martial. Four Commissions were appointed by the Local Government, and dealt with the bulk of the serious cases arising out of the disorders. But before dealing in detail with work discharged by them, it will be necessary to allude to the other conditions, judicial and administrative, which arose from the proclamation of Martial Law in the five districts.

* Section 65, Government of India Act, 1915.

† It was so subsequently applied to Gujrat and Lyallpur.

‡ Its full title was the Martial Law (sentences) Ordinance, 1919.

§ Its full title was the Martial Law (Further Extension) Ordinance, 1919.

The provision made for trying cases by Commission instead of Courts-Martial did not, of course, materially affect the main position created by the proclamation of Regulation X of 1804. As already shown, the Regulation definitely introduced Martial Law in the five districts. The effect of this was to give the General Officers Commanding troops the necessary authority, as far as these districts were concerned, to suppress disorder and re-establish order. This was implied rather than expressed in the proclamation of the Regulation; at the best, it only gave statutory recognition to the existence of an extra-legal position; it defined neither the limit nor the extent of military authority; nor indeed, could any statute pretend to define the limits or the procedure of such authority in extra-legal conditions. For any such definition we must fall back on the limits set by convention and usage to the powers of those administering Martial Law in the circumstances in which it is usually brought into effect, that is, in which its only recognition is not a statutory declaration but a notification by executive authority. By common consent, in such circumstances—and they are the circumstances in which a state of Martial Law would be introduced in any country not possessing a statute such as Regulation X of 1804—the notification of Martial Law is only the notification of an existing fact, not the legal creation of that fact; and the amount of authority exercisable is one which jurists as a rule prefer to define in negative rather than positive terms. "Troops are entitled" says Fitz James Stephen "and are bound to destroy life and property to any extent which might be necessary to restore order. They are not justified in the use of cruel and excessive means, but are liable civilly and criminally for such excess." The steps actually taken in the Punjab under Martial Law did not involve measures so stringent as those indicated. On the proclamation of Martial Law in Amritsar and Lahore the General Officer Commanding the 16th Division issued a proclamation (dated the 19th April 1919) laying down certain preliminary regulations which formed the basis on which Martial Law was to be subsequently administered. It defined as Martial Law offences the act of being in arms against the State, or inciting others to be in arms (No. 2); assisting or harbouring rebels (No. 3); failure to report gatherings of rebels (No. 4); use of language or issuing publications likely to foment rebellion or promote hostility between different classes of His Majesty's subjects (No. 5); interference with railways, canals or telegraphs (No. 6); possession of a motor vehicle without permit (No. 7); departure from or entry to a proclaimed area save under conditions to be prescribed (No. 8); convening or attending a meeting of more than 5 persons (No. 9); escaping or attempting to escape from legal custody (No. 10); disobeying an order given by a civil or military officer in the execution of his duty when administering Martial Law (No. 11); disseminating false intelligence likely to cause alarm or despondency (No. 12); destroying Martial Law notices (No. 13); refusing to give a correct name and address on demand (No. 14); committing an act in prejudice of good order or public safety or calculated to hamper or mislead His Majesty's forces (No. 16). Offences against those general regulations were to be tried by officers authorized to dispose summarily of an offence against Martial Law (Summary Courts). The powers of these officers were to be limited to sentencing an offender to two years' rigorous imprisonment or fine not exceeding Rs. 1,000 or both, and to whipping in addition to or in lieu of any other punishment. The officers so appointed were to be known as Area Officers, and in addition to all officers especially designated as such this term was to include every Officer Commanding a Station or Regiment, every field officer and every Officer Commanding a Brigade, and all officers nominated by the Officer Commanding, Lahore Civil Area, or by the Local Government. It will be advisable, in order to follow the working of the conditions introduced by this General Proclamation, to describe the action taken in each proclaimed district. In the Amritsar district, the General Officer Commanding the Jullundur Brigade became the Administrator of Martial Law; he had at first one Area Officer of Major's rank.* As shown in the Amritsar District report,† he subsequently issued a number of Regulations supplementary to the main Martial Law Proclamation of April 19th. Cases arising out of breaches of these Regulations were tried by the Administrator or his Area Officer. It should here be noted, that on

* Punjab Notification No. 10657, Home-Military, dated the 20th April.

† Amritsar Report, page 41. He was known at Amritsar as the Provost Marshal.

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the issue of the general proclamation, the local Government, utilizing the authority declared to it, gazetted a number of civil officers, all being magistrates* of the first class, as having the powers of Summary Courts. There were thus in each district a number of civil magistrates of the first class empowered to try as Summary Courts offences against the Martial Law Regulations; but their services were not utilized to any considerable extent in this respect. When Martial Law was declared in Gujranwala, the General Officer Commanding, 2nd Rawalpindi Division, issued a Proclamation (dated 20th April) of which the terms were precisely similar to those of the Lahore Division general Proclamation. The Administration of Martial Law at Gujranwala was carried on by the General Officer Commanding the Sialkot Brigade, who moved his headquarters to Wazirabad. He also issued, as shown in the district report† a number of detailed regulations supplementary to those contained in the general proclamation. The Deputy Commissioner, Gujranwala,‡ was notified as Area Officer for Gujranwala, an officer of Major's rank as Area Officer for Wazirabad, the Joint Deputy Commissioner for the Sheikhpura area, an officer of Captain's rank for Hafizabad. When Martial Law was declared in Gujrat, action was taken on the general Rawalpindi Proclamation,§ and an officer of Lieutenant-Colonel's rank appointed as Area Officer; subsequently some of the regulations issued for Wazirabad were applied here also, and Area Officers were appointed for Lala Musa and Malakwal. The details of the administration of Martial Law in this area are given in the Gujrat District report.|| The formal notification of Martial Law at Lahore found the district already divided into two areas (1) the Lahore Civil Area (composing Lahore City) and (2) the Lahore District outside the city. The administration of the Lahore district area was in the hands of the General Officer Commanding, Lahore Brigade, that of the Lahore Civil Area in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel F. Johnson, D.S.O. The latter was given three officers of or above Major's rank as Area Officers.¶ The Administrator in the Lahore district area was subsequently given a separate Area Officer,** of Captain's rank for Kasur. As shown in the Lahore District report,†† the administration in the Lahore Civil, i.e., City area was more intensive than elsewhere. Though the Lahore Civil Area came under the general terms of the Lahore Divisional Proclamation of April 20th already referred to, the Administrator had already begun to issue detailed Regulations on the 15th April; a very considerable number of these were issued as time went on, and action was as a rule taken by the Summary Courts under the Regulations of the Lahore Civil Area Administrator rather than under the general orders of the Divisional proclamation. Lyallpur was latest in order of the districts to be proclaimed. It came under the general terms of the Rawalpindi Divisional Proclamation. A local Area Officer of Lieutenant-Colonel's rank was appointed; and subsequently certain local regulations were issued, as shown‡‡ in the district report, based on the Wazirabad Regulations.

A further exercise of powers arising from Martial Law must be noticed. The major offences arising out of the disorder were triable by Commission; breaches of Martial Law Regulations were triable by the Area Officers and other Officers (including Civil Officers) especially empowered in this behalf. It became necessary to make provision for the trial, by

* See Punjab Government Notifications Nos. 10653, dated the 20th April 1919; 11015, dated the 22nd April 1919; 11182, dated the 24th April 1919; and similar subsequent notifications.

† Gujranwala District report, page 52.

‡ Punjab Government Notification No. 12197, dated 4th May 1919.

§ Punjab Government Notification No. 12197, dated 4th April 1919.

|| Gujrat District report, pages 58-59.

¶ Punjab Government Notification No. 10657, dated 20th April 1919.

** Punjab Government Notification No. 11130, dated 23rd April 1919.

†† Lahore District report, pages 79-80.

‡‡ Lyallpur District report, pages 91-92.

some more summary process than that of the ordinary criminal law, of the large number of minor cases arising out of the disorder, which occurred before the proclamation of Martial Law. The existing Summary Courts could deal only with cases arising since the Martial Law Proclamations had issued. The two Generals Commanding Divisions therefore issued notifications* empowering certain officers, to be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor, to exercise the powers of Summary Courts in respect of offences against the ordinary law arising out of the disturbances, but committed before the proclamation of Martial Law. With the exception of certain officers who were Cantonment Magistrates, all officers so nominated were Civil Magistrates enjoying first class powers. Their authority was defined as follows :—

Such courts (a) shall only take cognizance of cases sent for trial by the Police; (b) shall not try any person for any act which is not an offence under the ordinary law; (c) shall not try any person for any offence which is shown as triable exclusively by the Court of Session in column 8 of schedule II of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1898; (d) shall not in respect of any offence pass any sentence which is not authorized by the ordinary law for that offence (see column 7 of schedule II aforesaid and also the Indian Whipping Act, 1909); and (e) shall not in respect of any offences pass any sentence which could not be passed by a 1st class magistrate (see section 32 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898).

Their powers were limited under the terms of the original Divisional Commanders' proclamations, to sentences of two years or a fine of Rs. 1,000, and their orders were not to be subject either to confirmation or appeal.

The consequence of these various orders was, therefore, that in the Martial Law districts the more serious cases, connected with the disorders from the 30th March onwards, were tried by the four Commissions deriving their authority from Ordinances issued under the sanction of the Government of India Act; minor offences occurring during the period from the 30th March up to the 19th April were tried by Civil Officers sitting as Summary Courts under the authority of the two notifications of the General Officers Commanding Divisions; breaches of purely Martial Law Regulations were tried by Military Officers as Summary Courts. The ordinary Criminal Courts continued to sit for the trial of cases not connected with the disorder.

The description of the steps taken to establish a Martial Law Administration in the five districts, to issue Martial Law Regulations, to institute courts for the disposal of cases arising out of the disorders and out of breaches of Martial Law Regulations, has involved an explanation of some intricacy and detail. It has been explanatory only and does not show the actual working of the processes thus created. That is, in large measure, supplied by the full details given in the district reports. But it is well to attempt here something like a combined picture of the effect of these measures in the five districts during the continuance of Martial Law conditions. In the Amritsar, Lahore, Kasur, Gujranwala and Wazirabad town areas the Martial Law Administrators to a considerable extent assumed executive control of all matters arising from the disorder. Elsewhere, as in Gujrat and Lyallpur, the extent of their control was far less pronounced. In some cases, and particularly in Lahore, numerous regulations were issued supplementary to the general proclamations, and such regulations involved no inconsiderable interference with the ordinary life of the people. The "Curfew" Regulation restricted their going out at nights; the traffic regulations prevented their travelling without a pass (and this was a measure the influence of which was felt practically throughout the province and not only in the proclaimed districts); motors, bicycles and even horse vehicles were commandeered; assemblies and meetings, except under permit, became illegal. At Lahore, Amritsar and Gujrat, Regulations, often of a very detailed character, were introduced for the control of prices. At Lahore students, and at Wazirabad schoolboys, were forced to attend a roll-call; in Lahore a number were interned in the Fort† for one day only. Each of these measures had its own justification, but the total result was restrictive and to some extent punitive; while the Martial Law Regulations rendered penal a large number of actions which do not ordinarily come within

* Punjab Government Notifications No. 12341-A. and B., dated 5th May 1919.

† Disciplinary action was taken by the Principals of 7 colleges at Lahore against students who had misconducted themselves. In all 794 students were punished, 34 by expulsion, 624 by fines ranging from Rs. 3 to Rs. 20, and 136 by rustication; forfeiture of scholarships, loss of seniority and similar penalties. These figures do not include 435 students who were required to furnish security for good behaviour.

the purview of the criminal law. The stories of promiscuous whipping* under Martial Law, without discrimination of age or social position, are of course without foundation. Cases of breach of Martial Law were tried summarily, but came before men of senior standing, and there is no reason to conclude that they were disposed of without proper deliberation. The spirit in which the Administrators sought to secure the execution of their orders is illustrated by the order issued on the 18th April for the guidance of officers in the Lahore Civil Area. It is given at length in the Lahore report;† the salient portion will bear repetition here.

- (3) The punishment of whipping in particular, whilst probably the most efficacious and convenient method of summarily dealing with most minor breaches of Martial Law Regulations, requires tact and commonsense in its infliction. Under no circumstances should old or feeble men be flogged, and the social status of the offender also needs consideration.
- (4) It cannot be too clearly impressed on all ranks that the temporary supersession of the ordinary process of Civil Law by the introduction of Martial Law, does not mean that justice ceases to be administered; on the contrary, the suspension of the usual safeguards makes it doubly imperative that all concerned should bear in mind that it is 'up to them' to see that justice, and not irresponsible violence, is administered.

It is possible that in isolated cases officers may have exercised their discretion wrongly; one case at least has been mentioned in the Lahore District report.‡ Other such cases may possibly come to light, but the military authorities appear to have taken every precaution to secure that what must always be an unpopular and distasteful species of administration, should be carried out with as little injustice and with as systematic a procedure as the circumstances would permit. Evidence was not recorded, but in the majority of cases notes of the evidence for the prosecution and the defence were kept and reasons given for the finding. In all 543 persons were charged before Summary Courts and 386 were convicted. In 102 cases sentences of imprisonment were given, 22 being for the maximum (two years) and 8 for one year. There were 123 sentences of whipping, the whipping except in certain cases at Kasur (where the regulation cat was used), being inflicted with a cane, and in the great majority of cases being confined to boys and young men. It must be remembered that these figures include more than mere breaches of Martial Law Regulations. Throughout many serious cases of ordinary crime were tried by the Summary Courts; thus all the offenders in the attack on Patti were so tried, and many of those concerned in attacks on the Railway in Gujranwala, while similar instances of serious offences being tried in this manner are given in the Kasur Report.§

We may now turn to the work of the Commissions. As has been shown, four such bodies were constituted. The cases for presentation to them were prepared by the police; on the receipt of the papers by the Convening Authority (the Legal Remembrancer, Punjab), they were examined, and if there was not a *prima facie* case against the accused, he was discharged. Some 80 cases were so treated. If the matter appeared to be of minor importance, the case was returned for presentation to the Summary Courts constituted under the two notifications Nos. 12341-A and B,|| dated the 5th May: that is it was tried by a Civil Officer with first class powers acting as a Summary Court. In all about 250 accused were so referred back. In the majority of cases where the nature of the acts committed were serious, the accused were charged under Section 121, Indian Penal Code; where, however, the nature of the acts committed was not so serious as to come within the technical definition of "waging war," the accused were charged under the section of the Penal Code applicable to the particular act. The Commissions began their sittings on the 23rd April. Their procedure has been described as follows by one of their members:—

In all essentials the procedure followed, though conforming to the requirements of trials under Martial Law, has been that of a Sessions trial. At the preliminary proceedings, when the accused were first brought before the Court, they were fully informed of the charges against them; were given the names of the prosecution witnesses; had a *precis* of the prosecution evidence read over

* See e.g., *Independent of Allahabad*, dated 6th May 1919.

† Lahore Report, page 82.

‡ Lahore Report, page 82.

§ Kasur Report, page 87.

|| See page 26.

to them, and were called on to give at once the names of such defence witnesses as they wished called through the Court; being at the same time informed that they could produce other witnesses themselves (should they so desire) at the further hearings.

Further details as to procedure are furnished by the following extract:—

- (1) No restrictions were placed on the number of the witnesses whom they were allowed to call; and although the Court declined to procure witnesses asked for after a certain date, except for the purpose of rebutting some additional evidence which had been produced for the prosecution, they were always allowed to produce for themselves as many witnesses as they chose. This they had no difficulty in doing. Each accused was also allowed to examine any defence witness called by any other accused, a concession of which the fullest advantage was taken. They were allowed very great latitude in the matter of issuing interrogatories, although practically none of these were at all necessary in the interests of justice.
- (2) Witnesses summoned through the Court received diet money and travelling expenses. (In the Lahore case one accused alone called about 400 witnesses.)
- (3) The Courts also admitted without proof many documents of which, strictly speaking, proof should have been required.
- (4) Free use was regularly made of Police diaries in the interest of the accused.
- (5) According to law the Commissions were not required to write judgments; and under the Ordinance their decisions were not liable to appeal. The fact, however, that judgments have been written appears to have assisted the convicts in appealing to the Privy Council.

In spite of the fact that under the procedure prescribed for Summary General Courts Martial, accused persons cannot claim as of right to be defended by counsel, counsel were allowed to appear and a standing counsel was engaged by the Crown for those who were otherwise unrepresented. Here it is necessary to allude to the issue of an order, limiting the choice of the accused in respect of counsel, which has elicited much criticism in the press. On the 14th May the General Officers Commanding the Lahore and Rawalpindi Divisions issued proclamations to the effect that "legal practitioners, whose ordinary place of business is outside the Punjab, will not be allowed to enter the Martial Law area included in the limits of the Lahore and Rawalpindi Divisions, without the permission of the Administrator of Martial Law." The intention of this order was not of course to prejudice the accused in their defence; it was dictated by the desire to prevent the disturbance of the political atmosphere, now rapidly clearing, by outsiders whose main purpose would not improbably be the revival of agitation under the protection afforded by appearance before the Courts. When the order was issued, the Frontier War had commenced, and it was essential, on military as well as general grounds, to prevent any recrudescence of unrest. The result of the order was to put the accused in precisely the same position that they would have been in had they been arraigned before the High Court at Lahore. Nor could it fairly be said that the accused were prejudiced in their defence; in what was known as the Lahore Leaders' Case—over which the question primarily arose—no less than thirty counsel appeared for the accused. In some of the cases which were decided after Martial Law had been withdrawn, outside counsel were heard. There is another matter to which reference may be made here, since it has also been represented as acting to the prejudice of some of the accused. When towards the middle of May the question of the abrogation of Martial Law was under consideration, it was pointed out that there were a number of cases still under consideration by the Commissions which it would be undesirable to withdraw from their purview. An Ordinance (No. VI)* was therefore issued on the 27th May, providing that should the application of Regulation X of 1804 be cancelled in any district, every trial pending at the time of such cancellation before a Commission appointed as a result of the application of the Regulation, should be continued by such Commission, and any accused in such trial might be convicted and sentenced as if such cancellation had not taken place. As regards trials commenced before Summary Courts, it provided that they should be continued before any competent court which would, save for the existence of Martial Law, have had jurisdiction over the case.

* The full title was the Martial Law (Trials Continuation) Ordinance.

The Commissions had before them in all 114 cases, involving 852 accused. Of these 581 were convicted. The majority of convictions were recorded under section 121 of the Indian Penal Code, and the proportion of severe sentences was therefore high. 108 persons were sentenced to death, 265 for transportation for life, two to transportation for other periods; five were sentenced to imprisonment for ten years, eighty-five for seven years, and 104* for shorter periods.

The circumstances under which a number of officers (mainly magistrates of the 1st class) were authorized to try as Summary Courts minor charges connected with offences committed between the 30th March and the date of Martial Law proclamation, have already been described. Many of these offences were serious. Thus in the Chuharkana Sub-division, where three railway stations were burnt, railway and canal bridges were destroyed and telegraphic communications were persistently attacked, only seven cases involving 82 persons came before the Commissions. All other cases arising from the disorder were disposed of by Summary Courts. The latter, again, tried the persons concerned in the abortive attack on the Tarn Taran tahsil. In Lyallpur district, only one case came before the Commission, and all other cases were tried by the Summary Courts. The total number of persons charged before the Summary Courts in the five districts was 1,142, of whom 837 were convicted, by far the largest number of charges and convictions being in Chuharkana Sub-Division and Lyallpur. 766 were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, 296 being sentenced to the maximum period of two years, and 233 for a period of between one and two years. 51 were sentenced to whipping.

To complete the account of penalties imposed under Martial Law mention must be made of the communal fine of Rs. 70,000 imposed on the town of Wazirabad, of fines (amounting in each case to half the land revenue) imposed on 5 villages in the Lahore district† and of petty fines aggregating Rs. 36 levied in Amritsar.

It is not unreasonable to ask, and needless to say the question has been asked with some insistence, what was the justification for making so elaborate a use of Martial Law administration, and establishing a separate judicial system for cases arising out of the disorder, apart from the jurisdiction of the ordinary Criminal Courts. In Amritsar and Lahore the civil authorities had already, on April 15th, requisitioned the aid of the military and obtained it in sufficient force to crush any active disorder; in Gujranwala additional troops were easily available on the 16th; in Gujrat and Lyallpur, open disorder had terminated some days before Martial Law was declared. Again, assuming that it was necessary, in the first instance, to give additional powers to military commanders, what was the justification for maintaining a special form of military administration long after all signs of disorder had died out? The narrative of events shows that there was no open disorder after the 20th of April; but Martial Law administration was only finally removed on June 12th. These questions require an answer. As to the initial introduction of Martial Law at Amritsar and Lahore, the narrative of events given at some length in a previous section of this memorandum supplies a sufficient and an ample justification.‡ It is not necessary to repeat here the evidence which persuaded the supreme Government that there was practically open rebellion in these two districts; that the communications were in serious danger, and that a situation had in fact arisen with which the civil administration was powerless to cope. The existence of such a state of rebellion necessitated not only the practical handing over of the situation, as far as the quelling of disorder was concerned, to the military authorities, but the institution of special courts to deal with major cases of disorder. The extraordinary difficulty of speeding up the processes of Indian law is sufficiently illustrated, if illustration is really required, by the course of the Katarpur trial, which though conducted by a special tribunal took over seven months to reach its decision. Given the existence of a recognized state of rebellion, no responsible administration could have ventured to face the task of restoring order without arming itself with special legal

* Including 3 sentenced to imprisonment pending the rising of the Court.

† See page 82.

‡ See pages 10-16.

process for the speedy trial of rebels. For the proclamation of Martial Law in Gujrat and Lyallpur a somewhat different argument applies. In the one case, though disorder of a pronounced type had not been prevalent in the district, there had been a marked series of attacks on the main line of communications; in the latter case, disorder had subsided in the towns but there was grave anxiety regarding the rural areas. In the rural area of the neighbouring district of Gujranwala, actual rebellion had been rife; and in one short length of line, three stations had been burnt and two others attacked. But, it may be urged, granting that Government had to declare Martial Law in the first instance to quell disorder and protect its communications, and granting that this, in the first instance at all events, carried with it the necessity for establishing new legal processes for trying rebels, what was the justification for authorizing the introduction of an intensive system of Martial Law Administration? The answer must be, that in order to re-establish order, to safeguard communications, to effect that change of *morale* which was essential to the restoration of civil order, a new type of administration was for a time required. It was necessary that it should be in a position to secure unquestioning obedience to its orders; and it was inevitable that it should be given summary powers of a type which would be impossible in ordinary circumstances. That the administration of Martial Law should cause inconvenience to many who were not directly concerned in, and did not even sympathise with disorder, was inevitable; but it is equally clear that it succeeded, and with a speed that must be its best justification, in restoring an atmosphere of law and order in the proclaimed districts. The district accounts of Lahore and Amritsar will show that substantial relaxation was made in the stringency of Martial Law Regulations, as soon as this was felt to be possible. But for the outbreak of war with Afghanistan, the whole of the restrictions imposed might have been removed at an earlier date. That war* was in itself due in no small part to the encouragement offered to the Amir by news of the disturbances in the Punjab, and the situation demanded that there should be no suspicion that a return to such conditions was possible. The administration of Martial Law was finally withdrawn on dates between the 28th of May and the 11th June, except as regards Railway lands. It was finally withdrawn from those on the 25th August.

* A Parliamentary White Paper is quoted in the *Pioneer* of October 2nd, 1919, as showing that in the course of a *Firman*, dated the 4th May, Amanullah repeated for the benefit of his subjects the untruths that were being propagated in India about the Rowlatt legislation. "Practically all, Muhammadan or Hindu," he said, "have remained sincere and faithful to Government and proved themselves to be loyal subjects; but they have been rewarded by all kinds of cruelty and injustice affecting their religion, honour and modesty. . . . The account received of these injustices shows that no body, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, will have any right to own either his land or his property or power to speak; nor may more than three men stand together in one place; nor may they go to their mosques, nor Hindus to their temples. If they do go there and assemble together they will be punished at the mere word of the Criminal Investigation Department, and without any investigation of the matter." It adds that evidence of the connection between the agitators and the invaders is also contained in a telegraphic report from Sir George Roos-Keppel giving from an Afghan source an outline of what the Afghan plan of campaign was to be, and concluding: "At the same moment riots immobilising troops will break out all over India." A manifesto was discovered at Thal said to have been issued by the "Provisional Government of India." The following extract is typical: "A compact has been entered into with the forces of invasion by the Provisional Government. Your real interests would be destroyed by fighting against invaders. You should therefore not do this, but rather use every possible means to kill British, continue to tear up railways, and cut down the telegraphs, and refuse to help the British with men and money, supply the armies of the invaders with provisions. Thus shall you earn peace at their hands and earn sanads of honour." The documents published in the White Paper also prove that attempts were made to tamper with the loyalty of Indian troops. On the 7th May the Afghan Postmaster wrote a letter to Amanullah in the course of which he informed the Amir that "Sikh regiments have assured Hindus that they look on Moslems as brethren, and will not fire upon them."

SECTION IV.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION.

Part A.—The Period of the Disturbances.

The nature of the steps taken by the Civil Administration to meet the disorders of April has already been indicated in the previous sections, and further details will be found in the detailed district accounts. It is not proposed here to detail purely administrative measures such as the recall of officers from leave, or the duplication of civil staff in the disturbed areas; but it is necessary to refer to certain measures of an exceptional nature taken to deal with the agitation and disorder.

Early in the course of the agitation it was found necessary to take notice of the publication of newspaper criticisms of a violent or inflammatory nature. The editor of the *Waqt*, Amritsar, was warned on account of an article published in his issue of the 10th February, and early in March an order under the Defence of India Rules was issued against Habib Shah (formerly of the *Naqqash*, Calcutta) directing him to refrain from writing on politics or addressing any public meeting. On the 7th of March the security of the *Siyasat* was at the instance of the local Government, raised by the District Magistrate to Rs. 2,000. On the 31st March an order had been issued requiring the editor of the *Waqt* of Amritsar (Dina Nath)* to submit the whole of his paper to precensorship, and the paper ceased publication in consequence. On the 11th April, following on the disturbances at Amritsar and Lahore, a notice was issued under the Defence of India Rules, to all papers requiring them to submit to precensorship articles or news referring to the disorder. It has been suggested† that this order did not apply to Anglo-Indian papers; it was, however, applied to all papers without discrimination. On the 12th the *Partap*‡ (which was afterwards prosecuted for the tone of its articles during the previous week) was ordered to submit the whole of its matter to precensorship; it ceased publication and has not since appeared. The *Parkash*, owned and edited by the same person, also ceased but reappeared at the end of June. Shortly afterwards a number of extra-provincial papers (the *Congress*, *Vijaya*, *Inqilab* (defunct) of Delhi, the *Medina* and *Al-Khalil* of Bijnor, and the *Independent* of Allahabad) were excluded from entrance to the Punjab. The orders were for sometime held in abeyance in regard to the surviving Delhi papers (*Congress* and *Vijaya*) so long as they were being compulsorily precensored by the Delhi administration. Subsequently both ceased to appear until September when they were revived. Their exclusion still continues. At subsequent dates a number of Lahore papers were ordered to submit the whole of their matter to precensorship; namely the *New Herald* (15th April), *Aftab* (18th), *Leader* (19th), *Arya Gazette* (22nd) and *Siyasat* (25th). The *Siyasat* and *New Herald* thereon suspended publication, but the former subsequently re-appeared; a few days after the issue of the orders requiring precensorship of news regarding the disorders, the *Tribune* and *Punjabee* suspended publication. The former re-appeared in July and the latter has not since re-appeared. Early in May, orders were issued extending the exclusion order to the *Qaum* (defunct) of Delhi, the *Hamdam* and *Akhuwat* of Lucknow, the *Swadesh* of Gorakhpur and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta; directions were issued to the District Magistrates for the increase of the security of the *Punjabee* and *Tribune*; and instructions were issued for the prosecution§ of the editor of the *Vakil* for an objectionable article in its issue of April 9th but the prosecution was waived subsequently. The general orders requiring the submission to precensorship of all news regarding the disorder were withdrawn on the 24th of May, but the orders of complete precensorship directed against the seven newspapers already mentioned remained in force. The case of two editors (the *Tribune* and *Partap*) came before the Martial Law Commission; the former was sentenced to 2 and the latter to 1½ year's

* Afterwards prosecuted. See Martial Law Commission order 5th June 1919.

† *New India*, Madras, 15th April 1919.

‡ Martial Law Commission Case, decided 7th June 1919, file No. 52.

§ The case was subsequently dropped on the apology of the editor.

imprisonment (both being reduced by Government to 3 months). The pre-censorship order in regard to the *Aftab* and the exclusion order regarding the *Leader* were withdrawn in August; the remaining orders are still in force, but as three of the papers are defunct only the *Siyasat* and *Arya Gazette* are actually affected. At the same time the orders issued in 1918 excluding the *New India* and *Commonweal* from the Punjab were withdrawn. At the end of August the *Yasrab* (a new incarnation of the *Medina*) was excluded.

Reference has been made elsewhere to the orders issued to Dr. Satyapal of Amritsar (29th March) and to Dr. Kitchlew, Pandit Kotu Mal, Dina Nath and Swami Annubhava Nand of Amritsar (April 4th) prohibiting them from speaking in public; also to the deportation of Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal from Amritsar on the 10th of April. On the 14th April Lalas Harkishan Lal, Ram Bhaj Datt and Duni Chand were deported from Lahore; all these were subsequently tried and convicted by a Martial Law Commission. On the 18th April the Government of India empowered* all Commissioners in the Punjab to authorize complaints to be made in respect of offences prescribed in Rule 25 (1) of the Defence of India Rules committed within their jurisdiction, and this authority was subsequently extended to all District Magistrates. On the 19th April, the local Government† issued a notification empowering all District Magistrates under Rule 12 of the Defence of India Rules, 1915, to prohibit or limit access to any building under the control of Government. On the 2nd May, the Government of India, at the instance of the local Government, added a new Rule 12-A A to the Defence of India Rules, 1915, in order to give authority to any officer of Government especially authorized in that behalf to arrest without warrant any person against whom a reasonable suspicion existed that he was promoting rebellion against the authority of Government; and by notifications, dated the 8th and 9th of May the local Government extended‡ this authority to all Commissioners, District Magistrates, and Superintendents of Police.

The special section of the Police Act (section 15-A) enabling compensation to be recovered for damage done by rioting or disturbance was applied§ to a large number of districts between the 15th and 21st April. It was held|| that the provisions of this section should not be deemed to sanction the recoveries by way of levies of the cost of military operations, additional fortifications and bonuses to troops and police, or to cover the imposition of levies on communities in lieu of punitive police, for which separate provision is made in the Police Act.¶ In the Lahore, Gujranwala and Amritsar districts the amounts claimed as compensation under the Act were very large. In Lahore a sum of Rs. 3,07,505 has been assessed. In Gujranwala Rs. 6,03,420 has been assessed on account of damage to Government property and private claims for a total of approximately Rs. 66,000 are under inquiry. Property to the value of Rs. 8,20,000 was alleged to have been destroyed in the fire at the goods shed but claims have only been put in for Rs. 62,000 and it has been decided not to entertain any further claim on this account. In Amritsar claims to the amount of Rs. 11,14,462 have been passed. The claims of the National and Chartered Banks for approximately 29 and 1½ lakhs are still under examination.

In other districts the amounts claimed are comparatively trifling. In Gurdaspur, Jullundur and Lyallpur claims have been admitted to the value of Rs. 1,580, Rs. 150 and Rs. 2,900, respectively, while in Rohtak and Gujrat claims for Rs. 100 and Rs. 165 are under consideration.

Under section 15 of the Police Act, 19 Punitive Police Posts have been sanctioned, in most cases for two years, at a total annual cost to the localities concerned of Rs. 3,05,659. Of this amount Rs. 1,08,750 and Rs. 82,871 are

* { Government of India telegrams Nos. 597 and 622, dated the 18th and the 20th May 1919.
 { Punjab Government Notification No. 11362, dated the 26th April 1919.

† Punjab Government Notification No. 10550, dated 19th April 1919.

‡ { Government of India Notifications Nos. 804 and 805, dated 2nd May 1919.

§ { Punjab Government Notifications No. 12702, dated 8th May and No. 12813, dated 9th May 1919.

¶ Punjab Government Notifications No. 10223, dated 15th, No. 10616, dated 17th and No. 10771, dated 21st April.

|| Punjab Government letter No. 955-S. W., dated 4th June 1919.

¶ Under section 15. For action taken under this section see below.

chargeable to Lahore and Amritsar Cities, respectively, while a total of Rs. 7,137 is payable by other localities in the Amritsar district. Gujranwala City pays Rs. 11,672 and the district including Sheikhupura a total of Rs. 29,759. Gujrat City pays Rs. 14,755 and Jalalpur Jattan (Gujrat district) Rs. 7,862. Three localities in Lyallpur are chargeable with a total of Rs. 13,859, while Gurdaspur district pays Rs. 21,580. Nakodar (Jullundur district) pays Rs. 4,192 and Khidwali Sanghi (Rohtak district) Rs. 3,218.

B.—The period subsequent to withdrawal of Martial Law.

It may be of advantage to note briefly some aspects of civil administration subsequent to the withdrawal of Martial Law. The first point which calls for attention is the action taken by the Local Government to review a number of the sentences imposed by the Martial Law Commissions, and the Summary Courts. The policy underlying the action thus taken was explained in a speech delivered by the Lieutenant-Governor in the Imperial Legislative Council on September 10th. The keynote of the policy was, he said, the desire to refrain from anything savouring of vindictiveness and to do all in the power of Government, even at some risk of untoward results, to ease the tension arising from the events of April. The Martial Law Commissions had in a large number of cases no power to pass any lesser sentence than transportation for life; and Sir Edward Maclagan emphasized the fact that though he had not, in his examination of the cases, found any reason for impugning the substantial accuracy of the courts' findings, he had considered it advisable to exercise clemency in regard to the sentences passed. It may be here noted that at an earlier stage the Local Government had, in pursuance of the same policy, interposed with a view to prevent the institution of cases in excess of the obvious requirements of the situation. On June 6th, 1919, instructions were issued to all districts in which Martial Law had been proclaimed forbidding the institution of magisterial or police inquiries into any case without the express sanction of the District Magistrate, who was required to report the grant of any such sanction to the Commissioner and was further instructed to grant sanction in serious cases only. On June 16th a further order was issued with special reference to Amritsar under which any person voluntarily restoring property stolen during the disturbances of April 10th was to be immune from prosecution except in cases where the District Magistrate had reason to believe that he had personally been a member of the unlawful assembly in the course of which the property had been stolen.

The result of the review by the Local Government of sentences passed was as follows :—

Of the 108 death sentences passed by the Commissions, 23* only have been maintained. Of the remaining 85 sentences, 23 have been commuted to transportation for life, 26 to rigorous imprisonment for 10 years, 14 to 7 years, one to 6 years, 10 to 5 years, and 11 to periods ranging from one to four years. As regards commutation of the sentences of transportation for life, only two out of the 265 sentences have been wholly maintained. In 5 cases Government ordered immediate release of the convicts while the remaining 258 sentences were commuted to terms of imprisonment, which in two cases only were for 10 years, the remainder ranging from one year to seven. Two sentences of transportation for 14 and 10 years, respectively, were reduced to 3 years' imprisonment. One-hundred and ninety-one effective sentences† of imprisonment were passed by the Commissions. In 53 cases only was the sentence allowed to stand in full; in 2 cases the convicts were released, and in 136 cases reductions were ordered, the average periods of sentence before and after reduction being approximately $5\frac{3}{4}$ and $1\frac{3}{4}$ years, respectively. Coming to the sentences passed by Summary Courts appointed to try offences under the ordinary law committed between March 30th and the proclamation of Martial Law, it has been noted on page 28 that 766 sentences of imprisonment were

* In 5 of these cases execution has been stayed pending decision of appeals to the Privy Council.

† Ignoring 3 sentences till the rising of the Court.

passed by these courts. 188 of the persons affected were released by Government and 428 reductions of sentence were ordered, the reduction being in almost every case to half the original term. Sentences imposed by Area Officers and other officers appointed to try offences against Martial Law were not reviewed individually, but 29 of the persons still confined under sentence of imprisonment passed by these Courts, whose offences were not in the opinion of the Local Government tantamount to serious offences under the ordinary criminal law, have been released under orders of the Government of India.*

The results following the introduction of Martial Law were subject to a vigorous criticism in many Indian newspapers; it is noticeable, however, that the bulk of such criticisms have come not from the Punjab, but from the United Provinces, and other parts of India. In July two leading members of the All-India Congress Committee toured through the districts in which Martial Law was proclaimed, and the material collected by them in the course of their tour formed the subject of a number of attacks relating to details of Martial Law administration. These attacks were renewed in the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council which took place in September. A very large number of questions were put before Government asking for statistics regarding punishments awarded, and the like, and for details relating to particular incidents. On the 10th September the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Malaviya moved a Resolution asking for the appointment of a Royal Commission, consisting of gentlemen unconnected with the Indian administration, to enquire into the causes of the disturbances and the propriety of the measures adopted in dealing with them; with power to annul or modify sentences passed by the Commissions or Magistrates. The Council was, however, in possession of the facts regarding the steps already taken by Government to institute an enquiry into the history of the disturbances, and the Resolution received the support of only five non-official members; it was negatived without a division. On the 18th September the Government introduced a Bill "to indemnify officers of Government and other persons in respect of certain acts done under Martial Law." The Hon'ble Member, Home Department, in introducing the Bill took the opportunity to announce that Government had arranged that all sentences, other than those passed by the Commissions, should be examined by two Judges of the High Court, one Indian and one European, in order that they might recommend either to the Viceroy or to the Lieutenant-Governor, as the case might be, such action as they considered desirable. An amendment was proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda, suggesting the postponement of the Bill until the submission of the Report of the Committee of Enquiry; the debate on the amendment lasted for two days, but it was finally negatived without a division and leave to introduce the Bill was formally accorded on the 19th. On the 24th September the Bill was taken into consideration, and after a considerable number of amendments had been negatived, was finally passed on the following day.

* Government of India, Home Department, letters No. 1964, dated 17th September 1919, and No. 2101, dated 6th October 1919.

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AMBALA DISTRICT.

The agitation against the Rowlatt Act produced but little excitement in this district, and such demonstrations as occurred were of a mild character. Ambala Cantonment and Ambala City are the only towns of any size; the other towns in the district are little more than large villages, and the population generally—except in one Tahsil—is of a weak and unenterprising type. The attitude of the few landholders in the district was from the first unmistakeable. There is evidence that a certain amount of pressure was exerted from outside—notably from Delhi—to induce proofs of sympathy with the agitation; but it had little practical effect in the district.

No demonstration took place on the 30th March, but meetings were held in Ambala City on the 2nd and 3rd in order to promote a hartal on the 6th. The result was a partial success only, as by midday only half the shops were closed and they opened again in the course of the afternoon. The movement was somewhat more vigorously pressed in the Rupar Tahsil, where the Arya Samaj society took a leading part in it. But the campaign resulted only in a partial closing of the shops in Rupar on April 6th, and Manimajra on the 14th; in other small towns the traders refused to give it practical support.

On the 11th April the news of Mr. Gandhi's exclusion from the Punjab caused a further attempt to organize a hartal, but this also was unsuccessful, and a meeting of leading residents and legal practitioners of Ambala City, assembled by the District Magistrate on the 12th, pledged itself to assert its influence for the maintenance of confidence and tranquillity. From that date there was no public demonstration in Ambala City, but the traders in the Cantonment acting, it is said, on pressure from Delhi and Lahore, observed a complete hartal on the 13th. At a meeting held on that date resolutions were passed containing a strong attack on Government. Shortly after this telegraph wires were cut on the railway near Barara Station, the only instance of wire cutting in the district. In the middle of the month a delegation of Delhi butchers visited Ambala City, and endeavoured to stop cow-killing, and an emissary of Swami Shraddhanand also arrived from Delhi; in neither case was their reception encouraging. Towards the end of April, the authorities allowed the annual Pankah Fair to be held; it was numerously attended, and no excitement of a political nature was observable. On the 19th and 22nd April there were two cases of incendiarism in the Pioneer Lines at Ambala Cantonment, but it is by no means certain that this was the act of agents outside the regiment.

The uneventful progress of the movement rendered it unnecessary to take any unusual measures to protect the public peace. Neither the Seditious Meetings Act nor the special provisions of the Police Act were extended to the district; but it was considered advisable to organize village patrols for the protection of the railway lines, and the more important railway bridges were guarded by troops. No prosecutions were undertaken.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

The record of Lahore is of importance because it is the political headquarters of the province; the record of events at Amritsar is of even greater importance, since it was here that the general agitation against the Act first took an acute form, and eventually resulted in the gravest disorder. Elsewhere the judges who sat on the various Martial Law Commissions* were unable to assign an earlier date than April 10th as that on which the agitation assumed a criminal character; in the case of Amritsar they decided that there was a conspiracy of a criminal nature in existence on the 30th March. Not only is this the case, but it is clear that the outbreaks at Lahore, Gujranwala and Kasur were directly due to the previous occurrence of such outbreaks at Amritsar.

