

the might of Martial Law," and he used his opportunity to the full.

He described himself, how he entered the city at the head of a column of troops, with aeroplanes preceding it at low altitudes with orders to drop bombs on the unarmed civilian population the moment the signal was given by the firing of the troops. Presumably, no targets in the shape of meetings or crowds presented themselves, for no bombs were dropped. But the intensity of Martial Law began without delay. The Curfew Order, of course, was immediately put in force, and people out after 8 p.m. were liable to be shot, flogged, fined, or imprisoned, or otherwise punished. Those whose shops were closed were ordered to open them; the alternatives were either being shot or having the shops publicly opened and *their contents distributed free to the public*. "Lawyers' agents and touts" were ordered to be registered, and forbidden to leave the city without permit. Occupiers of premises on whose walls Martial Law notices were posted were ordered to protect them, and were liable to punishment if in any way they were defaced or

torn, although they could not stay out at night to watch them. More than two persons abreast were not allowed on the sidewalks. Students of colleges were ordered to report themselves four times a day to the military authorities at varying places of assembly. *Langars*, or public food kitchens, which had been opened by philanthropic persons for the feeding of those who could not purchase food, were ordered to be closed; motor-cars, motor-bicycles, and ordinary bicycles belonging to Indians were ordered to be delivered up to the military authorities, and were handed over to officials for their use. Electric punkahs and other electric fittings belonging to Indians were commandeered and stripped from the houses for the use of British soldiers. Public conveyances were ordered to report themselves daily at places a considerable distance from the city. There were a number of other orders devised for the purpose of making the people realise the intensity and might of Martial Law.

The manner in which they were applied, and the deliberate cruelty of the whole administration can be illustrated by a few facts, mostly

admitted in evidence before the Hunter Committee, and otherwise verified. Punishments by flogging were numerous, and took place for several days in public. They were mostly for petty breaches of Martial Law regulations. There was one case of an elderly man, who was caught tending his cow outside his shop door in a side lane after 8 p.m. He was seized and flogged for this breach of the Curfew Order !

Drivers of *tongas* (hackney carriages) had participated in the *hartal*. To teach them a lesson, 300 *tongas* were commandeered ; of those who were permitted to ply for hire, orders to report themselves at certain times at places distant from the busy parts of the city, and their detention at the pleasure of the military officials concerned, effectually destroyed their chances of a day's earnings. Thus were these humble men and their families, who live from hand to mouth, punished for their participation in a peaceful and legitimate demonstration against an unpopular Government measure.

Colonel Johnson admitted that many of his orders were directed against the educated and

professional classes—lawyers, etc. He considered they were the classes from which the political agitators were drawn. He had many pleasant little ways of making the “might” felt. Professional men and other residents on whose premises Martial Law orders were posted had to set servants to watch them lest they should be torn or defaced—perhaps by a police agent; one such case was detected. When they applied for permits for such guardians of the placards to be out after 8 p.m., they were told they could have passes for this purpose for themselves, but not for their servants!

Students, boys of 16 to 20, were the objects of special attention. The students of several colleges in Lahore, which is a large University town, were ordered to report themselves four times daily at a place, in one case, four miles distant from their college. In the burning sun of Lahore in April, the hottest time of the year, when the temperature is often over 100° in the shade, these youths had to walk 16 miles daily. Some of them fainted by the wayside. Colonel Johnson thought it did them good; it kept them

out of mischief! A Martial Law notice was torn from one of the walls of one college. The whole professional staff, including the Principal, were arrested, and marched under military escort to the fort, where they were kept in military custody for three days. They were given "a corner in the fort" for their accommodation, and allowed to sleep on the roof.

The closing of the *langars*, or public kitchens, which had been opened by philanthropic persons, has already been referred to. Colonel Johnson gave as the reason for this that they were used for seditious propaganda. Under cross-examination he could produce no justification for this assertion. He had no evidence, and he could not say who gave him the information.

His evidence regarding the floggings was nauseating. He declared that these were not public but *quasi*-public floggings, whatever that may mean. They were only inflicted on people of low social status. He was not a doctor, and could not say whether whipping might affect the health of the victim. But he thought it was an essential punishment. People liked going to

gaol, and flogging was a better deterrent. An instance of the spirit in which the flogging punishments were administered is provided by the case of a whole wedding party, including the priest, being flogged for being in the street after hours (weddings in India take place after sunset); but it is due to Colonel Johnson to say that he admitted that this was "the one regrettable incident." It serves, however, graphically to indicate the sort of terror under which the people of Lahore lived for six weeks.