The precedence taken by Amritsar in both agitation and disorder was due to special causes peculiar to that city: It is the chief distributing agency for piece goods in Northern India, and the piece-goods traders had been peculiarly affected by the difficulties arising from the war. There had been great variations in price and much speculation; the piece-goods trade, more perhaps than any other, had felt the enhancement due to the strict control of railways in the interests of military traffic. They had many Marwari connections, and the Marwaris alike in Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta have for the last two years shown an unusual and somewhat surprising sympathy with political agitation.† The wholesale grain merchants—and Amritsar is also an important centre of speculative dealing in grain—had been adversely affected by the orders restricting export from the Punjab, and by the purchases by Government on the public account in November and December of 1918. Both classes of traders were feeling the effects of the new Income-tax Act and the more searching methods of enquiry into the returns of income. So much for the wealthier members of the community; there were other causes which affected the lower strata of the population. The city contains a considerable number of Kashmiri Muhammadans, who gave a ready ear to the efforts made to arouse Islamic feeling to open sympathy with Turkey and with the propaganda for the protection of the Holy Places. And there was finally a factor which, if it may seem unimportant in itself, yet undoubtedly had a considerable share in providing the material from which the forces of disorder were recruited. The municipal elections had been held in January 1919, and had roused much excitement. So keen had been the competition, that candidates had organized the bad characters of the town into regular bands, and the captains of these bands were everywhere conspicuous in the acts of violence and pillage on the 10th April.

These causes mainly affected the town population; they were not such as would in themselves have much direct influence on the rural areas. Though (as subsequent narrative will show) many of the villagers in the neighbourhood gave way to disorder, this was not until the widespread violence of the 10th April had led them to believe that the administration of law and order had broken down. It was only in the natural order of things that they should then seize the opportunity for pillage. The large crowds of villagers which had assembled for the Baisakhi Horse fair on the 10th did not as a whole take any part in the disorder, but individual members came in subsequently to share in the loot of banks and piece-goods godowns. There were a considerable number of peasants present at the Jallewalian Bagh meeting of the 13th but they were there for other than political reasons. In short, beyond the natural desire for pillage where occasion seemed to present itself, the agricultural classes were not affected by the unrest.

The history of the agitation dates back further even than in the case of Lahore. The fact that the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee of 1919 was to be held at Amritsar had brought into prominence the local Congress Committee (founded in 1917), and the account of events‡ in Multan district will show the interest which that Committee took in extending the sphere of its political activities. There was particular

*Martial Law Commission case, decided 5th July 1919, file No. 113.

†Cf speech of the Governor of Bengal, dated 13th April 1919.

‡See page 95.

anxiety to bring the Punjab peasant into the Congress movement, and early in the day the Committee decided to remit all delegates' fees in the case of agriculturalists. The Committee was not in itself an 'extreme' body. When Amritsar was faced with the prospect of actual disorder, many members of the Committee interested themselves in deprecating agitation; but there were extremist members, such as Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal, to whom counsels of moderation did not appeal. As early as August 1918, Dr. Kitchlew had made himself conspicuous as the advocate of a policy which should ensure that, to use his own words, "even the English would not be allowed to land in India without the orders of Indians." It was he and Dr. Satyapal who had later on been successful—or had at all events claimed the credit for success—in a local agitation which arose out of the objection of the Railway authorities to allow platform tickets at Amritsar Railway Station. The ordinary leaders of the Committee among others had complained, and nothing had been done; it was to an open agitation conducted by these two men that the town attributed the withdrawal of the Railway authorities from their position, though the concession had been given on its merits, and on the advice of the district authorities. A meeting was held by the Committee on the 31st January in which resolutions were passed about the fate of Constantinople; on February 6th was held the first meeting of protest against the Rowlatt Bill. Speakers from Lahore came down on February 9th, and the same subject was dealt with. There was a mass meeting of Muhammadans on February 13th, addressed by Dr. Kitchlew. On the 21st February the Muhammadans held another meeting which dealt with the Holy Places, and at which the Hindu Dr. Satyapal spoke; similar meetings, again addressed by Dr. Satyapal, were held on the 22nd and 23rd February. On February 26th the opportunity of a public meeting to consider the opening of cheap grain shops was taken by Dr. Kitchlew to lay the blame of the high prices on Government, and to make the unfounded assertion that grain which was being acquired by Government under the Defence of India Rules was being exported to Europe. Another meeting to protest against the Rowlatt Act was held on February 28th. After the passing of the Rowlatt Act there was apparently a short pause to see what was being done at the headquarters of the movement against it. It was on March 23rd that the first meeting was held to support the Passive Resistance movement, but it was not disclosed what line the movement would take. This appeared at a meeting of the 29th in which a hartal was declared for the following day. The tone of the speeches at these meetings had been growing higher and higher; and when afterwards the Martial Law Commission came to deal with the case of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, they stated it as their conviction that their speeches* were "calculated to bring, and made with the intention of bringing, the Government established by law in British India into hatred and contempt." The violence of the political campaign at Amritsar had attracted the attention of the local Government, and on the 29th March an order was passed under the Defence of India Rules forbidding Dr. Satyapal to speak in public. The hartal announced for the 30th was duly observed, and was unexpectedly successful; the whole business of the city was stopped, but no disorder resulted. Next day brought the news of the riots at Delhi. It seems to have been felt by those behind the movement that there was a danger of a premature explosion, as one Swami Satya Deo, a follower of Mr. Gandhi, came down on April 2nd to lecture on "Soul Force." He preached abstention from violence, and even from holding public meetings till the time should come when Mr. Gandhi should issue his Satyagraha manifesto. On April 4th orders were served on Dr. Kitchlew, Dina Nath, Swami Annubhava and Pandit Kotu Mal not to speak in public.

It was, after this, doubtful if there would be another hartal on April 6th. The local Congress Committee, alarmed apparently by the events at Delhi, declared against it, and the District Magistrate was assured by a meeting of the chief citizens on April 5th that it would not take place. It was not until the evening of the same day that certain of the leaders decided that it should be held. The rapidity with which a demonstration of this nature can be organized—given the previous existence of a suitable atmosphere—is proved

* Martial Law case, decided 5th July 1919, file No.-113.

by the fact that when the hartal was duly held next day, the 6th April, it was as complete as that of the 30th March. There was, however, again no disorder or collision with the police, the only disturbing feature being the exhibition of a poster on the Clock Tower, calling on the people of Amritsar to "die and kill." Though no disorder occurred, a state of tension undoubtedly existed and a private meeting was held on the 7th to consider the continuation of the hartal.* The previous course of the agitation had been pronounced, and the Lahore press was interesting itself in keeping the excitement alive by all means in its power. The district authorities took no steps to interfere with the celebration of the annual Ram Naumi festival of April 9th. Though it is a purely Hindu festival, it was on this occasion here (as elsewhere)† celebrated by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. There was much public fraternization, Hindus drinking out of vessels held by Muhammadans; for the usual cries in honour of Hindu deities, the crowd substituted shouts for Hindu-Muhammadan unity and for Gandhi. At the same time there was no hostility or even discourtesy exhibited to Europeans, who moved freely among the crowd, as they had done in the hartal of the previous Sunday.

It was at this juncture that the Local Government, which had been considering the effect of the speeches of Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal, decided on their internment under the Defence of India Rules, and conveyed orders to this effect to the District Magistrate. The justification for their action is the subsequent judgment of the Martial Law Commission that they were among the prime movers in a "conspiracy‡ having as its object the dissemination of sedition." It has been argued that such action, taken at such a time, was directly provocative. It is difficult to accept this charge. In the great majority of towns in the Punjab there had been a hartal on the 6th, and no disorder§ had followed. The Lahore papers, while interested in maintaining the general excitement, had quoted the general course of the demonstration on the 6th as reflecting credit both on the character of the crowds and of Government. There was admittedly a state of tension; there was also a reasonable certainty that such tension would lead to further agitation; and the continuance of agitation was likely to have very undesirable consequences—given the character of the people in the central Punjab—on the rural areas. This was the danger which the Local Government had to consider. The disabling orders passed on Kitchlew and Satyapal had not prevented them (as the proceedings of the Commission afterwards showed) from continuing to direct the movement for agitation; and a fair estimate of the probabilities seems to indicate that their removal was far more likely to disorganize an agitation rapidly growing dangerous, than to lead to open disorder. The case was almost exactly parallel with that of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh in 1907.

The District Magistrate when informed of these orders on the evening of the 9th, did not anticipate any local disturbance other than a possible demonstration in the Civil Lines. His estimate of the situation was based on the fact that during the hartal of the 6th, and even during the excitement of the Ram Naumi on the 9th, there had been no tendency to violence, and no demonstration of open hostility to authority. In order to prevent crowds demonstrating in the civil station, it was decided to prevent them crossing the railway line; three European Magistrates were sent to the main crossings, which were piqueted by mounted troops and police; there had for some days been a piquet at the Railway Station. A force of British infantry was kept in reserve in the Rambagh Gardens. Arrangements were also made for collecting the residents in the Civil Station if real danger threatened; but since it was anticipated that the trouble, if it occurred, would be only in the direction of the Civil Lines, it was not thought necessary to issue any special warning to bankers and others whose business took them to the city.§ It was thought that the peace of the city would be sufficiently safeguarded by a force of 75 armed police under an Indian Deputy Superintendent in the Central Police Station. Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal were brought to the District Magistrate's house at 10 A.M., on the morning of the 10th without any disturbance being created, and at 10-30 were sent off to Dharamsala in motor cars. About noon crowds

* Martial Law case, decided 6th July 1919, page 3.

† Martial Law case, decided 5th May 1919, page 2.

‡ See pages 110-13.

§ Mr. Stewart, the leading banker, was however warned that the arrests would be made.

began to collect in the city and a telephonic message was received that they were moving towards the Civil Lines. Up to this point therefore the anticipations of the local authorities were correct; and it may further be noted that the crowd passed several Europeans on the way but did not molest them. At 12-30 the District Magistrate found that the crowd, finding itself checked at the Hall Gate Bridge, was angrily opposing the small piquet stationed there: the piquet was stoned, but the arrival of mounted supports held the crowd temporarily. The District Magistrate rode off to summon military assistance; in his absence the mounted troops were again pressed back and heavily stoned, and the first class Magistrate, who had written instructions to deal with any crowd attempting to pass this point as an unlawful assembly, called on the troops to open fire. A small number of rioters were killed and wounded. A body of police soon after arrived, together with reinforcements of troops, and the crowd was driven back on the railway line, but not before the infantry had been again obliged to fire. Up to this point the casualties in the crowd had been small.

Simultaneously with, or immediately after this, the crowd repulsed from the crossing had attacked the Telegraph Office and destroyed the Telephone Exchange, but before they could do further damage were beaten off by a detachment of the Railway piquet which had been sent forward by the Officer Commanding at the Railway Station; the Telegraph Master was actually rescued by a Jamadar of the 54th Sikhs while in the grip of the crowd. Another part of the crowd turned to the goods yard where they did considerable damage and there, in the words of the Martial Law Commission "caught and brutally murdered Guard Robinson."* They also chased the Station Superintendent, but were turned back by the station piquet. The Station Superintendent had the initiative to detain a detachment of the 1/9th Gurkhas, about 260 strong, who were in a passing train. They were unarmed except with *Kukris* but formed a useful addition to the piquet at the Railway Station.

Meanwhile another section of the mob, joined by part of the mob repulsed at the crossing, had broken out in violence inside the city itself. Though the accounts given at the various trials place most of these events approximately at the same time, *viz.*, between 1 and 2 P.M. it would appear that the events now to be narrated followed, and did not precede, the repulse of the crowd at the Hall Gate Bridge. Led by two Hindus who were, as the Commission noted, "known as the lieutenants of Kitchlew and Satyapal,"† a mob attacked the National Bank, murdered Mr. Stewart, Manager and Mr. Scott, Assistant Manager, sacked and burnt the Bank, and looted the godown which contained cloth and other goods to the value of several lakhs of rupees. The Commission describes the murder as "brutal"; it appears that the Manager and his Assistant were killed with sticks and that oil was poured on the furniture, which, with the bodies, was then set alight. The Chartered Bank was attacked, and the door and windows set alight, but in this instance the European Manager and his Assistant, who had hidden in an upper storey, were rescued by the police. The Alliance Bank was also attacked, and the Manager, who had attempted to defend himself with a revolver, was murdered. The Commission describes the murder as follows:—

After the mob had sacked the National Bank an attack was made on the Alliance Bank,‡ and the Manager, Mr. Thompson, was cruelly murdered—his assailants even going back a second time, on a rumour that he was still breathing, and brutally assaulting him again with clubs—and was flung from an upper balcony into the street where the body was burnt under a pile of Bank furniture drenched in kerosine oil.

The finding of the Commission that this murder followed that at the National Bank disposes of the allegation that the violence of the mob was due to the action of the Manager of the Alliance Bank in firing his revolver.§ It should be noted here that the Commissioners commented|| unfavourably on the inactivity of the force of 75 armed police who, as

* Guard Robinson Murder Case, file No. 83, Order, dated 7th June 1919.

† Martial Law Commission Order, dated 2nd June 1919, file No. 75.

‡ Martial Law Commission Order, dated 4th June 1919, file No. 76.

§ *Independent*, Allahabad, dated 1st May 1919. *Vishwamitra*, Calcutta, 19th April, quoting *Vijaya*, Delhi.

|| Martial Law Commission Order, dated 5th June 1919, file No. 80.

shown above, were stationed in the Central Police Station. It was not, they noticed, till the mob had been at its work of destruction for over half an hour that a body of 25 constables under a Sub-Inspector was sent across to save the Alliance Bank. The Religious Book Society's Depôt and hall were burnt down, but the inmates, who were native Christians, escaped. The Town Hall and the Sub-Post Office attached to it were fired, and the Sub-Post Offices at the Golden Temple, Majith Mandi and Dhab Basti Ram were looted. The Commission notes that the mob, when looting these offices,* did so with shouts of "*Gandhi ki jai*" and "*maro luto.*" The Zenana Hospital was entered and every effort was made to find Mrs. Easdon, the lady doctor in charge, who however, escaped. The evidence given before the Commission shows that the search for her was deliberate, and the intention† of the crowd obvious. They broke open rooms and cup-boards, and after leaving the building once, returned, on information given by a disloyal servant, to search for her again. They only left to assist in looting the National Bank godown. Mrs. Easdon was finally helped to the house of a Sub-Inspector of Police, by a chaprassi, who had remained loyal throughout and now provided her with an Indian woman's clothing. Miss Sherwood,‡ a lady doctor who, as the Commission noted, "had for many years been working in the city and was greatly respected" was brutally assaulted. It is worth giving the details, since at a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and All-India Home Rule League§ this occurrence was described as "a petty assault on a woman."

When she was bicycling from one of her schools to another she encountered a mob which raised cries of 'Kill her, she is English.' She wheeled round and tried to escape, but took a wrong turning and had to retrace her steps. She reached a lane where she was well-known, and thought she would be safe but the mob overtook her and she was also attacked from the front. Being hit on the head with sticks she fell down but got up and ran a little way where she was again felled, being struck with sticks even when she was on the ground. Again she got up and tried to enter a house, but the door was slammed in her face. Falling from exhaustion, she again struggled to get up, but everything seemed to get dark, and she thought she had become blind.

The evidence deals only with a part of what occurred. The witnesses who are particularly good and have been entirely unshaken in cross-examination prove that towards the end of the chase she was seized by Ahmad Din, who seized her dress and threw her down. His brother, Jilla, pulled off her hat. Then Mangtu, Mela, Mangta, *alias* Gidder, Lal Chand, struck her with their fists. She got up and staggered on till Wilayati, caught her by her hair, and having knocked her down took off his shoe and gave her five or six blows on the head. She got up and struggled a little further, until she was finally knocked down by Sundar Singh, who struck her on the head with his *lathi*.

On this the savage mob which had been shouting 'Victory to Gandhi' 'Victory to Kitchlew' raised the cry 'she is dead' and passed on.

Miss Sherwood was afterwards picked up by some Hindu shopkeepers, who took her to a temporary refuge. She was conveyed out of the city in the evening where the doctor who then attended her thought that she was still bleeding profusely from the scalp which was extensively wounded. If she had not been treated then her injuries would probably have been fatal. She has since gone to England in a critical condition.

In the course of the afternoon the mob also burnt the Indian Christian Church, and attempted to fire the Church Missionary Society Girls Normal School,|| fortunately, as the Commission remarks, without discovering the four lady missionaries, who were hidden by the staff. A European Police Inspector who had a piquet close by, hastened up with half his piquet and dispersed the mob. Finally the Electrician to the Military Works, Sergeant Rowlands was caught near the Rigo Bridge, and murdered. According to the evidence before the Commission,¶ he was endeavouring to make his way back to the

* Martial Law Commission Order, dated 29th May 1919, file No. 70.

† Martial Law Commission Order, dated 2nd June 1919, file No. 78.

‡ Martial Law Commission Order, dated 31st May 1919, file No. 73.

§ "Bombay Chronicle", dated 2nd August 1919.

|| Martial Law Commission Order, dated 16th June 1919, file No. 103.

¶ Martial Law Commission Order, dated 27th May 1919, file No. 85.

for when he was met by a crowd, and his skull battered in. The culprits were subsequently found boasting of their offence.

The crowd subsequently made a further attempt to break into the Civil Lines, and shortly after 2 P.M. they were fired on again at the Hall Gate Bridge, after repeated warnings from the District Magistrate. There were probably about 20 to 30 casualties on this occasion.* But the determination to violence which had now seized the mob is shown by the fact that, before nightfall, they had made attempts to isolate Amritsar from all outside communication. Telegraph wires were cut, and a party set out to injure the line towards Lahore; this was defeated by fire from the Railway Police guard on the down Calcutta Mail. Bhagtanwala Railway Station,† about a mile from the Golden Temple, was set on fire and the godown looted. Later at night the Chheharta Railway Station‡ was attacked by a mob of villagers, but these only broke the lamps on the station itself and proceeded to break open and loot a goods train standing in the yard. At about 10 P.M. some 400 re-inforcements arrived from Lahore; the city was entered and at midnight the Central Police Station was visited in order to remove from it certain Europeans who had taken refuge there. The Commissioner of the Division, who had arrived in the afternoon, in view of the serious nature of the disorder, told the Officer Commanding the Troops that he was "to consider himself in charge of the military situation and take whatever steps he thought necessary to re-establish civil control."

On the morning of the 11th precautionary measures were taken to prevent any trouble over the burial of the rioters killed whom the leaders desired to bury in the Jallewalian Bagh;§ it was forbidden to make any demonstration over them, and these orders were carried out. Further re-inforcements had arrived from Jullundur, and troops were marched into the city in the afternoon, and police investigations were commenced; Indian officials and local notables were at the same time sent out with instructions to organize measures for the protection of order in the villages and to compose the minds of the villagers. The District Magistrate circulated to several of the leading citizens of Amritsar a notice stating that the troops had orders to restore order; that no gatherings would be allowed, and would be fired on if they assembled, and warning respectable persons to keep in doors. That evening the General Officer Commanding, Jullundur Brigade (Brigadier-General R. E. Dyer, C.B.) arrived and took over charge of the military operations. On the following morning a military force was sent round the city to prevent a threatened disturbance; the attitude of the people was one of hostility, many spitting on the ground and raising insulting cries. During the day a small detachment was sent to Tarn Taran where trouble was feared. On the force leaving, a body of villagers collected with a view to looting the Tahsil, but dispersed on a bold front being shown by the Inspector in charge, a number of the assailants being arrested. Late at night the line and telegraph wires were cut at Gumanpura between Chheharta and Kharsa and a goods train derailed. The evidence given before the Commission|| shows that this was due to the instigation of the headman of Sanghna, a village some four miles from Amritsar, who visited Gumanpura, described the insurrection in the city, and urged that the line should be cut. In the evening a meeting was held at Gumanpura which stated that the British Government had been overthrown, and it was decided to cut the railway line. This was done with the assistance of railway gangmen who lived close by.

Though the city was now to some extent under military control, it must not be assumed that normal conditions had been restored. The civil authorities state that when out of the sight of the military, the crowd boasted that Government control was limited to the outside of the city, and the Martial Law Commission¶ of 5th July 1919, recorded that "the city was in the hands of the

*In all, only 73 rounds were fired by troops on the 10th. This does not include firing by the police.

† Martial Law Commission Order, dated 29th May 1919, file No. 67.

‡ Martial Law Commission Order, dated 13th June 1919, file No. 101.

§ For Jallewalian Bagh see page 39.

|| Martial Law Commission Order, dated 10th May 1919, file No. 39.

¶ Martial Law Commission Order, dated 5th July 1919, file No. 113.

insurgents till the 13th April." Villagers were now pouring into the city, and rumours freely circulated in the countryside that the bazars were to be looted. There is little doubt that the peasants of the district, who are not of a type which will keep the law unless its guardians show themselves able to enforce it, were not so far persuaded that order had been re-established in Amritsar. This fact gives particular importance to the incident which occurred on the afternoon of the 13th. In the forenoon the Officer Commanding the troops, Brigadier-General Dyer, had marched round the city, accompanied by the District Magistrate, with the object of giving a clear warning that no meetings were to be held; and at every important point the column stopped while this was announced by beat of drum. (It may be here noted that the Seditious Meetings Act had actually been declared in force at 4 A.M. on the 13th.) As it has been alleged that insufficient warning was given against the holding of meetings, it is well to state that the District Magistrate has categorically stated that every possible precaution was taken in this respect and every quarter visited where it was desirable that the announcement should be made. Nor can anyone who knows the speed with which information of this kind is transmitted in Indian cities, have any doubt that all those chiefly concerned were perfectly well acquainted with the fact that meetings had been prohibited. It is stated, though there is no direct proof of this, that as soon as the troops had passed, a counter-proclamation was issued declaring that the British rule was at an end, and that the troops would not dare to fire. In spite of the precautions taken, information was received about 4 P.M., that a meeting of about 1,000 persons was assembling in the Jallewalian Bagh. This area is not, as its name might denote, a garden, but is a sunken space, oblong in shape, and rather over 200 yards in length. There are houses on all four sides which project in some places into the oblong. There are three or four passages leading into it, and in certain places the boundary walls are low enough for a man to climb over without difficulty. This open space had regularly been used for public meetings. Large assemblies had been addressed here by the heads of the agitation on 29th and 30th March, and on the 2nd April; a dense mass meeting had assembled here during the hartal of the 6th, and had listened to speeches which the Martial Law Commission pronounced to be intended to bring Government into hatred and contempt; and after the outrages of the 10th, attempts had been made to bury or burn there the bodies of those who had been killed in the rioting. It was not a place of interment, but as one witness stated, it was intended that this action should 'sanctify' it. The Martial Law Commission* noted that the meeting was organized by Dr. Muhammad Bashir, who had throughout been conspicuous for his inflammatory language, and was sentenced to death as a member of a criminal conspiracy. It was addressed* by Dr. Gurbakhsh Rai and Abdul Aziz who were convicted as members of the same conspiracy, and by Brij Gopi Nath, who was sentenced to transportation for life by a Tribunal under the Defence of India Act. It has been alleged that the meeting was a fortuitous one, largely attended by villagers who had come in for the Baisakhi fair. It is clear that a considerable number of them did attend as spectators; but the meeting was clearly not fortuitous, nor was its object anything but seditious. It has also been suggested that the villagers were attracted† by a rumour that the Chief Khalsa Diwan intended to hold a meeting there. The Chief Khalsa Diwan had issued no such notice, and had never held a meeting in the Bagh.

The District Magistrate had, when the news was received that the meeting was assembling, already left for the Fort; the column had returned, and the greater part of the force had been disposed in picquets with their necessary reserves. The General Officer Commanding had received definite authority from the Commissioner "to take whatever steps were necessary to re-establish civil control," and in pursuance of those orders he considered it his duty to disperse a prohibited and unlawful meeting. Without disturbing his arrangements regarding picquets and guards, he was not able immediately to provide for the purpose a larger force than 50 Indian troops, namely, 25 men of the 9th Gurkha Rifles, and 25 men of the 54th Sikhs and 59th Rifles, together with

*Martial Law Commission Order, dated 5th July 1919.

† { *Leader*, Allahabad, dated 4th July 1919.
 { *Independent*, Allahabad 1st May 1919.

40 Gurkhas armed only with *kukris* or knives and accompanied by the European Superintendent of Police he took these to the Jallewalian Bagh. He had with him two armoured cars in reserve, but the lane through which he entered was too narrow to admit them and they were left in the street outside; he took no machine gun with him. When he arrived, at about 5 o'clock, he found that the crowd had swollen to several thousands, and it was being addressed by a speaker on a raised platform. His troops deployed on either side of the entrance, the ground on which they stood being some feet higher than the general level of the enclosure. He did not order the crowd to disperse, but proceeded to take action to disperse it at once by fire. 1,650 rounds were fired, fire being directed on crowds not on individuals, and redirected from time to time where the crowds were thickest. The ammunition used was the ordinary '303 army cartridge. On the conclusion of the firing the troops retired; the number of casualties were not counted.

It is alleged that some of the bodies were subsequently plundered either by troops or police, but no evidence has come to hand of the truth of this allegation. All the troops and police were under definite command either in picquets or otherwise; and subsequent events proved that the discipline observed was strict. If there was any plundering, it must have been done by bad characters in the city. No accurate calculation can be given of the casualties. It was estimated at the time that between two and three hundred must have been killed, and a considerable number more wounded. A subsequent enquiry made by the Civil authorities, in the course of which the public was invited to give the names of those who had died as the result of the firing, indicated that about 290 persons were killed. It was asserted that these included many small children, but enquiries have only been able to establish the death of one boy under 10 and four under 15 years. There was a further allegation that two months afterwards a well in the Bagh still contained dead bodies. An examination proved this to be groundless.

Of the immediate effect of this drastic action, there can be no doubt. Beyond an attempted dacoity by the village of Ballarwal* on that of Makhowal (which was beaten off by the villagers of the latter place), and one or two cases of wire cutting, hardly any further disorder occurred, and it was noticeable that throughout the district a number of those whose attitude had previously been in doubt at once came in with offers of assistance to the authorities. A resident in the district of over forty years standing, well-known for his devoted work among the lepers at Tarn Taran, wrote as follows:—

"It was not until April 13th that the people realized that Government was in earnest and that it was determined to protect them even against their own will. Till then it was generally thought that such scant measures had been taken to bring to justice murderers and rioters that Government was powerless to cope with lawlessness. It was then that bad characters began to flock in from the district for loot and plunder. It was only after the Jallewalian Bagh incident that a different opinion began to be held, and a totally different attitude on the part of the people became evident. For some time after I toured the Tarn Taran district . . . and held vast meetings of villagers to endeavour to pacify them and give them a correct view of things. During the time thus spent in the tahsil, I heard on all sides and from all sorts and conditions of men that it was this incident alone which had saved the situation, and that is my own private opinion."

Another resident, of over thirty years standing, and equally in a position to gauge the feelings of the people wrote that "I have no hesitation in saying that, from the evidence I received from many parts of the Amritsar district, that particular punitive incident averted other serious trouble. But for the news that reached the villages of the military action in Amritsar, Government would have had to face a serious uprising throughout the district during that week." It may, finally, be noted that it is from the date of this occurrence that the Martial Law Commissioners state that the city was released from the possession of the mob.

* Martial Law Commission Order, dated 9th June 1919, file No. 86.

Martial Law was proclaimed in the district with effect from the 15th April.* Actual disturbance was over, but the proclamation afforded a speedy and efficient means of restoring normal conditions: nor is it possible that, had the civil authorities been confined to the ordinary resources of the Criminal Law, they would have been able to deal as quickly and effectively with the investigation into and disposal of the cases arising out of the many outrages committed on the 10th of April. The actual administration of Martial Law was confined to the city: and with the exception of the despatch of a further detachment of troops to Tarn Taran and a visit to Rajasansi and Atari by a moveable column (commanded by the General Officer Commanding) no measures of a military nature were undertaken outside the city area. On the 13th, that is previous to the formal declaration of Martial Law, the General Officer Commanding had, acting under the authority given him by the Commissioner, issued two notices. The first prohibited all meetings, and warned all persons that damage to property or incitement to violence would be punished by Martial Law; the second prohibited any one from leaving the city without a pass and announced that any person found in the street after 8 P.M. would be liable to be shot. After the formal declaration of Martial Law, the area came within the scope of the Divisional Commander's Proclamation of the 19th April. The administration was in the hands of the General Officer Commanding the Jullundur Brigade (General Dyer) assisted by an Area Officer, here called the Provost Marshal. A number of supplementary Regulations were issued by the Administrator, the majority being contained in a notice dated the 25th April. On that date regulations were issued (1) prescribing a Curfew between the hours of 10 P.M. and 5 A.M.;† (2) prohibiting all processions and meetings (except funerals and religious ceremonies) of more than 10 persons;‡ (3) prohibiting violence or obstruction to any person desirous of opening his shop and conducting his business;§ (4) prohibiting the issue of third or intermediate class tickets;|| (5) protecting Martial Law notices;¶ (6) prohibiting the carrying of cudgels;** (7) prohibiting more than two persons from walking abreast on sidewalks or pavements;†† (8) declaring it illegal to carry on a hartal;‡‡ (9) arranging for the calling in of arms;§§ (10) calling up bicycles owned by others than Europeans.¶¶ A number of additional orders were subsequently issued, commencing from the 11th May. The chief of these orders, similar to those issued at Lahore, provided for the regulation of the price of grain and other commodities.¶¶ In addition an order, necessitated by the outbreak of war with Afghanistan, was issued requiring the registration of Afghan subjects.*** The remaining orders referred only to the gradual relaxation of the orders about Curfew and prices, and the restoration of bicycles. The Curfew orders were relaxed on the 16th May and removed on the 23rd May out of consideration for Muhammadans observing the Ramzan. The majority of the restrictions were removed by the 5th of June and the operation of Martial Law was entirely withdrawn on the 9th June.

The operation of Martial Law was in many respects less intensive at Amritsar than at Lahore, and fewer regulations were issued. Those relating to the Curfew, to the holding of meetings and the prohibition of hartal,

* The special sections of the Police Act were also applied on this date.

† Volume of Martial Law Orders, page 61, No. 1.

‡ Martial Law Order No. 3.

§ Martial Law Order No. 4.

|| Martial Law Order No. 5.

¶ Martial Law Order No. 6.

** Martial Law Order No. 7.

†† Martial Law Order No. 8.

‡‡ Martial Law Order No. 9.

§§ Martial Law Order No. 12.

¶¶ Martial Law Order No. 13.

¶¶ Martial Law Orders Nos. 14, 15, 21, 23, 25, 26 and 27.

*** Martial Law Order No. 16.

and the carrying of cudgels, were essential to the early restoration of order. The prohibition of the issue of third class tickets naturally caused inconvenience to the travelling public, but was held to be essential in order to prevent communication between agitators in the city and outlying areas: and to this extent must also be viewed as a precautionary measure undertaken in the interests of restoring order. It is, however, a restriction of somewhat too extensive a nature for general use. The regulations for fixing prices cannot, on the whole, be regarded as entirely successful. Prices were laid down at a time when there was every expectation that prices of food grains would fall, as they generally do at harvest time; but the general tendency of prices was to rise, and the fixed prices prevented grain coming in. It was necessary to raise prices week by week, and also to publish notices that carts coming into the city would not be commandeered, and it was finally found necessary to discontinue fixed prices altogether. They rose but very little on the removal of restrictions. Charges involving breaches of the Regulations were all tried by the General Officer Commanding at Amritsar, or by the area officer (Provost-Marshal), sitting as Summary Courts. The cases involved were not numerous. Sixty persons were charged in all, of whom 50 were convicted. Twenty-three were convicted under the general head "disobedience of orders* and obstruction of officers" twelve under the head "omission and commission of acts in contravention of Martial Law orders,"† six for having in their possession‡ a motor without permit, four of disseminating false intelligence.§ Nine were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for two years, one to one year, three for 6 months, 16 for less than six months. In 6 cases fines of small amount were inflicted, and 12 persons were sentenced to whipping.

It remains to deal with several isolated incidents connected with the administration of Martial Law at Amritsar, since those have a bearing on charges which have been levied against the character of that administration. The first is that relating to the closing of the Kucha Tawarian. This was the street in which Miss Sherwood was attacked. There is evidence|| that this incident caused very deep resentment among the British troops in Amritsar, and the General Officer Commanding, in the interests of discipline, took occasion to warn them in a public manner against an attempt at reprisals on this account. He subsequently decided to close the street to public traffic, placing a picket at each end, and in doing so, ordered, rather as a *brutum fulmen* than otherwise, that if anyone desired to go down the street he would have to do so on his hands and knees. It shortly afterwards became necessary to conduct a party of prisoners past the picquets in this street and—though this was not contemplated when the prisoners were sent by this route—the picquets put in force the orders about crawling through the street, which is about 150 yards in length. The matter was brought to the General's attention, but in view of the circumstances under which it originated, he decided not to cancel his order. From the first it was clearly understood by everyone, that it did not apply to women. The order was actually in force between the 19th and 24th April, and in all about 50 persons complied with the direction to go through on all fours. The houses had back exits and the picquets were on duty only between the hours of 6 A.M. and 8 P.M. The Sergeant in charge of the picket subsequently stated that one man "actually crawled through three times, and had to be stopped by the picket from giving further exhibitions."

A second incident also calls for notice. A rumour was widely circulated that a number of Sikh girls and women had been assaulted by soldiers at the Amritsar Railway Station. The actual facts were that the attention of the authorities was drawn to the fact that a party of Sikh girls, travelling under the escort of three men, had with them a number of Sikh daggers or *kirpans*. The existence of the *kirpans* was pointed out by the girls' escort. There was some doubt whether these should be taken away, but the party was not searched; such enquiries as were made in the matter were made by a Sikh

* General proclamation dated 19th April, sections 11 (a), (b).

† General proclamation dated 19th April, sections 15 (a), (b).

‡ General proclamation dated 19th April, section 7 (1).

§ General proclamation dated 19th April, section 12.

|| See Deputy Commissioner's letter No. 294, dated 4th August.

Gazetted Police Officer* who happened to be at the station, and it was settled subsequently by the Commissioner in the course of a visit to the station. The girls were allowed to retain possession of the *kirpans*, and were sent on by the next train, and made no complaint of molestation. Men were from the first forbidden to search carriages containing women.

It has further been stated that a platform was erected for public whippings. It appears that such a platform was actually erected near the Fort but never used. A number of triangles were also erected in the city, but were used only in the cases noted below. There were in all twenty-six men sentenced to be flogged by the summary courts. The only floggings that could be considered to be in any way of a public nature were first, that of six men who were flogged in the street in which Miss Sherwood was assaulted. These men were implicated in the attack on Miss Sherwood, but were actually flogged after conviction by a Summary Court for offering violence while in military custody at a date subsequent to April 19th. The street as has already been noted was closed at both ends when flogging took place. Four whippings were carried out at the city police station, and three men sentenced for threatening witnesses were flogged at area headquarters, but this could not of course be considered a public place. In the remaining cases flogging was altogether in private. It is categorically stated that no person was whipped save after due trial by a Summary Court acting under the authority of the proclamation of April 19th. No whippings took place before that date.

Allegations have also been somewhat freely made that both police and soldiers were guilty of wholesale extortion in the course of the administration of Martial Law. That cases could be altogether avoided, in regard to the police, was impossible. Actual investigations were in charge of gazetted European officers; but it is not always in the course of investigations, or in the course of regular proceedings that bribes are offered and taken. They are as often offered to prevent threatened arrest. It is this fact, among others, that rendered it imperative to initiate and conclude investigations at the earliest possible date, an operation greatly facilitated by the existence of Martial Law. Two cases of extortion were discovered and dealt with. One was that of an *ex-sepoy* enlisted as Constable; he was prosecuted but discharged by the Provost Martial for lack of proof; he was however dismissed from the police. The second case was that of a Head Constable, who took Rs. 500 from the brother of one of the accused in order to effect his discharge. On complaint† being made the Head Constable was at once arrested and prosecuted.

The major charges arising out of the disorder were tried by the Martial Law Commissions, 62 cases in all being put before them, involving 298 accused. Of these 218 were convicted. Fifty-one were sentenced to death; 46 to transportation for life, 2 to imprisonment for 10 years, 79 for 7 years, 10 for 5 years, 13 for 3 years, and 11 for lesser periods. In six cases whipping was inflicted. Minor offences arising out of disorder between the 30th March and the date of the proclamation of Martial Law were tried by Civil Magistrates with 1st class powers empowered by Notification No. 12341, dated 5th May 1919, to sit as Summary Courts. Only 22 cases were dealt with, involving 143 persons; of these no less than 102 were connected with the attack on the Tarn Taran Tahsil. In all 105 were convicted, all convictions being registered under sections of the Indian Penal Code or Railway and Telegraph Acts. Of these 82 were charged with joining an unlawful assembly to loot Tarn Taran Tahsil, 6 for dishonestly receiving property belonging to the National Bank, 4 with trespassing in post offices to commit offences, 3 with damaging telegraph wires. The sentences inflicted were; 24 to 2 years imprisonment, 69 to 1 year or over, 7 for 6 months, 5 for shorter periods. No sentence of whipping was passed.

Claims for damage done to property amount altogether to between 30 and 35 lakhs of rupees, excluding claims for compensation to dependents of those killed. The question of the recovery of these claims, under the Police Act or otherwise, is under consideration.

* Press communiqué, Civil and Military Gazette, dated 1st May 1919.

† Chief Secretary's letter No. 464 S.W., dated 13th May 1919.

ATTOCK DISTRICT.

This district contains no large towns; its Muhammadan population has distinguished itself in recruiting and other war efforts; and it contained no element which seemed likely to sympathize with either agitation or disturbance. There was no response to the appeal for a general demonstration on the 6th April, and the only events calling for record appear to be the posting of a seditious handbill at Campbellpur on 22nd April, and an attempt to burn the High School at the same town on the 9th May. The latter event cannot be traced to any connection with agitation. No precautionary measures of an unusual nature were required. It is clear that in this district the leading men, who have considerable local influence, were not interested in the agitation; and that the district authorities were able to count on their assistance in the judicious efforts made by them to prevent the spread of an atmosphere of suspicion or unrest. The district was, as a precaution, proclaimed under the Police Act on the 21st April.

DERA GHAZI KHAN.

In this district, isolated from the railway, and marked by the existence of tribal leaders exercising both authority and influence, there was little excitement and no disturbance. There were, previous to the 5th of April, the usual distorted versions current as to the effect of the Act, but they found little response in the district. No meetings were held at the headquarters of the district. A small meeting, promoted mainly by unemployed youths and non-descript characters, was held on the 5th April at Jampur with a view to arrange a closure of shops on the following day; no hartal, however followed. A second meeting was held on the 6th April, but though the speeches are reported to have been of a vehement character, the meeting was small and unrepresentative, and no demonstration of any kind resulted.

Administrative action was taken by the district authorities against certain of the speakers who were in Government or local fund employ: but no prosecutions or other measures calling for notice were necessary

FEROZEPORE, DISTRICT.

Though at one time a considerable state of tension arose in this area, there was no actual disturbance of the peace. The district, mainly Sikh in religion, had been the scene of a successful recruiting campaign in 1918, and considerable support had been received from the towns for war funds, Red Cross and similar objects. It has been stated that pressure used in the campaign for recruiting, and for subscription to such funds, were a direct cause of the sympathy evinced in the agitation in the Central Punjab; it is the more noticeable therefore that in Ferozepore neither rural nor urban areas showed any considerable reaction to the agitation which was prevalent elsewhere, nor were they appreciably affected by the accounts of the incidents which occurred in the neighbouring cities of Lahore, Amritsar and Kasur. Had excitement become at any time acute, the character of the district, which has more than once been conspicuous for the prevalence of dacoity and violent forms of crime, was such that grave apprehension might reasonably have been felt as to the result. The district authorities appear to have received willing support from the rural notables, including the leaders of the Sikh community. Such demonstrations as occurred in the towns were promoted by pleaders, but they received a good deal of support from the trading class—especially those of the Arya Samaj community, and a few Muhammadans of pan-Islamic sympathies.

On the 29th March some members of the Arya Samaj community convened a meeting at Fazilka and arranged for a hartal on the following day; this duly took place, but the shops were reopened in the afternoon on the advice of the Sub-Divisional Officer. There was considerable discussion on the subject of a hartal at Ferozepore between the 1st and 5th of April, and local opinion on the latter date seems to have decided that no demonstration would take place. Shops were, however, generally closed on the 6th both in Ferozepore City and Cantonments and at Abohar and Gidarbaha. A meeting of some size was held at Ferozepore in the afternoon, but the speeches were not inflammatory. On the 12th, owing to the news of rioting at Kasur, police and military precautions were taken in the event of trouble spreading to the city, thus demonstrating the intention of the local authorities to make full use of the services of the large force of troops stationed in the Cantonments. Nothing of note occurred till the 16th when a number of students of the Harbhagwan Arya High School went on strike. This was, however, quelled by the managers of the school and the parents of the boys. On the following day some seditious posters were found; on the 18th an iron gradient post was found placed on the railway line between Makhu and Butewala stations. It is stated that men outside the district were responsible for this. From this date onwards, though the district authorities felt the existence of a state of tension, no overt act occurred which calls for mention.

Though police and military precautions were taken, no unusual steps were necessary, either of a preventive or repressive character. Guards were placed on the principal stations, important points picqueted, and police patrols moved about in the district. But a great deal also appears to have been done by the dissemination of accurate information regarding the real course of affairs in Amritsar and Lahore, and by enlisting the assistance of men of local influence. It is noteworthy that the considerable number of returned Sikh emigrants and "Ghadr" men in the district took no interest in the agitation. No prosecutions were undertaken.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Part I.—Gujranwala District excluding Sheikhupura Sub-Division.

The disorder at Gujranwala was of a serious type; it led to a widespread destruction of Government property; and had there been a scattered European community such as that at Amritsar, it might have led to outrages such as those which occurred in that city on the 10th April. The prompt arrival of troops limited the field of disorder to the towns, in which it had originated; but for this, it is clear from what occurred in the Sheikhupura Sub-division that disorder might have extended, and with disastrous results, to the neighbouring rural areas. As it was, the peasantry at large remained unaffected. The district, for many years a noticeably poor recruiting area, had been the scene of an intensive campaign from November 1917 to November 1918; and were it true that such campaigns were in any direct sense a predisposing cause of unrest, the district is certainly one in which disorder might have been expected to occur in the rural area of this portion of the district.

Agitation and disorder, then, were confined to the towns; and it seems clear that, while strenuous agitation had been carried on from the 5th April onwards, actual disorder was due rather to the desire to emulate the outrages of the mob at Amritsar and Lahore than to any long premeditated organization for violent ends. This indeed is substantially the conclusion of the Judges composing the Commission* which tried the principal movers in the disorder "We are not satisfied" they say "that prior to April 12th any indictable conspiracy had come into existence." The original promoters of the agitation were pleaders, but they secured a very willing support among the traders; and it was noticed that members of the Arya Samaj community were everywhere prominent in the movement. The actual leaders in rioting are seldom the same as the promoters of the agitation which precedes it; when outrage and violence begin, men of a different type step in as leaders. A conspicuous feature of the rioting at Gujranwala—as also to some extent that at Kasur—was the activity of large numbers of youths of the schoolboy class. As to the character of the disorder, its primary object was no doubt the destruction of Government property and the interruption of communications; but it rapidly assumed (as for instance at Hafizabad and Wazirabad) an anti-British character. It did not go further and become anti-Christian; though a church was burnt, Christians as such were not interfered with.

Gujranwala did not partake in the preliminary hartal of 30th March, but on April 5th the local pleaders made arrangements for a meeting of protest against the Act. It was fairly well attended by all classes but with a strong predominance of Hindus. The Act was denounced as a shameful recompense for India's loyalty during the War; its provisions were not explained; but it was tersely summed up as allowing "Na Dalil, na appeal, na Vakil." A speaker who asserted that he had been an eye-witness of the events at Delhi, described the official account of the rioting there as grossly inaccurate. The meeting decided on the holding of a hartal on the following day, the 6th. The hartal was duly observed, but passed off without incident or open excitement, the open exhibitions of lamentation and fasting manifested elsewhere being absent. It seemed at first as if the agitation had spent itself with the conclusion of the hartal, and though there was still some evidence of excitement in the city, it took no outward form; not even the news of the occurrences at Amritsar on the 10th produced any manifestation. On the 12th the District Magistrate left the district on transfer, and on the same day, a number of magistrates and local notables left for Lahore to attend a Divisional Durbar. It appears that the local leaders held a meeting on the evening of the 12th to decide as to the future action to be taken; but arrived at no conclusion. At a private meeting held on the 13th, however, more definite counsels prevailed; it was subsequently judicially established (Commission order dated 17th June 1919) that at this meeting it was decided "to follow the example of Amritsar . . . and arrange for the burning of bridges and cutting of telegraph wires." Additional proof of this is afforded by the fact that in the evening the American Missionaries received a

*Martial Law Commission Case, decided 17th June 1919.

hint from some of their converts that it would be wise for them to leave the town. They did so, on the assurance that the Indian Christians would be safe without them. Early next morning (the 14th) began what appears to have been a concerted—even if hastily planned—attempt to promote disorder. Crowds went round the bazar, enforcing the closure of shops. A calf was killed and hung up by the neck to the railway bridge near the station, and rumours circulated that this was the work of the police. Part of the crowd invaded the railway station, and stoned the passenger train proceeding to Wazirabad. Some evidence of pre-concerted action is also found in the fact that leaders of the crowd dissuaded passengers from Gujranwala from starting for the Baisakhi Fair at Wazirabad. Part of the mob then set on fire a small railway bridge opposite the Gurukul. At this point the Assistant Superintendent of Police, despatched by his superior officer with a small guard, arrived on the scene, and dispersed the crowd without difficulty. It was found that the telegraph wire had been cut on both sides of the station, but the telephone was intact and a message was sent to Lahore asking for assistance.

The train was now (9 A.M.) despatched to Wazirabad, but shortly afterwards part of the crowd returned, and set fire to the Katchi Bridge near the station; all communications both with Lahore and Wazirabad were now for a time cut off. The crowd had now (10 A.M.) greatly increased in numbers, and one or two black flags made their appearance. Parts of the crowd appear to have been taken off to the city by their leaders, where more inflammatory speeches were delivered. Meanwhile sporadic attacks continued on the railway premises; in one place the crowd began to demolish the permanent way near the distant signal, but were chased off by the police; at another, they gained access to the Post Office from the rear and set on fire the inner rooms of the Telegraph Office. This could not be extinguished as the pumps had been previously damaged. Finally, an attempt was made to seize the Superintendent of Police, who had to use his revolver; the police also fired a few rounds of buckshot, and this section of the crowd dispersed. Two men who had been wounded with buckshot were carried off into the city, and their arrival greatly increased the excitement of the crowds.

Meanwhile two other sections of the crowd had crossed the lines some distance from the station, one going towards the Tahsil and Jail, the other towards the District Court and Civil Bungalows. The Superintendent of Police and his Assistant followed them with the forces available—and it may be remarked here that the force of police maintained at Gujranwala was clearly inadequate for protective purposes—but by the time they arrived the crowd had already set fire to the Tahsil, Dāk Bungalow and District Court. They were driven off from the Jail, but a guard placed on the Church had failed to prevent them setting fire to it. The police fired on the crowd whenever it got within reach, but it scattered on their approach, and apparently few were wounded. While the Police were dealing with these scattered elements of disorder, a further section of the crowd found its way to the now unprotected railway station and set the building on fire; another party set fire to the goods shed and what property was not burnt was pillaged by the bad characters who had collected on the spot. The Casson Industrial School was also gutted. At this juncture three aeroplanes, despatched from Lahore, arrived. The aeroplanes had been sent off as the speediest method of meeting the demand for assistance conveyed in an urgent telephone message received about 1 P.M. It was 3.10 P.M. when the first machine arrived, and at the time of its arrival the Railway Station, Church and goods yard were seen to be on fire. It is clear that at the time the police were still engaged in different directions in the attempt to prevent further damage; as the previous narrative shows, as soon as their backs were turned, the crowd again came on and recommenced its work of destruction. Only one of the aeroplanes dropped bombs, the first discharge being at 3.20 P.M. after the officer had circled round several times for the purpose of observation. Two bombs were first dropped, being aimed at a large party of people at a village (Dhulla) outside Gujranwala, the officer no doubt believing them to be rioters going or coming from the city. One bomb fell through the roof of a house and failed to explode; one fell among the party, killing one woman and one boy and slightly wounding two men. 50 rounds from the machine gun were also

fired into the party. Shortly after another bomb was dropped at about a mile south of this place, another crowd being observed. The bomb dropped into a dry pond and did not explode; twenty-five rounds were fired from the machine gun, but as far as is known without damage. At 3:35 the officer attacked a crowd of some size near the Khalsa High School and Boarding House on the outskirts of the town; one bomb was dropped, and thirty rounds fired from the machine gun. As far as is known, on this occasion, one man was hit by a bullet, one student by a splinter, and one small boy stunned. At 3:40 p.m., two bombs were dropped near a mosque, in the town; these failed to explode. The aeroplane was now directly over the scene of the worst of the disorder. A hundred and fifty rounds were fired from the machine gun at crowds in the street; one bomb was dropped on the crowd near the burning goods shed, killing four and wounding five men; one bomb was dropped on the crowd in front of the station, killing two men and wounding six. This makes a total of eight in all. The rumour that a large number more were dropped is probably due to confusion between the dropping of bombs and the firing of the machine gun. The aeroplane left at 3:50 p.m. A second aeroplane, which arrived at 3:25 p.m. fired in all 700 rounds, but dropped no bomb. The third aeroplane neither dropped bombs nor fired its machine gun. As far as has been ascertained up to the present, the total number of persons killed by the police was three, and by the aeroplanes nine; 27 in all were wounded by police and aeroplane. There can be no sort of truth* in the assertion that the aeroplanes appeared when the crowds were already moving off, and that consequently their bombing and firing on the crowd was unjustifiable. The charge appears to be founded on a mistaken newspaper report† published soon after the event. The buildings were still burning when the aeroplanes appeared; and crowds were still moving in the neighbourhood of the goods yard and station. Troops did not become available till much later.

Towards the evening the District Magistrate who was in Lahore *en route* for Ambala, returned by motor, and took over the direction of affairs, which had up to the present been practically left to the Superintendent of Police and his Assistant (the only European Officers present); towards 9 o'clock a detachment of troops arrived from Sialkot. This finally quieted the situation. On the following morning the District Magistrate, accompanied by a party of Military and Police, went round the city, and made a number of arrests, including several barristers and pleaders. He also gave orders for the institution of a system of village patrols to guard the line. It would appear that the District Magistrate had asked for further aeroplane assistance when making his visit to the city; an aeroplane came over from Lahore, and a bomb was dropped on a small crowd at Garjakh village outside Gujranwala. It fell on a house, but fortunately no casualties were caused, and the owner was awarded compensation. On the following day, the 16th, Martial Law was proclaimed, and the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to the district was also notified.‡

The occurrences at Wazirabad may be noticed separately. The agitation here appears to have been led mainly by local men, shopkeepers with some Muhammadans. There were here a number of Muhammadans of extreme views who during recent years had been under the influence of a Wahabi, Fazal Ilahi, and also of the well-known pan-Islamist, Zafar Ali. The Arya Samaj element was again prominent in the disturbances. As will be seen, the disorder also extended to the agriculturists of some of the villages close to the town. On the 6th April the Hindus attempted to hold a hartal; but this was frustrated by the action of prominent Muhammadans. No further incident occurred till the 12th when at a meeting held at the house of a Municipal Commissioner, it was decided to hold a hartal on the 13th; at the request of the sweetmeat sellers (who feared interference with their Baisakhi earnings) it was decided to postpone it till the 15th. On the fourteenth arrived the news of the riot at Gujranwala, and the local agitators used the opportunity to reinforce their demands for a hartal. A meeting was held in the Juma Masjid at which Hindus as well as Muhammadans attended, and a Hindu presided; after dark groups marched through the streets

* { *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, dated 4th June 1919.

{ *Searchlight*, Patna, dated 8th June 1919.

† *Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore, dated 1st May 1919.

‡ It had been sanctioned in Government of India, Notification No. 560, dated 15th April.

singing inflammatory ballads. The hartal arranged for was duly observed on the 15th. Mobs went round the city, closing shops by force; they also visited the schools and closed them, thus adding to the ranks of the crowd. The order of the Commission* which tried the persons subsequently arrested for riot at Wazirabad shows that at this stage fiery speeches were delivered "undoubtedly stirring the mob to violent action." In spite of the attempts of the local Revenue Officer (the Tahsildar) to restrain them, one portion of the crowd went to the engine shed and attempted to induce the employees to strike; a second portion damaged the Telegraph wires near the Dak Bungalow. A party of Cavalry had been sent from Sialkot to protect the railway station; these dispersed the mob by a charge, but the mob returned and stoned them; the officer in command did not consider that he had authority to fire on the mob, and ordered his men to fire into the air. Though the crowd ceased to stone the cavalry, they were not deterred from further acts of violence; part moved on to the Paku railway bridge, which it set on fire, and cut the railway telegraph wires.† This part of the mob was dispersed by a police charge and the fire extinguished. Another portion went to Nizamabad village—where the village headman had proclaimed a hartal—set fire to a gang hut and did what damage it could to the railway bridges and level crossing gates. What followed may best be described in the words of the Commission‡ which tried the rioters in this case—

"At this point they found themselves within reach of the house belonging to the Rev. Grahame Bailey, a Church of Scotland Missionary. The ringleaders suggested that they should go and burn it. Some of the mob demurred saying that Mr. Bailey was an Irishman and therefore against the Government but the more violent elements in the crowd prevailed and the whole body (with one or two exceptions) marched on the house. Fortunately Mr. Bailey and his family had been removed to Wazirabad on the previous afternoon by the military who had been expecting trouble. On reaching the house they were met by Mr. Bailey's servants who begged them to spare the house. The servants were brutally commanded to go unless they wished to be burnt along with the house. A desperate scene of rioting and looting was witnessed; the house was thoroughly ransacked for treasure and then it was set ablaze. Damage to the extent of Rs. 40,000 is said to have been caused, and Mr. Bailey states that this does not include the cost of the house itself. Sated with their work, and probably anxious to dispose of their ill-gotten gains, the mob then dispersed. In the meanwhile the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Wairoke had come to the spot, and the sight of so much abandoned loot proving too much for them, they picked up what the rioters had left and decamped with it to their houses.

Mr. Bailey had resided for many years in the town and was, as the Judges remark later, "deservedly popular in this part of the Punjab;" he is a linguistic expert of distinction, and the fire destroyed a valuable collection of manuscripts, the fruit of many years' labour. The crowd then gathered before the Post Office, but were driven off by the police. The Commission took a severe view of the action of the mob at Nizamabad; they considered that they had "with deliberation set out in strength to do all that was in their power to damage the Government. All who took active part in the operations were guilty of an offence punishable under section 121, Indian Penal Code." The sentences imposed on the leaders were severe, but the Judges viewed the action of the villagers (many of whom voluntarily returned the property stolen by them) with greater leniency. It is only necessary to add here that on the following day additional troops reached Wazirabad, and the arrival of the District Magistrate from Gujranwala completed the restoration of order.

The disturbances at Hafizabad occurred on the same dates, and allowing for the smaller damage done, followed the same lines as those at Wazirabad. The agitation, which was mainly confined to shopkeepers, appears to have been largely due to the influence of members of the Arya Samaj community. There was a meeting of this society on the 5th April, and on the following day a hartal was observed, but with only partial success. Another meeting was called on the 12th to promote a hartal for the 14th and this duly took place. A considerable crowd collected in front of the Tahsil, but went away on the insistence of the Tahsildar; it reassembled however outside the town, and

* Martial Law Commission case, decided 31st May 1919.

† The wires were cut in 24 places between Wazirabad and Sialkot on the 15th alone.

‡ Martial Law Commission case, decided 15th May 1919.

proceeded towards the railway station. Speeches of a very inflammatory nature were made in the neighbourhood of the goods shed, and while these were going on, a passenger train came into the station, in the first class carriage of which Lieutenant Tatam of the Military Farms Department, was travelling with a small boy. The crowd made an attack on the carriage with sticks and stones breaking the windows; two or three Indian gentlemen present with great courage came to the rescue, and prevented further mischief by persuading the Station Master to move the train on. The enquiry into this case before the Commission* shows that the attack was a determined one, directly due to the incitement of orators who had urged the crowd to take active steps against Government; and the Judges expressed the opinion that but for the intervention of the Indian gentlemen referred to, and for the fact that one of the leaders of the crowd (Muhammad Din) changed his mind and tried to allay the storm he had raised, Lieutenant Tatam and the boy would have been killed. A hartal was again observed on the following day (the 15th); a crowd again visited the station, damaged the distant signal and cut wires. Two men were arrested by the police and taken to the Tahsil, and an attempt at rescue was only prevented by the police opening fire from the roof. They do not appear to have wounded anyone, but the crowd dispersed. On the following day, shops were reopened and no further disturbance occurred. The events of the 15th formed the subject of a separate order by the Commission.† Though the damage done was not great, the Judges considered the disorder serious as it was linked up with the systematic attempt of the rioters at Gujranwala to paralyse communication and thus prevent the arrival of troops. Two at least of the leaders were shown to have been concerned in the agitation which led to excesses at Chuharkana and Wazirabad: the smallness of the damage done was due to the half-heartedness of the mob and not to lack of virulence on the part of the leaders. The sentences imposed were mainly on the leaders.

The events at Akalgarh and Ramnagar were, but for one disgraceful incident, less serious. Under the influence of a number of Hindus, shops were closed on the 6th April in both places; but the speeches at the meetings do not seem to have been immoderate in tone. On the 14th of April, on the receipt of news regarding the disturbances which had taken place elsewhere, a mob collected at Akalgarh and forced the shops to close; they threatened to burn down the factories of those who refused to join in the hartal. No actual damage was however done. On the following day slight damage was done to the telegraph wires at Akalgarh, signal lamps were broken, and a half-hearted attempt made to burn a bridge. The Commission‡ which subsequently tried the persons accused of rioting at Akalgarh did not regard the facts as showing evidence of very serious disorder. "The leaders were able to obtain only lukewarm support and the people were not prepared to go to extremes. The mob, never a large one, was kept off the station premises without difficulty, and its proceedings were a mere parody of rebellion." The sentences imposed were consequently lenient. At Ramnagar a significant and disreputable incident occurred. A party of Hindus collected, and proceeded to the banks of the Chenab, where they produced a small rag effigy of the King-Emperor, and proceeded to burn it with every species of insult. The ashes were thrown into the river, and after a ceremonial bath of purification, the crowd returned to the town. Twenty-eight persons were subsequently tried for this offence, and sentenced; under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code, and Regulations 5 (a) and 15 (a) of the Martial Law Proclamation, to two years imprisonment.

One other isolated incident remains to be recorded. In the large Jat village of Aulakh it appears that two of the headmen and some of the land-owners of the village were persuaded that the power of the administration had broken down, and that as the village records kept at the headquarters at Gujranwala had been burnt, they would gain some advantage by destroying the copy kept in the village. They accordingly attacked and burnt the "Patwar-khana."§ The Commission which dealt with the accused in this case state that they "violently prevented an attempt to put out the fire, gave vent to treasonable

* Martial Law Commission case, decided 17th May 1919.

† Martial Law Commission case, decided 5th June 1919.

‡ Martial Law Commission case, decided 14th May 1919.

§ Martial Law Commission case, decided 6th May 1919.

cries announcing that Lahore, Amritsar and Chuharkana had been burnt, that the British Raj was extinct, and that by burning the records they would get their land back ; they also threatened that any supporters of Government would be thrown into the fire." The sentences imposed were severe.

As already shown, Martial Law was proclaimed in the district on the 16th April. In view of the violent nature of the disturbances at Gujranwala itself on the 14th, at Wazirabad and Hafizabad on the 15th, involving as they did persistent attacks on the railway communications, and of the fact that serious unrest, as shown by the outbreak at Aulakh and the outrages on the Sheikhpura line, had already manifested itself in the purely rural areas, the proclamation cannot be considered as otherwise than timely. The military authorities acted with great promptitude in despatching troops to Gujranwala, Khanki (the headworks of the Chenab Canal) and Hafizabad ; the Sialkot Brigade headquarters were moved to Wazirabad, and detachments were also sent to Aulakh (where on the 18th they arrested the ring leaders of the offence of the 16th), to Akalgarh and Ramnagar. In addition to the Regulations issued under the general proclamation of the General Officer Commanding Rawalpindi Division, dated April 20th, a number of Supplementary Regulations were issued for the Gujranwala area.

On the 18th April a general order* was issued forbidding meetings, and processions ; on the 19th a Curfew order was put in force at Wazirabad, confining residents to their houses between 8 P.M. and 5 A.M.,† a similar order being already in force at Gujranwala ; on the 20th an order‡ issued at Wazirabad required villagers to patrol telegraphs and railways and made them responsible for their safety ; on the 21st an order§ was issued applying to the whole district regarding the use of proper respect to European civil and military officers. It directed that all officers should be accorded the salutation usually given to Indian gentlemen of high social position ; that is to say, persons riding on animals or in wheeled conveyances will alight ; persons carrying open and raised umbrellas shall lower them, and all persons shall salute or 'salaam' with the hand. On the 22nd an order|| applying to Wazirabad, required all persons to observe the rates for articles fixed by the civil authority ; on the 25th an order¶ applying to the whole district, required passengers (other than Europeans or Anglo-Indians or their servants) to obtain passes when travelling by railway. On the 29th April a notice** mitigated the severity of the Curfew order in Wazirabad and Gujranwala ; on the 5th of May an order†† applying to the whole district ordered a parade, once a day or oftener, of all schoolboys at any place at which there was an area officer ; on the 8th May an order,‡‡ applicable to Gujranwala, Wazirabad and Hafizabad, notified that the property of persons who were fugitive from those towns would be considered to be confiscated ; a general order,§§ dated 16th prohibited legal practitioners ordinarily residing outside the Sialkot Brigade Area from entering that area without permission ; an order of the 19th May withdrew the orders about patrol of railways and telegraphs.

The area officers appointed under the proclamation were, the District Magistrate in the case of Gujranwala, a military officer of Major's rank for Wazirabad, and a third officer, of Captain's rank, for Hafizabad.

The Curfew was put in force only in towns where there were troops, and was eased off at an early date, as it interfered with the movements of carts and hack animals to market. The order restricting travel was common to all districts in which Martial Law was proclaimed ; its primary intention was to prevent communication between affected areas. It undoubtedly caused much general inconvenience, but was justified in the early stages of Martial Law administration as the only measure by which agents from the towns could be prevented from exciting unrest in the rural areas. As regards the order requiring schoolboys to parade the previous narrative will show that

* Martial Law notices, page 76.

† Martial Law notices, page 77, No. 3.

‡ Martial Law notices, page 78, No. 5. 7

§ Martial Law notices, page 78, No. 7.

|| Martial Law notices, page 79, No. 8.

¶ Martial Law notices, page 80, No. 11.

** Martial Law notices, page 82, No. 16. 3

†† Martial Law notices, page 86, No. 26. 15

‡‡ Martial Law notices, page 87, Nos. 29, 29.

§§ Martial Law notices, page 90, No. 36. 1

schoolboys and students had taken a considerable share in rioting in this district, and there was evidence of great lack of discipline in the schools. A rumour has been circulated that owing to this order several schoolboys at Wazirabad died of sunstroke: the actual fact is that on one occasion at Wazirabad four of the smaller boys fainted from the heat, but suffered no serious effects. The mid-day roll-call was then abandoned.* Offences against the Martial Law Regulations were tried by the Area Officers as Summary Courts; in all 89 cases were tried involving 92 persons of whom 58 were convicted. Two persons were sentenced to imprisonment for two years, one to one year, one to 6 months, and six to less than six months. In 40 cases fines were inflicted. Whipping was inflicted in 20 cases; all whipping was carried out in private, except in one instance which occurred before instructions in this connection had been issued. The majority of persons sentenced to whipping were youths or persons found disobeying the Curfew regulation.

In addition to these measures, a fine of 70,000 rupees was imposed on the town of Wazirabad. The operation of Martial Law was withdrawn on 9th June.

As regards judicial measures, 14 cases were tried by Commission involving 233 persons, of whom 149 were convicted. Twenty-two were sentenced to death, 108 to transportation for life, two to imprisonment for 10 years or over, one to seven years, one to five years, eight to one year, and two to six months or less. Fines were inflicted in six cases, and whipping in five.

Minor offences committed between 30th of March and the date of the proclamation of martial law were tried (under notification No. 12341, dated 5th May 1919), by Summary Courts. There were 89 such cases, involving 168 persons of whom 142 were convicted. Eighty-five persons were sentenced to imprisonment for two years, two to one year, twenty-one to six months and nine to less than six months. Fines were imposed on 85 persons, and whipping inflicted on four.

As regards other measures, additional police have been imposed on the disturbed area, at its cost, to the extent of two Inspectors, and 312 subordinate officers and men. Claims under the Police Act have been noted on page 31.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Part II.—Sheikupura Sub-Division.

It will be convenient to deal with this sub-division separately; it consists of two Tahsils (Khangah Dogran and Sharakpur) of Gujranwala District, but will, with effect from next October, be constituted a separate district. The story here is one of damage and outrage done largely by agriculturists, excited by an agitation conducted in their market towns. The towns themselves are either entirely of new growth, or have increased rapidly in prosperity owing to the extension of canal irrigation; the peasant community had, till recently, a traditional reputation for crime and cattle stealing, and their recent accession of wealth has been too rapid to be accompanied by a relative increase in civilization. They have few natural leaders, and the ordinary conditions of old established village life do not apply to them. As already indicated, the area is unusually prosperous; recent economic conditions had been favourable rather than otherwise; and comparatively few of the villages affected by the disorder had contributed recruits to the Army. The trouble must be attributed entirely to the excitement of an indisciplined peasantry influenced by the example of their market towns.

The only town in the area which observed the usual hartal of the 6th April was Sheikupura; this was followed by a mass meeting in the evening, but the language used was not inflammatory. The leaders here appear to have been a retired Inspector of Police and a number of pleaders. For some days no other town made any movement, but on the 11th a meeting was held at a soap seller's shop at Sangla, promoted by a strange Brahmachari (Gobind Pershad) who for some weeks had been lecturing in the town. The views of the meeting were undecided, and a second meeting of about 500 to 600 persons, largely of the trading class, was held later on in the day. It is known that the most inaccurate statements were made about the Act; indeed, one of the subsequent

* Deputy Commissioner's letter July 24th, 1919.

outrages (Moman) was directly due to the excitement caused in the minds of several agriculturalists present, after hearing the Brahmachari's description of the Act. A hartal followed at Sangla on the 12th, observed by the whole town except the ginning factories and a drug shop. There was public bathing in the morning, followed by a procession; excited speeches were made, and extracts of papers read out giving an account of events at Lahore and Amritsar. The crowd went to the railway station, but took no other action than to hoot a missionary who had arrived by the train. In the evening another meeting was held, at which even more excited language was used. Incidents of a similar, though less inflammatory, nature occurred at the market town of Chuharkana. A meeting of townspeople was held in the mosque on the 11th, attended by both Hindus and Muhammadans, and it was resolved to hold another meeting to which agriculturalists from the neighbouring villages should be invited. Here the leaders appear to have been the dismissed manager of a Khalsa School named Kartar Singh; an Updeshak, named Teja Singh, who had frequented seditious meetings at Lahore; a patwari from the United Provinces; and a sprinkling of Arya Samajists. A hartal took place on the following day, the 12th, and a meeting was held attended by a considerable number of agriculturalists from outside. The language used was strongly condemnatory of the Act, and contained the usual misstatements as to the increased powers which it would give the Police.

The effect of the hartal at Sheikhpura on the 6th and the meetings at Chuharkana and Sangla on the 11th and 12th soon became apparent. The neighbourhood was engaged in celebrating the Baisakhi festival on the 13th (at which at least one inflammatory lecture was given), but on the 14th outrages occurred in four different places. At Sheikhpura a party which went down to the station to learn the latest news from Lahore and Amritsar, damaged the signals on their way back. They then, after assaulting a man who had not observed hartal, cut the Post Office wires, and later on cut the telegraph wires between Sheikhpura and Lahore. At Sangla a crowd collected at the railway station and stoned the Calcutta Mail (diverted by this route to avoid the damaged station at Gujranwala). At Chuharkana an unruly crowd invaded the railway station with a view, it is stated, of maltreating any European who might be travelling. A more serious outrage occurred at Moman. It has been stated above that a number of agriculturalists were present at an inflammatory speech delivered by the Brahmachari at Sangla on the 11th. Two of these, Harnam Singh and Banta Singh, were so excited by his description of the terrors of the Act, that on their return to their village they proceeded to collect volunteers for an attack on Government property. They found a number of men assembled at a village ceremony at Wara Labh Singh on the 14th, and persuaded them to accompany them to an attack on Moman Station. The station was looted and the buildings set on fire.

Disorder was renewed on the following day, the 15th. Some Sikh Kambohs of Nawan Pind village summoned a meeting, announced that the Golden Temple at Amritsar had been bombarded, and urged their hearers to cut the railway communications. A mob of agriculturalists marched down to the railway about a mile and a half from Dhaban Singh Station, tore up rails and cut the telegraph wires. Subsequently collecting more men from Mahnianwala village, the leaders of the mob attacked, looted and burnt the railway station itself in the early hours of the morning. The Commission which subsequently* tried those accused of the attack on the Dhaban Singh Railway Station considered that there was good evidence to show that the leaders had cut the line for the express purpose of preventing the passage of troops. In the morning, of the 15th again, a large party of men from the Chuharkana market went to the station and began to pull up the permanent way. Shortly after a special troop train arrived, and the Officer Commanding detained a party of his men to protect the station; but on the departure of the train later in the day, the crowd reassembled and recommenced the work of destruction. A passenger train which arrived from Lahore was attacked, the break van looted, and the engine damaged; the station staff was assaulted, the safes rifled and the station set on fire; two bridges

* Martial Law Commission case, decided 11th June 1919.

were damaged by fire and the telegraph wires cut. After dark a mob gathered with the intention of looting the grain market; but by this time fortunately assistance was on its way. An armoured train approaching the station from Lahore, and manned by British troops under an Indian Defence Force Officer, picked out the crowd with its search light, and dispersed it with machine gun fire. As far as is known two men were killed on this occasion*. The Commission which afterwards tried† those accused on account of this outrage characterized the action of the crowd as marked by great determination, and pointed to the cutting of the wires as proof of their desire to effect a complete rupture of rail and telegraphic communication with Lahore. Later on at night, the telegraph wire was cut by Sikhs between Sangla and Salarwala at a distance of about a mile from Sangla Station.

The arrival of the armoured train restored order at Chuharkhana but mob law still ruled at Sangla. On the following day, the 16th, a Sikh, named Harnam Singh, backed up by a large crowd from the town, rescued a military prisoner from a detachment at Sangla Station, and in the afternoon of the same day he made an attack on Mr. Wale, a Telegraph Inspector, sent to repair the line. Mr. Wale, though badly wounded by his assailant, managed to shoot him down. An urgent report reached the Deputy Commissioner of the neighbouring district (Lyallpur) that Sangla Station was in danger from the mob, and he succeeded in getting a small detachment of troops there by nightfall. On the following night, i.e., between the 16th and 17th, the villagers of Barhoa cut the telegraph wires on the Shahdara-Lahore line near their village. The Commission which subsequently tried the persons accused of this offence‡ found that the act was very deliberate. "A gang formed of the Barhoa people had collected on the 15th and gone to Sangla in order to get instructions in the art of cutting wires without risk to the person cutting them; they then went to the Sangla-Wazirabad line and tried their hand at it; on the 16th in the evening they collected once more and went through Barhoa village getting recruits, and trying to induce those who would not willingly join to do so; and finally the whole gang went to the Sangla-Shahdara line and cut the wires." On the 17th a small body of troops specially despatched from Lahore to prevent further interruption of the communications visited Chuharkana in order to make arrests of those charged with burning the station. They had with them a Magistrate and Police Officer. In attempting to capture a party of suspected persons, who had fled into a wheat field, fire was opened by the troops at the order of the officer in charge, and one of the party killed. Eight persons were subsequently arrested. Another body of troops under a British Sergeant, which had followed up another party of fugitives, reported that it had come across a number of armed men, some of whom were mounted. It was stated that two were armed with rifles and two with guns. The Sergeant in charge opened fire on them and killed four men; he subsequently arrested four others. No arms were recovered.

With this the chapter of the actual disorder closes, but it had been of a really serious nature. Of the seven stations on this length of railway, three had been burnt and one only saved by the arrival of troops; between the stations bridges had been burnt and telegraph communication completely destroyed. The safety of the railway line was henceforth secured by the constant patrolling of the armoured train, and on the 19th Martial Law was proclaimed in the district. A number of arrests at Sheikhpura, Dhaban Singh and Sangla were made by the civil authorities on the same day; on the 21st a systematic investigation commenced under a Joint District Magistrate specially appointed to the sub-division.

The administration of Martial Law in the sub-divisional area was nominal only. The provisions of the proclamation of the Divisional Commander were of course in force in the sub-division, but little use was made of them, and in only three cases were persons proceeded against for offences against them. Two were convicted by the Summary Court, which awarded in one case 12 and in the second six months' imprisonment, the offences being against Nos. 5 and 3 of the general Martial Law Proclamation of 19th April. A mobile section

* Deputy Commissioners letter August 5th, 1919.

† Martial Law Commission case, decided 23rd May 1919.

‡ Martial Law Commission case, decided 10th May 1919.

of machine guns attended by cavalry was sent through the area, but the military were not, except for the incident at Chuharkhana recorded on the 17th, used for punitive purposes.

The damage done by the mob has been assessed at Rs. 27,367, mostly on account of attacks on the railway stations. This is in process of recovery under the Police Act.

As regards judicial measures, 7 cases, involving 82 persons were sent for trial by the Commissions; 24 persons were acquitted and 58 sentenced; 8 to death, 30 to transportation for life; five to three years and fifteen to two years' imprisonment. The Summary Court empowered under notification No. 12341-B, dated 5th May, tried 39 cases, involving 499 accused, of whom 323 were convicted, in nearly every case the conviction being under sections 147-438-149 of the Indian Penal Code and 25 of the Telegraph Act. The great majority of cases were tried by the Joint District Magistrate, the remainder being tried by the Additional District Magistrate. One hundred and seventy were sentenced to imprisonment for 2 years, 2 to eighteen months, eighty-three to one year, ten to nine months, eight to six months and four to less than six months. Fines amounting to Rs. 23,160 in all were also inflicted and there were forty sentences of whipping. In nearly every case these were juveniles, and the sentence was executed in the compound of the bungalow in which the Court sat, following in this respect the practice in vogue in the Punjab until a few years back. No sentences of whipping were given for any offence committed after April 19th.

GUJRAT DISTRICT.

It is clear that such agitation, and its accompanying disorder, as occurred in this district was primarily due to influence exerted from outside. The district itself has no 'political' history. Its rural population, predominantly Muhammadan, though it is by no means confined to agricultural pursuits, since it has supplied considerable numbers of men to the army, and large numbers to the police forces in the Far East, and to the labouring and trading communities in Africa and elsewhere, has seldom shown any signs of interest in outside affairs. It is noticeable that the demand for a universal demonstration on April 6th met with absolutely no response in the district; there were no protest meetings held, and no demonstration of any kind was reported. Messages are said to have been received from Amritsar urging a hartal on that date, but if so, they were entirely without result. If Gujrat had not been situated on the main line, it would probably have escaped entirely the influence of the movement which took place in the central Punjab. As it was, it is clear that between the 6th and the 14th its inactivity attracted attention from outside, and in at least two cases prominent residents of the city were urged from Sialkot and Lahore to bring Gujrat into the field of agitation. But it was not until the 14th that any signs were noticed that Gujrat was likely to join in the movement. On that date two inflammatory notices were found posted in the city possibly written by students returning from Lahore—stating that there would be a meeting on the following day in which Europeans and Christians would be massacred. Early on the same morning a band of Baisakhi revellers from Wazirabad had returned shouting 'Gandhi ki jai' and similar cries; but had immediately dispersed to their homes. At about 9 A.M. the shops closed without previous warning and—as far as can be seen—without the previous knowledge of a number even of those who had been instrumental in advising this action. A procession was formed in the city, which exhibited a black flag and a picture of Gandhi and "uttered cries of lamentation." In view of what had occurred at Amritsar, the local authorities took the precaution of asking for troops, and a small party arrived from Jhelum on the morning of the 15th. The shops remained closed, and during the morning a somewhat excitable crowd, mostly youths, marched about the city. About 10-30 A.M. they went to the Mission High School and compelled it to close, after breaking a number of windows and doors. They visited other schools, but they had already closed. In the afternoon the crowd reassembled, and was observed to be moving towards the Railway Station, which was unguarded either by police or troops, both of which had been detailed on duty in the town itself. After smashing a number of lamps on the way, it reached the station, and swarming into it began destroying the telegraph and telephone instruments and furniture and setting fire to records. It had been followed by a force of police with a senior Indian Magistrate; in view of the damage which was being done to the station the latter ordered the police to open fire on the crowd. A few shots were fired—as far as is known without effect—and the crowd dispersed, some arrests being made.* Additional troops were now sent for and arrived at midnight; but it was not found necessary to utilize these, or the small force already in the city, in quelling disturbances. On the following morning (the 16th) notices were issued prohibiting meetings and processions without license; practically all the shops were opened during the day and no further disturbance occurred.

At Jalalpur Jattan trouble—though not of a very serious nature—occurred on the same dates, *viz.*, the 15th and 16th. In consequence of a meeting held on the 14th shops were closed on the 15th and a crowd paraded the small town with the usual shouts about Gandhi and the Rowlatt Act. It committed no violence, and was watched by two magistrates with a small force of police and sowars. In the morning, however, the telegraph wire was found to be cut in two places. On the following day the crowd gathered again and

*For above facts see Martial Law Commission Cases, decided 2nd, 7th and 23rd May.

shops were closed. A number of Municipal Commissioners had assembled in the Town Hall to discuss measures to prevent disturbance; these were insulted by the crowd and turned out of the building and some damage was done to the furniture. Outside speeches were made against Government and the Rowlatt Act. Windows and doors were also broken at the Mission School; but shortly afterwards news arrived that firing had taken place at the Railway Station in Gujrat, and the crowd dispersed. The Commission* which tried the case of those arrested for this disturbance did not regard the occurrences as very serious; the crowd was, they remark, mainly composed of Kashmiris and was not prepared to go to extremes. "The occasion seems rather to have been taken to emphasize the mob's antipathy to the Municipal Committee—yet the object of the leaders was to excite disaffection against Government." The shops were reopened on the following day, the 17th.

The trouble at Malakwal—a railway junction situated in the district—also took place on the same dates. There is situated here a railway colony of some dimensions, and it is stated that for some time past the staff had been showing signs of discontent. They were visited on the 15th April by two Arya Samaj lecturers from Miani who gave an inflammatory lecture about the Rowlatt Act; in the order of the Commission† which dealt with the Malakwal case it is stated that these two men were professional agitators who went to Malakwal with the express purpose "not only of bringing the Government into hatred, but of exciting the inhabitants to the waging of war." On the following morning a crowd, interested apparently in promoting a strike, proceeded to the station, but found there a body of troops (which had been sent from Jhelum on the previous day), and no violence occurred. A few of the men on duty struck. Later in the day a meeting was held at the mosque at which Hindus attended; and it appears that after the meeting one Raja Ram, an *ex*-student who had spoken at the meeting, agreed with one Sarwar to join in definite action in interrupting railway communication. He assembled some volunteers (including some firemen and shunters from the station), of whom one party went out in the evening and cut all the telegraph wires, and then joined with the remainder in taking up a section of rail with the sleepers. Early next morning a train, which had been allowed to proceed at caution without a 'line clear,' was derailed, two lives were lost and several persons injured. The Commission in the decision, already referred to, found that while the speeches of the agitators had fortunately little effect on the general public, this small band of conspirators, encouraged by the speeches, "had determined to wage active war against the Government."

Slight trouble was caused at Kunjah by a *mistri* who succeeded in arranging a partial hartal on the 15th. On the same day indiscipline was reported among the students of the Engineering College at Rasul. They refused to attend lectures, but did not resort to violence; it is noticeable however, that a meeting of Canal officials was held in the mosque at which prayers were offered for the repeal of the Act. A small body of troops was sent to the College, and on the return of the Principal, who was absent on the 15th, he took disciplinary measures against the ringleaders.

The preceding narrative indicates in the main the steps taken by the civil authorities up to the 17th to quell disorder. In addition to the steps taken, patrols by house-holders assisted by military pensioners from outside villages were instituted in Gujrat City, and the railway lines were from the 16th patrolled by villagers. There was by this time a considerable force of military in the district, and these were utilized not only to guard important points on the railway, but to send detachments to the scenes of local disturbance, such as Jalalpur Jattan. On the 17th the district was declared under the Police Act as disturbed. All active disturbance had ceased, when Martial Law was declared by Government on the evening of the 19th; it was actually brought into effect by a proclamation by the General Officer Commanding, Rawalpindi, on the 20th. The justification for the introduction of Martial Law lay mainly in the necessity for preventing recrudescence of the attempts to interfere with communications, which had already led to one very serious outrage and loss of life. The first Martial Law Regulation issued

* Martial Law Commission Case, decided 8th May 1919, file No. 27.