During all this time, flying columns were being sent out to the surrounding villages to make arrests and impress the peasants with the "might." The fashion in which this was done may be gathered from the following extracts from the Official Report :

"As the village headman (village of Narwar) refused to produce any evidence as to the persons culpable, the officer in charge ordered three headmen and four others to be beaten by a cavalry sowar." (No pretence of a trial!)

"On the same day (April 20) another flying column went to Muridke and Kamske, 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 Kamske to a fine of Rs. 200 and a whipping for obstructive behaviour."

Mr. Jacob, the civil officer in question, described this affair in his evidence before the Committee. The headman (a person of high status in the village) was tied to a tree and publicly flogged for his own punishment and the edification of the village. There was apparently no court or pretence of judicial procedure, summary or otherwise. There was only summary flogging.

The Official Report tells us it was inevitable that some of the Ordinances should assume "a racial aspect," because attacks had been made "on one section of His Majesty's subjects." This is stated in excuse of the fact that the Curfew Order, the restrictions on travelling, and other orders of the same nature, were so framed as not to apply to Europeans. It is a fact, however, which will help to preserve for genera-

tions the racial hatred engendered by this campaign of frightfulness against the natives of the Punjab. The Report again admits, in the case of Lahore, that the orders fixing prices, etc., were "not of uniform success as economic measures." The import of grains was seriously affected. Colonel Johnson, however, was quite pleased with what he did in this respect, and the Europeans of Lahore entertained him at a farewell dinner and lauded him as the "protector of the poor"—the poor people, who suffered a six weeks' agony under his rule. The story of it, as told in his own evidence and in the Official Report, is sufficiently terrible. What would it be if we had the people's version?

It is due, however, to Colonel Johnson to record that he regarded himself, and, according to his own account, was so regarded by a large number of the people on whom he inflicted his administration, as a kindly and benevolent autocrat, who castigated the people for their own good. It was as a benefactor of the poor that he was entertained at a banquet by his fellow-countrymen in Lahore. But the tributes then

paid to him cannot be said to equal that he paid to himself in giving evidence before the Hunter Committee. Many people, he declared, called on him to thank him for his administration of Martial Law, and to tell him how much they enjoyed it. It reminded them, they said, of the rule which their ancestors enjoyed in olden times! This was his solemn assurance to the Committee.

It is a common but mistaken tradition among Anglo-Indians in India that the Indians have no sense of humour!

CHAPTER XIV

HOW CROWDS WERE BOMBED AND MACHINE- GUNNED

To present a detailed account of the administration of Martial Law in all the towns and districts where it was applied would occupy more pages than this work can afford. The full story, so far as it has been gleaned from the examination of official witnesses, will be found in the report of the evidence before the Hunter Committee. For the present purpose it will be sufficient to deal with the record, in its more glaring details, of a few men in particular. Colonel O'Brien, who administered Martial Law in Gujranwala; Captain Doveton, who had charge of Kasur; and Mr. Bosworth-Smith, a civilian officer who was in command at Sheirkupura, particularly distinguished themselves. If "intensity" is the word by which to describe the administration at Lahore, one does not know where to find an adjective which would ade-

quately describe the terrorisation in which these officers indulged in their respective areas.

First, however, we have to deal with the bombing operations at Gujranwala, which were carried out by two R.A.F. officers, Major Carberry and Lieutenant Dodkins.

In Gujranwala the disorders which occurred were admittedly of a serious nature. Their gravity and causes have already been discussed, and need not be gone into further. But there is no reason to believe, however they originated, that they were anything more than spontaneous outbursts of mob violence, such as have been known in England during the past year, or could not have been dealt with in the manner suggested by *The Times* in its article already referred to, as being adequate to deal with any riotous assembly that has occurred in India in recent years. If the disturbances in Gujranwala town and district, and in Kasur last April, justified the imposition of six weeks' Martial Law and the terrors that were inflicted on the people by Colonel O'Brien, Captain Doveton, Mr. Bosworth-Smith, Major Carberry and Lieu-

tenant Dodkins, then we should have seen in Liverpool and Luton last year the proclamation and continuance for six weeks of Martial Law, the bombing of crowds from aeroplanes, shooting from machine-guns, floggings in public and private, wholesale arrests and sentences of imprisonment *ad lib.*, leaving aside the little embellishments which took the fancy of an O'Brien or a Doveton.