† Martial Law Commission Case, decided 17th June 1919.

as applicable to the district was dated 24th April,* and provided for the civil patrol of the Railway line ; the majority of the notices issued for Gujranwala† were subsequently made applicable, but it is clear that Martial Law, as generally understood, was not enforced with any stringency in this area. Some difficulties were caused by the order controlling prices, an order not perhaps of great necessity in a purely agricultural area, and it was necessary to restore confidence by consultation with the traders and an agreement as to prices. Offences against these proclamations were dealt with by Summary Courts-Martial, the total number of persons brought up being 14, of whom two were acquitted. The following sentences were inflicted on the remainder ; rigorous imprisonment for two years, one, and for six months, two ; simple imprisonment for six months, one. Seven were sentenced to fines varying from Rs. 20 to Rs. 200, and three to whipping. The latter sentences were inflicted on a charge of spreading false reports ; the culprits were a shopkeeper and two goldsmiths. No whipping was inflicted in public.

The major offences were brought before the Martial Law Commissions. Nine cases were sent up involving 86 persons, of whom 43 were convicted. Two were sentenced to death, 27 to transportation for life, two to lesser terms of transportation, and twelve to terms of imprisonment. In addition, one man (the author of the incomplete strike at Kunjah) was tried and sentenced under section 25 of the Defence of India Rules.

The record of the disturbances in this district discloses no evidence of organization. Such trouble as occurred was confined practically to two days, and with the exception of the deliberate derailment at Malakwal, reveals little concerted action to cause a serious breach of the peace. The early drafting of armed forces to various points in the district may have been responsible for the fact that there was no recrudescence of the trouble which occurred on the 15th and 16th ; but the nature of the course taken by the demonstration does not suggest that there was at any time ever any danger of outrages so grave as those which occurred at Amritsar and Gujranwala. The operation of Martial Law was withdrawn on 28th May.

* Martial Law notices, page 80, No. 10.

† See Gujranwala district report, page 52, there were minor differences ; in the case of the parade of schoolboys, the father was ordered to attend in the absence of the boy (Martial Law notices, page 86, No. 33), and there was a special regulation prohibiting Sadhus to leave the city (Martial Law notices, page 88, No. 32).

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

The importance of this district lies in its proximity to Amritsar, and in the fact that many of its towns, such as Batala, had of recent years taken a keen interest in political affairs. Though there was no actual disturbance of the peace, there is no doubt that very high tension prevailed; the tone of the towns was strongly against Government, and there were constant attempts to interrupt communications. European non-official residents of long standing in the district received information from their subordinates which led them to entertain serious apprehensions for their safety, and in some cases distinct threats of attack were held out. The legal community has considerable influence in Gurdaspur, and, in spite of repeated warnings addressed to them, they definitely used their influence to provoke demonstrations against Government. The schoolboy and student classes joined prominently in the agitation. It is clear that, for about a week following on the disturbances at Amritsar, the general state of the district was such that trouble of a grave nature might easily have occurred; and that the agitation resulted not only in the exhibition of strong feelings against Government, but in demonstrations of racial antipathy. Nor was the exhibition of this feeling confined entirely to the town population.

On the 3rd April, Committees were, at the suggestion of members of the Bar, organized at Gurdaspur and Batala,* for promoting a hartal on the 6th. The result was a complete closure of shops and cessation of labour on that date at Gurdaspur, Batala, Pathankot, Dinanagar, Dhariwal, Sujampur and in most of the smaller towns of the district; at Sohal, Kadian and Aliwal the closure was partial only. In the larger towns protest meetings were also held and were very largely attended. The celebration of the annual Hindu festival of Ram Naumi on the 9th was made the occasion for scenes of Hindu-Muhammadan fraternization, and here as elsewhere, the cry of "Hindu-Musalman ki jai" carried a distinct connotation of anti-British feeling. The receipt on the 11th† of the news of the occurrences at Amritsar was received by the local authorities with not unnatural apprehension, and the members of the Bar who had promoted the hartal were asked to join in a declaration against acts of violence or disorder. The response was half-hearted, and in the evening a joint meeting of Hindus and Muhammadans was held at a mosque. As a result presumably of this meeting, the hartal was renewed at Gurdaspur, Batala, Kalanaur and several other places on the following day, the 12th. Considerable excitement was manifested, and the district authorities thought it advisable to ask for the assistance of troops. A small detachment arrived before nightfall. There was a further mass meeting at Gurdaspur on the evening of this day, at which inflammatory language was used, and there is some evidence of a suggestion being made for raiding the civil station. On the same date an Indian Magistrate, who had been sent to Batala, was warned by a small mob there that the arrest of their leaders would lead to rioting. The arrival of troops at Gurdaspur appears to have exercised a quieting influence at the district headquarters, and no further demonstrations took place there; but on the following day commenced a series of determined attempts to interrupt communications. Railway, Postal and Canal wires were cut eight times between the 13th and 25th April, in some cases long lengths of wire being removed. There were on the 13th strong rumours of an impending attack on the Dhariwal Mills near Gurdaspur, and a small armed force was sent there. In spite of this, the reports of impending attack continued for some days later. It appears, indeed, that though the despatch of troops to the district had prevented any actual violence, it did not suffice to prevent attacks on the communications (on the night of the 14th an attempt was made to obstruct the railway by burning sleepers on the line near Pathankot), nor did it materially affect the attitude of those interested in the agitation. Thus when the District Magistrate interviewed a number of pleaders on the 15th they were still in the position of desiring to bargain rather than to offer assistance. Several of the local officials had begun to show signs of sympathy with the agitation, and on the 15th the

* A local Congress Committee was instituted at Batala on the 3rd mainly by members of the Bar.

† A private telegram had been received by the Station Master on the 10th but the news had been kept back by him, file No. 5013.

Deputy Commissioner found it necessary to take action against the Tahsildar at Batala. The state of excitement still prevailing is shown by the fact that on the 16th a lighted torch was thrown into a motor car, containing an English lady, which was passing through Pathankot. On the 17th a canal road was found to be blocked by a temporary barricade. It was not until the 19th that a number of local leaders, who before the agitation had been known as strong supporters of Government, found sufficient resolution to unite in putting forth a manifesto condemning disorder and agitation; the members of the Bar did not signify a change of attitude until the 21st when a movable column arrived from Amritsar, under the command of the General Officer Commanding. Martial Law had not been proclaimed in this district, and no punitive measures were undertaken by the column. Five persons who were said to have been concerned in the hartal, and one person who behaved in an obstructive manner were however arrested by the General's orders and removed to Amritsar (22nd April). They then presented a loyal address. The General Officer Commanding visited Dhariwal and Batala, and the general situation in these places and at Gurdaspur itself soon afterwards began to assume a normal condition.

In addition to the military precautions already referred to, the district authorities took steps to have the railway lines patrolled by villagers. On the 21st April the district was proclaimed under the Police Act as a disturbed area. Orders were issued under the Defence of India Rules confining one Munshi Ram, Sewak, a prominent agitator, to his village; and on the 2nd May nine arrests were made at Gurdaspur and Batala, under No. 12-A of the same rules, of persons charged with attempts to create disaffection against Government. These included a number of pleaders. On a full consideration of the case it was decided not to prosecute them and orders for their release were issued on the 5th July.* With these exceptions no measures of a special nature were undertaken.

* File No. 5012.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

There appears to have been no concerted agitation in this district. The only town of any importance, Rewari, was stirred to some action by the example of and perhaps by influence exerted from Delhi; other small towns observed a short-lived hartal, but such demonstrations were neither persistent nor accompanied by very great tension of feeling. The movement seems to have been confined almost entirely to the trader class; the headquarter pleaders did not at any time assume the direction of affairs; and there was no manifestation of interest by the agricultural classes.

The part of the district which first felt the effect of the trouble at Delhi on the 30th March was Rewari. It is stated that on the 3rd and 4th of April a number of men who had been at Delhi urged the closing of shops on the 6th; the suggestion was apparently accepted without difficulty by the traders, and there was a complete hartal on the date fixed. This apparently caused little inconvenience to customers, who had been duly warned, and had purchased the necessary supplies in advance. There were small meetings in the town, but there was no organized demonstration, and no disorder. That there was no further demonstration was probably due to the attitude of some of the leading residents, one of whom kept 25 men in readiness to put down any sign of disorder and in addition had 200 men ready at a day's notice. Towards the end of April, one Sarustigarh, *alias* Sanwal Ram, a precocious boy, aged 13, appeared at Rewari from Delhi, where he had been sentenced to whipping for an offence committed during the disturbances, and proceeded to publish a number of falsehoods regarding his Delhi exploits and previous history. His movements were subsequently restricted to Gurgaon under the Habitual Offenders' Act. At Palwal there was a hartal on the 6th, and again on the 10th to the 13th; at Hodal on the 11th, due apparently to the persuasion of a Delhi emissary, Surendra Nath Sharma. At Ballabgarh and Faridabad the shops were closed for a couple of hours only on the 6th. At Nagina and Firozpur there was a hartal on the 13th; and on the 23rd a further demonstration was attempted at Firozpur by the emissary above referred to, Surendra Nath Sharma. He is proved to have stated that Government was arranging to have beef thrown into the temples and swine's flesh into the mosque—an assertion for which he was subsequently tried and convicted under the Defence of India Act. A closure of shops at Nuh on the 13th was followed by protest meetings, one of which took place in the mosque. There was an attempted hartal at Taoru on the same date, accompanied by incidents of Hindu-Muhammadan fraternization. At the district headquarters no action was taken until the 10th, when as the result of the detention of Mr. Gandhi the night before a meeting was convened which arranged for a hartal on the 11th and on the last Saturday of every month till the Rowlatt Act was cancelled. The first took place on the 12th, but then ceased. The close connections of Gurgaon with Delhi led to some local excitement, but it was short-lived, and the local Bar, which had begun to interest itself in promoting meetings, ceased further action on the advice of the local authorities.

The subordinate Revenue staff seem to have succeeded in most cases in checking demonstrations, and no exceptional measures were taken by the administration. A small detachment of troops were sent to the district on the 16th April as a precautionary measure. The district was on the 21st April declared a disturbed area under the Police Act. No prosecutions were undertaken other than those already noticed.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Although there was little in the way of organized agitation in this district, and no open violence, every section of the urban population was, on the evidence of a competent Indian observer, affected by the movement. The rural population, on the other hand, appears to have been untouched. There had been a vigorous recruiting and war loan campaign in 1918, to which the district had responded well, but the experience of this district would seem to demonstrate the falsity of the assumption that such a campaign is a predisposing cause of unrest among a rural population. It is indeed possible that, but for the fact that Bhiwani and other towns were closely in touch with Delhi, there would have been little excitement in Hissar. The demonstrations which occurred ran a normal, and somewhat uneventful, course; and it is noticeable that the promoters seemed to lay almost as much stress on the promotion of Hindu-Muhammadan unity as a factor in the political organization of the country, as on the repeal of the Rowlatt Act.

The initial demonstrations which occurred elsewhere on the 30th March do not seem to have affected Hissar, but a complete hartal occurred on the 6th April in Hissar City, Bhiwani, and an attempted hartal at Hansi. There were protest meetings and demonstrations of public mourning at Hissar and Bhiwani. On the following day a Vaish Sabha meeting was held at the latter town, in which Muhammadan-Hindu unity was advocated, and strong resentment against the Act was expressed. A further unity meeting was held at Bhiwani on the following day, and another meeting of the same character at Sirsa. The news of Mr. Gandhi's exclusion from the Punjab led to attempts to organize a hartal at Bhiwani on the 10th and 11th, but without result. On the 12th a telegram, addressed to "all railway officials postal and telegraphic, in India" was received from Delhi at the Hissar Canal Telegraph office. It ran as follows.* "Urgent, every despatcher to leave work after to-night *Satyagraha* and start resistance at once waiting for whom Mr. Gandhi arrested oath." The exact origin of this wire has not been determined, but it seems that a movement was undoubtedly on foot among telegraphists to strike or obstruct traffic. On the 11th a message was received in Delhi from Lahore stating that the railway servants there had decided to strike and suggesting that others should be asked to follow suit. There was also evidence of a similar tendency among the railway staff, and on this date a Railway Guard at Hissar City refused to start his train for Jakhal. On the same day a protest meeting against the action taken in regard to Mr. Gandhi was held in the Juma Masjid at Sirsa. Numbers of Hindus as well as Muhammadans attended. The attempts to organize a hartal at Hissar City succeeded on the 13th, and in the evening there was a mass meeting in the Idgah, but the tone of the speakers was moderate. Protest meetings were held on the same day at Hansi and Tohana. On the 14th shops were closed again at Tohana and also at Dabwali. No further incident occurred till the 21st, when inflammatory notices were found posted at Sirsa; their origin has not been discovered. It is worth quoting one of these to show the virulent form which notices of this kind sometimes assumed.

You know that some Englishmen came as merchants to India in the days of Jehangir. But what do you see now? They are the masters of India in these days. They carried on an excellent business indeed, for they made India their slave, converted part of it to Christianity, and used the knife of irreligion. The Punjabis have vowed to go on fighting till Emperor George V and other Englishmen die. Kill with the sword whenever you come across them.

From this date onwards there seems to have been no further excitement. There was all the appearance of a distinct change of atmosphere, and numbers of persons who had previously joined in the demonstrations, or had preserved an attitude of indifference to them, made public expression of their disapproval of the agitation. A small meeting of Muhammadans was held at Hissar on the 22nd April to denounce *Satyagraha*, and on the 24th a mass meeting was held in the Juma Masjid with the same purpose. A joint Hindu-Muhammadan manifesto expressing indignation at the mob violence

of other districts was issued on the 24th, and a loyalty meeting of Muhammadans was held at Hansi on the 24th. Similar meetings were held at Sirsa (in the Juma Masjid) on the 27th and again at Hansi on the 29th.

As already stated, there is no doubt that where hartals were observed all classes, even menials, joined in them, and that the movement to that extent obtained a general support in the towns. The demonstrations did not, however, take a course which rendered exceptional measures necessary. A detachment of cavalry was sent to the district on the 19th April and made a tour to Bhiwani and back; it was everywhere well received by the population. The local authorities appear to have achieved a good deal of success by a systematic course of oral propaganda for the correction of mistaken rumours. No prosecutions were undertaken.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

This district was as a whole little affected by the agitation current during March and April; it would perhaps have been entirely unaffected but for influences derived from Jullundur. Though almost entirely agricultural in character, the district is not one which could be described either as backward or apathetic; it contains a considerable military element, and large numbers of the rural population resort either to other parts of India, or to countries outside India, in search of employment. There are numerous returned emigrants, especially in the Sikh villages. It is clear, however, that interest in the general movement was confined to a number of young men of education (of whom the Arya Samajists showed most enthusiasm) and to the shopkeeping or trading class. Here, as elsewhere, the ready adhesion of this class constituted a novel feature in the situation. Neither the pleaders, as a whole, nor the students (except in the case of two schools, the Islamia High School at Hoshiarpur and the D. A.-V. School at Mukerian) were prominent in promoting demonstrations. Though wild rumours were in existence against the Rowlatt Act, there does not appear to have been any definite organization either for agitation against the Act or attack on Government.

There were few incidents calling for record. On the 30th March a hartal was observed at Mukerian; it does not appear to have been preceded by protest meetings and was probably due to the action of the younger members of the Arya community, which is in some force here, and is closely connected with Jullundur and Amritsar. On the 2nd April proposals were ventilated at Hoshiarpur to invite Dr. Kitchlew over from Jullundur; but the suggestion was not followed up. On the 3rd April a Jullundur politician came over to discuss the holding of a hartal on the 6th, and local Muhammadan and Hindu leaders were approached on the subject, both on this date and on the 4th. A meeting held on the latter day decided that Hoshiarpur must fall in line with the rest of the Punjab, and on the 5th a notice advocating the hartal was issued over 53 signatures. A counter notice, issued by some of the leading citizens, carried no effect, and on the 6th there was general closure of shops, not only in Hoshiarpur, but in most of the small towns in the district, and many villages. A mass meeting held in the evening at Hoshiarpur was attended by a crowd estimated to contain from eight to ten thousand persons. The news of events in Amritsar and Gujranwala caused little outward excitement, though there was a strong feeling of tension observable on all sides; there was a hartal at the small town of Garhdiwala on the 15th and an attempt to organize one, but without success, at Una on the 18th. On the 21st April the railway telegraph wire was cut near Dasuya; but the agency has not been discovered. Ganda Singh, a returned emigrant, was prosecuted before a tribunal constituted under the Defence of India Act for sedition and for spreading false rumours in April and May. He was convicted on August 16th and sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment.

No steps of an unusual nature were taken by the district authorities. The headquarters police were strengthened; arrangements were made to despatch armed bodies of police to the district; and on the 15th of April a military detachment was, as a precaution, sent to Hoshiarpur. In view of the character of certain parts of the district the precaution was not unnecessary, and no doubt had a steadying effect. Much was effected by a steady exercise of influence through men of local position and the prompt contradictions of alarmist rumours. The district was on the 21st April declared a disturbed area under the Police Act,

JHANG DISTRICT.

This district, long regarded as one of the most isolated and backward in the province, has of late years grown in importance owing to the extension of canal irrigation. But it still retains much of its old character, and even the town communities have so far taken little share in politics. There was little excitement manifested in the district; the rural population were entirely unaffected; and such demonstrations as occurred in the towns were short-lived. The most noticeable feature was the readiness of the response made by the trading classes to the suggestion of the legal practitioners that they should close their shops. The more backward Muhammadan tribes in the district had shared in the agrarian disturbances of 1915, and it may readily be assumed that if the towns had given any strong evidence of disaffection, breaches of law and order would have occurred among certain classes of the rural population.

A meeting promoted by members of the Arya Samaj community was held in Jhang on the 29th March with a view to arranging a hartal on the 30th. Shops were closed on that date, but were reopened on the District Magistrate bringing pressure to bear on the traders. There was a short-lived hartal at Shorkot on the same date. No attempt was apparently made to institute a hartal at the district headquarters on April 6th and arrangements made for the closure of shops at Shorkot and Chiniot broke down. A loyalty meeting convened at headquarters for the 14th April, broke up in some disorder owing to the interference of a prominent Arya Samajist who had been instrumental in arranging the attempted hartal of the 30th March, accompanied by a number of students who had been sent to their homes from the Lahore Colleges. An irregular and rowdy procession went through the bazaar, but dissolved of itself. No further demonstration occurred. The railway telegraph line was reported as interrupted between Jhang and Subhaga on the 16th, but this is believed to have been due to the action of railway subordinates. On the same day there was a strike of railway subordinates at Maghiana, but they returned to work before night-fall.

No special measures, repressive or punitive, were undertaken by the administration. As a precaution a small body of troops were quartered at Jhang-Maghiana, and a patrol of the railway line (60 miles) was carried out by villagers. The only prosecutions undertaken were those of four persons convicted under the Defence of India Act of disseminating false rumours; these cases were dealt with by the ordinary magistracy.

JHELUM DISTRICT.

This district, almost entirely inhabited by Muhammadans of a vigorous and martial character, and conspicuous for its efforts in recruiting during the war, did not as a whole come under the influence of agitation. Such excitement as was observed occurred almost entirely in Jhelum City (the only town of any size in the district) and the one serious incident which falls into the record was the derailment of a train near Kala.

The general campaign of agitation against the Rowlatt Act elicited no response in the district till the 5th April, when a small number of traders and leaders were reported as interesting themselves in persuading traders to close their shops on the 6th. It is note-worthy that the men most prominent in the movement at the outset seem to have been of small importance or position; three were dismissed Government servants, and two at least were relatives of men who had suffered punishment on charges of conspiracy against the Crown. Their efforts, however, resulted in a general closure of the bazaar and the assembly of a meeting attended by about 1,000 townspeople—on the evening of the same day. Both Hindus and Muhammadans appear to have been represented at the meeting, and the chief speaker is stated to have asserted that this Act was "the only reward which the country would receive for assisting England in the war." The meeting confined itself to passing a resolution against the Act. From the 6th to the 12th no incident of any importance occurred; on the 13th a rumour that a second hartal was intended decided the Deputy Commissioner to call a meeting of the chief inhabitants, and in response to his warnings the attempt was abandoned. As a result of the news received from Amritsar and Gujranwala, however, the military authorities took steps to protect the cantonments, and a number of the inhabitants in the civil lines were removed to the Cantonments. On the evening of the 14th April an unsuccessful attempt was made to start a fire at the Railway Station, but there is reason to believe that this was the action of a railway clerk. Early on the morning of the 15th the engine of a passenger train proceeding from Jhelum was derailed near Kala. An early investigation was made into the affair; it appeared that a number of railway employees had determined to wreck a troop train expected to arrive from Rawalpindi, and had taken up part of the line near Kala village. The passenger train arrived first and was derailed, but without loss of life. The railway employees concerned were mostly gangmen resident in the neighbouring village of Jada. Twenty-nine persons were subsequently sent up for trial in this case, of whom four were convicted, two were sentenced to imprisonment for ten years, one to seven, and one to five years, the convictions being registered under the Railway Act IX of 1890. At Chakwal there were continued efforts from the 14th to the 17th to promote a hartal, but the local authorities were able to dissuade the people from committing themselves. At Dhudial there were also abortive endeavours to carry on an agitation.

The agitation resulted in no further excitement or disturbance in the district, and the activity displayed by the military authorities must have tended to prevent any further demonstration in the city itself. In the rural area there had not, as already stated, been from the first any interest manifested in the agitation; and it is clear that the attitude of the leading men of the district was definitely against the movement. It was unnecessary for the civil authorities to take any exceptional measures, other than the patrolling of the railway by villagers, and the prosecution of the accused concerned in the case of the derailment at Kala. The district was proclaimed as disturbed under the Police Act on April 17th.*

*Punjab Gazette Notification No. 10516-Police, dated 17th April 1919.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

The importance of this district during the months of March and April lay in the fact that it is the political headquarters of the Jullundur Division, and much, therefore, depended on its attitude. Jullundur had been selected for the meeting of the Provincial Conference on the 18th and 19th April, and during March a good deal of preliminary work had been done by sympathisers to interest both town and rural communities in the approaching Congress. The district contains a vigorous and enterprising population; there were many returned emigrants; and it had experienced during the last three years a strenuous campaign in the interests of recruiting and subscription to the war loan. In Jullundur itself the Arya Samaj community has both strength and influence. Though no organized disturbance took place in the district, a marked feeling of tension was created, and the attitude of a portion even of the rural population became one of hostility to Government. There was, in addition, a series of attempts to interrupt telegraphic communications. The presence of a considerable body of troops in Jullundur, and the utilization of a mobile column during the later stages of the trouble, no doubt exercised a steadying influence on the rural areas.

The course of events was as follows. On the first and second of April Provincial Conference mass meetings were addressed by Messrs. Kitchlew and Dina Nath of Amritsar, both of whom spoke in much the same strain as marked their speeches at Amritsar. Dina Nath in particular made a fierce attack on Government on account of the action taken at Delhi on the 30th March. Under their influence arose a strong local agitation against the Act, in which the local Bar and the Arya Samaj community took a leading part. They found a degree of support among the trading community for which previous experience afforded no parallel. Students and schoolboys, on the other hand, took no active share in the demonstrations. The agitation resulted in the holding of a complete hartal in Jullundur City, Nawashahr, Banga and Rahon on the 6th; in most of these places mass meetings were held and speeches of the usual type delivered against the Act. On the 9th April the annual Ram Naumi procession was made the occasion for further demonstrations; it was attended by about 80,000 persons, and there were scenes of public fraternization between Hindus and Muhammadans. The receipt of the news of the Amritsar disturbances and of Mr. Gandhi's exclusion from the Punjab led to a further hartal in Jullundur City on the 11th April. It was considered advisable to send a detachment of troops to the railway station and civil lines, as a precaution against disorder, and the mobile column visited a number of villages in the neighbourhood of Cantonments. On the following day, there was a closure of shops in Nurmahal, and the telegraph wire there was cut—the offence being traced to an Arya Samaj enthusiast. On the 15th a hartal was observed in Nakodar, Shahkot and Mahtpur, and on the following day a number of wires were cut just outside Cantonments. Under the orders of Government a proclamation was now issued extending the Seditious Meetings Act to the district. On the 17th, telegraph wires were cut at Bir Pind and Litran near Nakodar. The district was now proclaimed as disturbed under the Police Act, and to prevent further injury to the communications, village guards were posted on the railways, under the supervision of local notables as patrolling officers. On the 18th the telegraph wire was cut in Husainabad near Nakodar, and Sidwan flag station near the same town was burned down. The authorship of this was not traced, but suspicion fell on one of the railway staff. The interruption of communications had now been so constant that a small military column, accompanied by a civil officer, was sent out to visit Shankar, Nakodar, Bilga, Jandiala, Bundala and Phillaur; it undertook no punitive measures. An educated Bengali Swami and a Sadhu were arrested and prosecuted under the ordinary law for seditious preaching. After this no further event of interest occurred.

With the exception of the precautionary measures above alluded to, no steps of an unusual nature were undertaken by the civil authorities. The district was on the 21st April declared a disturbed area under the Police Act,

KANGRA DISTRICT.

The agitation does not seem to have reached this district, which is isolated from the railway, and is largely in the hills. During the second week in April there appears to have been some talk of observing a hartal in the bazars of Nurpur, Kangra and Pragpur; but a meeting held by men of local position was sufficient to dissuade those interested in the movement. The attitude of the chief men of the district was unequivocal, and relying on their support the district officer was able to offer the services of a large body of men to the Gurdaspur district, had necessity arisen. On the 20th April the telegraph wire on the Chakki Bridge was cut, but this has not been proved to have had any connection with the agitation.

KARNAL DISTRICT.

There is little to record either of disturbance, or indeed of serious agitation in this district. There are no towns of any size; the rural population is distinguished neither by vigour nor martial qualities; and there are many families of position both in Karnal itself and the rural areas, who from the first showed their determination to exercise their authority on the side of law and order. The legal profession, elsewhere one of the main promoters of the movement, is not strongly represented at Karnal; and its most prominent members appear to have used their influence against agitation. The district has, however, one feature which presented the possibility of counteracting influences. It is within easy reach of Delhi; its traders especially those resident in Panipat—have always had close relations with that city; and it therefore offered a convenient field for the spread of the agitation which for some weeks dominated the Imperial Capital. That Delhi brought much influence to bear on Karnal is clear; but the field was not a congenial one for agitation, at all events of an extreme type, and the district as a whole remained unaffected.

The record, therefore, is mainly one of protest meetings and short-lived hartals. On the 30th March a number of shopkeepers at Panipat closed their shops as a protest against the Rowlatt Act; and a meeting was held to advocate Passive Resistance. Notices posted up in Karnal on the same day advised Passive Resistance as the only resort since arms were wanting for more forcible resistance and on the 4th a meeting was held to arrange for a hartal on the 6th. Nothing further occurred till the 6th April, when in answer to Mr. Gandhi's demand for a universal protest on that date, shops were closed in Karnal, and an attempt, which proved unsuccessful, was made to induce a similar closure at Panipat. At a meeting held at the latter place strong language was used on the subject of the action taken to put down rioting at Delhi. Shops were also—apparently as the result of a message received from Delhi—closed at midday at Ladwa. The annual celebration of the Jain festival of the Rath Jatra on the 9th April was made the occasion for Hindu-Muhammadan fraternization at Panipat, and on the 11th the same town—which had in the interval been visited by a Delhi agitator named Bhagwanji who was subsequently prosecuted* under the Defence of India Rules for language used on this occasion—again closed its shops as a protest against the reported arrest of Mr. Gandhi. On the 12th a number of Hindus and Sikhs visited the Muhammadan *imambara* at Shahabad, and made arrangements for a hartal which duly took place next day. On the 13th and 14th there were further scenes of Hindu-Muhammadan fraternization at Panipat, and a 'communal' fine was inflicted on a sweetmeat seller who had refused to close his shop. On the 18th a further hartal was observed in Kaithal; a small crowd—mainly consisting of boys—tried to induce the staff of the railway station to strike, and subsequently broke a few lamps and window panes. The incident was preceded by another scene of Hindu-Muhammadan fraternization, in which a Muhammadan Honorary Magistrate drank publicly from a vessel previously used by a Hindu boy, and a Hindu was allowed to lecture in the mosque.

No need arose to take special measures for the preservation of law and order. Special police guards were, as a precaution, posted on railway bridges and the line was patrolled by villagers. On 18th April a small detachment of troops arrived at Karnal and marched through part of the district: it is noticeable that no further demonstrations occurred after this date. Panipat held a loyalty meeting on the 27th April and on the 2nd May, the Karnal Bar decided that *Satyagraha* was not suited to the circumstances of the country. In addition to the prosecution mentioned above three persons, conspicuous for agitation in the pan-Islamic interest, were restricted under the Defence of India Rules to the limits of the towns of which they were resident. The district was declared a disturbed area under the Police Act (April 21st).

*Judgment has not yet been pronounced.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Part I.—District (excluding Kasur Sub-Division).

The events in this area require treatment at length, not only because of the importance of Lahore as the political headquarters of the Punjab, but because the administration of Martial Law was here more intensive than elsewhere. The record is limited almost entirely to Lahore City. Though there were some sporadic attacks on communications outside, the unrest in the rural areas never reached serious proportions, nor did it lead to widespread outrage such as that which marked the rural areas of Gujranwala district. Those who remember the excitement which arose over the "Punjabee" case in 1906, and the more serious unrest of 1907, will readily agree that Lahore city, with its growing industrial population, its wealth of legal practitioners (whose numbers have of late years outgrown the public demand for their services), and its large community of students, contains much material of the class which reacts freely to the stimulus of political excitement. Recent economic conditions, involving a great enhancement of house rent, and an increase in prices not only of food grains, but of clothing, oil, milk and other necessities, must have contributed to predispose the working classes to discontent, and had especially affected those on fixed incomes. It is no doubt to these causes that should be referred the discontent which all accounts agree in finding to have been prevalent among the subordinates in railway employ. Those factors, however, applied with far less force to the trading classes, and the ready support given by this class to the forces of disorder, and their easy acceptance of the distorted accounts current regarding the Rowlatt Act, can only be explained by general causes affecting the Punjab as a whole.

The agitation against the Rowlatt Act began at an earlier date in Lahore than in most of the other cities of the province. Its course is described in some detail in the order of the Martial Law Commission dated the 5th June 1919. There was a protest meeting held at the Bradlaugh Hall on the 4th of February, while the Bill was still under discussion in the Imperial Legislative Council. The meeting was organised by the "Indian Association" and convened by its Secretary, Duni Chand, subsequently convicted in the order of the Commission just referred to. It is noticeable that he was also Secretary of the Arorbans Association, which includes numerous shopkeepers. The Bill was referred to a select committee on the 10th February; and on the 1st March Mr. Gandhi published his first manifesto, including his *Satyagraha* vow. A second protest meeting was then held at the Bradlaugh Hall on the 9th March. Among the speakers on this occasion were Dr. Kitchlew of Amritsar, and Rambhaji Datt, both of whom were subsequently convicted by Martial Law Commissions for their share in the disorders at Amritsar and Lahore. The Bill was passed on the 18th of March, and on the 26th Mr. Gandhi's message of the 23rd was published in Lahore. It was at the time assumed that the message advocated a general passive resistance demonstration on the 30th March, and a third protest meeting was accordingly fixed for that day, but was not held as the date of the demonstration was postponed to the 6th of April. In the meanwhile, however, it is clear that the events which occurred in Delhi on the 30th, and the news of the orders served on Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew of Amritsar on the 3rd and 4th, were freely used not only by the original promoters of the movement, the members of the Indian Association, but by others also to reinforce the agitation for a public demonstration on the 6th April. The local newspapers published distorted accounts of the events at Delhi; it is for one of these accounts (issued on the 2nd and 3rd April) that the editor of the *Partap** newspaper was subsequently convicted under the Defence of India Act. The attitude of the leaders of the movement on the subject of the Delhi riots is clear from the language used on the subject in the current journalism. The troops "opened fire on unarmed people in a devotional mood;"† elsewhere the action of the authorities was spoken of as "cruel and unprovoked barbarity." It is also clear that much direct pressure was being brought to bear on the local shopkeepers. A notice

*Martial Law Commission, case decided 7th June 1919, file No. 82.

† { *Andrapatrika*, dated 11th April 1919.
Amrita Bazar Patrika, dated 13th April 1919.

removed from the Gumti Bazaar on the 3rd April has been quoted by the Martial Law Commission as typical of the nature of the persuasion used.

Consider awhile.

If the mountain of calamity be about to fall on your motherland, and you do not render a bit of assistance to your country—who would be such a wretch as would not join in the mournful state of his country by closing his shop and observing a fast this (next) Sunday.

May God cast them into Hell who do not close their businesses this (next) Sunday and do not keep a fast.

The following poster is also quoted :—

- (1) That which we apprehended has happened. The future of India in falling has assumed the form of the Rowlatt Bill.
- (2) There is confusion in every town, province and throughout the Empire. Is this the law or the tremour of an earthquake ?
- (3) To practise tyranny and to give it the name of love, what a fine trick is this of the civilization of the West.
- (4) This pitcher of the East was full of the honey of loyalty, and now its sweetness has become bitter to the British.
- (5) Muhammadans and Hindus raised a thousand cries and lamentations, but could not cure Government of its obduracy.
- (6) Their arguments had no effect on Vincent though Jinnah much beat his face and Sapru struck his head a great deal.
- (7) In vain have we rubbed our foreheads for years in the Council Chamber. Now we are going to search for Gandhi's threshold.

In view of the open violence which had accompanied the hartal at Delhi the Superintendent of Police issued, on the 2nd April, a notice under the Police Act forbidding public processions in the streets for one month; and on the 4th April the District Magistrate called up the signatories to the appeal for a hartal, and warned them of the consequences of disorder. The signatories offered to take complete responsibility if the police were withdrawn; and though they did not obtain a guarantee to this effect, they succeeded in obtaining a promise that no force would be used by Government to compel shopkeepers to open shops if they were unwilling to do so. The published accounts of the interview* show that they gave on their side an undertaking that no pressure should be used to force people to close their shops. The hartal which followed on the 6th was complete. The evidence quoted before the Commission tends to show that there were isolated acts of coercion against people who did not wish to close their shops; the press accounts make it clear that it was necessary in some cases to dissuade menials† from work by telling them that the bazar was closed by order of Government. On the whole, however, the promoters obviously received an almost universal measure of support from the shopkeeping class. There were very large crowds in the streets. During the course of the morning processions were formed (usually preceded by a black flag with Mr. Gandhi's picture on it) which were with some difficulty controlled by the police, but the leaders were interested in preventing disorder, and on several occasions were instrumental in controlling the movements of the crowd. The processions were illegal, but steps were not taken to disperse the crowds as they did not appear to be bent on violence. More than one Indian paper recognized that the police and authorities‡ had acted with tact and forbearance. In the course of the afternoon a large mass meeting (with an overflow meeting outside) was held at the Bradlaugh Hall. The tone of the meeting is best shown by the fact that European police officers who attended were loudly hissed; that there was a perpetual shouting of the names of Gandhi and Tilak, and that one of the resolutions expressed sympathy with "the innocent persons shot without justification at Delhi." The meeting broke up before sunset, and proceeded to the city with the cry of lamentation (which had for some time been adopted by the crowds) of "Hai Hai Rowlatt Bill," and the somewhat characteristic shout—now first observed—of "Hai Hai George margiya." On its way it burnt the explanatory copies of the Rowlatt Act distributed by the Publicity Committee; and a section went round to Honorary Magistrates' houses, hooted and threw stones. The press§ had made free allegations that some of those gentlemen had attempted to prevent the hartal; and it would appear that on the advice of the District Magistrate they

* *Tribune* Lahore, 6th April 1919.

† *Aftab* Lahore, 9th April 1919. *Paisa Akhbar* Lahore, 8th April 1919.

‡ *Desk* Lahore, 8th April 1919. *Paisa Akhbar* Lahore, 8th April 1919. *Aftab* Lahore, 8th April 1919.

§ See e.g., *Punjabee* Lahore, 8th April 1919.

had in some cases endeavoured to dissuade shopkeepers. In one case an Honorary Magistrate had used some pressure on his own tenants. But this is the extent of the alleged "undue pressure of the authorities to suppress the movement."*

On the 7th and 8th business was resumed as usual. On the 9th the annual Ram Naumit procession was held, the authorities deciding that it was inadvisable to interfere with it. It was made the scene of public fraternization between Hindus and Muhammadans. The Commission speaks of the temper of the populace as still being in a dangerous condition; and suggests that the cause of Hindu-Muhammadan unity, otherwise laudable, can on this occasion only have been preached as meaning unity against Government.† Elsewhere it speaks of the procession as being of a "highly seditious and inflammatory character."§ It was known that the Honorary Magistrates and others who had attempted to dissuade shopkeepers from the hartal had been threatened to stay away from the celebration, on threat of violence. The Lahore papers continued to print articles, referring to the incident at Delhi, couched in language which one of the Commissions considers as "indefensible;" it was indeed for articles published at this time, and in this connection that the editor of the "Tribune" was subsequently convicted.|| That paper itself admitted that the atmosphere at the time was "highly surcharged" and that the public mind was "in a state of unusual excitement."¶ At the same time, it does not appear that the leaders of the movement had as yet any definite idea other than that of keeping the popular excitement alight. It was indeed the deliberate decision of the Commission, that no charge of fomenting sedition** could be maintained for any action committed before the 10th April.

It was on that date, after the receipt of the news of the outbreak at Amritsar, that violent disorder first occurred. A very clear account of the occurrences on the 10th is given in the order of the Commission, dated 5th May 1919.††

News of the detention of Gandhi, and of the rebellion at Amritsar reached Lahore on the afternoon, of the 10th April. Telegrams giving some details of what had happened at Amritsar were received between 3 and 4 P.M., and the news became public property. Towards evening a large and excited mob collected in Lahore City. Leaflets were distributed to it, and some of its members were heard shouting both in English and in vernacular that Amritsar had been taken and the situation was well in hand in Lahore, as three gates were already held and a fourth would soon be closed. Headed by a man carrying a black flag, the mob proceeded with shouts of "Gandhi ki Jai" and "Shaukat Ali ki Jai" from the Lohari Gate through Anarkali to the Upper Mall. Some of its members entered the compound of the Government Telegraph Office, but turned back on seeing a detachment of the Royal Sussex which were guarding the building with fixed bayonets. By the time the mob had got as far as the Lawrence Statue, it numbered some thousands. There it was intercepted by two Indian Police Officers, with a handful of armed constables who were brought up at the double from Anarkali Police Station through the High Court grounds. These police lined the road in front of the mob, but they were pressed back for a distance of about 200 yards as far as the Soldiers' Club. It was then getting dusk.

At this juncture Mr. Fyson, the District Magistrate, Mr. Cocks, Deputy Inspector-General, Criminal Investigation Department, and Mr. Clarke, Deputy Superintendent, Police, arrived on the spot. Mr. Fyson ordered the mob to retire, but they pressed round him. One of them seized him by the shoulder from behind and they began to go through the thin line of police. They also attempted to get round them by going through the compound of the Soldiers' Club. After some minutes, Mr. Fyson, who, owing to the uproar, had difficulty in making himself heard, ordered the police to withdraw a little further up the Mall in order to prevent them being overwhelmed by the mob, and then, as there was no other means of stopping its progress, gave the order to fire. About a dozen rounds were fired and then the mob was pressed slowly back to the city. Near the Bank of Bengal Mr. Clarke was thrown down, but his assailant escaped.

* Independent, Allahabad, 1st May 1919.

† Celebration in Lahore of Ram Chander's birthday.

‡ Case decided 5th June 1919, page 3.

§ Case decided 5th June 1919, page 12.

|| Case decided 23rd May 1919, file No. 71.

¶ "Tribune," Lahore, dated 10th April 1919.

** Case decided 5th June 1919, page 12.

†† Lahore Upper Mall Case, file No. 22.

It is beyond doubt that the Lahore mob which marched on the Civil Station of Lahore was actuated by the same motives as that of Amritsar. It was essentially part of the same insurrection, and it was fully aware of what had happened in the neighbouring town the same day. It was rapidly becoming more threatening, and had already displayed its contempt of the authority and person of the District Magistrate. A collision was inevitable, and had the mob proceeded a little further up the Mall it would have found a supply of deadly weapons ready to hand. Had it not been checked where it was, there was the gravest danger that it would have hurried on, in the confusion and darkness, to the commission of awful crimes.

It may be added, that the casualties caused by the fire of the police amounted to one killed and seven wounded.* The salient point of the order quoted above is its deliberate expression of opinion that had the mob not been checked, it would have been led on to commit serious outrage. This opinion is reiterated in a second order, dated 5th July 1919.† "Open rebellion and murder had occurred in Amritsar, and if in Lahore it had not been possible by the prompt employment of military force to push the mob back to the city, like causes would most probably have been followed by like effects." The point is of importance, because it has more than once been represented‡ that the collection of the crowd was purely spontaneous; that its only intention in persisting in pressing its way down the Mall was to demonstrate peaceably in front of Government House, and that its pacific character is evidenced by the fact that it did no damage to European shops on the way, nor did it molest Europeans. That its collection was more or less spontaneous the judgment of the Commission agrees; it is true that it did no damage to shops, nor had it, up to the point at which it encountered the Police, assaulted any Europeans. The danger lay in the fact that the crowd was well aware of what had been done but a few hours before by a mob in Amritsar, under the influence of an agitation precisely similar to that conducted at Lahore, and with no different justification for their action than existed in the case of Lahore. It would have clearly been impossible for the civil authorities, who equally shared the knowledge of what had happened at Amritsar, to have taken the risk of allowing the crowd to proceed, and the opinion subsequently expressed by the Commission as to the motives of the crowd affords the best justification of the action which the authorities decided to take.

On the receipt of news that the crowd was collecting, a message had been sent up to Cantonments asking for the assistance of troops, and a party of cavalry arrived soon after the police had fired. The police and military proceeded to clear the Mall and approaches to the civil station; and in the course of this a further incident occurred. It is preferable here also to give the details in the words of the Commission§ which dealt with those subsequently charged with rioting on this occasion.

When the mob was driven back from the Mall it did not dissolve, but was slowly pushed by a small force of police into the Nila Gumbaz Chawk and up the Anarkali towards the Lohari Gate. There it was reinforced by a crowd issuing from the city, and the police under Mr. Clarke, Deputy Superintendent of Police, were held up at a point a little short of the cross-roads where the Circular Road cuts across the Anarkali. Mr. Broadway, Superintendent of Police, came up with a small body of police and cavalry, but even so the forces of order were unable to disperse the mob which showered brickbats upon the police and sowars. Two or three rounds of buckshot fired at the roofs of some houses from which the shower of missiles was most persistent failed to do more than check the attack from that quarter. A message brought Mr. Fyson, Deputy Commissioner, to the spot: he went forward into the crowd and endeavoured to reason with Pandit Rambhaji Datt or Lala Duni Chand (he does not remember which) who were there, but all efforts to disperse the mob failed, and at last some half dozen rounds of buckshot were fired. The mob was then dispersed without further firing.

We commend to the notice of Government the admirable conduct of all concerned in dealing with the mob.

Three men were wounded and died later; it is estimated that twelve others were wounded. It has been stated|| that the leader of the crowd at this point, Pandit Rambhaji Datt, asked the District Magistrate to allow him time to disperse them and was allowed ten minutes for the purpose; that the crowd

* Deputy Commissioner's letter, dated 21st August 1919.

† Lahore Leaders case, file No. 113, page 13.

‡ See e.g., *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated 12th April 1919.

§ Lohari Gate Case, File No. 36.

|| *Independent*, Allahabad, 1st May 1919.

then sat down and was addressed by their leader ; that on the conclusion of the ten minutes, he asked for a further interval, and was given only two minutes more ; that the crowd was then in the act of dispersing when the police fired, using bullets as well as buckshot. The real course of events is, however, clearly shown by the evidence taken by the Commission. It may be added that the police are usually armed with buckshot, but some rounds of ball cartridge had been given out ; one round of ball was fired on the Upper Mall and two at Hira Mandi subsequently (page 77). These were the only occasions on which ball cartridges were used by the police. A statement* subsequently circulated that the wounded were purposely neglected in hospital and that some died because the staff refused to extract the bullets. Enquiry shows that the Professor of Surgery was himself on duty at the Mayo Hospital (regarding which the allegation was made), and that he attended to the wounded himself, and only refrained from operating when the patient was in a dying condition.† A number of the more slightly wounded were removed by their friends and were not taken to the hospital.

Whatever may have been the real temper and intentions of the crowd in the events narrated above, it is clear that the city was, on the night of the 10th and for some days following, in a dangerously disturbed condition. It was the opinion of the Commission that from this date the agitation, originally political in its character, assumed a criminal aspect. "After weighing all the evidence we are of opinion that the prosecution has established that there was an active conspiracy in Lahore, to bring about the repeal of the Rowlatt Act by criminal means, namely by waging war against the King, and that in furtherance thereof war was waged from the 11th onwards." The military measures taken on the night of the 10th had only extended to the protection of the civil station and its surroundings. On the morning of the 11th all shops were closed and an enormous crowd of Hindus and Muhammadans (said to number 25,000 people) collected in the Badshahi Mosque, inside the gate of which a banner was hung bearing the inscription. "The King who practices tyranny cuts his own roots underneath." The meeting was subsequently stated in an Indian paper to have "passed off quietly." The true account, as taken from the evidence given to the Commission is that the crowd was addressed from the pulpit by Rambhaji Datt‡ and others, and was told to stand and face death if necessary. He referred to an expected decision of the Satyagraha§ committee that the orders of the police and other laws should be disobeyed even if death were involved. After the speech of Rambhaji Datt a railway khalasi named Balwant Singh, an *ex-sepoy*, was brought in. This incident is thus described by the Commission|| which tried the case on the 28th April 1919 :—

He shouted a false story that Indian regiments had mutinied in Lahore Cantonment and were marching on Amritsar and Lahore. He also stated that they had killed about 200-250 British soldiers and that he himself had killed six. He claimed to be a soldier and was dressed as one. He was garlanded and carried in triumph to the pulpit of the mosque where he was called upon to make a speech. This he was unable to do and he shortly afterwards disappeared.

More speeches were made and a committee of management of the hartal was elected. "As the result of this orgy of oratory" states the Commission, "the rabble left the mosque headed by hooligans carrying sticks and marched through the city,¶ shouting seditious cries and destroying pictures of Their Majesties." The allusion to the band of hooligans is to an organized body called the *danda fauj*. This body, the Commission states in another order, paraded the streets of Lahore** from the evening of the 11th.

They marched two deep carrying their sticks as if they were rifles at the slope or trail. At constant halts they knelt, by numbers, as if in a firing position. On numerous occasions Chanan Din made inflammatory speeches proclaiming that he and his band were rebels and looked, not to His Majesty the King, but to Germany, Turkey and Kabul as their suzerains. He invoked the assistance of God and of these powers to overthrow the British Government. He also made reference to the Rowlatt Bill. Chanan Din's speeches were applauded by the mob, and the "Fauj" as it passed along, was joined by recruits who were supplied with sticks.

*Independent, Allahabad, 1st May 1919.

† Letter dated 3rd September 1919.

‡ Lahore Leaders Case, decided 5th June 1919, file No. 113, page 3.

§ Lahore Leaders Case, decided 5th June 1919, file No. 113, page 14.

|| Crown versus Balwant Singh, file No. 2.

¶ Lahore Leaders Case, file No. 113, decided 5th June 1919, page 3.

** Danda Fauj Case, decided 29th April 1919.

Earlier in the morning an incident had occurred near the Lahori Gate, which formed the subject of a further order* by the Commission and is worth repeating at length.

An armed guard of police, under the command of Mr. Gray, Reserve Inspector, was proceeding from the Anarkali Police Station to the Lahori Gate. A crowd was collected near the Lahori Gate, and the accused Moti Ram, in a frenzied state and bare-headed, shouted out several times to the police *tum hamare bhai ho hamare sath shahid ho*. The use of these words by the accused is positively sworn to by the witnesses, including Mr. Gray himself, who at once arrested the accused. We cannot imagine any more flagrant example of an attempt to excite disaffection (which words include "disloyalty and all feelings of enmity") against Government, than the use of the words which we have quoted addressed to armed Police in the presence of a mob. The obvious intention of the accused was to excite such disaffection as would seduce the police from their duty and induce them to join the mob against the Government. In the circumstances the invitation to armed police to become "martyrs" was an offence of the greatest gravity; and but for the staunchness which the police displayed, might well have led to a very serious catastrophe.

During the day strenuous attempts were made to promote a strike among the large number of hands at the Railway Workshops. Leaflets on the subject of passive resistance were distributed, and an attack was made by a small crowd on the Time office, in the course of which the Locomotive Superintendent was stoned. The police was called in, and had to disperse the crowd with fixed bayonets; there were, however, no casualties. The men returned to work to the extent of about 30 per cent. of their usual numbers.

On the close of the meeting at the Badshahi Mosque on the 11th, it had been announced by Duni Chand that a further meeting would take place on the following day. It is as well to remark here on the very unusual nature of a mass meeting in such a place. The view taken of these meetings by orthodox Muhammadans was clearly expressed by the Secretary of the Muslim League—itsself a political organization—who described them as "sacrilege." The custodians of the mosque, the Anjuman-i-Islam subsequently† published a manifesto regretting the use to which the mosque had been put, and stating their intention not to allow its repetition. The use of the mosque for a mass meeting, therefore, emphasized the real nature of the temporary *rapprochement* of Hindus and Muhammadans; here, as elsewhere, the cry "Hindu-Musalman ki jai" connoted a union that had only one purpose, a combined attack on Government. The meeting which took place was subsequently described in an Indian paper as "absolutely orderly and peaceful"‡. The view of the Commission was that it was "even more lawless than that held on the previous day." An incident occurred during the meeting which fell in due course for treatment by the Commission,§ and may be narrated in their own words.

A meeting with political objects was held in the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore. It was to be addressed by leading Hindus. Many Hindus were present and many people armed with sticks. Maulvi Abdul Hai having recognised Chaudhari Ali Gauhar, a Criminal Investigation Department Inspector, who was present in plain clothes, made an inflammatory speech against the Criminal Investigation Department in general, saying that no progress with their objects was possible until the Criminal Investigation Department were eliminated, and pointed out Ali Gauhar as an object of immediate attack. Maulvi Abdul Hai and the other accused then set upon Ali Gauhar who was beaten with sticks on the body. His assailants had him at their mercy but did not kill him. Followed by the mob he was chased to his house where he shut himself in. There were shouts of "burn the house" and the door was battered, but the mob did not proceed to extremes. Ali Gauhar's pagri was afterwards burnt in the mosque.

It was shortly after this incident that a mixed force of police and military, accompanied by civil officers, which had marched into the city at 9-30 A.M., approached the Badshahi Mosque. At the risk of interrupting the narrative, it may be well to note|| here a charge which has been made that the sending of this force into the city was a breach of an agreement made with the leaders of the hartal movement. The allegation is that the District Magistrate had promised those gentlemen on the previous day (the 11th) that if they undertook

* Crown versus Moti Ram, decided 3rd May 1919, File No. 19.

† Issued 25th April 1919.

‡ *Independent*, Allahabad, 1st May 1919.

§ Badshahi Mosque Case, file No. 1, decided 28th April 1919.

|| *Independent*, 1st May 1919.

that crowds should not go into the Mall, no military or police should be sent into the city, and there should be no firing. That such an undertaking was ever given was categorically denied by the District Magistrate; and the story was not believed by the Commission. Their conclusion was that it was "quite possible that Mr. Fyson had said something which Rambhaj Datt* either misunderstood or chose to misunderstand."

To resume the narrative of events. The demeanour of the crowd, as the force approached the mosque, was hostile, and at the west end of Hira Mandi the space in front of the Mosque and Fort had to be cleared by the cavalry moving in line. A Muhammadan Provincial Service Officer was then sent into the mosque with an order to the crowd to disperse; this was done, and the entrances piquetted. Shortly afterwards the force was obliged to take more serious action to restore order. The incident was described in the order of the Commission† dated 15th July 1919 as follows:—

On reaching the entrance to the Tibbi Bazar this force which was accompanied by Civil, Military and Police Officers found itself so hampered by a large and unruly mob which had collected in its rear that it faced about and endeavoured to disperse the mob by pushing it back along the Hira Mandi. It reached the turning leading to the Badshahi Mosque and was there held up by the crowd which had assumed a very menacing attitude. Constant warnings had been addressed to the mob to induce it to disperse and at the turning final efforts were made to do this by peaceful means. These failed and the order to fire was given by the Deputy Commissioner. Not more than eight rounds were fired by the police—the troops were not called upon to do so—and this quieted the mob sufficiently to allow of its being then dispersed without the use of further force.

The officer in charge of the troops states that the reason for firing was that a portion of the cavalry had become separated and were being heavily stoned. His account states that nearly 20 rounds were fired, and this is probably the more correct as one student was killed, and 28 men‡ wounded of whom one died subsequently, but no arrests were made. The crowd then dispersed but very large crowds attended the burning of the body of the student who was killed, Muhammadans joining with Hindus in carrying the bier. It was subsequently asserted that the firing had been commenced by an Honorary Magistrate and that the police had fired no less than nine shots§ into the boy who was killed. The first part of this allegation is disproved by the order of the Commission; the latter is proved by medical evidence to have been without foundation. He was wounded by buckshot but actually died of shock. Later in the day it was necessary to send a military detachment to the Railway Workshops to keep order; most of the men had returned to the carriage shops, but there were very few working in the locomotive sheds.

Towards the afternoon some of the more moderate leaders of public opinion in Lahore—who had not personally been concerned in the agitation—got into touch with the promoters of the hartal and the Badshahi Mosque meetings, and endeavoured to arrange terms of agreement with Government. The popular party would only accept mediation on condition of the withdrawal of troops from the city, the release on bail of all persons arrested and the restoration of the killed and wounded. These terms were actually conveyed to Government by the intermediaries. There would perhaps never have been at any time a possibility that such a proposal should be accepted; the receipt during the day of the news of the events at Kasur, proof of the rapid extension of the area of violence and outrage, made not only the grant but even the consideration of such conditions unreasonable. The best that the intermediaries could do was to arrange a further meeting for next day (the 13th) at the Town Hall at which both the popular leaders and the Deputy Commissioner were to be present.

The meeting duly came off on the 13th but without result. The popular leaders reiterated their demand; the Deputy Commissioner insisted that as a first proof of good faith the shops should be opened. The Deputy Commissioner subsequently summoned a number of leaders, and read to them portions of Bengal Regulation X of 1804, warning them that Martial Law would be introduced unless the hartal was stopped. The Martial Law Commission|| subsequently

* Lahore Leaders Case, decided 5th June 1919, page 16.

† Hira Mandi Case, decided 15th July 1919.

‡ Deputy Commissioner's letter, dated 21st August 1919.

§ Independent, Lahore, May 1st.

|| Lahore Leaders Case, decided 5th June 1919, page 17.

expressed its opinion that there was no evidence that this warning was conveyed to the people; at all events the hartal continued, and the popular leaders brought into effect the scheme, inaugurated on the 11th and then liberally subscribed to, for instituting *langars* (or free messes), and for cheap food shops. The city continued to provide a striking spectacle of unrest; peace was kept by the presence of a considerable body of troops, but there was much excitement. The Commission* quotes a poster, the *Danda Akhbar*, published at this time, as illustrating the prevalent temper of the mob—

Danda Akhbar.

First event.—When Mahatma Gandhi arrived at Palwal, the English monkey informed him that his entry into the Punjab was forbidden, and that he should please go back. He replied that he would never go back; then that pig monkey arrested him. Reports of his arrest reached here at once.

Second event.—When the news reached Amritsar, the *Danda Fauj* of the brave Sikhs set fire to the Bank, the Railway Station and Electric Power House. They cut the telegraph wires and removed the railway line. The *Danda Fauj* of Amritsar, bravely killed a number of European monkeys and their Sikh regiments have revolted and deserted. O Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh brethren, enlist at once in the Danda Army, and fight with bravery against the English monkeys. God will grant you victory. Do not apprehend that God does not help us. Cast away such a notion out of your heart. God helps us at all times and hours. Conquer the English monkeys with bravery. God will grant victory. Leave off dealings with the Englishmen, close offices and workshops. Fight on. This is the command of Mahatma Gandhi.

Third event.—O Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh brethren, do you know of the incident that took place at the Mall Road on the night of the 10th April? The Hindus and Muhammadans who were martyred that day were your own and they sacrificed their lives. Does not this incident excite you? What is the reason? Were not those who were made martyrs in Hira Mandi on the 12th April your own brethren, and died at the hands of the tyrants? Does the Prophet of God command you not to fight against the tyrant? No, never, the Prophet himself fought, and has commanded us too to destroy the tyrants as he did. Should we not be ashamed ourselves that while the tyrant is up to all sorts of cruelty, we are sitting quiet? O Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh brethren, raise the cry of Allah Akbar and kill the Kaffirs. Get ready soon for the War and God will grant Victory to India very soon. Fight with enthusiasm and enlist yourselves in the Danda Army.

The district was now proclaimed under the Seditious Meetings Act, and notice given forbidding all assemblies of more than ten persons; all wholesale and retail liquor shops were also ordered to be closed throughout the city. Before the day ended a serious outrage occurred at Wagah on the Amritsar line. "At the Baisakhi fair held at Maniala village in the Lahore 'd strict" says the order of the Commission† which subsequently tried the case, "an impromptu meeting was held; speeches were made attacking Government, and a rising was advocated. That night in consequence of this conspiracy, the Wagah Railway Station was sacked and burnt, telegraph wires were cut, a length of line taken up and an armoured train was consequently derailed; but there was fortunately no loss of life." The principal mover was a havildar in a Sikh regiment, a man hitherto of exemplary character. The outrage was not apparently organized from Lahore, but was directly due to excitement arising from the Lahore agitation. Next morning, the 14th, three of the leaders, Pandit Rambhaji Dutt, Lala Har Kishen Lal and Lala Duni Chand were deported from Lahore, action being taken under the Defence of India Act. The hartal still continued—it did not indeed terminate till the 18th when it was ended under the operation of Martial Law—but no public meetings were allowed. At Kot Radha Kishen stones were thrown at the train, and telegraph wires cut at Wagah, Jallo and Attari. Cuttings of wire on the railway had now become so persistent that Lahore was practically isolated except by wireless. There is no doubt that unrest was steadily extending to the villages on the Amritsar line, and there was a suspicious assembly, convened by beat of drum, held at Padhana. The attempts to prevent railway workmen getting to the railway shops also continued, and were only frustrated by employing police with fixed bayonets to disperse the crowd.

* Lahore Leaders Case, decided 5th June 1919, page 8.

† Wagah Station Case, decided 7th June 1919.

We now enter on the final stage of the narrative - the steps taken to restore order. On the following day, the 15th, a proclamation was issued declaring Martial Law throughout the district. Two areas of administration were formed, Lahore City and Civil Lines being placed, under the name of the Lahore Civil Area under Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Johnson, D.S.O., and the Lahore District being administered by the Officer Commanding the Brigade, Lahore. In the succeeding narrative, reference will be made only to the administration of the Lahore Civil Area, the operations of Martial Law in the rest of the district (except Kasur Sub-Division, which is separately dealt with) being comparatively unimportant. On the 15th were issued the initial Martial Law Regulations (1) proclaiming a Curfew* between the hours of 8 P.M. and 5 A.M., (2) calling in all vehicles,† (3) prohibiting the issue of third and intermediate class tickets on the railway,‡ and (4) suppressing *langars*.§ The hartal still continued in the city itself, but shops were now re-opened in the suburbs. Sporadic attacks on the communications outside Lahore still continued; a train was stoned at Kot Radha Kishen, wires were cut and timber obstructions placed on the line beyond Changa Manga. Two Grass Farm stacks were burned at Banghali and Padri.

On the following day, the 16th April, a certain number of arrests were made by the Police, and Martial Law Regulations were issued (1) requiring the registration|| of lawyers' agents and touts, and forbidding them to leave Lahore without permit, (2) instituting a roll-call for the D. A.-V. College at Bradlaugh Hall,¶ (3) providing for the protection of Martial Law notices,** (4) forbidding the carrying of cudgels, (5) forbidding more than two persons to walk abreast on any pavement or the sidewalk.†† A flying column under Lieutenant-Colonel W. R. Bourne, and accompanied by a Magistrate, left Lahore and visited the villages of Sahajpal, Bhangali, Chavindi, Barki and Hudiaara. At Bhangali nine men were arrested as suspected of being concerned in burning the Grass Farm stack on the previous day, and at Chavindi six men were arrested on the same suspicion, four at Barki, and two at Hudiaara. Minor outrages still continued on the line of communications; several passengers were injured by stones thrown at a train at Kot Radha Kishen, and a gate-keeper's hut was broken into near Patti.

On the 17th, a Martial Law order‡‡ was issued requiring the general opening of shops. A notice§§ had issued late on the previous day requiring the shops in the Anarkali Bazar to open; on the news that the general order was issuing the hartal began to come to an end. A number of shops re-opened in the city, and the remainder re-opened on the following morning. The last of the attempts on the railway to be recorded was made on this day, an endeavour being made to derail the train between Jallo and Harbanspura. The flying column visited Padhana, Atari and Wagah. An enquiry was made at Padhana as to the origin of the unlawful assembly reported on the 13th, and nine men, including two headmen, were arrested. At Wagah the village headman was arrested as likely to have cognizance of the burning of Wagah Station, which is close to the village. The Officer Commanding directed the arrest||| of the students of the Sanatan Dharam Hostel, where Martial Law notices had been defaced: they were interned in the Fort.

The close of the hartal on the 17th marks an important stage in the restoration of order. The order of the Commission, dated 5th July 1919, demonstrates the importance which the leaders of the crowd attached to its continuance, and the extent to which it was responsible for the disorder in the areas outside the city. "It was obvious that unless the hartal ended at once further discontent, tumult and outrage must necessarily result, and it was the

* Martial Law notice No. 1

† Martial Law notices Nos. 2 and 3.

‡ Martial Law notice No. 4.

§ Martial Law notice No. 5.

|| Martial Law notice No. 6.

¶ Martial Law notice No. 7.

** Martial Law notices Nos. 8, and 9.

†† Martial Law notice No. 12.

‡‡ Martial Law notice No. 14.

§§ Martial Law notice No. 10.

||| Martial Law notice No. 13.

plain duty of every loyal subject to do all that lay in his power to quell the excitement, and to get the people back as soon as possible to peaceful employment." The steps taken by the Officer Commanding and the civil authorities for the next fortnight were partly subordinate to the main purpose of ending conditions created by the hartal in the city, partly directed to restoring normal conditions in the rural areas. On the 18th a Regulation* was issued dealing with the spreading of 'false, inaccurate, and exaggerated reports in connection with the Military or Political situation' and on the same day the students of the Dyal Singh College, who were alleged to have been engaged in spreading such rumours, were ordered to report themselves four times a day to the military authorities.† On this date the flying column visited Narwar, and Jallo. Local information asserted that the persons who had burnt Wagah Station came mainly from the former village, and as the village headman and others refused to produce any evidence as to the persons culpable, the officer in charge of the column ordered three headmen and four others to be beaten by a cavalry sowar. The zaildar, two headman and five others were subsequently arrested. The column then returned to Lahore.

On the 19th a Martial Law notice was issued calling up motor cycles and a certain number of foot cycles‡ and on the 20th an order issued providing for the calling up of firearms,§ whether held under license or otherwise. On the same day another flying column went to Muridke and Kamoke, between which places the telegraph wire had been cut; this column was accompanied by a Civil Officer, and the latter, acting as a Summary Court, sentenced the headman of Kamoke to a fine of Rs. 200 and a whipping for obstructive behaviour. On the 21st a slight relaxation was made in the Curfew orders|| and further orders¶ followed calling up cycles other than those owned by Europeans, and also requisitioning electric fans** required for the use of troops. On the 25th April orders†† were issued to the students of the King Edward College similar to those which applied to the Dyal Singh College; the Medical students had been found in possession of illustrated newspapers containing pictures disfigured by obscene allusions to Europeans. On the 25th also began a series of orders‡‡ the object of which was to regulate the price of commodities, as it was believed that high prices had caused and were still causing discontent. With the exception of a notice§§ dealing with attempts made to extort bribes or gratifications in connection with proceedings under Martial Law, and two notices||| necessitated by the receipt of news regarding the outbreak of hostilities with Afghanistan, the remainder of the notices issued referred to the gradual relaxation or total cancellation of ordinances previously issued. The orders regarding the Medical College students were withdrawn on 5th May¶¶ on proof that the College authorities had taken disciplinary action against the students;*** the orders against other colleges were withdrawn in similar circumstances on the 12th††† and 13th.‡‡‡ Further relaxations of the 'Curfew' order were announced in notices,§§§ dated 12th May, 15th May, 24th and 31st May. On the 20th May an order|||| restored the full use of the Badshahi Mosque to the Muhammadan community and in doing so reminded the community of the fact that by the arrangements made in 1856, when the mosque was handed over to the Muhammadans, it was within the competence of the Commandant, Lahore, to deny access to it on necessity arising. Fans, bicycles and motors were restored by orders, dated 6th and 9th June. All Martial Law restrictions were finally withdrawn on the 12th June.

* Martial Law notice No. 15.

† Martial Law notice No. 16.

‡ Martial Law notice No. 17.

§ Martial Law notice No. 18.

|| Martial Law notice No. 20.

¶ Martial Law notices Nos. 21 and 22.

** Martial Law notice No. 24.

†† Martial Law notice No. 27.

‡‡ Martial Law notices Nos. 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 47, 48, 52, 53, 60, 61 and 62.

§§ Martial Law notice No. 33, dated 2nd May.

||| Martial Law notices Nos. 42 and 43, dated 10th May.

¶¶ Martial Law notice No. 36.

*** See page 25.

††† Martial Law notice No. 44.

‡‡‡ Martial Law notice No. 46.

§§§ Martial Law notices Nos. 45, 49, 50, 57, 59.

|||| Martial Law notice No. 53.

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The actual period of disorder may, as already indicated, be said to have ended with the termination of the hartal. The course of Martial Law administration subsequent to that was really in the nature of a substitute civil administration, of a summary type, of which the primary objects were to establish a *morale* which would afford a guarantee against the recrudescence of disorder, to safeguard the rail and telegraphic communications against further interruption, and to restore the position of Government as the guarantor of peace and good order which had been sacrificed during the disorders of the 10th to the 17th of April. It was inevitable that an administration of this nature should be vested with powers which could compel unquestioned compliance with its orders; it was equally inevitable that it should involve a degree of interference with the ordinary life of the people which would be impossible, and indeed undesirable in ordinary circumstances. Its regulations necessarily assumed in some cases a form which was based on racial distinctions; the Curfew order, the restrictions on travelling, and other orders of the same nature, were so framed that they did not apply to Europeans. But Martial Law was introduced largely because of the attacks on one section of His Majesty's subjects, and in the protection of that section, some of its ordinances could not but assume a racial aspect. It was, as has been explained in a previous section of this memorandum, maintained for a somewhat longer period than would otherwise have been necessary owing to the menace of the Afghan War. The Curfew orders, the restrictions on travelling, the impressment of vehicles, the orders regarding roll-calls, unquestionably involved much inconvenience to the people of Lahore; the orders regarding prices were less open to criticism on this account, and in many quarters appear to have attained a certain measure of popularity. They were not, however, of uniform success as economic measures. No difficulty seems to have arisen over the orders regulating the price of vegetables or salt; but some difficulty arose on the price fixed for milk owing to the extent of the adulteration to which people had previously been accustomed. The most serious difficulties occurred over wheat and *atta*, as the import was seriously affected. On May the 28th it was found necessary to raise the prices fixed; and at the beginning of June it was found advisable to abolish the fixed rates, to suspend the levy of octroi on imports and to arrange with the Municipal Committee for the opening of cheap grain shops for the poor. The action taken was successful and imports were resumed, nor did the general prices rise as a result of the suspension of restrictions.

The authority to punish breaches of the Martial Law Regulations was vested in the area officers and other officers nominated in accordance with the General Officer Commanding's proclamation of 19th April 1919 (page 23), such officers sitting for the purpose as Summary Courts. Until the formal nomination of such officers, breaches were punished under the orders of the Officer Commanding Civil Area, Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson; these officers were subsequently nominated as area officers, and as shown in a previous section, a certain number of civil officers were also given powers under the Divisional General's proclamation. As the administration of Martial Law Regulations was more intensive here than elsewhere, it may be well to analyse in some detail the nature both of the offences against the Regulations, and the punishments awarded. In all, charges were laid against 277 persons of whom 69 were acquitted and 208 convicted: of these 140 cases were dealt with by Lieutenant-Colonel F. Johnson and Major Barnes, and 137 by the Civil Magistrates specially empowered in this behalf. There were 66 convictions for breach of the Curfew order;* four persons were imprisoned for an average period of one month, 32 persons were flogged, 30 were fined, the average fine being about Rs. 13. Thirty-one persons were convicted† of taking part in a procession or illegal assembly; 10 were flogged, and 21 fines were inflicted, the average being about the same. Five persons were convicted‡ of tearing down Martial Law notices, two were sentenced to imprisonment for six months each, four were flogged

* No. 1 (1).

† No. 1 (4).

‡ No. 8.

and one fined Rs. 250. Nine persons in all were convicted of refusing to carry on work or business;* one was imprisoned for a month, two were flogged and 5 fines were inflicted. Fifty-one persons were convicted of refusing to sell,† adulterating or over charging for milk; three were imprisoned for an average of 6 weeks, three were flogged, and 48 fines (of an average of Rs. 55) were inflicted. Eight persons were convicted of breaches of the order‡ regarding bribes or extortion; seven were flogged, and one fined. Eight were convicted of a breach of the order requiring registration of stocks of wheat;§ fines only were inflicted, the average being Rs. 57. The number of convictions for breaches of other regulations were unimportant, the only other case calling for mention being perhaps that of a person convicted of referring to British subjects|| in words of contempt, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment and ten stripes. In all twenty persons were imprisoned, with an average of about 3½ months each; 66 persons were flogged, the average number of stripes being 12, and 136 persons fined, the average being Rs. 50. The figures of flogging are of interest in view of the allegations made that whipping was "promiscuous"¶ and so severe that some persons died of it. Only young and able-bodied men were whipped and as far as possible efforts were made to avoid whipping men of any social standing; 55 persons were flogged in the Jail, and 11 persons were flogged in the compounds of the Telegraph Office, the old Kotwali or the Reservoir chowks. These places were sufficiently open to be described as semi-public. The flogging was with a rattan or cane. An order** of the Officer Commanding in regard to the discrimination to be exercised by his officers is worth reprinting —

- (1) In order to prevent the occurrence of regrettable incidents, it must be clearly understood that the existence of Martial Law neither necessitates nor justifies the committal of excesses either in—
 - (a) the maintenance of order;
 - (b) in enforcing obedience to Martial Law Regulations; nor
 - (c) in the infliction of punishment.
- (2) The guiding principle to be borne in mind is that the force required in (a) and (b) and the ensuing punishment should never exceed the necessities of the case.
- (3) The punishment of whipping in particular, whilst probably the most efficacious and convenient method of summarily dealing with most minor breaches of Martial Law Regulations, requires tact and commonsense in its infliction. Under no circumstances should old or feeble men be flogged, and the social status of the offender also needs consideration.
- (4) It cannot be too clearly impressed on all ranks that the temporary supersession of the ordinary process of Civil Law by the introduction of Martial Law, does not mean that justice ceases to be administered; on the contrary, the suspension of the usual safeguards makes it doubly imperative that all concerned should bear in mind that it is "up to them" to see that Justice, and not irresponsible violence, is administered.

No whipping, except those imposed by the flying column and above referred to, was inflicted save in respect of a definite charge against the Regulations, and after a summary trial. Only one case has been brought to light in which the authority given can be said to have been abused. That is the case of an Anglo-Indian Magistrate who without proper justification sentenced several members of a marriage party to be whipped as forming an illegal assembly. He was promptly deprived of his powers by the local Government.

In addition to the penalties described above collective fines were imposed by the Officer Commanding (Lahore Area) on villages suspected to have been concerned with the burning of Wagah Station and the illegal assembly at Padhana. They amounted in all to Rs. 6,600 (being the equivalent of half the land revenue), and were collected by the flying columns.

* Nos. 10 and 14.

† No. 31.

‡ No. 33.

§ No. 34.

|| No. 30.

¶ *Independent*, Allahabad, 1st May 1919.

** Instruction 2, dated 18th April 1919.

There were some suggestions that the existence of Martial Law conditions led to much bribe-taking on the part of subordinate officials. The matter is always one difficult of complete control in India, but there was on this occasion at all events no inclination to overlook offences of this nature. The authorities inflicted somewhat severe punishment in eight such cases; and in one case of extortion detected by the Police the Martial Law Commission awarded a sentence of three years' imprisonment.* In regard to the conduct of troops, there seem to have been few allegations or rumours of excesses committed. It was asserted that some five or six men were shot at night; but as far as can be ascertained the only shots fired after the introduction of Martial Law were from a rifle accidentally discharged while being cleaned in camp, and three shots fired (without injury) at a motor car containing Europeans who failed to stop when challenged.

In regard to judicial measures, the Martial Law Commissioners tried 15 cases* involving 72 accused of whom 58 were convicted. The cases tried were of considerable importance, as they included the prosecution of the leaders of the agitation in Lahore, and of two newspaper editors. No sentence of death was inflicted, but 42 persons were sentenced to transportation for life and 12 others for minor terms of imprisonment.

Minor offences, not tried by the Commissions, but occurring between the 30th March and the date of the proclamation of Martial Law were tried by the Magistrates empowered as Summary Courts, under Notification No. 12341-A., dated 5th May 1919. 20 cases were so decided, with the result that 2 persons were sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment, 3 to 1 year's rigorous imprisonment, 8 to whipping and 17 to fines under Rs. 50. 2 persons were acquitted.

* Case decided 30th April 1919, file No. 4.

† Excludes figures for Kasur and Khem Karan.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Part I.—Kasur Sub-Division.

Kasur is a town of only 25,000 inhabitants, but it contains a very unruly element of the menial, leather-worker and butcher class. The record of April last shows how quickly a mob composed of those elements, excited by an agitation promoted primarily for political reasons, may give way to violence and outrage; and it illustrates clearly the incapacity of political leaders to allay or even to direct into less harmful channels the excitement they have aroused. It does not appear that the agitation in the town was of long duration; there is indeed no record of meetings or propaganda before April, the 10th, and the town did not even observe the general hartal of April 6th. It is safe therefore to exclude any suggestion that disorder was long premeditated or due to a definite organization to that end. Kasur came, in fact, under the influence of the disturbances at Lahore and Amritsar. On the 10th April there was a rumour in the bazar that outside traders were likely to boycott the town unless it took a share in the agitation; on the 11th a hartal was started. It appears to have been primarily due to the action of a Muhammadan shop-keeper (Nadir Ali Shah), a master of the High School, and a tailor, who assembled a crowd of men and went round the town closing the shops. For the most part they seem to have found a ready compliance with their demands. Subsequently, however, more influential figures appeared on the scene, and a crowd was addressed at the Hari Har Mandi by a number of pleaders and some members of the Municipal Committee. With the exception of that of Nadir Ali Shah, the shop-keeper already referred to, the tone of the speeches was moderate.

The hartal continued next morning, the 12th April, and while the pleaders and other leaders concerned in the agitation were discussing the institution of free common messes for Hindus and Muhammadans during the strike, a large crowd again collected. This time it was joined by a number of schoolboys, who, in this instance, clearly bore a considerable share in adding to the excitement and instigating disorder. The crowd rapidly grew to several thousands; excitement was enhanced by bringing out at its head a bed covered with a black flag, as an emblem of the death of liberty, and about ten o'clock it took its way, under the direction of Nadir Ali Shah, to the railway station. It now resembled a Muharram procession; there were general cries of lamentation, and beating of breasts; it was deliberately working itself up into the state of frenzy which Muharram processions frequently exhibit. Up to this time apparently the intention had merely been to make a violent demonstration. Arrived at the station the crowd did considerable damage by breaking doors and throwing stones at windows, but did not penetrate the station or interfere with the permanent way. It then commenced to turn away, but at the direct incitement of some of its leaders, surged back and commenced a more serious work of destruction. It burnt an oil shed, damaged the signal and telegraph wires, smashed a quantity of furniture, and looted the ticket office.

Three trains had been drawn up at the distant signals, and to one of these (the Ferozepore train) the crowd, now in a thoroughly violent mood, made its way. The train contained several Europeans, Mr. and Mrs. Sherbourne and their three small children; Captain Limby, R.E., and Lieutenant Munro, XVII Loyal Regiment; two warrant officers, Master Gunner Mallet and Conductor Selby; and Corporals Battson and Gringham of the Queens Regiment. There were also a number of Indian gentlemen, including Mr. Khair Din, Inspector of Railway Accounts. Seeing the crowd approach, the latter advised the Sherbournes to seek refuge in the gateman's hut, and he and the two corporals helped them inside it. Here the party was attacked by the crowd; the two corporals—they were unarmed—were dragged out and knocked down, but though injured they managed to escape, Gringham reaching the Ferozepore Road and Battson ultimately, with the aid of a Sikh villager, mounting one of the other trains (the Lahore train) which was standing nearly a mile off. Mr. Khair Din was hustled and pulled out of the hut, and in spite of his help and that of one Ram Chand of Khem Karan, the Sherbournes would probably have fared badly but for the persistent efforts of Mr. Ghulam

Muhyuddin, pleader. He had been one of the promoters of the meeting on the previous day and was clearly recognized by the crowd as a leader; but he now showed undoubted courage in dissuading the mob from violence. Ultimately he and Mr. Khair Din took the Sherbournes off to the hamlet of Kot Halim Khan on the other side of the line, whence they were ultimately rescued by the police.

It is time to turn now to the fate of the remainder of the European passengers in the Ferozepore train. The two officers had endeavoured to induce the driver to back the train away; instead of doing so, he drove on into the station. The officers then ran down the line towards Ferozepore and were pursued and struck several times. Lieutenant Munro was severely, and Captain Limby slightly injured, but both ultimately escaped. The two warrant officers refused to leave the train; they were armed with revolvers and apparently relied on these to protect themselves. When the train reached the platform they got out and stood at the door of their carriage; the crowd, which had now followed the train to the station, stood some distance off and proceeded to stone them. They fired off their revolvers, but apparently hit nobody, and the crowd then closed in on them. They ran down the platform, and vainly sought assistance from some Indian Railway officials; two railway constables on duty at the station had fled. The crowd hemmed the two men in near the waiting shed, and beat them to death with sticks. A party of Indian civil officials, headed by the Tahsildar, had some time before reached the station, but had gone off to obtain the assistance of the Indian Deputy Superintendent of Police. When the latter arrived with a party of men, accompanied by the Tahsildar and other officials, they found one of the warrant officers dead and the other dying. They went off to rescue the Sherbournes in the hamlet of Kot Halim Khan.

Meanwhile the crowd had, after murdering the two warrant officers, cut all the telegraph wires, and pausing on the way to loot the Wheat Mandi Post Office, near the station, concentrated on the Main Post Office, which they quickly set on fire. In doing so they passed the City Police Station, but the subordinate officer in charge, though he had six men armed with rifles, did nothing to interfere with them; the Deputy Superintendent of Police and the main body of his men had, as already shown, proceeded to Kot Halim Khan to rescue the Sherbourne family. The crowd then went on to the Munsif's Court and Tahsil; the Tahsildar had now come up, accompanied by one or two officials, and did his best to restrain them, but after a short delay they set fire to the Munsif's Court. In the Tahsil was a party of police about seventeen strong, with nine rifles. Some of the party fired a few shots, but apparently fired into the air. Their fire was at all events without result. At this juncture the Deputy Superintendent arrived with his party, and obtaining the leave of the Senior Magistrate present, opened fire on the crowd, the constables on the Tahsil wall joining in. Fifty-seven rounds in all were fired, but only one man was killed, and as far as can be ascertained, seven or eight wounded. The crowd fled, and were pursued by the constables and some Tahsil subordinates; eight were apprehended, of whom five were wounded. The total deaths among the crowd due to the police fire appear to have been four, as three of the wounded subsequently died.*

An Indian gentleman on the Ferozepore train had, as soon as it reached the Kasur Station, taken a tonga and driven to Ferozepore for assistance, and a party of troops arrived from that cantonment in the course of the afternoon. No further trouble occurred, but unfortunately no steps were taken either by the civil or military authorities to effect arrests, either on the day of the outrage, or on the 13th or 14th. On the 15th a moveable column arrived from Ferozepore, and on the 16th Martial Law was declared. A European Sub-Divisional Officer also arrived to relieve the Indian officer who had been in temporary charge, and acting under the orders of the Commissioner, the authorities began to make arrests of the leaders and participators in the rioting. Twenty-one arrests were made on the 16th, three on the 17th, four on the 18th, forty on the 19th and twenty-two on the 22nd. The arrests were made mainly on the identification of the Europeans and civil officials, large crowds of suspected persons being assembled for the purpose.

* Deputy Commissioner's letter dated 26th July 1919.