When the news of disturbances at Gujranwala reached Lahore, it was no less a person than the Lieutenant-Governor himself who conceived the brilliant idea of despatching aeroplanes to the scene. It is a matter of dispute whether, when they arrived, the danger from the mob was not at an end. Such was the information, definitely given in an account which appeared at the time in the *Civil and Military Gazette*—an organ which represents the official classes. But the official view maintains otherwise. 'The Official Report says: "It is clear that at the time the police were still engaged in different directions in the attempt to *prevent* further damage." But however that may be the aeroplanes came

and proceeded to bomb the people. Let us take first the account in the Official Report. It tells us :

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. Fifty 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* (months afterwards!), 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 (Mohammedan church) 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 men and wounding five men; one bomb was dropped on the crowd in front of the station, killing two 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. . . . *As far as has been ascertained up to the present*

(months afterwards !) the total number of persons killed by the police was three, and by the aeroplanes nine ; twenty-seven in all were wounded by police and aeroplanes.

The public are asked to believe that this promiscuous dropping of bombs and the firing of altogether 255 rounds of a machine-gun, apparently at close quarters, into crowds of people, resulted in the killing of nine and wounding of only about sixteen people ! Can anyone, who remembers the work of the German aeroplanes in England during the war, doubt that the popular assertion of many more casualties is well-founded ? The Report is transparently dishonest. The effect of the firing of fifty rounds into the first crowd is not mentioned ; and thrice we have the saving phrase, "as far as is known," or "as far as can be ascertained," while stress is laid on the bombs that did not explode. A party of peasants far from the scene of disorder is fired on because, "no doubt," the officer *believed* them to be "rioters going or coming from the city." If there had been no casualties, the motive and intention of the whole thing remains horrible, but it is asserted, and it is

hard not to believe it, that there were far heavier casualties than are mentioned in this Report.

Colonel O'Brien, in his evidence before the Committee, said the crowd was fired on "wherever found." This was referring to the aeroplanes. Once it was found, by an aeroplane in charge of Lieutenant Dodkins, R.A.F., in the form of twenty peasants in a field. Lieutenant Dodkins said he machine-gunned them till they fled. He denied that they were engaged in harvesting operations, which is alleged to be the fact. "They were standing in a group and talking." He saw another party in front of a house being addressed by a man, so he dropped a bomb on them because he "had no doubt in his mind that they were not a marriage or funeral party."

Major Carberry, R.A.F., was the gentleman who bombed a party of people, because he thought they were rioters going or coming from the city. These wretched people fled after the bombs were dropped, and he then pursued them to a village with a machine-gun. "He could not say if any casualties were caused by the machine-gun

firing." Major Carberry's account in his evidence of the bombing and machine-gunning in the city differs from the Official Report. The Official Report speaks of 150 rounds. The report of Major Carberry's evidence says he followed up the bombs with "*several hundred rounds* of machine-gun fire on the town itself." He also bombed a party in a field. They numbered, he said, about two hundred. "He could not say if they were making for the city." "Some time after" his pursuit of the first party with machine-gun fire he dropped two bombs on another village. One exploded: casualties not mentioned.

Major Carberry's state of mind may be gathered from some further extracts from the report of his evidence :

"The crowd was *running away* and he fired to *disperse them*.

"As the crowd dispersed, he fired the machine-gun into the village itself. He supposed some shots hit the houses. He could make no discrimination between the innocent and the guilty.

"He was at a height of feet 200 and could see

perfectly what he was doing. His object was not accomplished by the dropping of bombs alone.

"The firing was not intended to do damage alone. It was in the interests of the villagers themselves. By killing a few, he thought he would prevent the people from collecting again. This action had a moral effect !