The events at Khem Karan and Patti were of less importance and may be disposed of more briefly. Khem Karan is a small station about six miles from Kasur, and on the 12th April some damage was done here by a gang of about twenty men, mainly sweepers from the neighbouring village of Patti. They seem to have been instigated by two men who had come from Kasur, immediately after the outrage at the station. They were driven off with the help of some Khem Karan peasants. The Commission which subsequently tried the persons charged with the attack on the station* were of opinion that had timely assistance not been available, it was the obvious intention of the rioters to set fire to the furniture and possibly to the building. Patti is 28 miles from Kasur. The townspeople here had been excited by the lectures of one Durga Das of Amritsar at meetings convened by the local Arya Samaj, and by Amritsar people on the passing trains. On the 12th April a crowd composed of the riff raff of the bazar did some damage at the station, but were restrained from doing any great harm by a few of the officials and leading inhabitants, aided by the Police.

With the exceptions just noted, the disorder was confined entirely to Kasur town. The original leaders were pleaders; their invitation to observe hartal was freely supported by the traders, and in the general excitement produced by the hartal the baser elements of the crowd, with schoolboys and students to encourage them, and firebrands to direct them, broke out into open outrage and incendiarism. The movement was from the first anti-Government and under the influence of growing excitement became anti-British; it was not necessarily anti-Christian. There was no attempt to wreck the buildings or bungalows of missionaries. A final feature of note is the attitude of the railway subordinates. It is stated that they were in a strong state of unrest before the 12th; in any case their attitude at Kasur on that date was one of general sympathy with the rioters, and disinclination to do anything to assist the Europeans in danger from the crowd.

As already stated Martial Law was declared on the 16th. After the restoration of order in the town, a moveable column proceeded along the railway line *via* Patti to Amritsar and returned the same way. Accompanied by a European Magistrate, it made a certain number of arrests, and in some cases took "hostages" from villages which were known to contain bad characters; no floggings were inflicted. The Martial Law orders issued in the first instance were the same as those for the Lahore (Civil) Area, but these were subsequently varied to meet the special circumstances of Kasur. A Special Martial Law Administration Officer was appointed for Kasur on the 21st April. The regulations issued as applying in particular to Kasur were first proclaimed on that date. The first (No. 1)† laid down a Curfew between 8 P.M. and 5 A.M., prohibited processions and gatherings of more than 10 persons, requisitioned all tongas and tum tums, and bicycles, (Nos. 2 and 3) prohibited all pleaders' agents from leaving Kasur without a permit, (No. 4) and declared a hartal illegal (No. 6). In order to facilitate the process of identification of those who had taken part in the rioting, a regulation‡ (No. 9) was issued on April 25th forbidding any person to leave Kasur and announcing that measures would be taken against the property of all persons not returning by a certain date. In view of the belief at first held that religious mendicants had largely been concerned in fomenting disorder, a regulation was also issued (No. 10) for the registration of all religious mendicants and for a daily roll-call of them. The fixation of prices (No. 13) was not on the whole successful, as agriculturalists took their supplies to Ferozepore and other neighbouring towns, and the regulation§ which was introduced on May the 7th, was withdrawn on May the 17th having on the whole failed to effect its object. The Curfew Order was somewhat relaxed by regulation No. 14, dated the 7th May, but the orders placing restrictions on travelling, which had been introduced by the General Martial Law Proclamations, remained in force for Kasur after

*Martial Law Commission Case, decided 15th May 1919.

†Martial Law notices, page 53.

‡Martial Law notices, page 55.

§Martial Law notices, page 57.

that date though relaxed elsewhere (No. 15). This was the last order issued. Offences against the Martial Law orders were tried by Summary Courts; the Courts sentenced 49 persons; the total imprisonment inflicted was 228 months, 605 stripes were also inflicted and fines amounting to Rs. 1,165. To the punishments thus awarded must be added the infliction of a caning of six schoolboys by the Officer Commanding before the proclamation of Martial Law. This was done at the suggestion of the Headmaster of the Municipal Board School. This was the only whipping carried out in public; the rest were all carried out on a portion of the railway platform to which the public had no access. The cases in which whipping was inflicted were usually serious; four persons were whipped for rioting at a station; two for attempts to escape from custody; five for trespass on a woman's apartments when drunk; three for cheating by impersonating an official. The only case of whipping of a person not of the lower classes was that of a Ticket Collector at Kasur. Except in the case of the schoolboys the regulation 'Cat' and not the cane was used for whipping. On the whole the administration of Martial Law seems to have caused more general inconvenience at Kasur than at Lahore; the town is small and the military administration was of a more intensive nature. It also unfortunately happened that on two occasions, once at Kasur Railway Station, and once in a neighbouring village, men were shot by sentries; one while running away from a challenging sentry, and one while resisting. It is further stated that on several occasions military subordinates were detected in theft. Nevertheless, it is clear that the administration of Martial Law had a useful disciplinary effect in an area in which the lower elements of the population had temporarily gained the upper-hand, and was a powerful element in the restoration of normal conditions. It was withdrawn on the 9th June.

The major cases of rioting were tried by Commission. There were in all 67 accused, of whom 26 were sentenced to death, 17 to transportation for life and 24 were acquitted; 2 on account of their youth, were sent for trial to the Summary Court at Kasur. In the case of Khem Karan there were 16 accused of whom seven were convicted, two being sentenced to transportation for life and others to varying terms of imprisonment. The Patti cases were all disposed of by Summary Court. As shown at page 25 the usual procedure elsewhere in the proclaimed districts was for such cases to come before a Civil Officer (District Magistrate or Magistrate of the First Class), who had been given powers to deal with them as a Summary Court under the notification No. 12341 A, dated 5th May; here, as the cases were not numerous, they were all tried by the Summary Court originally appointed under the Divisional Proclamation to try cases connected with breaches of the regulations. Of 85 persons charged 55 were convicted, thirty-six for rioting, twelve for mischief and the rest for minor offences. These were all, of course, convictions registered as offences against the ordinary law. Three persons were sentenced to imprisonment for two years, twenty-five for one, ten for six months. Seven persons were sentenced to whipping.

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

Such excitement as occurred here was confined to Ludhiana City and to the small town of Jagraon ; there seems to have been little interest manifested in the villages. The district contains a considerable number of returned emigrants and " Ghadr " men, but in no case did their conduct come under unfavourable notice, and local notables of all classes responded willingly to the appeal for assistance made to them by the local authorities. Ludhiana occupies an important position on the line of communications and had the agitation resulted in any widespread disorder, the effect would no doubt have been seen, as elsewhere, in interference with railway and telegraph communications. The actual course of events showed considerable activity on the part of pleaders, and some adhesion, more or less of a passive nature, from traders ; but there is reason to believe that the latter were affected to some extent by pressure from outside. The record of events is, on the whole, brief and uneventful. A women's meeting to protest against the Act was held in the Arya Samaj temple on April 1st, one of the speakers being the daughter of Munshi Ram (Swarni Shradha Nand). A second protest meeting was held at the Qaisarganj grain market on the 3rd, and a third on the 5th April at the same place. These meetings resulted in the holding of a general hartal in Ludhiana on the 6th, followed by a general meeting on the evening of the same day at the Budha Nala Ghat. On the 10th April a meeting was held at the Qaisarganj grain market, its announced objects being the furtherance of Hindu-Muhammadan unity and the issue of an invitation to the Provincial Conference to meet in Ludhiana in 1920. A meeting was held on 12th April to protest against the exclusion of Mr. Gandhi from the Punjab ; and this was followed by an incomplete hartal on April 16th. The promoters of these meetings and the majority of the speakers in each case were pleaders. The receipt of the news of the outrages at Amritsar appears to have caused some apprehension to the ladies of the Womens' Medical School, and to some of the Missionaries, who collected at the Railway Station on the 15th and remained there for some days ; the Missionary ladies at Jagraon also wired to Ferozepore for military aid. However reasonable these apprehensions may have appeared at the time, it is not now clear that there was any valid ground for serious alarm. But it is well ascertained that attempts were made by agitators to cause a strike among the railway staff, which is of some size, Ludhiana being the headquarters of a Locomotive District. As a precaution a detachment of troops was sent to Ludhiana, in order to guard the railway station and its approaches ; a number of the most important points were held by Imperial Service Troops from Kapurthala, and armoured trains regularly patrolled the line. The line was in addition patrolled by villagers, organized under the supervision of headmen and local notables.

No other steps of an unusual nature, either preventive or punitive, were necessary and no prosecutions were undertaken. The district was proclaimed under the Police Act on April 21st.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

The experience of 1907 showed that this area was liable to be strongly influenced by excitement prevailing elsewhere in the Central Punjab. The district owes its existence to the extension of irrigation from the Upper Chenab Canal ; the market towns are of recent origin and largely inhabited by traders from Lahore and Amritsar districts ; the peasant colonists were drawn largely from the central Punjab and maintain constant communication with their old homes. It is true that both classes owe their greatly improved circumstances to the direct action of Government, but this does not in itself guarantee a sense of solidarity with the administration. The eastern view of Government is still that of an external agency whose sole function is the protection of life and property, appreciated most highly perhaps when it is least in evidence. The close relations into which colonists have been brought with Government, the necessity for regulating in the first instance conditions of tenure and the like, the sense of dependence on the good will of subordinates in the matter of water-supply, have created a relation which does not appeal to the mind of the Punjab peasant, and contains many possibilities of friction. There is at all events now little sense of obligation remaining on account of the grant of land on what even the peasant himself would admit to have been undoubtedly easy terms. Coming moreover into the new conditions of the colony, the settlers have left behind them that atmosphere of conservatism and traditional submission to authority which have hitherto characterised Punjab village life. In the course of the agitation of April last, not only did the market towns manifest a strong anti-Government and anti-British feeling, but there was a degree of unrest in some parts of the rural area which might easily have led to serious disorder. The former was in great part due to local agitation, promoted at all events in Lyallpur by the pleader class, but supported with unexpected enthusiasm by a great number of the traders, to whom anti-British propaganda seems to have made an easy appeal. The bitterness of the feeling which was evoked is shown by the fact that it extended not only to demonstrations against Government, but even against Indian Christians. There were many complaints from this class that they were threatened and roughly treated, and deprived of their dues as menials, tenants, or harvesters. The moving spirits in the agitation were mainly Hindus, and among them the Arya Samajists were conspicuous for their activity. The Neo-Sikh with Arya sympathies, was also prominent, especially in Lyallpur. On the other hand, few Muhammadans were involved, and there was no movement on the part of the pan-Islamist element. In the rural areas outside influence, originating from Amritsar or elsewhere in the central storm area, could be traced in every instance.

The excitement at the district headquarters was not apparently due in the first instance as was the case in some districts, to the effect of the disturbances in Amritsar and Gujranwala, but had an earlier origin. The District Congress Committee (of which 18 out of the 33 members are pleaders) held a meeting of protest against the Rowlatt Act on the 5th April, and as a result a general hartal was observed at Lyallpur on the 6th. At a further meeting held by the Congress Committee during the course of the day, there was a very general misrepresentation of the purpose of the Act ; but the behaviour of the crowds was orderly. An attempt was made on the 6th to promote a hartal at Jaranwala by some Arya Samaj employees of the Japan Cotton Trading Company, and subscriptions were collected for the Delhi "martyrs," who were represented as innocent victims of the British soldiery. A pleader from Lyallpur and a number of local Arya Samajists, also attempted to organize a hartal at Gojra ; agents of the same class were also partially successful at Tandlianwala and Toba Tek Singh. The demonstrations do not up to this point seem to have been other than of a purely political nature ; there was no exhibition of anti-British feeling, and a competent observer thinks that at this stage the only intention of the movement was to assist "in forcing Government to a defeat over the Rowlatt Act and then to wring concessions from a discredited bureaucracy which would be much in advance of anything included in the Reform Scheme issuing under Government approval." By the end of the week, however, the receipt of the news from Lahore and Amritsar

induced a markedly anti-British atmosphere. There was general excitement on the 11th when information was received of Mr. Gandhi's exclusion from the Punjab, and the Congress Committee showed great activity on the 12th. On the 13th it became clear from the demeanour of the crowds in the streets at Lyallpur that the city was in the grip of very dangerous excitement. All the shops were closed, and the bazar was full of restless and unruly crowds. That no open disorder occurred was probably due to the personal intervention of the District Magistrate, who had for many years held charge of the colony; but the attitude of the crowd was hostile and threatening, and he was on more than one occasion openly abused. Posters of a violent character were put up in different parts of the city; one of these reminded the crowd that there were European women in the Civil Lines who should be ravished. The excitement was not confined to Lyallpur; at Jaranwala a petition-writer, returning from Delhi, interested himself in getting together a band to promote a coercive hartal, disseminating a strongly anti-British propaganda; at Gojra the local C.M.S. Missionary was obliged to flee from the town by threats of murder and incendiarism. The local authorities considered it advisable to collect under protection in the civil station the families of the considerable number of Canal and other Government officers scattered through the district, and in the absence of troops, a number of horsemen were obtained from the regimental Cavalry Runs in the district. Sixty drivers of the Grantee Camel Corps about to entrain for Nushki were stopped and utilized to assist the police (by now inadequate for the greatly increased duties thrust on them), and volunteers were called for from the "jangli" colonists—the representatives of the old semi-nomadic tribes who inhabited the Chenab upland previous to colonization. They responded freely to the call, and for some time furnished patrols on the railway and elsewhere. By another fortunate inspiration, the District Magistrate arranged to relieve railway gangmen of any tools which could be used in injuring the permanent way; and also enlisted the services of respectable military pensioners and gun license holders as additional guards on the rural police stations.

The hartal was resumed on the 14th; the pleaders absented themselves from the Courts, and a fresh copy of inflammatory posters appeared in the city. There was evidence that false rumours were being circulated with a view to influencing the rural population, particularly the Sikhs; it was stated that the Golden Temple at Amritsar had been burnt; that a number of Sikh girls belonging to the Kairon School had been outraged by British soldiers on the railway;* that the police had taken the side of the mob at Amritsar; and that the Sikhs in the regiments at Ferozepore and Multan had mutinied. Attempts to hold public meetings in the morning were frustrated, but in the afternoon a mass meeting, largely of Hindus, was suddenly got together at the *Idgah*. The presence of the District Magistrate, with a few cavalry volunteers, served to prevent any violent demonstration; but the general attitude of the meeting was extremely hostile. Persistent efforts were also made by the crowd to induce Government servants to join in the general strike. At Jaranwala the efforts of the petition-writer already referred to resulted in a coercive hartal; and a Muhammadan was asked to preside over a meeting in the Hindu *Thakardawara*. A meeting of Hindus and Muhammadans was held in the *Idgah* at Gojra, and it was decided to commence a coercive hartal in that town also.

On the following day, the 15th, the hartal was resumed at Lyallpur, and the city was again placarded with seditious posters. It became necessary to open shops, under special protection, in order to feed the Police and other Government officials; and the advent of more horsemen from the cavalry farms made it possible to watch communications between the town and villages to which it was believed that emissaries had been sent. Special precautions were also adopted to supervise the students returning from the Lahore colleges, which had been closed down; these had been conspicuous among the crowds on the 13th and 14th. At Gojra the coercive hartal for which arrangements had been made on the previous day, came into action. There were violent demonstrations and the crowd, after mobbing the refreshment vendor on the railway platform, attempted to prevent the driver of a train from starting. The leaders of the crowd informed him that Multan Cantonment had been

*See Amritsar District report, page 42.

burnt and the British soldiers there murdered. There was a funeral procession of the Rowlatt Act accompanied by a black flag. A hartal began also at Dijkot. A fresh cause for anxiety now came into evidence. News of outrages in the rural areas of the neighbouring Gujranwala District had become widely disseminated, and caused a serious apprehension that the agitation, hitherto more prominent in the towns, might lead to disorder in the Lyallpur villages. It was known that emissaries had been sent out from the towns, and though the rural population (now engaged in cutting the harvest) for the most part remained unaffected, certain villages had begun to manifest signs of unrest. Instructions were issued to prominent landholders on the Gujranwala border not to allow undesirable visitors from Gujranwala into their areas. On the 14th a small party of Indian Infantry had arrived from Multan, but the news from the Gujranwala border was so alarming that the major portion had to be sent up to protect the railway station at Sangla, reported to be threatened by the crowd which had burnt the Chuharkana, Moman and Dhaban Singhwala Stations on the previous night. The remainder were barely sufficient to take over the piquetting of the civil station from the Police. On the arrival of the troops at Lyallpur the hartal had been temporarily suspended, but on the 16th there was a fresh issue of seditious notices. The hartal was resumed at Gojra, but the shops were opened towards nightfall. That the apprehensions regarding the spread of unrest to the villages were not without justification was proved by the receipt of news of the cutting of the telegraph wire nine miles from Lyallpur, and the holding of a seditious meeting at the village of Khiala Kalan.

On the following day, the 17th, a second detachment of Indian Infantry arrived. The hartal was resumed in the city, and representatives of the townspeople visited Khiala Kalan, at which a seditious meeting was held. It is known that plans were discussed for looting and burning Government property. A party from Lyallpur also went out to Chak Jhumra; and though they failed to gain adherents there, they broke a number of telegraph insulators and cut wires on their way back to Lyallpur. In the evening a serious act of suspected incendiarism occurred at Lyallpur, Government *bhusa* stacked near the railway station being burnt to the value of Rs. 50,000.

On the 18th reports arrived of danger threatening at Moman Kanjan Station, and an armoured train was sent there. A gang of villagers in the Toba Tek Singh tahsil (mostly Jat Sikhs from the central Punjab) under the leadership of a deserter from the Army, attempted to wreck the line between Toba Tek Singh and Janiwala, overturned a number of telegraph posts and cut the wires. Most of these were tracked to their villages by the police next morning and several arrests were made. In Lyallpur itself the arrival of the troops had checked further demonstrations and the hartal was abandoned. On the following day, the 19th, the moveable column arrived, and all further apprehension of serious disorder at headquarters was at an end.

The next few days were occupied by the moveable column in making disciplinary visits, in the course of which nine arrests were made at Gojra on the 21st, ten at Lyallpur on the 22nd, thirteen at Khiala Kalan on the 23rd, five at Jehangir (where canal telegraph wires had been cut) on the 24th. On the latter date the district was proclaimed under Martial Law. Disturbances had actually ceased when the proclamation was made, and the presence of the moveable column had secured the district from any serious apprehension of the recrudescence of disorder. The measure was, however, of considerable value in assisting the resumption of business and trade, and constituted a salutary but not a severe measure of discipline in restoring normal conditions. Given the character and previous history of the district, the proclamation of Martial Law, and the temporary maintenance of a military force in the area was probably the most direct and efficacious method of dispelling the atmosphere of unrest created by the campaign which had been carried on in the market towns. The general orders contained in the proclamation of the Divisional Commander, Rawalpindi, dated the 20th April, applied to this district, but supplementary orders were issued by the Martial Law Administrator which were identical with a number of those issued for Gujranwala and described in the report of that district.

A special order dated 30th* April provided for the issue of passes for persons connected with the grain trade; the orders† regarding "salaaming" and roll-call of schoolboys were specifically applied. An order‡ dated April 26th, confined a number of persons, mentioned by name, to their villages, and there was also a special order§ regarding the reservation of grazing on public land for military purposes. No Regulations were issued for the control of prices. A considerable number of the restrictions were removed by an order¶ dated May 18th.

Of these orders, the only one which could be said to cause general inconvenience was that restricting movements by train, since it tended to hamper the financing and management of the wheat and cotton trade. The control of communications is, however, a potent factor in preventing agitation, and the measure may be held to have been justified on that account. Cases of breach of the orders issued were not numerous. Twenty-six persons were tried, and twenty-four persons sentenced by Summary Court. An analysis of the cases shows that one person was convicted of promoting hostility between different classes of His Majesty's subjects; nine for exhibiting lack of respect towards civil and military officers of His Majesty's service; seven for committing acts to the prejudice of good order and public safety; one for defacing a Martial Law notice; eight for harbouring rebels. Of the 24 persons convicted, two were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for one year, ten for rigorous imprisonment for six months, and others to minor periods. There were two sentences of whipping; these sentences were not carried out in public. Martial Law was withdrawn on June 9th.

The chief measures of a preventive nature taken by the local authorities have already been alluded to in the preceding narrative. In addition, the district was declared under the Police Act as disturbed (21st April) and was also proclaimed under the Seditious Meetings Act (17th April). As a result of the conduct of the villages concerned, punitive police posts have been quartered on Khiala Kalan, Jahangir, and Chak No. 150, Gugera Branch, the cost of which will be borne by the landholders of the villages. The claims made under the Police Act amount to Rs. 53,422 the chief item being Rs. 3,000 for damage to telegraphs and Rs. 48,000 for damage to Government *bhusa* by fire. As incendiarism was suspected only and not proved in the case of the Government *bhusa* burnt the claim for compensation was subsequently ruled out.**

As regards judicial measures one case, that relating to the cutting of the telegraph wire between Toba Tek Singh and Janiwala by 18 young men of Chak No. 150, Gugera Branch, was sent for trial by the Commission. They were convicted under section 25 of Act XIII of 1885, and section 149, Indian Penal Code. In their order, dated 6th June 1919, the Judges stated that it had been shown that a relative of the leading men had actually received a bullet wound in the course of the riots of Amritsar. In view of the fact that the damage done was slight, and that the offenders had surrendered themselves to the police, the Judges were inclined to lenience. One offender was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for 3 years, 7 for 18 months and 10 for 1 year; fines were also inflicted to the amount of Rs. 2,700. In addition to this, thirty four cases were tried by a Magistrate, 1st class (sitting as a Summary Court under the special powers conferred by notification No. 12341-B., dated 5th May)†† relating to offences committed after the 30th March, but before the date of proclamation of Martial Law. These cases involved 247 persons of whom 212 were convicted. Of these 46 were convicted of unlawful assembly, 47 of rioting, 51 of criminal intimidation, 20 of mischief, 12 of injuring telegraph instruments, the rest of minor offences. The sentences inflicted were, imprisonment for 2 years, 15; imprisonment 1 year, 34; imprisonment 6 months, 100; imprisonment for less than 6 months, 33. In addition 35 fines of Rs. 200 and over were inflicted, 4 of Rs. 100 and over, 5 of Rs. 50 and over, one of Rs. 20. There was no sentence of whipping.

* Martial Law Orders, page 83, No. 17.

† Martial Law Orders, page 84, No. 19, page 86, No. 26, and page 92, No. 41. The last order required the parade to salute the Union Jack.

‡ Martial Law Orders, page 84, No. 21.

§ Martial Law Orders, page 92, No. 42. 4

¶ Martial Law Orders, page 96, No. 37. /

¶ Martial Law was withdrawn on June 9th.

** Deputy Commissioner's letter No. 7964, dated 5th July.

†† See page 25.

MIANWALI DISTRICT.

In this district, sparsely inhabited by a semi-pastoral Muhammadan population and containing no towns of any importance, there was little excitement or disturbance. Such trouble as arose was not part of, or at all events not directly due to the agitation for a universal demonstration on April 6th. There was no closing of shops on that date, nor did the subsequent news of Mr. Gandhi's "arrest" provoke any movement of sympathy. It was not until the 14th of April that any symptom of trouble was noticed, when it was reported that a Railway Sub-Assistant Surgeon at Kundian (Kishan Chand) had convened a meeting of the railway employees at that station. This was followed by another meeting on the following day, which resulted in a strike by a part of the railway staff. The complete success of the strike was frustrated by the refusal of the Station Master and some of the senior officials to join it; but the strikers succeeded in so far that they prevented any train leaving Kundian for the rest of the day and managed to cut off communication with other stations. A few stones were thrown at the European officers stationed at Kundian who tried to reason with the staff, but no further damage was done. A party of armed police was despatched during the night by trolley from Mianwali, followed early next morning by a detachment of Gurkhas, whose journey had been interrupted at Cambellpore while on their way on leave to Dehra Dun. The strike subsided at once on their arrival.

The railway junction of Kundian is not situated on the principal line of communication; but an interruption of railway traffic is always a serious matter, and it is fortunate that the early arrival of troops prevented the spread of the strike to other stations. The movement was largely due to the efforts of one individual and was confined entirely to the railway staff; no sympathy was evinced by the residents of the district. On the day following the closure of the strike (the 17th April) the telegraph wire was cut near Daudkhel, but it is possible that this was done by the railway staff. No further trouble occurred.

The chief promoter of the strike (Kishan Chand) was, as a preliminary measure, bound down under Section 40, Frontier Crimes Regulation and dismissed from Government service; he was subsequently convicted (22nd August 1919) by a special tribunal and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. Five other men were sentenced by the same tribunal, one to one year's imprisonment, three to six months, and one to three months. Two other persons were bound down under the Frontier Crimes Regulation. With the exception of the proclamation of the district as a disturbed area under the Police Act (April 21st), and the issue of an order requiring villages to patrol the line, no further measures of an exceptional nature were taken by the authorities. The patrolling of the line was undertaken without objection by the villagers.

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

The greater part of this district is inhabited by Muhammadans who were till lately of semi-pastoral habits, and there was little likelihood that they would be affected by the appeals for demonstrations of a political nature. The towns, owing to the introduction of irrigation from the Lower Bari Doab Canal, will no doubt in time assume the character of the markets in the similar area of Lyallpur, where much excitement and unrest was manifested; but they are still in the initial stage of their growth, and do not as yet contain the elements which make for demonstrations on any considerable scale. As a result, the district was little affected by the course of events in the central Punjab; and any movement observed was largely confined to members of the local Bar. The district contains a number of the "Jangli" classes, the remains of the old pastoral tribes who inhabited the upland between the Ravi and Chenab rivers. These were traditionally addicted to cattle stealing, and their modern representatives differ little from the men who were responsible for the outbreak at Gugera in 1857. Any breakdown of law and order therefore might readily have been fraught with danger in this district. There was at headquarters a military force sufficient to deal with trouble in the immediate neighbourhood, and to prevent trouble arising in the large central jail, with its population of 2,000, mostly long-term prisoners. But widespread disturbance would have been difficult to cope with.

On the 1st April a preliminary meeting was held of the pleaders practising in Montgomery to discuss the action to be taken against the Act, but it does not seem to have been able to decide on the policy to be adopted. On the 5th instant a number of posters were brought down from Lahore calling for a closure of shops on the following day, and were issued under the signature of a number of local pleaders. Next morning the majority of the shops were closed. On the same day a hartal was observed at Kamalia, followed by a protest meeting convened at the instance of a prominent member of the Arya Samaj, and attended mainly by followers of the same society. A ginning factory owner at Chichawatni also closed his factory for the day. No other demonstration occurred in the district. The attitude of the railway staff caused some apprehension of trouble; a loose coupling was placed on the line at Okara on the 14th April, apparently with the object of causing a derailment, and there was a general rumour of an impending railway strike. As a precaution a military guard was posted at Montgomery station, and on the following day a system of patrols instituted for guarding the line. The work was undertaken without objection by the villagers, in spite of the fact that the harvest was being cut. Where villagers in the immediate vicinity of the line were insufficient for the work, volunteers were obtained without difficulty from other villages.

No prosecutions or measures of a punitive character were undertaken. The district was proclaimed as a disturbed area under the Police Act (April 21st).

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Though no active disturbances occurred in the Multan District, it affords an interesting example of the manner in which an area, hitherto not conspicuous for its interest in political matters, was brought by outside influences into the general agitation against the Act. As might be expected in a district largely inhabited by Muhammadans who in the last generation were largely graziers, and who still maintain something of the old tribal and family traditions of life, the political movement was confined entirely to Multan City. Nowhere does the agricultural class appear to have taken an interest in the agitation against the Act, a fact of some importance, since the district was for sometime noticeable in its disinclination to meet attempts to promote recruiting, and in at least one instance was the scene of an open attack on a recruiting party. Though the local rural leaders did not, as they did in some other districts, at once come forward with offers of assistance to the district authorities, their attitude on the subject was never in doubt. In Multan City itself neither the student nor schoolboy class was prominent in the agitation, and the Arya Samaj community as a rule held aloof. It is here a small body and is under the influence of a senior pleader of much respectability.

The initial stages of the agitation may be traced to the efforts of the Provincial Congress Committee to instil life into the District Congress Committee of Multan, hitherto apparently a quiescent and inactive body. Public meetings were held on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th February, addressed by Dr. Chet Ram of Sind, and their initial success led to further meetings on 15th and 16th March. The latter were addressed by Mr. Duni Chand and Mr. Mohsan Shah of Lahore and Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew of Amritsar, whose speeches constituted a vehement attack on the Rowlatt Bill. In the meantime an association of independent growth, the "Hindu-Muhammadan Panchayat," had also taken the field. It was composed for the most part of retired officials and a number of smaller merchants; distinct as an organization from the local Congress Committee, though in sympathy with it, it appears to have contained elements which were prepared for a more active policy than recommended itself to that body. On the 29th of March it resolved to hold a hartal on the following day, in supposed compliance with Mr. Gandhi's intentions; this was duly held, and met with sufficient support to convince its organizers that they would not lack following in a policy of active demonstration against the Act. In a meeting held on the 4th April, and presided over by a retired railway booking clerk, they resolved to frustrate a formal reception which the Municipal Committee had decided to offer to the 2/30th Punjabi Regiment, lately returned from active service in Egypt and Palestine. The Vice-Presidents of the Municipal Committee waited on the Panchayat, to protest against the resolution; but in spite of their protests, and of a warning delivered by the Deputy Commissioner to the members of the Panchayat on the following day, the opposition to the welcome was sufficiently marked to necessitate the postponement of the visit of the regiment to the city. It is at the same time only proper to state, that when the members of the Municipal Committee attended the lines of the regiment in order to entertain it there, some of the persons who had been conspicuous in the agitation against the reception accompanied them.*

The hartal of the 30th March had, as already stated, been initiated in a mistaken belief that Mr. Gandhi had indicated this date for his general demonstration against the Act. On learning that the date really intended was the 6th April, the Hindu-Muhammadan Panchayat, acting apparently in consultation with a certain portion of the Congress Committee, decided to renew their efforts for a hartal on that date. The closure of shops was complete, and it continued on the two following days. The incidents of these three days were not such as to require the local authorities to take any definite action, other than the issue of personal warnings to the chief agents in the movement, and to hold police and troops in readiness in the event of disturbance.

On the 11th April, however, when news was received of the occurrences on the previous day at Amritsar, there seemed some reason to suppose that trouble might occur in a more active form. The shops, which had been opened on the 9th and 10th, again closed; and the Deputy Commissioner deemed it

* On the 17th April, after the general excitement had subsided, the Panchayat submitted a formal resolution denying their share in the matter.

advisable to move a small force of troops and armed police down to the Haram Gate of the City, to call up and warn anew the principal supporters of the hartal, and to forbid processions and meetings in public places under section 30 of the Police Act. On the following day (the 12th) a meeting of the more influential inhabitants was addressed by the Deputy Commissioner, and a number of pleaders who expressed a desire that an opportunity should be given them to advocate the maintenance of order, were allowed to hold a meeting in the afternoon. A somewhat disorderly procession was reported to be moving through the city soon after midday, but by the time that the police sent to control it arrived on the scene, it had already joined the meeting convened under the permission above referred to. The speakers, while expressing sympathy with the opposition to the Act, observed the pledge given by them to urge abstinence from disorder or violence. The hartal however was not raised, and actually continued until the 14th though it was partially raised on the 13th for the sake of the Baisakhi celebration. From this date the excitement in the city began to subside; shops were re-opened, and though small meetings continued to be held, affairs took a more normal course. As a result of the reports which had been received from the district the Local Government had applied on the 16th for sanction to the extension of the Seditious Meetings Act to it; and sanction was received on the same day. It was not proclaimed in the district till the 18th. The district was proclaimed as a disturbed area under the Police Act on April 21st. On the 28th there was a case of incendiarism in the lines of the 2/72nd Punjabis, the origin of which has not been traced. A body of troops was as a precaution retained in the Government High School, but on the 1st May a deputation, consisting of the Municipal Committee and other influential inhabitants, waited on the Commissioner, expressed regret at the excitement which had prevailed, and asked that, in view of the restoration of quiet, the troops should be withdrawn. This was done the same evening. There had not, during this period, been any indication that the agitation was otherwise than of a purely political nature. At two of the meetings indeed, a poem of seditious tendencies had been read; but there appeared to be no organization for disorder, and there were no demonstrations either against Europeans or Christians. The outstanding feature of the agitation was the extent to which its promoters were able to engage the support of the trading classes; the hartal continued longer, and was more complete, than in any of the Punjab cities outside the area of active disturbance.

It has already been shown that outside Multan City, the district was little affected by the movement. An attempt to institute a hartal at one of the smaller district towns (Shujabad) found no support and collapsed. At the point, however, at which excitement in the city began to subside, an unrest began to be manifested among the railway staff at Samasatta and Khanewal. On the afternoon of the 14th April the greater part of the staff at Samasatta came out, the telegraph wires were cut and the signals damaged, but the loyal portion of the staff was able to communicate with Multan by telephone. The staff returned to work in the evening. As a consequence of this, the Railway Defence Scheme was brought into operation on the 15th, and troops were posted at the main stations, Multan, Multan City, Lodhran, Samasatta, Sher Shah and Khanewal. The Khanewal staff came out in the forenoon but resumed work on hearing that troops were arriving; an invitation issued by Khanewal to renew the strike was refused by the Samasatta staff. It is doubtful if these strikes, though indirectly due to the agitation, were organized from Multan itself, and they were probably caused in part by previous unrest among the railway subordinates. As already shown, they subsided at once on the despatch of detachments of troops to the stations affected.

No prosecutions were instituted as a result of the agitations in Multan City, and the only other step taken by the administration to prevent disorder, other than those mentioned, was the guarding of the railway line by village agency. The latter work was undertaken without objection by the villagers, though the harvest was being cut at the time. As a result of the trouble on the Railway, a Sub-Assistant Surgeon at Khanewal was tried under the Defence of India Act for inciting the staff to strike and received a sentence of 2½ years' imprisonment; and some persons were also prosecuted - again in connection with the railway strike—at Bahawalnagar; elsewhere the North-Western Railway Administration itself took departmental action against the strikers.

MUZAFFARGARH DISTRICT.

In this district, almost entirely rural in character and predominantly Muhammadan by religion, there was little agitation and no disorder. The members of the Arya Samaj community at Kot Adu (a small town in the Sanawan Tahsil), held a meeting on the 30th March, and an employee of the Lahore Arya Samaj delivered a lecture, containing a strong protest against the Rowlatt Act, at the same town on the 5th of April. As a consequence a number of shops were closed at Kot Adu on the following day, the 6th April. At the district headquarters, the movement was not confined to Hindus; a certain number of Muhammadan pleaders and traders joined with the Hindus in a small meeting held on the morning of the 6th instant, and as a result a few shops were closed during the day. There was no procession or other form of demonstration.

The news of Mr. Gandhi's exclusion from the Punjab produced no further effect than the posting of anonymous notices at headquarters; the news of the measures taken after the 15th of April to restore order in the central Punjab, tended to prevent any subsequent demonstration on the subject. The district reports indicate that such interest as was taken in the agitation against the Act was confined to the trading class and the legal profession; there was no movement of any kind among the rural population.

No exceptional measures of precaution were considered necessary, other than the patrolling of the railway line. The length of line in the district is about 120 miles, and the duty was carried out without objection by the inhabitants of the villages through which the railway passes.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

The district, though situated on the main line of communications, was very little affected by the agitation against the Rowlatt Act. A few pleaders (but not the more senior members of the Bar) appear to have interested themselves in promoting a hartal, but their activity stopped at this point. Even when the news was received of the occurrences in Lahore, Amritsar and Gujranwala, there was no excitement in the towns, where the traders as a whole showed little of that sympathy with agitation which characterized their class in other parts of the Punjab. Nor did the school boys and students take any apparent interest in the movement. The district had distinguished itself by its ready response to the recruiting campaign, and were it true that intensive recruitment constituted (as has been stated) one of the factors contributing to sympathy with the agitation, the rural classes of this district might well have been expected to manifest such sympathy. They were, however, entirely untouched by the events in the central Punjab. The Muhammadan of Rawalpindi and the northern districts is of a virile and militant character, quick to resent personal injury or affront to his family honour, but contemptuous and distrustful of townspeople, and little accessible to political arguments or appeals to racial antipathies.

A public meeting was convened by the local Congress Committee on the 5th April to arrange for a hartal on the 6th. The promoters were personally warned by the District Magistrate against the use of language inciting to disorder, and the speakers at the meeting appear to have confined themselves to an exhortation to prove to the rest of India that Rawalpindi was not politically asleep. A general hartal followed at Rawalpindi on the following day, but was unaccompanied by intimidation and caused no trouble; a special meeting was called by the Khalsa Young Mens' Association to condemn the Rowlatt Act. On the receipt of the news of the disturbances at Lahore a second meeting was called on the 12th. As the result of a further warning by the District Magistrate, the President and one of the Joint Secretaries of the Congress Committee resigned their posts, as they were unable to persuade the other members of the inadvisability of holding the meeting. It was decided to hold a hartal on the 13th, but the influence of the authorities with the leading citizens of the town caused this proposal to fall through. On the night between the 15th and 16th the telegraph wire between Rawalpindi and Murree was found to be cut, and on the 18th some seditious notices were found posted in Rawalpindi City; in neither case did enquiry elicit any clue to the perpetrators. On the 15th there was some trouble in the railway workshops, but this seems to have been due mainly to the non-receipt of the men's monthly pay, and speedily came to an end on the money being advanced by the local authorities from the Treasury. There was no further trouble of any kind, and the only measure of an unusual nature which the local authorities found it necessary to undertake, was the patrolling of the railway line by village agency. The work was carried out without objection by the villagers. The district was proclaimed as a disturbed area under the Police Act on April 21st.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Except for one incident, the agitation led to no serious disturbance in this district; but it produced a considerable tension of feeling, the more noticeable since it extended in parts to the rural population. Of the three main agricultural tribes in the district, the Jats predominate in numbers; they have always had the character of a simple and somewhat bucolic peasantry; they showed unusual activity in recruiting during the war; and their previous history would not lead to a supposition that they were likely as a community to take any interest in political movements. Of late years, however, they have shown signs of combination for communal purposes, and their leaders have done much to excite an interest in the general advancement of the community. The Arya Samaj has moreover acquired a wide popularity among them, and they have begun to show themselves accessible to the political as well as the religious teachings of Arya Samaj lecturers. Much of the enthusiasm for Arya Samaj would appear to be due to the fact that it admits the claim of the Jat to be ranked as a Rajput, and thereby uplifts him on the social scale. It is clear that to this influence must be attributed a good deal of the excitement shown by the Jat agriculturalists during the recent agitation; an excitement which was fostered by the proximity of Rohtak to Delhi. During the first fortnight of April, large numbers of Jats resorted daily to Delhi, and the gatherings in the Rohtak grain market, after the arrival of the evening train from Delhi, constituted for some time an addition to the difficulties of the local authorities in a period of tension.

It is stated that on the 3rd April the chief movers in the agitation at Delhi decided to extend their campaign to the neighbouring districts, and on the 5th April a meeting was held at Bahadurgarh—a country town with a small grain market—which was addressed by Pandit Tota Ram of Aligarh. His speech was aggressive and he ended by tracing all the differences of Muhammadans and Hindus to the trickery of the English. It is obvious that Rohtak town had also become interested in the agitation, for on April 6th there was a complete closure of shops in that town, followed by a protest meeting in the evening. The hartal was also observed at Sonapat, and there was a further meeting at Bahadurgarh. It was a noteworthy feature of the hartal at Rohtak, that some opposition was shown to the digging of a grave for the Rev. Mr. Carlyon, a missionary who had lived 25 years in the town, and was well known to all classes of the people. No further incident occurred till the 11th April, when a mass meeting was held at Rohtak, at which the sale of proscribed literature was advocated. On the same day a hartal—organized as a protest to the exclusion of Mr. Gandhi from the Punjab—was held at Bahadurgarh, and at the small town of Jhajjar. There was also a hartal on the 12th at Beri. On the 14th April the members of a Joint Hindu and Muhammadan Committee at Rohtak (founded as a result of the meeting on the 11th) refused the offer of the District Magistrate to enlist them as special constables for the preservation of order in the town. This perhaps is a matter for no great astonishment; but is noticeable that on the same day a leading Jat, member of the Punjab Legislative Council, and the recipient of both honours and material rewards for recruiting work, confessed his inability either to get any residents of Rohtak to join him in a loyal manifesto, or to issue one over his own signature only. On the same day occurred the most serious incident connected with the agitation in the district—the attempt by a mob to damage the line at a railway bridge crossing a drainage about a mile from Bahadurgarh. Plates were loosened, sleepers demolished and a piece of the bridge injured. It appears that this was the joint attempt of traders from the neighbouring bazar and of railway employees, who had more than once given evidence of disaffection, and were known to be in close touch with Delhi; it resulted fortunately in no serious damage to trains.