"After that he went over the city, dropping bombs, and *fired at the people who were trying to get away.*"

Let it be remembered that these operations were conducted not against a city and villages in a hostile territory of a country with which Great Britain was at war ; they were not reprisals for similar acts against ourselves. They were inflicted on an unarmed civilian population of a province whose loyalty and sterling assistance to the Empire in the war was Sir Michael O'Dwyer's constant boast, when it suited him to "boost" his own achievements as a Lieutenant-Governor. And they were carried out for the purpose of suppressing the violence of a mob which, as *The Times* has said, could have been dispersed by a dozen armed policemen.

CHAPTER XV

O'BRIEN, DOVETON, AND BOSWORTH-SMITH

GUJRANWALA, Kasur, and Sheikupura, like Amritsar and Lahore, had their Curfew Order, prohibition of travelling for Indians, floggings public and private, wholesale arrests and punishments by Summary Courts and Special Tribunals. They had also the variants which suggested themselves to the minds of the individual administrators, who were out to impress the people with the might of the British Raj, as represented by Colonel O'Brien, Captain Doveton, and Mr. Bosworth-Smith.

Colonel O'Brien was responsible for an order that when Indians met British officers they must salute, alight from their carriages, or dismount if they were riding or driving, and lower their umbrellas if they were carrying any. This order, Colonel O'Brien told the Committee, "was good by way of bringing home to the people that they had new masters." People were whipped, fined,

and otherwise punished for disobedience of this monstrous order. He was responsible for the arrest of numbers of people, who were kept in gaol for as long as six weeks without being brought to trial. In one case a number of leading citizens were summarily arrested, put in a goods truck, where they were huddled together after being marched several miles in the burning sun, some of them half clad, and sent by train to Lahore. They were refused permission to answer the calls of nature, and were kept in the truck in these conditions for about twenty-four hours. Their horrible plight hardly needs description. As they were marched through the streets, an ever-growing crowd of prisoners—for Colonel O'Brien went on making arrests indiscriminately as he proceeded—they were handcuffed and chained together. Hindus and Mohammedans were chained together. This was regarded by the populace as a jibe at Hindu-Moslem unity. Colonel O'Brien said it was accidental. As an example of the spirit of the whole proceeding it may be mentioned that one of the victims, an elderly citizen, was a noted

benefactor of the town, who gave a lakh of rupees (£10,000) to found the King George School in commemoration of the King's visit, and had contributed largely to war relief funds and war loans. Such was the reward of loyalty !

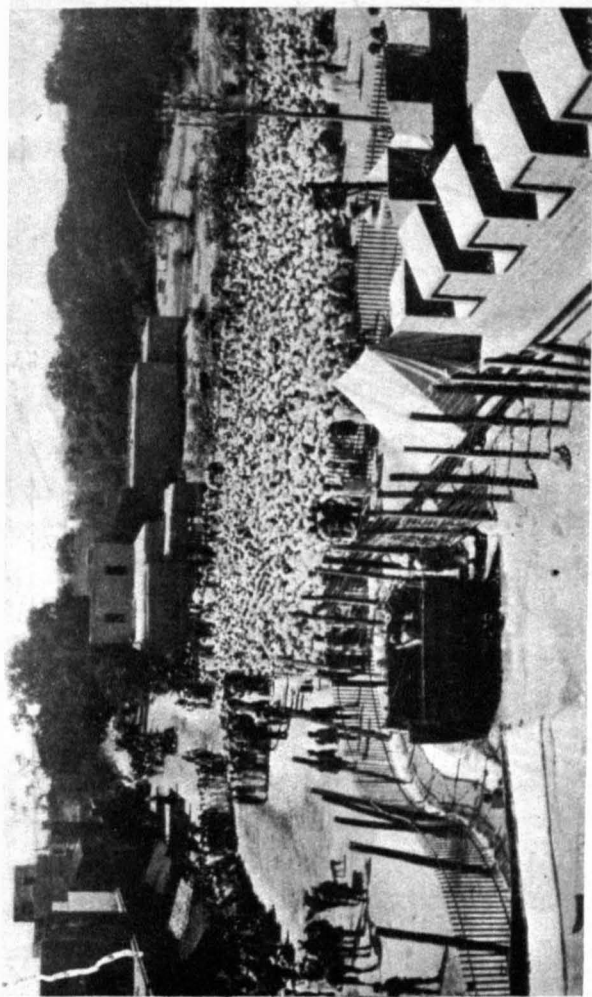
Another example of Colonel O'Brien's methods is the arrest of an elderly farmer, as a hostage for his two sons, whom he was unable to produce. Colonel O'Brien ordered this man's property to be confiscated, and issued a warning that *anybody attempting to help him with his crops would be shot*. He admitted the man had committed no offence himself, but "he did not say where his sons were." He assumed that under Martial Law he could pass such an order ! Afterwards the man's pension was stopped.

These are only incidents in Colonel O'Brien's lengthy record. He was a real "terror" to the people while Martial Law lasted, with his floggings, summary arrests, and marchings hither and thither, imposing his methods of "the new masters" on all and sundry ; while at other times he sat in Court sentencing people, who were sometimes hardly allowed to defend themselves.

Two hundred persons were convicted by Summary Courts, and received sentences of whipping, or from one month up to two years' imprisonment. The Commission convicted 149 people, of whom 22 were sentenced to death, 108 to transportation for life, and others to sentences varying from ten years downwards. In addition to this, heavy fines were inflicted on towns and villages, and additional police imposed on the "disturbed" area at the cost of the inhabitants. In one case—the alleged burning of the King's effigy by some people at Ramnagar—Colonel O'Brien himself disposed of the trial of a large number of persons, who were all sentenced to the full term of imprisonment, in one day. There was an enormous number of witnesses for the prosecution and defence, but Colonel O'Brien polished off the lot in a few hours, with his rough-and-ready methods of "swift justice," while a police-sergeant, who gave evidence for the defence, was subsequently punished "for trying to hush up matters." The whole incident of this burning of the King's effigy is stoutly denied by the people of Ramnagar, and an unofficial investiga-

tion into it justifies the suspicion, if not an actual belief, that it was fabricated. Colonel O'Brien's final achievement was to rush a large batch of cases through in about twenty-four hours, when he heard that Martial Law was to terminate the next day. The people concerned were given little opportunity of defending themselves, and cases fixed for some days ahead were rushed into the Court post-haste, so anxious was Colonel O'Brien that none should escape his justice by reason of the lapse of Martial Law.

Captain Doveton was associated with Colonel O'Brien in the administration of Martial Law. He was in a sort of independent command in the Kasur subdivision, the headquarters of which is the fairly large town of Kasur. At this place a public gallows was erected for hangings, though apparently it was never used, and was taken down by order of the superior authorities. It was there, however, for some days to the terror of the inhabitants. A large public cage was also erected near the railway station, designed to accommodate 150 persons and here suspects were incarcerated before the



THE CAGE CONSTRUCTED AT KASUR FOR THE DETENTION OF SUSPECTS.

There was no overhead covering, and it was open to the public at the sides.

To face page 154.

public gaze. The whole male population of the town was paraded for identification.

Floggings took place in public, and photographic records of these disgusting incidents are in existence, showing that the victims were stripped naked to the knees, and tied to telegraph poles or triangles. Publicity was not casual, or accidental, but designed. A sort of levee of the "bad characters" of the town was held for the purpose by Captain Doveton's order, and on at least one occasion prostitutes were brought to witness the floggings. Just as Colonel Johnson had his "one regrettable-incident," when a wedding party was flogged, this flogging in the presence of prostitutes was the one thing which seemed to excite Captain Doveton's shame when he was taxed with it, while giving evidence before the Hunter Committee. His explanation was that he had ordered the sub-inspector of police to round up the bad characters, and bring them to witness the floggings, but was "horrified" when he saw these women. But he could not send them away because he was *unable to find an escort*

for them. So they remained to witness the floggings. We can leave the explanation to the reader for what it is worth!

Captain Doveton was a prolific inventor of "minor punishments." His sole object in inventing minor punishments, he told the Committee, was to make things "as mild as circumstances would permit." Circumstances were not very merciful in this respect. Offenders against Martial Law were set to work at loading and unloading goods waggons in the station yard. He instituted a system of making people touch the ground with their foreheads—a sort of variation of Colonel Dyer's crawling order. It is alleged that some persons were whitewashed by his orders, and it cannot be said that his denial of the incident, in view of the evidence, is altogether acceptable. He was also accused of having made a man dance before him with a fool's cap on his head. He denied this, but admitted another form of "minor punishment," which consisted in ordering an offender to compose a poem in his honour.

Captain Doveton was quite assured of his own mind that he was a popular personage in sur.