On the following day a military detachment arrived at Rohtak, and except for sporadic attempts to interfere with telegraphic communications, there was no further demonstration. On the 15th the railway telegraph wire was cut near Rohtak; and the postal telegraph at Gohana. On the 18th a rumour was put in circulation that a woman had been outraged by one of the European

soldiers stationed at Rohtak; but the local authorities were able to secure the assistance of the "Passive Resistance Committee" itself in contradicting this. On the 20th the canal wire was cut near the Jat School at Rohtak. Meanwhile the district authorities had issued personal warnings to the leaders of the agitation, and a mass meeting fixed for the 18th at Sonapat was abandoned by them. Their attitude now had become far more reasonable and they agreed to discourage all forms of popular demonstration while tension lasted. On the 28th April one Tek Ram, a Jat, a man of bad character, stated to be guilty of inciting Jats to violence, was arrested under the Defence of India Rules. The authorities also made some use of the preventive sections of these rules; in two cases persons suspected of inciting to violence were restricted to their residences; the *Jat Gazette* was forbidden to publish accounts of the disturbances; and a notice was issued forbidding the use of public places for meetings. The district was proclaimed as a disturbed area under the Police Act on April 21st.

As elsewhere, village patrols were utilized for guarding the railways and postal wires, and it is perhaps worthy of note that this is the only district in which there were objections to undertaking this duty; a number of Arya villages on the 24th April showed opposition to the patrolling order. In addition to quartering a military detachment at Rohtak, an armoured train was despatched to Bahadurgarh and small bodies of troops were taken about the district on tour by motor lorry. Nineteen persons have been prosecuted in the Court of a special Magistrate at Rohtak for the mob action at Bahadurgarh,* and action has been taken to place punitive police posts on the Jat villages of Khidwali and Sanghi.

* The case has resulted in the conviction of the majority of the accused.

SHAHPUR DISTRICT.

The trans-Jhelum portion of the district contains a somewhat sparse population of Muhammadans, militant in character, but little interested in political questions, and no trouble was to be anticipated in this area. But the cis-Indus portion has since about 1902 come under irrigation from the Lower Jhelum Canal; it has been largely colonized from men from other districts; and contains a number of recently constructed but flourishing market towns. It might, therefore, have been expected that trouble might arise here similar to that which occurred in the colony district of Lyallpur. That it did not do so is probably due to the fact that the colonists, who are predominantly Muhammadans, were drawn from the northern rather than the central Punjab, and that the trading classes have less connection with centres such as Lahore and Amritsar. Much also is probably due to the determined attitude of the more important Muhammadan landlords, the Tiwānas and Nūns, who from the first showed themselves ready to put levies of horsemen at the disposal of the authorities to check disorder. Even the villages of Lak, notorious for a concerted attack on a recruiting party in 1917, offered their services to the authorities. It is, in any case, clear that the district was little affected by the call for a universal demonstration on the 6th April; no meetings were reported, and the only notice taken of the appeal was the closure of a few shops at Sargodha, the headquarters of the Colony area, on April 6th. A meeting was subsequently convened at Bhera, a town lying outside the Colony area and long distinguished by an unenviable reputation for domestic intrigue. Here also, however, the effort fell flat; and an attempt at Hindu-Muhammadan fraternization was terminated by the refusal of the guardian of the Mosque to admit Hindus to it. While the district generally remained almost entirely unaffected, there was considerable excitement observed among railway employees and telegraph signallers. This did not, however, result in any overt incident; though two trains were delayed in starting on the 16th April and telegraphic messages were for some days subject to great delay in transmission. It was deemed desirable to protect important points on the railway lines by Police guards, and until their arrival the duty of organizing guards and patrolling the line was undertaken by the leaders of the Tiwana and other prominent local families. The patrolling of the railway lines was subsequently entrusted to the residents of the villages through which the railway passes, a duty willingly undertaken by them. On the 16th April a detachment of troops was sent to Sargodha, but no occasion arose to utilize their services. A fire which occurred on the night of the 18th-19th on the goods platform at Sargodha was at first attributed to incendiarism but was probably due to accident. On the 20th seditious notices, describing the English as 'monkeys,' and asserting that the Sikhs in the colony were prepared to rise in revenge for the thousands slaughtered at Amritsar, were found at Sargodha; these were probably the work of students returning from Lahore. No prosecutions were undertaken in the district; the district was proclaimed as a disturbed area under the Police Act on the 21st April.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Though the district is bordered by the Amritsar, Lahore, and Gujranwala districts, it was not seriously affected by the course of events in those areas; this may perhaps in some measure be due to the fact that the communications are not good; indeed Sialkot has always had to some extent a character of isolation. It maintains its own local newspapers, and does not appear to have kept in close political touch with the larger cities of the Province. The leaders of the Bar seem to have stood aloof from agitation; the promoters of the protest meetings were not men of strong local influence, and were themselves strongly averse from any demonstration likely to lead to violence. The tone of the two local papers remained satisfactory. In fact, with the exception of the students of the Murray College, who displayed an unhealthy interest in events at Amritsar, Gujranwala and Lahore and were believed to have been responsible for the exhibition of a poster calling upon the public to "use force against force," no section of the population appears to have shown any great interest in the agitation. Even in the course of the various meetings held, attention seems to have been directed rather to advocating Hindu-Muhammadan unity than to denunciation of Government or the Rowlatt Act. At the same time, the district did not entirely escape the effects of the violence prevailing elsewhere; attempts were made more than once to interfere with communications, and there were sporadic manifestations of lawlessness.

A public meeting held on the 5th of April, preceded by house to house visits and much personal canvassing in which the students of the Murray College appear to have taken a prominent part, arranged for the usual hartal on the 6th. This was complete as regards Sialkot City, but the shops remained open in Cantonments; there were a number of processions, that, which proceeded through Sialkot city being estimated to number over 20,000 people. This was followed in the evening by a mass meeting of equal numbers. The proceedings were, however, orderly and the speakers paid a tribute to the conduct of the police. A noticeable feature of the proceedings was the fact that large bodies of Muhammadans offered prayers at the Idgah for the cancellation of the Act, and were there joined by a considerable number of Hindus. The attempt to promote a hartal at Daska broke down on the interference of men of local position. At Pasrur a leading agriculturist appears to have succeeded, by threatening personal violence, in scaring away emissaries sent from Sialkot to arrange a hartal. There were small meetings at Sialkot on the 10th and 11th, but no other demonstration. The receipt of the news of the disturbances at Amritsar caused a number of missionaries in the city and district to be apprehensive of their safety, and they were as a precautionary measure accommodated in Cantonments. The step does not appear to have been due to any actual threat of violence. On the 13th the Baisakhi fair was held, and passed off quietly. There were rumours of a railway strike on the 14th, and a mass meeting was held in the city; on the same day the telegraph wires were cut between Wazirabad and Sialkot. This was, however, attributed to Baisakhi revellers returning from Wazirabad. A similar party under a local bad character, drunk at the time, made on the following day an attempt to burn a railway carriage in a siding at Sialkot. On the 16th two anonymous notices, inciting to violence, were found posted up at Sialkot, and two fish plates were removed from the railway line. On the 17th an attempt was made to set fire to a bench outside the Post Office. The incident was of minor importance; it was due to a few bad characters and boys, and the fire was very easily extinguished. No further incident occurred deserving of record.

There was a large force of troops in garrison at Sialkot, a fact which in itself no doubt had a steadying influence on the district. Piquets were stationed in the cantonments and civil stations, and small detachments were sent out on patrol to Daska, Pasrur and Marala. Arrangements were made to patrol the railway by village agency. The district was proclaimed under the Police Act on the 17th April. No other steps of a special nature were taken.

SIMLA DISTRICT.

There was no agitation or disorder in Simla. Shops were closed on the 6th in accordance with the programme for a general demonstration on that date, and a meeting was held in the course of the morning to protest against the Rowlatt Act. There was no excitement, and little real interest manifested. There appears to have been a half-hearted attempt to close down business again on the 12th April as a result of the news of Mr. Gandhi's exclusion from the Punjab, but little result followed.

CHRONOLOGICAL STATEMENT.

The 2nd February 1919.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

2nd February to 22nd February.

Lahore.—Meeting of the Indian Association to condemn the Rowlatt Bill.

The 4th February 1919.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore.—Meeting in Bradlough Hall to oppose the Rowlatt Bill.

The 5th February 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Meeting on the Rowlatt Bill.

The 9th February 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Dr. Gokal Chand Naurang came from Lahore and spoke on the Rowlatt Bill.

The 11th February 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Public meeting over subject of platform tickets.

The 13th February 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Dr. Kitchlew addressed a National meeting of Muhammadans.

The 16th February 1919.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Meeting of Local Congress Committee to protest against Rowlatt Bill.

The 19th February 1919.

FEROZEPUR DISTRICT.

Ferozepore.—Sewa Samiti branch started.

The 21st February 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Another Muhammadan meeting regarding the Holy Places and Muhammadan internees, at which Dr. Satyapal spoke.

The 22nd February 1919.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—A public meeting was held in the Kup Sabzi Mandi under the auspices of the District Congress Committee to protest against the Rowlatt Bill. The meeting was largely attended, chiefly by the trading class. Dr. Chet Ram of Sind delivered an address.

22nd-23rd
February
to 15th
March.

The 22nd-23rd February 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Anniversary of Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Talim which was made the occasion of political speeches, among the speakers being Satya Pal.

The 23rd February 1919.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—A meeting was held in the Kup Sabzi Mandi to protest against the Rowlatt Bill. Dr. Chet Ram again spoke.

The 24th February 1919.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—A meeting was held in the Galla Mandi under the presidency of a Sindhi. Dr. Chet Ram again spoke; his speech was a violent advocacy of Home Rule and condemnation of the Rowlatt Act.

The 26th February 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—At a public meeting held to consider the question of opening cheap grain shops, Dr. Kitchlew took the opportunity to lay the blame of the high prices on the Government, stating that grain taken over under the Defence of India Act was being exported to Europe.

The 28th February 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Another meeting to protest against the Rowlatt Bill.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore.—Punjab National Volunteer Corps started by Duni Chand.

The 1st March 1919.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Sewa Samiti branch organized.

The 9th March 1919.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore.—Meeting held at the Bradlaugh Hall presided over by the Hon'ble Mian Fazl-i-Husain at which a pleader M. Ghulam Muhiy-ud-din from Kasur and others used intemperate language. Sayed Habib Shah, the Calcutta Journalist, made a violent speech.

The 15th March 1919.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—A meeting was held at Baoli Seth Kuman Das, outside Delhi Gate, under the auspices of the District Congress Committee. It was addressed by Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, Amritsar, Mr. Duni Chand and Mr. Mohsan Shah, Lahore, whose speeches were in support of Home Rule and against the Rowlatt Bill.

The 16th March 1919.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

16th March
to 30th
March.

Multan.—A meeting was held at the Galla Mandi, which was addressed by Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, Amritsar, Mr. Duni Chand and Mr. Mohsan Shah, Lahore.

The 18th March 1919.

Rowlatt Act passed.

The 20th March 1919.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Private meeting of Congress Committee to discuss situation.

The 21st March 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—First of *waqt* cartoons published concerning Rowlatt Act.

The 23rd March 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—First mass meeting held in support of passive resistance.

The 29th March 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—A meeting held in which it was decided to hold hartal on the next day. Orders served on Dr. Satya Pal prohibiting him from speaking in public in consequence of the speech made by him on the 23rd.

FEROZEPUR DISTRICT.

Fazilka.—A local pleader, an Arya Sadhu and Swami Barmanand, assisted by Arya sympathisers held a meeting at which it was arranged to hold hartal the next day and to raise subscriptions for a Satyagraha Library.

JHANG DISTRICT.

Jhang-Maghiana.—A private meeting held in the house of a Pleader, to promote hartal. A public meeting was held later and the decision to hold hartal on the next day was announced by beat of drum.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—A meeting was held under the auspices of the Hindu-Muhammadan Panchayat, when it was decided to hold a hartal the next day (30th) in supposed obedience to the orders of Mr. Gandhi and as a protest against the Rowlatt Bill.

On the same day a printed notice was published in the city over the signatures of the Joint Secretaries of the District Congress Committee, calling on the people to observe the hartal.

The 30th March 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Complete hartal but no collision with the police. Mass meeting held.

FEROZEPUR DISTRICT.

Fazilka.—Hartal observed but shops were opened towards the afternoon.

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

Mukerian.—The Arya Samaj party secured the observance of complete hartal.

JHANG DISTRICT.

Jhang-Maghiana.—The hartal decided on at previous evening's meeting started but was finally stopped by the leaders at the instance of the Deputy Commissioner.

30th March
to 2nd April.

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Karnal.—An Urdu manuscript notice with headline "30th March—day of hartal—sign of mourning" found stuck up in the bazaar. This notice advocated mourning and prayers for passive resistance, and declared that two methods of opposing the Rowlatt Act suggested themselves, i.e., Revolution and Passive Resistance, but as arms were wanting for the former, the latter course should be pursued.

Panipat.—Partial hartal observed and a meeting was held in the town advocating passive resistance.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—A complete hartal, affecting both Hindu and Muhammadan shops was held. Meetings were held at the Narsinghpuri shrine at 11 A.M., at the Prahladpuri shrine at 1 P.M. and at Kup Vangigaran at 4 P.M. The speeches were mostly directed against the Rowlatt Bill.

MUZAFFARGARH DISTRICT.

Kot Adu.—A meeting was held by the local Arya Samaj. Lectures condemning the Rowlatt Act were delivered.

The 31st March 1919.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Sialkot.—A private meeting held to arrange a hartal for the 6th.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Jullundur.—Provincial Conference mass meetings addressed by Dr. Kitchlew and Dina Nath of Amritsar.

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

Ludhiana.—A meeting of women protesting against the Rowlatt Act was held in the Arya Samaj Temple, when the daughter of Munshi Ram of Delhi addressed some women and spoke against the Act.

The 2nd April 1919.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

Ambala.—Meeting held at which it was decided to observe hartal in the city on the 6th.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Swami Satya Déo, a follower of Gandhi, lectured on "Soul Force" and endeavoured to dissuade the people from violence and from holding public meetings until the issue of Gandhi's manifesto.

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

Hoshiarpur.—Suggestions made to invite Dr. Kitchlew, who happened to be in Jullundur, to address a meeting but the proposal was not acted on.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Jullundur.—Provincial Conference mass meetings addressed by Dr. Kitchlew and Dina Nath of Amritsar.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore.—The Superintendent of Police forbade public processions in streets for one month under the Police Act.

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

Montgomery.—Meeting in the Bar room to promote hartal.

The 3rd April 1919.3rd April to
4th April.**AMBALA DISTRICT.**

Rupar.—A meeting was organized which passed resolutions condemning the Rowlatt Act and deplored the results of the Delhi riots. This was followed by strenuous efforts to secure complete hartal for the 6th.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Batala.—A committee formed in the local Bar room to promote hartal.

Gurdaspur.—A committee formed to organize a hartal for the 6th.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Rewari.—A small number of arrivals from Delhi spread the idea of hartal in the town.

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

Hoshiarpur.—Apparently on suggestions made from Jullundur, a leading Arya Samajist and a few pleaders and traders discussed the observance of hartal on the 6th. In evening two agitators (one of whom has since been prosecuted at Lahore), got up a Muhammadan meeting nominally about municipal affairs, but hartal was discussed and a prominent Muhammadan pleader was subsequently asked to assume leadership.

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

Ludhiana.—A second meeting for the purpose of protesting against the Rowlatt Act and urging upon the people the necessity of holding a hartal, was held at Qaisarganj grain market.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Sialkot.—Shop to shop visits carried out to promote hartal, also a private meeting held for the same purpose.

The 4th April 1919.**AMRITSAR DISTRICT.**

Amritsar.—Dr. Kitchlew, Pandit Kotu Mal, Dina Nath and Swami Anubhava Nand served with orders not to speak in public.

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

Hoshiarpur.—A meeting was held by leading pleaders and traders, at which it was decided that Hoshiarpur City must fall into line with the rest of the Punjab on the subject of hartal. It was decided to issue a notice, fixing hartal and a public meeting for the 6th.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore.—The Municipal Members and Honorary Magistrates and well-disposed traders were urged in the morning to do their best to prevent hartal and disorders on the 6th. Lala Duni Chand and Chaudhri Shahab Din spoke against the Rowlatt Act at this meeting. The promoters of the hartal fixed for the 6th were warned by the Deputy Commissioner that they would be held responsible for any disorder occurring on that date.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—A meeting of the Hindu-Muhammadan Panchayat was held, at which it was decided to frustrate the welcome which the Municipal Committee had decided to give the 2/30 Punjabis who had recently returned from active service in Egypt and Palestine. The Vice-Presidents of the Municipal Committee vainly remonstrated against the proposed action.

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Karnal.—A meeting was held to arrange for the hartal on the 6th.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Sialkot.—Hand bills issued in furtherance of the hartal fixed for the 6th.

5th April.

The 5th April 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Local Congress Committee alarmed by Delhi riots, declared against hartal on the 6th. Leading citizens assembled at the house of the Deputy Commissioner whom they assured that there would be no hartal, but about 5 P.M. Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew and some others decided at a private meeting that hartal should take place.

DERA GHAZI KHAN DISTRICT.

Jampur.—A private meeting by a few Muhammadans to promote hartal.

FEROZEPUR DISTRICT.

Ferozepore.—Hartals had been under discussion since the 1st April and it was eventually decided on the 5th evening to hold hartal on the 6th.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Gujranwala.—Barristers and pleaders arrange a meeting, the notice regarding which was hurriedly printed and circulated through the town. In the afternoon the Deputy Commissioner sent for the leaders and warned them he would hold them responsible for any disorder. In the evening a meeting, largely attended by Hindus, was held at which the speeches denounced the Rowlatt Act as a shameful recompense for India's loyalty. One individual, speaking as an eye-witness of the Delhi incident, alleged that the official account was incorrect.

Hafizabad.—Local agitators hold secret meeting to discuss measures of passive resistance, a special delegate being sent to Lahore to concert action.

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

Hoshiarpur.—A notice under 53 signatures issued, directing hartal to be observed on the 6th. A few leading citizens whom the local authorities advised to stand out against hartal, issued a notice against it without effect.

JHELM DISTRICT.

Jhelum.—A private meeting held by certain residents decided to promote hartal on the following day.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore.—The promoters of the hartal attempted to obtain full control of the city by offering to take responsibility if the police were withdrawn. They took full advantage of the assurance given that Government would not forcibly compel shopkeepers to open or close shops and employed a good deal of pressure to promote the hartal. Notices and placards issued. Arrangements were made to parade military forces round the Fort Road and elsewhere.

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

Ludhiana.—A third meeting for purpose of protesting against the Rowlatt Act and urging the people to hold a hartal, was held at Qaisarganj grain market.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—The District Congress Committee held a public meeting of protest against the Rowlatt Act. It was resolved to institute a hartal on the following day.

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

Montgomery.—A large number of posters inciting people to protest against the Rowlatt Bill was brought from Lahore and placarded all over the town.

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Karnal.—Mass meeting to arrange hartal.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

5th April
to 6th April.

Multan.—The Deputy Commissioner called up 15 of the most prominent members of the Hindu-Muhammadan Panchayat, and warned them that violence in enforcing a hartal would be treated as criminal. The warning was received in silence. The proposed visit of the 2/30 Punjabis to the city was postponed.

MUZAFFARGARH DISTRICT.

Kot Adu.—Pandit Lok Nath, an employee of the Lahore Arya Samaj, delivered a lecture at a public meeting condemning the Rowlatt Act.

Muzaffargarh Town.—In the evening the Secretary of the Local Branch of the New Muslim League announced he would hold a meeting in his house on the following (6th) morning.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Rawalpindi City.—Mass meeting took place to protest against the Rowlatt Bill and advocate a hartal.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Bahadurgarh.—A meeting was held at which a lecture was given by Pandit Tota Ram of Aligarh.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Sialkot.—Mass meeting at the Ram Talab to promote hartal. Speeches dealt with necessity for Hindu-Muhammadan unity. The local leaders warned by the Deputy Commissioner that violence would be suppressed by military force.

The 6th April 1919.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

Ambala City.—An incomplete hartal. In the evening a meeting protesting against the Rowlatt Act.

Rupar.—Partial hartal. Certain Arya Samajists opposed the Sub-Divisional Officer in his efforts to explain the Rowlatt Act to the people.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—A manuscript notice was affixed to the Clock Tower calling on the people to "die and kill." Complete hartal but no collision with police, the organizers avoiding anything to justify intervention.

DERA GHAZI KHAN.

Jampur.—Public protest meeting held, which was attended by Hindus and Muhammadans.

FEROZEPUR DISTRICT.

Ferozepore City and Cantonments.—Hartal observed. In the morning there was a large meeting at which the speeches were directed against the Rowlatt Bill.

<i>Abohar</i>	} Hartal observed, and a public meeting was held
<i>Gidarbaha</i> ... }	
	at Abohar.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Akalgarh.—Members of the Diwan family, descendants of the Multan rebel Diwan Mulraj, with other Hindus went round the bazars inducing shopkeepers to close their shops. In the evening a meeting was held but speeches were moderate.

Gujranwala.—Complete hartal observed with meetings at which misrepresentation of the Rowlatt Act was industriously carried on.

Hafizabad.—A partial hartal observed and in the evening meeting held, at which speeches against the Rowlatt Act were delivered.

6th April.

Ramnagar.—Hartal observed.*Sheikhupura.*—Hartal and a protest meeting of Hindus and Muhammadans.*Wazirabad.*—Efforts of Hindus to force a hartal frustrated by prominent Muhammadans.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

<i>Batala</i>	...	} A complete hartal observed.
<i>Dhariwal</i>	...	
<i>Dinanagar</i>	...	
<i>Gurdaspur</i>	...	
<i>Pathankot</i>	...	
<i>Sujanpur</i>	...	
<i>Aliwal</i>	...	} A partial hartal observed.
<i>Kadian</i>	...	
<i>Sohal</i>	...	

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Ballabgarh.—Under pressure from Delhi a hartal was started, abandoned after about two hours.*Faridabad.*—Hartal was observed for two days.*Pahwal.*—Hartal observed. Meeting was held and collection raised for defence of those who might be prosecuted in this connection.*Rewari.*—Hartal observed. The people were restless and moved about in crowds. The Station was visited and refreshment rooms forced to close.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Bhiwani City.—Complete hartal and a mass meeting. Some persons went about in mourning garb, carrying black flags.*Hissar City.*—Complete hartal. A meeting was held in the morning to protest against the Rowlatt Act. Another meeting was held in the evening to offer prayers for the withdrawal of the Act, and speeches were also delivered.*Hansi City.*—Attempts made to promote a hartal but no result was reached.

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

Hoshiarpur.—General hartal was observed but some shops continued to supply regular customers in an unobtrusive manner. In the afternoon a public meeting protesting against the Rowlatt Act was held, at which the attendance was fairly large, and speeches, misrepresenting the Rowlatt Act, were delivered. One speaker made inflammatory reference to the Delhi riot. The audience was quiet. Hartal was observed in most towns and larger villages near towns.

JHANG DISTRICT.

Chiniot.—An abortive attempt at hartal.*Shorkot.*—Another attempt at hartal stopped.

JHELM DISTRICT.

Jhelum City.—Complete hartal, and in the evening a protest meeting.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

<i>Jullundur City</i>	} Hartal observed. Mass meetings and speeches against the Rowlatt Act.
<i>Nawanshahr</i>	
<i>Banga</i>	
<i>Bahon</i> ...	

KARNAL DISTRICT.

6th April.

Karnal.—Hartal observed.*Panipat.*—Unsuccessful attempt to observe hartal.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore.—In the morning crowds collected at the Ravi, these gradually filtered back to town and about noon formed a procession down Anarkali Bazar, carrying a black flag bearing Gandhi's picture. The crowd forked at Nila Gumbaz Chawk after pushing aside a police piquet, and one part carrying the flag and apparently led by pleaders or other educated persons was stopped by a force of Police sowars and cavalry, and was led on to Bradlaugh Hall by Dr. Gokal Chand Naurang. The other part of the mob were stopped at the Market Chawk by cavalry and cars. Some men were arrested for violence but released almost at once. Dr. Gokal Chand also assisted in leading this crowd away. The cavalry then assisted in clearing the Anarkali Bazar up to Nila Gumbaz. After the packed meeting at Bradlaugh Hall, there were no more processions till after the military had been withdrawn at night, when a crowd went round to various Municipal Commissioners' Honorary Magistrates' houses, shouting abuse and throwing stones. There was a complete closure of shops and cessation of labour throughout the day.

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

Ludhiana.—A general hartal and in the evening a meeting at the Budha Nala Ghat. Hartal also observed at Khanna and Sahnewal.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Gojra.—A pleader from Lyallpur and some local Arya Samajists tried to organize a hartal, but failed.

Jaranwala.—Attempts were made to promote a hartal and subscriptions were collected for the families of the "Delhi martyrs."

Lyallpur City.—A general hartal was observed all day. The District Congress Committee held a public meeting in the evening at which resolutions against the Act were recorded. The behaviour of the crowds was orderly and there was little excitement, though there was much misrepresentation of the objects of the Rowlatt Act.

Tandlianwala.—A hartal was organized after the arrival of the morning train (8 A.M.) which lasted till sunset. This was instigated by local merchants (mainly Arya Samajists) who had arrived from Lahore.

Toba Tek Singh.—There was a public meeting and a very brief hartal at Toba Tek Singh organized by two local pleaders.

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

Chichawatni.—The Ginning Factory and one other factory stopped work.

Kamalia.—Hartal and a protest meeting.

Montgomery city.—A complete hartal observed.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan City.—A hartal was observed at the instance of the Hindu-Muhammadian Panchayat. A large meeting was held outside Delhi Gate in the evening, at which speeches were directed against the Rowlatt Bill.

MUZAFFARGARH DISTRICT.

Kot Adu.—In the morning a public meeting was held at which resolutions condemning the Rowlatt Act were passed. Hindus' shops were mostly closed, and fasting was also observed by some of the Hindus.

Muzaffargarh Town.—The meeting convened by the Secretary of the local branch of the New Muslim League was held and attended by about 300 people. Speeches were delivered against the Rowlatt Act. A number of shops were closed, but there was no procession or other incident of importance.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Rawalpindi City.—A special meeting of the Khalsa Young Men's Association was held protesting against the Rowlatt Act.

6th April to
9th April.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Bahadurgarh.—Meeting in the evening with an address by Pandit Tota Ram of Aligarh.

Rohtak.—Hartal followed by a meeting in the evening. Opposition shown to making a bier and digging a grave for the Revd. Mr. Carylton who had died that morning.

Sonepat.—Hartal during the day, following by public meeting in city Mandi.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Sialkot City.—Hartal. Shops were closed, tongas stopped running and processions held but proceedings were orderly. A large mass meeting held in the evening.

SIMLA DISTRICT.

Simla.—Hartal was observed and a meeting was held.

The 7th April 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Private meeting held to consider the continuation of the agitation.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Bhiwani City.—A Vaish Sabha meeting held, where in addition to other objects, Hindu-Muhammadian unity was preached; and feelings against the Rowlatt Act were expressed.

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

Satgarha.—Hartal observed.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—The general hartal which had begun on the 6th was continued,

The 8th April 1919.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Bhiwani City.—A Hindu-Muhammadian unity meeting was held.

Sirsa.—Hindu-Muhammadian meeting to protest against the Rowlatt Act,

JHANG DISTRICT.

Chiniot.—An endeavour to arrange another hartal failed.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan City.—The general hartal, which had begun on the 6th, was continued. A meeting was formed to arrange for the settlement of all cases by Panchayat.

The 9th April 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—The Hindu festival of Ram Naumi was celebrated by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. During the procession, instead of cries giving honour to the Hindu deities, the political shouts of "Hindu-Musalman ki jai" and "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai" were raised, but little evidence of active feeling against Government discernible, though a party of Muhammadans, dressed to represent the Turkish Army, made somewhat offensive demonstration. In the evening, orders were received from Government by the Deputy Commissioner for the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

9th April to
10th April.

Batala.—Fraternization between Hindus and Muhammadans during celebration of the Hindu festival of Ram Naumi. There was much shouting for Gandhi, and in some instances the words Allah, Ram and Om were impressed on the clothes of the crowd to betoken union.

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Panipat.—Celebration of the Rath Jatra, at which Hindus and Muhammadans fraternized, and organized demonstration in honour of Gandhi.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore.—The Ram Naumi procession was utilized by the popular leaders for the display of seditious sentiments and fraternization between Hindus and Muhammadans. Lala Duni Chand led it on horseback.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Palwal.—Mr. Gandhi prevented from entering the Punjab and served with an order to reside within the Bombay Presidency.

The 10th April 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Deportation of Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew, at 10-30 A.M. A little later crowds began to collect in the City and Aitchison Park; the Military warned. An angry crowd drove back a small mounted piquet at Hall Gate Bridge to get to Civil lines and the troops were eventually ordered to fire; a few rioters were killed and wounded. This was about 1 P.M. The forces being further augmented by a British Infantry piquet, the crowds were driven back over the railway line after being fired upon again. The crowd then divided, one part attacking and destroying the telephone exchange. Another part turned to the goods yard which they set on fire and cut telegraph wires, killed Guard Robinson and chased the Station Superintendent, but were turned back by the railway station piquet. Chance arrival of a detachment of Gurkhas finally secured the Railway Station.

In the City, all European and Government property was attacked. The National Bank of India was sacked and burnt, the Agent (Mr. Stewart) and his Assistant (Mr. Scott) being murdered. The Alliance Bank was attacked and the Agent Mr. Thomson murdered. The Chartered Bank also attacked, but the Agent, Mr. J. W. Thomson, and his Assistant Mr. Ross, were rescued by police. The Religious Book Society's Depôt and Hall, the Town Hall and the Sub-Post Office attached to it, were set on fire, while the Sub-Post Offices at the Golden Temple, Majith Mandi and Dhab Basti Ram were looted. Mrs. Easdon, Lady Doctor of the Zenana Hospital, narrowly escaped being murdered; Miss Sherwood, a Mission Lady, was brutally attacked. The Indian Christian Church was burnt and an attempt made to fire the C. M. S. Girls' Normal School. Sergeant Rowlands, Military Works Electrician, was murdered near Aitchison Park. The telegraph and telephone wires throughout the city and suburbs were cut to pieces.

The mob made another attempt at about 2 P. M. to burst into the civil lines, were fired on at the Hall Gate Bridge, resulting in 20 to 30 casualties. Commissioner on arrival in evening places military authorities in charge of situation. About 10 P.M. 400 re-inforcements arrived from Lahore. The city was entered and the Kotwali occupied at midnight.

Bhagtanwala Railway Station on the Tarn Taran line was burnt and looted and telegraph broken. An attempt was made on the main line towards Lahore but was defeated by fire from the Railway Police Guard on the Calcutta Mail.

Chheharta Railway Station.—Night attack by a mob of villagers who broke the windows of the station and then proceeded to loot a goods train that was standing in the yard.

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10th April
to 11th
April.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Gurgaon.—Partial hartal held. At night a large meeting was held at which it was decided to hold hartal on the next day and on the last Saturday of every month till the Rowlatt Act was cancelled, but this latter suggestion was not carried out.

Palwal.—Hartal renewed.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Bhiwani City.—An unsuccessful attempt was made to hold another hartal.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Jullundur.—News regarding the Amritsar disturbances arrived in the evening, and caused some excitement.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore.—The news regarding Gandhi's arrest and the Amritsar disturbances arrived late in the afternoon and about 6 P.M. a crowd of several thousands began moving up the Mall, pushing back a small force of police constables which had been hurriedly sent off to arrest their advance. The Deputy Commissioner then arrived and as the police were being surrounded, they were ordered to fire, upon which the crowd dispersed. One was killed and seven wounded. Later Cavalry arrived. At the Lohari Gate a large mob stoned the Senior Superintendent of Police and the police force. The Deputy Commissioner arrived on the scene and as the stoning continued he was obliged again to open fire, resulting in 15 being wounded, three dying later. A small police force encountered rioters with sticks in the Dabbi Bazar but these dispersed on finding themselves in danger of capture.

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

Ludhiana.—A meeting was held at the Qaisarganj market for the purposes of furthering Hindu-Muhammadan unity, of considering the construction of a National Hall in Ludhiana, and of inviting the provincial conference to Ludhiana in 1920.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Sialkot.—Abdul Hai, a Lahore agitator, addressed a meeting.

The 11th April 1919.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

Ambala.—Another hartal attempted but without success. A meeting was held in the evening.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Reinforcements arrived from Jullundur. Burial of rioters killed on 10th, took place with a large procession. Troops marched through the city.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Chuharkana.—Protest meeting in Mandi mosque attended by Hindus and Mussalmans. Hartal urged.

Sangla.—Meeting held, deciding upon hartal for the next day.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Gurdaspur.—The Deputy Commissioner assembled all available members of the local bar in his Court in the forenoon, and asked them in view of the seriousness of the situation, to come out unmistakably on the side of law and order. The response was half-hearted and in one instance churlish. In the evening there was a joint Hindu-Muslim Meeting at the Araianwali mosque.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

11th April.

Gurgaon.—Hartal continued. Hindu-Muhammadan meeting in the Arainwali Mosque.

Hasanpur.—Hartal for one day was observed.

Hodal.—Surendra Nath Sharma, a Delhi emissary, got up a meeting which was primarily responsible for a hartal being observed for one day.

Palwal.—Hartal continued.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Bhiwani City.—A hartal for the 13th was proposed, and a trader went about with a black flag to announce it but without success.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Jullundur.—News regarding Gandhi's arrest arrived early and hartal was observed in the city. Troops were despatched to the Railway station and the civil lines to prevent an outbreak of disorder.

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Panipat.—Observance of a complete hartal in connection with the arrest of Gandhi. Seditious speeches were delivered by a Delhi agitator, Bhagwanji, for whose arrest a warrant under the Defence of India Act was subsequently issued.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Kasur.—Hartal observed. A crowd led by Nadir Ali Shah went round the city forcibly closing shops and business places. The crowd then gathered at the Hari Har Mandar where several persons addressed it. On the whole the speeches were moderate, though one leader made a violent speech against the Rowlatt Act.

Lahore.—City in the control of the mob all day and night. The closure of shops begun the evening previous continued for several days. Early in the morning an attempt was made by one Moti Ram to persuade the police to join the rioters. Large crowds gathered in the Badshahi Mosque, where Hindus were allowed to address them. A band of half drilled club men, called the Danda Fauj, also permitted to enter the Mosque.

During the breakfast hour, two Sikh students distributed passive resistance leaflets at the Railway Workshops, and this was followed by an attack on the Time office, stones being thrown by boys. The Loco. Superintendent was stoned. The crowd was dispersed with the assistance of the police and cavalry. One Balwant Singh, an ex-sepoy on an invalid pension, proclaimed in the city and the Badshahi Mosque that Indian regiments had mutinied in Lahore Cantonments and were marching on Amritsar and Lahore, and stated that they had killed about 200-250 British soldiers, he himself having killed six. After the meeting the crowd marched through the city, destroying portraits of Their Majesties.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

News arrived at Lyallpur of the Amritsar and Lahore riots and the turning back of Mr. Gandhi from the Punjab; this caused general excitement, but the action taken prevented demonstrations.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—News regarding the disturbances at Amritsar reached the city early in the morning and at about 9 A. M. shops began to close. The Deputy Commissioner called up the promoters of the hartal and again warned them of the consequences of disorder. The Superintendent of Police issued an order under section 30 (2) of the Police Act, forbidding processions and meetings in the city, while military and police forces were kept in readiness.

11th April to
12th April.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Rawalpindi City.—A meeting was held to express sympathy with those killed at Delhi.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Bahadurgarh } Hartal held.
Jhajjar

Rohtak.—Mass meeting at which sale of proscribed literature was advocated. Formation of a Joint Hindu-Muhammadan Committee. A few of the local pleaders made inflammatory speeches.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Pasrur.—Secret meeting in the house of a Barrister-at-Law.

The 12th April 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—A threatened disturbance averted by display of military force. A number of important arrests made.

Cheharta.—Telegraph wires cut between this and Amritsar.

Turn Taran.—A small force with armoured train arrived as trouble was threatened, but owing to a misunderstanding this force did not remain. After their departure some villagers collected to loot the Tahsil but were dispersed by Inspector Aziz-ud-din and a few others. A permanent force arrived early the next morning.

Asiapur.—Mission buildings threatened. Flying columns sent out.

Khasa } Telegraph wires cut between these places.
Gurusar

Khasa } Telegraph wires cut between these places.
Cheharta

AMBALA DISTRICT.

Ambala City.—Mass meeting to protest against deportation of Mr. Gandhi.

FEROZEPORE DISTRICT.

Ferozepore.—Troops were despatched to Kasur, and police and military precautions were taken in the event of trouble spreading to Ferozepore.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Batala.—Another hartal observed. While the local agitators were being warned the mob which followed, threatened to cause riot if the leaders were arrested.

Gurdaspur.—Another hartal observed. As situation appeared grave, a small force of one officer and 50 men arrived from Pathankot to support local police in case of necessity. At night meeting of Hindus and Muhammadans held in the Jama Masjid, when same dangerous language was used; it is stated that a suggestion was made to raid the civil lines.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Chuharkana.—Hartal and protest meeting.

Sangla.—Hartal observed. Mourning bathing ceremony performed in canal followed by procession with black flag and effigy of Rowlatt Bill.

Hafizabad.—Another meeting held to organize hartal for the 14th.

Wazirabad.—At a secret meeting held in house of a Municipal Commissioner a hartal on the 13th decided on, but it was postponed to 15th on account of the Baisakhi fair.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

12th April

Palwal.—Hartal continued.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Hissar City.—A telegram purporting to be from Delhi was received at the Canal Telegraph Office urging "All Indian brothers" to strike.

A North-Western Railway guard refused to start for Jakhhal.

Sirsa.—Hartal and a protest meeting against the arrest of Gandhi in the Jama Masjid. Hindu speakers were admitted.Hartal was observed in most towns and larger villages near towns.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Nurmahal.—Hartal observed. Telegraph wires cut between Nurmahal and Nakodar and insulators broken. †

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Karnal.—General Railway, Post and Telegraph strike threatened.Shahabad.—Meeting held to arrange for observance of hartal the next day. In the evening Hindus and Sikhs congregated in the *imambara* and fraternized with Muhammadans.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Kasur.—A meeting of the local leaders was held at the house of a pleader, to discuss the institution of Hindu-Muhammadan mess houses. Hartal was again observed. Crowds paraded the city, closing shops and schools, schoolboys taking a conspicuous part, a large crowd following a *charpai* covered with a black flag as an emblem of the death of liberty, moved towards the railway station. When about to leave, after doing considerable damage to the station, the leaders again urged them to more violence. They then returned, and after burning a small oil-shed, damaging signal and telegraph wires, smashing furniture and looting property, they made for the Ferozepore train which carried several Europeans, i.e., the Sherbourne family (consisting of Mr. Sherbourne, his wife and three children), Captain Limby and Lieutenant Munro, Corporal Battson and Lance-Corporal Gringham all of whom narrowly escaped being killed, while two others, Conductor Selby and Sergeant Mallett were beaten to death by Lathis. † ⊕Telegraph wires were destroyed for half a mile and posts uprooted, the Wheat Mandi Post Office looted and gutted, the main Post Office burned, the Munsif's Court set on fire, and an attempt made to burn the Tahsil which was saved by the police firing on the crowd, one being killed and several wounded of whom three afterwards died. Eight persons were arrested. Troops arrived in the afternoon. † ⊕Khem Karan Railway Station.—Damage done by about 20 men mainly sweepers from Pattu village, who were driven off by some local zamindars. ⊕Lahore.—In the morning a military force composed of British and Indian troops, machine guns, and cavalry, accompanied by police and civil authorities marched through the city. The demeanour of the crowd was hostile. Cavalry cleared off crowd that had gathered in front of the Fort and Badshahi Mosque. A Criminal Investigation Department Inspector in plain clothes was severely assaulted by large crowd in the Mosque. On crowd being dispersed, the entrance to Mosque were picketed by cavalry. The crowd, carrying sticks, formed a Muharram procession, and on reaching the bazar, began stoning the cavalry there, whereupon an armed police force was brought up and four constables were ordered to fire as the stoning and excitement had increased. One student killed and twenty-eight men wounded of whom one afterwards died. The crowd then dispersed. ✓

About noon a meeting to discuss matters commenced in the Town Hall and lasted for some 3 hours. The Deputy Commissioner was told that shops

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12th April would remain closed unless the military and police were removed. Free food shops were opened by the leaders, several persons making large money contributions. Offensive notices were found posted, and Government clerks and railway men were deterred from working. All shops remained closed and restless crowds paraded the streets all day and several days following. In the evening the Deputy Commissioner warned the leaders that Martial Law would be introduced unless the hartal ceased.

† Patti.—Rioting from about 8 to 11 P. M., some damage done to the station. Telegraph wires cut.

† Jallo ... } Telegraph posts broken and all wires cut for two miles.
Harbanspura }

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

Hoshiarpur.—Meeting to protest against deportation of Mr. Gandhi.