Wherever he went, he assured the Committee, he got a cheery greeting, and he was also thanked for his firm administration of Martial Law. He had to admit, however, that some of the unappreciative inhabitants fled from the town to escape his attentions. Their ingratitude was punished by the confiscation and destruction of their property !

Mr. Bosworth-Smith is a civilian officer, who administered Martial Law in the subdivision of Sheikupura. He administered it with an "intensity" which rivalled that of any of his military competitors. He admitted that Martial Law was not "essential," but he thought it was "desirable," and keeping it on was a "good thing." He tried all the cases in his area, and, as elsewhere, sentences of flogging were inflicted, which were carried out at the rising of the Court. He tried 477 persons between May 6 and May 20. The floggings, he said, were not public. But it transpired that his interpretation of a public flogging was one that did not take place inside the city or town. It did not apply to floggings which were witnessed by all persons

attending the Court, while flogging which took place at the "Canal bungalow" was not, he admitted, "altogether private." He made an enormous number of arrests, and tried a very large number of cases, a remarkable feature of which was that, according to his own record the accused with a very few exceptions always pleaded guilty. This was peculiar to Mr. Bosworth-Smith's Court. He seemed to exercise a subtle influence over the persons brought before him, which produced wholesale admissions of guilt. Convictions, it is alleged, were based on the evidence of three or four railway officials.

Mr. Bosworth-Smith made a report to the Government on the disturbances, an abstract of which was placed before the Hunter Committee. In it he made a number of sweeping statements regarding the disloyalty of the people, and was especially inimical to the pleader (lawyer) class. "There is no place," he said, "where disloyalty is so deep as in Delhi, Lahore, and Amritsar." He was cross-examined on this by Sir Chimanlal Setalwad, and the following extract from the report is interesting as showing the

grounds, or want of them, on which he made a wholesale incrimination of this kind.

Q. Had you any personal experience of Delhi ?

A. I spent some months there. .

Q. Had you ever been officially connected with that place ?

A. No.

Q. On what material did you base your statement ?

A. It was a confidential report to Government.

Q. But when you make a confidential report surely any opinion you express therein must be based on some material ?

A. I had my own opinion.

Q. You don't arrive at opinions without material. What is the material on which you based your opinion ?

A. I prefer not to say.

Q. Why don't you care to enlighten the Committee on the matter ? Is it against public interest or were you ordered by the Government not to say ? Why are you so unwilling ?

A. I don't care to say.

Q. I want to have your position clear. You don't want to answer the question ?

A. I have already said I don't think it is desirable.

Q. Is it against public interest ?

A. I don't wish to answer this.

Q. May I know your reason ?

A. I don't wish to give it to you.

Q. You don't wish to answer the question and you don't wish to give your reasons ?

A. Yes.

Q. You think this is the way in which to come here to assist the Committee.

No answer !

Q. Does the same thing apply to your assertion regarding Lahore and Amritsar ?

A. The same.

* * * * *

All the witnesses mentioned in this chapter were questioned regarding an order, issued by the military authorities, compelling schoolboys to parade three times a day to salute the flag. The order applied to the infant classes and children of five and six years of age were included. It is actually alleged that there were fatal cases of sunstroke resulting from this, and it is admitted that children fainted from undue exposure to the sun. It is alleged, too, that in some instances the boys were made to repeat, "I have committed no offence. I will not commit any offence. I repent, I repent, I repent." In such ways were love and respect for the British flag inculcated. Here are some extracts from the reports of the evidence pertaining to this :

"Major Smith, Administrator of Martial Law in Gujranwala, Gujrat, and Lyallpur, was asked by Sir Chimanlal Setalwad whether the order was enforced in all places in his area and whether it applied to all classes, including infant classes.

The Major replied that it applied to all places in his area *where there were troops*, and that even infant-class boys of the ages of five and six were required to attend the parade, but the little boys were exempted from the evening parade. The object of this parade, he explained, was to inculcate in the boys, some of whom in his opinion had taken part in the riots, respect for the British, and in part it was meant as a punishment. He did not think it a hardship for these little boys of the infant classes who had taken no part in the riots to go day after day to the parade ground, and he would do the same thing again if he considered it necessary."

Colonel O'Brien, in his evidence, said that "one day when he was at Wazirabad he saw a boy fainting during his march to the flag, and wrote to the military authorities. He did not know if the next day this duty was increased from two to three times. Questioned if it was so done would it not be hard on the boys; Colonel O'Brien said 'No.'"

Mr. Bosworth-Smith said he "could not say"

if boys were made to repeat at parades the words of repentance quoted above.

The idea of repentance, however, was greatly to the fore in the mind of Mr. Bosworth-Smith. He admitted that he had suggested the erection of a "House of Repentance" at Sangla. "His idea was good," he said. It was not true that he had suggested that the cost of the hall, estimated at Rs. 10,000, should be borne by pleaders. "Speaking somewhat roughly, his idea was, plainly, that people should go inside this house and repent. The plan had never been laid before Government. So far as pleaders were concerned he had submitted a confidential report to the High Court recommending disciplinary action against some."

Mr. Bosworth-Smith had also practical methods of enforcing repentance. He arrested some 125 persons at Sangla, and when the "respectable people" of Sangla agreed to the payment of a fine of Rs. 50,000 he released most of the arrested persons! There is a strange likeness in this to German methods in France and Belgium.

PART V

RESPONSIBILITY

CHAPTER XVI

THE DUTY OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE

It is not to be supposed, as has been indicated already, that the matters related in the foregoing pages have by any means exhausted the whole terrible story of the agony inflicted on the people of the affected areas in the Punjab. General Dyer's *battue*, the bombs and machine-guns of Major Carberry and Lieutenant Dodkins, and the shooting of crowds at Lahore, do not even exhaust the story of reprisals of this description. An armoured train was let loose on the villages of Sheikupara. It was in command, of course, of a military officer, and accompanied by a civil officer, Lala Sriram, who gave the Hunter Committee a lurid account of how it would descend on a village and turn its machine-gun indiscriminately on the villagers in the street or in their fields, not because they were doing anything at the time, but because somebody had done something and it was

necessary to strike terror into the population. There are no details of casualties, but the affair of this armoured train appears to have been as terrible in its way as the massacre at Amritsar, the people being fired on relentlessly and indiscriminately, without inquiry and without warning.

But it is impossible to record everything, or even a tithe of it, in detail. Those who wish for a full acquaintance with the whole terrible business must go to the reports of the evidence taken before the Hunter Committee. The object of this book is to rouse the British public to a sense of the gravity of the crime that has been committed in their name by persons to whom their authority has been entrusted. And surely enough has been recorded to form an indictment, which cannot remain merely as a record. We have seen how these disturbances arose, the policy and methods that provoked them, and that, serious as they undoubtedly were, they were, when all is said and done, merely outbreaks of mob violence and not a "rebellion" or a "war" against the King, as

the official witnesses asserted and the Martial Law Tribunals found. As a result of these outbreaks, the population of the Punjab was subjected to all the severities which must attend the administration of Martial Law in any circumstances, accompanied by the terror of vindictive reprisals and atrocities, such as those for which the world has condemned the Prussians in France and Flanders, but which, nobody could have conceived could be committed by British officials in a province of a loyal dependency, to whom Great Britain is under the deepest debt of gratitude and reward. Let it be remembered that, while some had to suffer in the acutest form the methods described in the preceding pages could inflict, there is not a solitary inhabitant of these areas who did not have to feel the "intensity" of this régime of blood and iron. Those who have come from the Punjab since have endless tales to tell of the sufferings of the population as a whole and of individuals in particular under this régime of Curfew Orders, travelling restrictions, enforced opening of shops and labour, wholesale arrests, confinement in

solitary cells, public parades of innocent and guilty alike, punishments for petty and unintentional breaches of Martial Law regulations, and enforced submission to the bullying and threats of a domineering official caste, who celebrated the end of the war with an orgy of tyranny and blood. Here in England we have to consider the effect of all this on the people, not only of the Punjab, but the whole Indian people, who have been hearing from day to day of the sufferings inflicted on their fellow-countrymen in our name.