Mukerian.—Hartal here and at other places in the district.

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

Ludhiana.—A meeting was held at the Qaisarganj market to protest against the arrest of Mr. Gandhi.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur City.—Reported to be very restless, and the District Congress Committee active with protest propaganda. Hartal decided for 13th.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—In the morning the Commissioner assembled at his house a meeting of Military and Civil officers, Raises and Pleaders, to whom he explained the Rowlatt Act, and called on them to allay excitement and prevent disorder. Several pleaders undertook to endeavour to dissuade the people from violence or unconstitutional action, and were accordingly permitted to hold a public meeting that afternoon in the city. The hartal still continued. In the afternoon a disorderly procession of about 500 people proceeded to march through the city but was persuaded to join the permitted meeting. This was orderly, the speakers, while sympathising with opposition to the Rowlatt Bill and expressing admiration of Gandhi, urged abstinence from disorder or sedition. Strike threatened on railway.

MUZAFFARGARH DISTRICT.

Muzaffargarh.—Posters calling for hartal were posted in the city.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Rawalpindi City.—Railway workshop employees threatened to go on strike, but action seems to have been due only to the non-receipt of their pay.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Beri.—Hartals held, said to be after pressure from Delhi.

SIMLA DISTRICT.

Simla.—A meeting was held to protest against the order detaining Mr. Gandhi.

The 13th April 1919.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

Ambala Cantonment.—Complete hartal in the Sadar Bazar, said to be due to commercial pressure from Delhi and Lahore. In the afternoon a large public meeting in the Sadar Bazar at which one or two very objectionable resolutions were passed.

† Barara Station.—All Telegraph wires cut near this station.—(North-Western Railway).

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

18th April.

Amritsar.—In the forenoon the Officer Commanding Troops, accompanied by the Deputy Commissioner, marched through city at head of some troops, announcing by beat of drum at every important street, that no meetings would be allowed. Notwithstanding this warning, just after the troops had returned (about 4 P.M.) a meeting began assembling at the Bagh Jallewalian and this large crowd only dispersed on being fired on by troops, the casualties being considerable. ✓

About 2 A.M. the line was cut between Chheharata and Kharsa and a goods train derailed. ⊕

Seditious Meetings Act applied to district. Notices issued by General Commanding, Amritsar, prohibiting egress from the city and forbidding residents to leave their houses at night.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Chuharkana.—Lectures given at the Baisakhi fair incited people to damage railway line.

Gujranwala.—A meeting of the local leaders, at which it is alleged that a definite decision was arrived at to repeat the incidents of Lahore and Amritsar.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Pathankot.—Hartal.

Telegraph wires cut between Batala and China and Jaintipura and between Gurdaspur and Dhariwal. ++

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Firozpur
Nagina
Nuh ... } Hartal observed under outside pressure.

Palwal.—Hartal discontinued during the day.

Taoru.—Hartal observed under pressure from Gurgaon. Shadi Lal, a local agitator, gave lectures directed against the Rowlatt Act.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Hansi.—A meeting took place at which Gandhi's message was read and hartal was proposed, but no action followed.

Hissar.—Hartal again observed, but it broke down towards evening. A mass meeting was held in the evening in the Idgah, which was moderate in tone and helped to quiet the situation. At this meeting the President of the local Arya Samaj was called to the pulpit.

Sirsa.—The "Hindustani Ittihad Sabha" was formed.

Tohana.—A meeting held in the dharmshala in the evening. Hartal proposed and a lecture given on Hindu-Muslim unity.

Bhiwani.—Hartal announced, but fell through.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Jullundur Cantonments.—Fire in a military office. ⊕

JHANG DISTRICT.

Jhang-Maghiana.—Loyal meeting of Muhammadans.

KANGRA DISTRICT.

Kangra.—A circular letter was issued to all important persons in the district directing them to take action to preserve the peace if necessary and to contradict false rumours. Loyal replies were received from all.

13th April to
14th April.

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Panipat.—Hindus and Muhammadans fraternized again and proposed to settle Hindu-Muhammadan affairs by a "Communal Law." They levied a contribution on a *halwai* who had not observed the hartal.

Shahabad.—A complete hartal was observed.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore.—Hartal continued. Another meeting of the leaders was called by the authorities. The Seditious Meetings Act was proclaimed in the district, and assemblies of more than ten persons were prohibited. Wholesale retail liquor shops were closed. An attempt was made by the crowd to get the Railway Guards to strike. Organization of village patrols on railways and night patrols in the civil station begun by the authorities.

Khem Karan Railway Station.—Telegraph insulators stolen.

Kasur ... } Wires cut between.
Khem Karan ... }

Khem Karan ... } Wires cut between.
Ghariaia ... }

Manihala.—Meeting held at Baisakhi fair and people urged to help Amritsar.

Wagah Railway Station.—Station sacked and burnt mostly by people from Manihala and Narwar where seditious meetings had been held; the armoured train was derailed. Wires were cut and the line breached in several places.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Jaranwala.—Nand Lal, petition-writer, returned to Jaranwala from Delhi and tried to organize a coercive hartal on the next day. His propaganda was strongly anti-British in form.

Lyallpur. A general hartal was observed, accompanied by open fraternization of Hindus and Muhammadans. Attempts to hold public meetings were frustrated by the authorities, but towards the evening crowds in the bazar became unruly and some coercion was applied by them to shops which attempted to open. Some small riots occurred. Posters and notices advocating continued strike and expressing hatred of British and Government appeared; some of them appear to have been due to students arriving from the Lahore colleges. Towards night the crowds became distinctly hostile and were with difficulty prevented from becoming an angry mob.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan City.—The hartal begun on the 11th continued till the evening. A meeting was held outside the city at Bawa Safra at which speeches against the Rowlatt Act were delivered. Shops were partially opened for the Baisakhi fair.

The 14th April 1919.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

Manimajra.—Hartal, organized mainly by Arya Samajists, has partial success. Demonstration against the Rowlatt Act collapsed at the last moment.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

An attack by the villagers of Ballarwal on the neighbouring village of Makhawal was dispersed.

Jagdeo Khurd.—A body of some 20 men attacked and wounded several shopkeepers but were beaten off by the villagers.

Tarn Taran.—A sympathetic hartal, but arrival of British troops averted possible danger. Telegraph wires cut between this and Jandoke and Gholwar.

Mananwala.—Telegraph wires cut between this and Amritsar.

Patti ... }
Karor ... } Telegraph wire between these places cut.

BAHAWALPUR STATE.

14th April.

Bahawalnagar.—Strike by railway officials: telegraph wires cut.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Akalgarh.—Shops opened as usual but about 9 A.M., on news regarding the Kasur and other disturbances being received, the crowd formed a procession and enforced a hartal, threatening to burn factories of those who refused to join. The mob did no damage.

Chuharkana.—Demonstrations on the station platform on arrival of trains. Telegraph wires cut.

Gujranwala.—Early in the morning a calf was killed and hung up on the Katchi Railway Bridge, rumours being circulated that this was done by the police. Crowds moved about the bazars raising various cries and closing shops. They surrounded and stoned a train, attempting to damage the engine; burnt a small railway bridge opposite the Gurukul, and cut the telegraph wires for several miles on both sides of the station and smashed 450 insulators. An hour later the Katchi Bridge on the Lahore side was set on fire. The mob next had to be driven off from the distant signal on the Lahore side, where they had set about destroying the line. The Superintendent of Police with his force were stoned and had to use firearms; this part of the mob cleared off after setting fire to the Telegraph Office and Post Office, all water and fire-pumps having been previously removed. Later on two other mobs crossed the railway line and set fire to the Tahsil Dak Bungalow and Kucheri and the Church, but were beaten off from the police lines and jail. Meanwhile in the absence of the police, the first section of the mob returned and burnt the railway station, Casson Industrial School and the railway goods shed, in the latter what property escaped fire was looted, the total loss of goods being valued at eight lakhs of rupees. On arrival of three aeroplanes from Lahore, which dropped bombs on the rioters, the latter dispersed. Later in the evening troops arrived from Sialkot.

Hafizabad.—Hartal, as previously arranged. A crowd assembled outside the town and proceeded to the station where at the goods shed speeches openly advising rebellion were made. A passenger train steamed into the station and Lieutenant Tatam with a small boy, who was travelling in it, narrowly escaped being killed by the mob: but were saved by the plucky action of two or three Indian gentlemen.

Moman.—The station burnt and looted by mob of villagers.

Sangla.—The Calcutta Mail stoned while leaving the station.

Sheikhupura.—Hartal again observed, shops being forcibly closed and langar opened. Distant signal damaged railway and postal telegraph wires cut.

Wazirabad.—News regarding the Gujranwala riots spread and local agitators exhorted people to observe hartal. In the afternoon a Hindu-Muhammadian meeting held at the Juma Masjid at which the President, a Hindu, and others denounced the Rowlatt Act and preached hartal. After dark groups marched through the streets singing inflammatory ballads.

GUJRAT DISTRICT.

Gujrat.—Two manuscript notices inciting to mutiny were posted up in the bazar. About 2 A.M. a band of Baisakhi revellers returned from Wazirabad shouting for Gandhi, Muhammad Ali, etc. Hartal was observed.

Jalalpur Jattan.—Meeting held to arrange hartal for the next day.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

<i>Alinal</i>	...	} Wires cut and 900 feet wire stolen between these places.
<i>Kanjur</i>	...	
<i>Dhariwal</i>	...	} Telegraph wires cut and several hundred feet wire stolen between these places.
<i>Kanjur</i>	...	

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14th April. *Gurdaspur*.—Orders under the Punjab Patrol Act issued for the patrolling of railway lines in the district.

⊕ *Pathankot*.—An attempt made to damage the railway by firing permanent way sleepers near the station.

+ *Sohal*.—Telegraph wires cut.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Nuh.—Hartal continued but ceased the next day.

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Thanesar.—Efforts to form Hindu-Muhammadan panchayat to settle cases.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Tohana.—Hartal in the town and Mandi. Strike at Jakhal and Tohana. Railway Stations, said to be organized by emissaries from Delhi who came on *via Rohtak*.

JHANG DISTRICT.

Jhang-Maghiana.—A Hindu-Muhammadan meeting convened to express loyalty was dissolved in disorder owing to the behaviour of Raja Ram, Vakil, supported by some Lahore students, who endeavoured to provoke the police.

JHELUM DISTRICT.

Jhelum.—The Deputy Commissioner summoned the leading men in the morning at the Town Hall and explained the Rowlatt Act, requesting them to assist in averting hartal, and as the result of this, the second hartal decided upon the previous day, was abandoned.

An unsuccessful attempt to set fire to the railway station was made at night, apparently by some railway clerk.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Jullundur.—Committee of the Provincial Conference postponed their meeting because of the arrest in Lahore of their chairman (Lala Harkishan Lal) and other important delegates.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

+ *Lahore*.—Deportation of Pandit Ram Bhaj Datt, Lala Harkishan Lal and Lala Duni Chand. City quiet, though necessary precautions were taken. The persistent attempts to deter railway workshop employees from attending their work, were only frustrated by employing police with fixed bayonets to disperse crowds at the workmen's trains. The telegraph traffic with Amritsar was again interrupted.

+ Control of petrol and requisitioning of motor-cars for military purposes begun.

Kot Radha Kishan.—Stones thrown at the 17-Up train.

+ *Wagah* ... } Telegraph wires at these stations cut.

+ *Ghariaala* ... } Wires cut between.

Padhana.—An assembly met by beat of drum and there was a general feeling of unrest in villages along the Amritsar line.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Gojra.—Efforts were made to start a hartal. Hindus met at the cremation grounds in the morning and joined hands with the Muhammadans at the Idgah afterwards. A Muhammadan was elected president of a Hindu meeting. The Missionary of the Church Mission Society was forced to leave Gojra, after being warned that his house, the Church and other public buildings of the town were to be burnt.

Jaranwala.—A meeting was organized by Nand Lal and his friends, followed by a coercive hartal. Disloyal propaganda of an anti-British type was used and a Muhammadan was asked to preside over a meeting in the Thakardawara. 14th April
to 15th
April.

Lyallpur.—The hartal begun on the day previous in the city continued. Members of the Bar and petition-writers went on strike and did not attend the courts. More definite attempts were made to excite the agricultural classes and the posters took a more violent form; it was considered advisable to collect the Europeans at the Rallying Post, while some cavalry sowars arrived from neighbouring cavalry farms. Attempts to hold public meetings in the morning were frustrated, but in the afternoon a big public meeting was got up in the Idgah, at which the proceedings threatened to become violent, but the presence of the Deputy Commissioner with a few cavalry sowars had a beneficial effect. A committee was formed to decide whether the hartal should be continued or not, and during the day strenuous attempts were made to induce Government servants to go on strike.

MIANWALI DISTRICT.

Kundian.—Meeting of railway employees to arrange strike interrupted by weather.

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

Montgomery Railway Station.—Military guard posted as there was much talk of striking among the railway staff.

Okara.—An abortive attempt made to derail trains by placing a loose coupling on the line near this station.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan City.—While excitement in the city showed signs of abating, unrest among the railway staff made its appearance.

Samasatta.—In the forenoon the railway staff struck. Signals were damaged and telegraph wires were cut, but the loyal staff were able to communicate with Multan by telephone. Staff resumed work in the evening.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Rawalpindi City.—Seditious notices were found, calling on the people to rise during the night.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Bahadurgarh.—Attempt by a joint mob of rioters from the Mandi and railway staff to damage a railway bridge and wreck a mail train. The cry of the mob was "Break up the bridge; the rule of the English has disappeared."

Rohtak.—Offer of enrolment as special constables made by the Deputy Commissioner to members of the Hindu-Muhammadan Committee and refused by them.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Sialkot.—Meeting of agitators at Tollinton Park. Telegraph wires cut between Sialkot and Wazirabad. Railway strike threatened.

The 15th April 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

Amritsar.—Martial Law proclaimed.

16th April.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

Application of Seditious Meetings Act to district.

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 ⊕

Akalgarh.—A meeting arranged to promote Hindu-Muhammadan unity fell through as leading Muhammadans refused to join. A mob cut all telegraph wires, smashed 75 insulators, broke signal lamps and attempted to burn a bridge.

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 ⊕

Chuharkana.—The American Missionary's house and hospital burnt and looted. Telegraph wires cut; railway lines torn up and two canal bridges damaged by fire. Station burnt and looted; train damaged and looted, station staff assaulted at night; rioters from outlying villages proceeded to hold up train and loot Mandi but were dispersed by gun fire from armoured train.

Gujranwala.—Some 23 persons known to have been among the leaders, were arrested.

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Hafizabad.—Hartal again observed. Mob prevented from damaging a culvert but it damaged the distant signal and cut all wires and smashed 140 insulators. Two men were arrested, and on these two being taken to the Tahsil, a mob collected and stoned the building, but dispersed on the police firing into the air.

Ramnagar.—A party of Hindus collected on the banks of the Chenab, where they burned a small rag effigy of the King-Emperor with every species of insult. The ashes were thrown into the water and the crowd then had a bath in token of purification and returned in triumph to the town.

+ ⊕

Sangla.—All Railway telegraph wires cut between Chichoke Mallian and Sangla Hill on the Lyallpur and Lahore line. 450 insulators broken and posts damaged. Station attacked by mob; all wires cut and insulators smashed.

+ ✓
 ⊕

Wazirabad.—A general hartal observed, schools forcibly closed by mobs who refused to disperse on being advised to do so by the Tahsildar. Some of the crowd visited the engine shed and tried to induce railway employees to strike. Another section destroyed the telegraph wires near the dak bungalow. A party of cavalry guarding the railway station partially dispersed the mob, which however returned and pelted them with stones; the military then fired in the air to scare the mob. Part of the mob proceeded to the Palku Railway Bridge, where, they cut the telegraph wires, damaged the distant signals and set the bridge on fire. The mob dispersed by police who extinguished the fire. The mob reassembled, did some wire cutting near the Civil Hospital and were again dispersed by the police. Another mob went towards Nizamabad, where, being joined by a crowd of villagers, it burned a gang hut, damaged railway bridges and level crossing gates, and burned and looted the Rev. Grahame Bailey's house. Telegraph wires cut at 24 places between Wazirabad and Sialkot.

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Mansurwali.—Telegraph wire cut, insulators smashed between this and Wazirabad.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

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Tibri.—Wires cut and 200 feet stolen near Tibri.

GUJRAT DISTRICT.

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Gujrat.—Hartal observed again. A crowd, composed mostly of youths, collected at the Shishanwala Gate, with a black flag and a picture of Gandhi. Crowd forcibly closed the Mission High School, damaging some furniture and assaulting the teachers. The Zamindara School and the Government High School closed before arrival of crowd. In the evening the crowd proceeded to the railway station and destroyed the telegraph and telephone instruments and furniture and burnt the records, they were dispersed on being fired on by the police; none were wounded but seven arrests were made on the spot.

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Jalalpur Jattan.—An enforced hartal observed and crowds paraded town with usual shouts about Gandhi and the Rowlatt Bill. The telegraph wires were cut in two places in the evening.

Kunjah.—An attempt at hartal failed.

15th April.

Malakwal.—A meeting held in the dharmshala at which an inflammatory lecture against the Rowlatt Bill was delivered. It was decided to observe hartal and hold another meeting the next day, also to start a railway strike. A crowd proceeding to the railway station to enforce a strike, was turned back by troops, and dispersed without casualties.

Rasul.—Engineering College students refused to attend lectures. A meeting of canal officials was held in the mosque, at which Hindus attended, and prayers were offered for repeal of Rowlatt Act and for unity.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Dabwali.—Hartal in the Mandi. A meeting was also held and lectures and speeches delivered.

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

Garhdiwala.—Hartal observed and meeting held.

Hoshiarpur.—A military detachment arrived from Jullundur.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Nakodar
Shahkot
Mahtpur ... } Hartal observed.

JHELUM DISTRICT.

Dhudial
Chakwal } Attempts to promote hartal broke down because Muhammadans refused to join.

Jhelum.—Seditious notices posted. Attempt to hold hartal failed.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

Lahore.—Hartal continued save in the suburbs. Proclamation issued declaring Martial Law throughout the district. The first Martial Law Regulations issued by Colonel Johnson, Commanding Lahore Civil Area. Curfew order enforced, and *langars* used for assisting the hartal were suppressed.

Kot Radha Kishan.—A train stoned.

Chhanga Manga.—Wires cut and timber obstructions placed on the railway line.

Banghali and Padri.—Two grass farm stacks burned.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Dijkot.—Hartal began, and the Zaildar was flouted by the professional and trading classes when he tried to read out and explain the Rowlatt Act.

Lyallpur.—Hartal continued at Lyallpur but a few shops opened in the evening. A fresh crop of seditious posters were observed.

Gojra.—A coercive hartal began, accompanied by anti-British demonstrations. The crowd visited the railway station, where the refreshment vendor was mobbed, and forced to stop work. Some of the crowd climbed up into the engine of the Khanewal train and endeavoured to persuade the engine-driver not to take on the train. There was a funeral procession of the Rowlatt Act in the Mandi accompanied by a black flag.

Sangla
Salarwala } Wires cut and pulled down between.

Toba Tek Singh.—Threatened hartal did not materialise.

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15th April
to 16th
April.

MIANWALI DISTRICT.

Kundiun.—An incomplete strike among the railway station staff, who cut the telegraph wires in the evening and prevented any train or engine leaving.

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

Village patrols introduced for protection of railway lines in the district.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

The Railway Defence Scheme was brought into operation and troops posted at the main railway stations, Multan, Multan City, Lodhran, Samasatta, Sher Shah and Khanewal.

Khanewal.—The railway staff struck in the forenoon but resumed work in the evening before troops arrived.

Samasatta.—Staff refused invitation from Khanewal to resume strike.

Arrangements for protection of railway lines by village guards were introduced.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Telegraphic wires cut between Rawalpindi and Murree.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Rohtak
Samargopalpur } Canal and postal wires cut between these places.

Ganaur.—Meeting of butchers, held under threat of injury from Hindus to stop cow-killing.

Gohana.—Postal telegraph wires and post damaged.

Rohtak.—Seditious notice found posted on Delhi Gate. Railway telegraph wires cut at mile 357. Arrival of troops.

Sonepat.—Mass meeting held at Imambara.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Begowala Ghartal.—Telegraph wires cut in two places.

Sialkot.—An attempt was made to set fire to a railway carriage standing in the siding. This was done under the leadership of Sundar, a local bad character, since arrested.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Jandiala
Butari } Telegraph wires cut between these places.

Sangrana
Bhagtanwala... } Telegraph insulators broken.

SHAHPUR DISTRICT.

Malakwal
Pakhowal
Mithalak ... } Partial strike of North-Western Railway signallers and great excitement at stations.

Bhulwal.—Attempt to hold unity meeting fell through.

The 16th April 1919.

FEROZEPUR DISTRICT.

Harbhagwan Memorial Arya High School.—A number of students went out on strike.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Aulakh.—The patwari's records burnt by two lambardars and some local zamindars.

Dhaban Singh Railway Station.—Early in the morning, the station attacked by a mob which burned the office and looted the safes, after having, during the night previous, burned a railway bridge, damaged the permanent way, and cut the telegraph wires in several places.

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Gujranwala.—Martial Law proclaimed over the district and Seditious Meetings Act applied.

Hafizabad.—Shops opened as usual and no further disturbance occurred.

Machhike ... } Wire cut.
Muridke

Moman.—Railway Station looted and burnt and all telegraph wires cut.

Sangla. A military deserter rescued from custody and the military escort assaulted. Murderous attack by Harnam Singh on Mr. Wale, Telegraph Inspector. At night the Baroha villagers cut the telegraph wire on the Lahore line.

Wazirabad.—Arrests of certain leaders were effected.

GUJRAT DISTRICT.

Gujrat.—Shops opened. Public meetings and processions prohibited under the Police Act.

Jalalpur Jattan.—Hartal continued. While members of the municipal committee and other leading men were discussing measures to stop trouble, the crowd insisted on them joining in the mourning and slightly damaged the furniture of the Municipal Hall where the discussion was held. Crowd then proceeded to damage the Mission School and made some police constables remove their *pagris*.

Malakotil.—Meeting at the mosque attended by Hindus. At night the telegraph wires were cut, the distant signal lamps were removed. Rails were removed which caused the derailment of a train the next morning, resulting in the loss of two lives.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Pathankot.—A lighted torch was thrown at an English lady riding in a motor car.

JHANG DISTRICT.

Jhang-Maghiana.—The Railway telegraph communication between Jhang and Subhaga temporarily interrupted but wires were not cut.

JHELM DISTRICT.

Kala.—A passenger train derailed near this station as the result of the removal of a rail by some railway men whose apparent intention was to wreck a troop train expected from Pindi.

Chakwal.—Meeting took place to arrange hartal and protest meeting.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Jullundur.—A number of wires cut and insulators broken just outside Cantonments.

Nakodar and Jhahalki.—Between these places, wire cut in two places.

Seditious Meetings Act extended to Jullundur.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Kasur.—Martial Law proclaimed, a Darbar being held for the purpose. Twenty-two arrests made during the day and *langars* were closed by order.

Kot Radha Kishan.—A train was stoned, and several people including a European lady injured.

Patti.—Gatekeeper's hut broken open.

Parki Thana villages.—Flying column from Lahore visited these villages taking prisoners in four of them.

Valtoha } Wires between cut.
Ghariaala...

Changa Manga and Pattoki.—Telegraph wires interrupted for one mile between these places.

Premnagar.—Wires cut.

16th April
to 17th
April.

Lahore.—Third and Inter. class bookings stopped. Registration begun of agents, touts, etc., of pleaders, who were forbidden to leave Lahore without permit. Roll-calls of D. A.-V. College were begun four times a day at the Bradlaugh Hall. Owners of property made responsible for the preservation of notices posted thereon. Carrying of *lathis* in Lahore Civil Area forbidden.

BAHAWALPUR.

Bahawalnagar.—The disaffected railway strikers were turned out of railway precincts by military and traffic was resumed.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Gojra.—The hartal was resumed and disloyal demonstrations repeated after which the shops were opened.

Lyallpur District.—Disaffection began to spread to villages. The canal telegraph wire was cut in Mauza 253-R. B., nine miles from Lyallpur. There was a seditious meeting in Mauza Khiala Kalan, some nine miles from Lyallpur.

Lyallpur.—Some troops arrived at Lyallpur but a portion of them had to be sent off at once to save Sangla Station from the mob which burnt Chuharkana, Moman and Dhaban Singhwala Stations the night before. The news of the outrages on the Sangla-Shahdara line caused considerable excitement. The hartal was temporarily suspended at Lyallpur, but there was a new crop of seditious notices.

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

Ludhiana.—Another hartal, though not complete as most of the shops in Wakefield Ganj, a new quarter of the town, remained open. The meeting held at the Budha Nala Ghat passed resolutions protesting against the exclusion of Gandhi from the Punjab.

MIANWALI DISTRICT.

Kundian.—Railway station staff strike ended on arrival of a small detachment of troops.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Rawalpindi City.—Seditious pamphlets posted.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Sialkot.—Secret meeting held at the house of a pleader. Anonymous notices inciting to violence and extolling the Gujranwala rioters, were posted up. Two fish-plates removed from a railway line.

The 17th April 1919.

FEROZEPUR DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15, Police Act.

Ferozepore.—Some seditious posters were found posted in the city and being circulated in the neighbourhood.

GUJRAT DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

Jalalpur Jattan.—Shops began to reopen.

Malakwal.—Troops arrived.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Gujranwala.—Seditious Meetings Act proclaimed.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of Police Act.

Gurdaspur.—Telegraph wires between Chhina and Dhariwal cut; canal telegraph wires between Kalar Kalan and Konjur cut; 1,200 feet of wire removed. Canal wire at Gharjikut cut, 200 feet of wire removed.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

17th April

Gurgaon.—District proclaimed under section 15, Police Act.

JHELEM DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

Chakwal.—Proposed hartal and protest meeting abandoned owing to intervention of the authorities.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Bir Pind and Litran near Nakodar.—Telegraph wires cut at these two places. + +

Jullundur.—District declared under section 15 of the Police Act. Village guards posted on railway lines and Zaildars and other leading men made special constables for patrolling.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Jallo Harbanspura } An attempt made to derail trains between these two stations.

Changa Manga and Pattoki.—Railway telegraph wire cut between. +

Ghariaala Patti } Wires cut between. +

Kasur.—Arrests continued.

Lahore.—Martial Law Orders issued for shops to open but they had begun to open before the orders were distributed. Unrest began to subside. Badshahi mosque closed to public.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan City.—Subscriptions being collected to finance agitation. District declared under Seditious Meetings Act.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur City.—Seditious Meeting Act proclaimed. More troops arrived in Lyallpur. The hartal was resumed in the city. A stack of 24,000 maunds *bhusa* belonging to Government, worth Rs. 50,000 was burnt. 5

Lyallpur District.—A seditious meeting was held in Khiala Kalan to which emissaries from neighbouring villages colonized by Manjha Jat Sikhs from Amritsar were called. The meeting was also attended by representatives from Lyallpur City. Plans for looting and burning of Government buildings, etc., at Lyallpur were discussed.

Gatti.—A party from Lyallpur proceeded to Jhumra and though they failed to gain adherents in the town, they returned to Lyallpur by road, breaking telegraph insulators and cutting telegraph wires near Gatti en route. +

Abbaspur.—Telegraph wires cut and posts uprooted near Abbaspur Station. +

MIANWALI DISTRICT.

Daud Khel Railway Station.—Telegraph wires cut on the line towards Massan. A strike-leader arrested. +

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

Ludhiana.—District proclaimed under section 15, Police Act.

Samrala.—Hartal observed.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Rawalpindi.—District proclaimed under section 15 of Police Act, 1861.

Gujar Khan.—Telegraphic lines interrupted. +

17th April to
18th April.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Rohtak.—District proclaimed under section 15, Police Act. Leaders of Hindu-Muhammadan Committee warned by Deputy Commissioner.

SHAHPUR DISTRICT.

Bhera.—Attempts made by students to hold unity meeting in mosque. Prominent Muhammadans refused to allow it.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

Sialkot.—A feeble and abortive attempt to fire the City Post Office was made by some bad characters and boys.

The 18th April 1919.

(Mr. Gandhi advises the suspension of civil disobedience.)

FEROZEPUR DISTRICT.

An iron gradient post was placed on the line between Makhu and Butewala Railway Stations.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Aulakh.—The Assistant Superintendent of Police with a party of British soldiers and police, arrested all those concerned in the burning of the Patwari's records two days previously.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Chuhan.—Canal wire cut.

Chhina
Dharicai ... } Wires cut between these places.

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

Una.—An unsuccessful attempt was made to hold hartal here.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Husainabad (near Nakodar).—Wire cut.

Sidhwan Flag Station (near Nakodar).—Burned down, but doubtful if this due to outside agency.

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Panipat.—Considerable excitement prevailed owing to Delhi intrigues.

Fatehpur (near Pundri).—A meeting was held at which a speaker addressed the people advising them to follow Gandhi's footsteps.

Kaithal.—Observance of hartal, during which a mob of about 100, mostly Hindu and Muhammadan boys visited the railway station, and after failing to induce the staff to strike, smashed a few lamps and window panes.

Karnal.—A body of cavalry arrived from Meerut, followed the next day by a detachment of infantry. The cavalry after marching through *Kaithal* and *Panipat* returned to Ambala.

Ladwa.—Visited by an unknown Muhammadan, bare-footed and bare-headed, who convened a meeting of Hindus and Muhammadans, whom he informed that the people of Delhi had given up cow-killing and urged them to follow Delhi's example and promote Hindu-Muslim unity. He also told his audience that the Delhi people had vowed to remain bare-headed and bare-footed till Gandhi was set at liberty.

Pundri.—An unsuccessful attempt at hartal.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

18th April to
19th April.

Lahore City.—Majority of shops opened by Martial Law order. Students of Sanatan Dharm College arrested for tearing down Martial Law notices. Martial Law tribunals appointed.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—On the receipt of report of danger at Moman Kanjan Station it was visited by an armoured train. The hartal finally collapsed at Lyallpur. A gang of villagers from Chak 150, Gugera Branch, a village colonized by Manjha Jat Sikh colonists, came out at night and tried to wreck the line between Toba Tek Singh and Janiwala; overturning telegraph poles and cutting wires. Most of these were traced by the police next morning, and induced to surrender.

Gatti
Chak Jhumra... } Insulator broken between.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—The application of the Seditious Meetings Act to the district was proclaimed.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Sonepat.—Mass meeting fixed for this date was abandoned owing to the action taken to warn leaders.

PATIALA STATE.

Ronau.—Wires cut between this and Shahgarh.

SHAHPUR DISTRICT.

Sargodha.—A fire which did some damage occurred on the Railway platform, but was probably not due to incendiarism.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Begowala.—Telegraph wires cut.

The 19th April 1919.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

Ambala Cantonments.—Store burnt in the regimental lines Depôt, 1/34th Sikh Pioneers.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Muridke.—Wire cut.

GUJRAT DISTRICT.

Gujrat.—Martial Law proclaimed in the district.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Dalhousie Road.—13 miles from Pathankot wires cut and post broken.

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

Hoshiarpur.—Meeting held to promote Hindu-Muhammadan unity.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Kasur.—40 more arrests made.

Valtoha
Manihala... } Canal wire cut and 300 feet wire stolen between.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—The movable column arrived in Lyallpur.

Janicala
Toba Tek Singh } All wires cut at three separate spots between these places; insulator broken; posts uprooted.

19th April to
21st April.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

⊕ *Rawalpindi Cantonments.*—Notices posted and fire occurred in goods shed but origin of this doubtful.

SHAHPUR DISTRICT.

⊕ *Sargodha.*—A fire at Railway Station, origin doubtful.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

+ *Sialkot.*—Wires cut between Sialkot and Wazirabad.

The 20th April 1919.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Biwan.—Visited by Surendra Nath, from Delhi, subsequently convicted under the Defence of India Act.

KANGRA DISTRICT.

+ *Chakki Bridge.*—Telegraph wires cut on the Pathankot-Nurpur road.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore.—Several prominent rioters were arrested and Martial Law orders for surrender of arms issued.

Kasur.—Arrests continued.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Punitive measures and arrests were begun by the Deputy Commissioner with the help of the moveable column, and the situation began to improve rapidly.

SHAHPUR DISTRICT.

Sargodha.—Seditious notices posted in bazaars and anonymous letters were received threatening loyal Indians.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

+ *Rohtak.*—Canal wire cut near Jat High School.

The 21st April 1919.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

Gurdaspur.—General Officer Commanding, Amritsar, and his moveable column arrived in the forenoon and in the afternoon, General Dyer addressed a meeting of pleaders and local notables in the Town Hall.

+ *Sujanpur*
Madhopur ... } Wires cut and insulators broken between these places.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Sirsa.—Two inflammatory manuscript notices were discovered posted at Sirsa. They were possibly the work of an outsider.

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

+ *Dasuya.*—The railway telegraph wire was cut near this place (author-ship untraced).

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

31st April to
22nd April.*Phillaur*.—A Bengali Sadhu was arrested preaching sedition.

<i>Jullundur</i>	}	<u>Railway lines cut.</u>
<i>Bilga</i>		



KARNAL DISTRICT.

Panipat.—Alleged pressure from Delhi on merchants to liquidate all debt in cash.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

Lyallpur.—Deputy Commissioner with part of moveable column paid a disciplinary visit to Gojra and made arrests.

Seditious Meetings Act proclaimed.

The Districts of Attock, Gurgaon, Jullundur, Karnal, Ludhiana, Mianwali, Montgomery, Multan, Rawalpindi, Rohtak and Shahpur proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

The 22nd April 1919.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

Ambala Cantonment.—Office of Depôt 1/34th Sikh Pioneers burnt.

ATTOCK DISTRICT.

Campbellpur.—Seditious handbills posted up.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Batala.—Visited by the moveable column under General Dyer, who addressed two meetings (town and country separately).*Dharical*.—Visited by the moveable column under General Dyer, who addressed a meeting of pleaders and local notables.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Hissar.—A meeting of Muhammadans to denounce Satyagraha.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

<i>Shankar</i>	}	A small flying column visited these places.
<i>Nakodar...</i>		
<i>Bilga</i>		
<i>Jandiala</i>		
<i>Bundala</i>		
<i>Phillaur...</i>		

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—The moveable column moved through Lyallpur City. Ten arrests were made including that of a well-known agitator and three pleaders.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

<i>Rohtak</i>	}	Were visited by aeroplane as a demonstration.
<i>Sampla</i>		
<i>Bahadurgarh</i>		
<i>Sonepat</i>		
<i>Ganaur</i> ...		

PATIALA STATE.

Bhatinda.—Attempt to cut telegraph wire near Bhatinda.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Khanewal.—Telegraph line interrupted between Khanewal and Multan.

22nd April
to 27th
April.

SIMLA DISTRICT.

Simla City.—Reported efforts by people from Delhi to cause butcher strike.

The 23rd April 1919.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Deputy Commissioner with part of the moveable column visited Khiala Kalan, where meetings had been held, and a conspiracy to loot Lyallpur treasury had been formed. Thirteen arrests were made in this and five other neighbouring Manjha Jat Sikh colonist villages.

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

Montgomery.—Assistant station master arrested for trying to persuade gangmen to damage line.

The 24th April 1919.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Hissar.—A mass meeting of Muhammadans in the Juma mosque to affirm loyalty and to denounce Satyagraha.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Martial Law was proclaimed in the district at 10 A.M., a parade being held for this purpose at headquarters. Moveable column visited Jehangir, a village where canal telegraph wires had been cut, and made 5 arrests.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Rohtak.—Signs of resistance to regulations regarding patrolling shown by Arya villages.

The 25th April 1919.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Alival.—Canal wire cut, 900 feet of wire removed.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Hissar.—A joint Hindu-Muhammadan manifesto issued, expressing loyalty, and indignation at violence used by mobs elsewhere.

KANGRA DISTRICT.

Kangra.—Appearance of anti-kine killing snowball letters.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Moveable column visited Toba Tek Singh and Chak 150, Gugera Branch. The missing members of a gang which had cut telegraph wires and tried to wreck the railway line between Janiwala and Toba Tek Singh, were arrested.

The 23th April 1919.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Hissar.—General meeting of rural notables of the Hissar District, presided over by the Deputy Commissioner to consider measures to deal with the situation.

The 27th April 1919.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Hansi.—A loyal Muhammadan meeting.

Sirsa.—Loyal Muhammadan meeting in the Juma Masjid. Manifestos issued and committees formed for oral propaganda work in the villages.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

27th April
to 1st May.

Lyallpur.—Moveable column with Deputy Commissioner, visited Sohal village and made some arrests.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Bahadurgarh.—Mass meeting fixed for this date abandoned owing to warning issued to leaders.

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Panipat.—Meeting to prevent disorder and mischief as result of Rowlatt Act agitation.

The 28th April 1919.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Hodal.—A loyal meeting was held.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan Cantonments.—Case of incendiarism in office of 2nd/72nd Punjab (original doubtful). D

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Rohtak.—Arrest under the Defence of India Rules of Tek Ram, Jat, a man of violent character and a likely leader of a Jat mob.

The 29th April 1919.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Hansi.—Loyal Hindu-Muhammadan meeting, and also meeting of the local Hindu Pattidars.

Mangala.—Muhammadan meeting to refute false rumours and issue loyal manifesto.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Rawalpindi City.—Anonymous seditious poster placed on the gates of the municipal gardens.

Rawalpindi Cantonments.—Anonymous seditious poster placed in the Gwal Mandi.

The 30th April 1919.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Pahval.—A resolution of loyalty was passed by the municipality, many of whose members had taken part in Satyagraha meetings.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Sirsa.—Hindus passed resolution of loyalty and issued manifesto.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan City.—The municipal committee waited on the Commissioner, and in the presence of civil and military officers, Honorary Magistrates and Raikes, expressed regret at the excitement which had prevailed, reported that there was no ground for apprehending further disturbance, and asked that the troops should be withdrawn from the Government High School, where they had been posted since the 11th. Troops were accordingly withdrawn from the city.

The 1st May 1919.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Moveable column departed for the Gujranwala District.

JHELUM DISTRICT.

Jhelum.—Seditious poster found.

2nd May
to 25th
August,

The 2nd May 1919.

BAHAWALPUR STATE.

Telegraph wire cut between Minchinabad and Macleodganj.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Gurdaspur.—Nine persons arrested under the Defence of India Act for attempting to create disaffection towards the Government.

The 3rd May 1919.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Bhucani.—Loyal manifesto issued by members of extreme party.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—Village guards (introduced to protect the railway permanent way) were discontinued.

The 4th May 1919.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Sihala.—Shot said to have been fired at a train; found to be a case of stone throwing.

The 6th May 1919.

News published of out-break of war with Afghanistan.

The 9th May 1919.

ATTOCK DISTRICT.

Campbellpur.—An attempt (origin unknown) was made to burn the local High School.

The 22nd May 1919.

HOSHIAHPUR DISTRICT.

Pandori.—Ganda Singh, a revolutionery returned emigrant, arrested.

The 28th May 1919.

Martial Law withdrawn from rural areas of Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala and from whole of Gujrat, excepting all railway lands.

The 9th June 1919.

Martial Law withdrawn with effect from midnight from Lyallpur District, the remaining areas of Amritsar and Gujranwala, and from Kasur Municipality, excepting railway lands in each case.

The 11th June 1919.

Martial Law withdrawn with effect from midnight from Lahore Civil Area and Cantonments, excepting railway lands.

The 25th August 1919.

Martial Law withdrawn with effect from this date from all railway lands in the districts of Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala, Lyallpur and Gujrat.

10th

Wires cut ~~3/4~~
 Railway pump? draped.
 G.W.
 Print
 C.P.M. with wire - Fire
 Nil

3 ✓
 3 ✓
 1 ✓
 1 ✓
 6

11th12th

Wires cut
 R² pump.

8 ✓

2 ✓
 1 ✓

G.W.
 Firing in wire.

2

13th

Wires cut
 R² pump.

7 ✓
 2 ✓

G.W.
 Firing in wire.

1

1

14th

Wires cut
 R² pump.

15 ✓

5 ✓

G.W.
 Firing in wire.

1

2

15th

Wires cut
 R² pump.

20 ✓

8 ✓

G.W.
 Firing in wire.

1

1

16th

Wires cut
 R² pump.

4 ✓

11 ✓

G.W.
 Print

7

1

17th

Wires cut
 R² pump.

11 ✓

1

18th

Wires cut
 R² pump.

12 ✓

5

G.W.

1

20th

Wires cut

2 ✓

2

21st

R² pump.

1

2 ✓

22nd

Wires cut
 G.W. pump.

1

1 ✓

23rd

Wires cut
 G.W. pump.

1

24th - wire 18
 25th
 26th

PM

Wires cut
 R² pump.

92
 33
 10
 3

143