The matter cannot be left in the hands of the authorities in India, under whom these tragic events were allowed to take place. And it must be taken out of the hands of the Secretary of State for India, who failed to appreciate their gravity or to realise his own responsibility, who is never tired of publicly giving expression to the confidence he reposes in Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India, and who weakly submitted to the Government of India in allowing them to pass an Act of Indemnity, and to appoint their own Committee of Investigation into matters where

their own responsibility and degree of blame is essentially one of the most important questions for public inquiry. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the degree of responsibility resting on the shoulders of each of the authorities concerned, to press for a fuller and wholly impartial investigation by a Royal Commission, and to see how the British people can fulfil the responsibility that rests upon them, not merely to vindicate their humanity in the eyes of the world by the trial and punishment of the guilty, whoever they may be, but to ensure by statutory legislation that the people of India are able to protect themselves in the future against a recurrence of such an outburst of tyranny, and such infliction of suffering.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT AND ITS OFFICIALS.

There are three authorities, primarily, whose responsibility we have to discuss. These are, in the reverse order of their importance but their respective order of responsibility, the Government of the Punjab, the Government

of India, and the Secretary of State for India, who is directly responsible to Parliament and the Crown for everything that is done in India in their name, and under their authority. The Government of India is responsible to the Secretary of State, and the Government of the Punjab is responsible to the Government of India, who can at any moment veto any action it proposes to take, and without whose acquiescence, approval, or direct orders, as the case may be, it could not have imposed Martial Law, and done or caused or allowed to be done or approved all the things that were done under its authority, or approved by it, either before or during the administration of Martial Law.

The Government of the Punjab is vested practically in the supreme authority of one person, the Lieutenant-Governor, who, unlike the Governors or Lieutenant-Governors of most other provinces in India, governs without an Executive Council. Up to the time of the proclamation of Martial Law, everything that was done in the Punjab was done under the civil authority of the Lieutenant-Governor of the

Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who is thus personally responsible for the arrests of the people's leaders at Amritsar, which led to the outbreak and was really the beginning of all serious trouble in the Punjab, and the firing on the crowd at the Hall Gate Bridge. How far his responsibility is enhanced in regard to some of the earlier events is a matter for investigation. But it is on record that he ordered the arrest and deportation of Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew over the heads of the local officials, to whom apparently the order came as a surprise, and who had not themselves considered this drastic action to be necessary. So far as subsequent events before the proclamation of Martial Law are concerned, Sir Michael O'Dwyer could only be exonerated from any personal responsibility as Lieutenant-Governor, if it could be shown that he had in any case disapproved any action taken by his officials at Amritsar, or countermanded any of their orders. But we know that, on the contrary, he expressed his definite approval of General Dyer's action in shooting down about two thousand people at Jallwallian Bagh without warning, and allowed

it to be conveyed to General Dyer by General Beynon, his superior, that he, the Lieutenant-Governor, considered his action to be correct. In his letter to *The Times* recently, Sir Michael O'Dwyer complained ~~that~~ that journal had criticised him unfairly in this matter by the suggestion that he sent the telegram of approval himself. And he entered into an elaborate explanation of how, at a time when he was very busy receiving reports of disturbances, General Beynon pressed him for an expression of approval of General Dyer's action, and he ultimately gave his sanction over the telephone for such approval to be sent. In the same letter he gives it as his considered opinion that Dyer was right in what he did. It is difficult, therefore, to understand the object or meaning of his protest. But however the approval was given, the fact remains that he approved and definitely accepted the fullest responsibility, and continued his approval of General Dyer's administration of Martial Law and general assumption of authority before Martial Law was proclaimed, and before he was possessed of any legal authority at all.

As regards the firing at Lahore on demonstrators who had been guilty of no violence whatever, all this took place under Sir Michael's direct gaze, if not at his actual direction. He was in Lahore throughout, and consulting hourly with his secretaries and the local authorities.

For the bombing incidents at Gujranwala, he is also directly and primarily responsible. It was he who ordered the aeroplanes to be sent to Gujranwala, and there is no evidence that he at any time disapproved of the excesses that were committed by the officers in charge of them.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer was also jointly responsible with the Chief Commissioner of Delhi for the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, another most potent cause of trouble throughout the Punjab. At a time when Mr. Gandhi was on an errand of pacification, Sir Michael O'Dwyer issued his ukase prohibiting the entry of Mr. Gandhi into the Punjab, a provocative and unnecessary action which led to Mr. Gandhi's arrest and his disappearance in custody for a day, thus leading the people to suppose that, like Dr. Satyapal and

Dr. Kitchlew, he had been taken away for internment.

So far as the actual administration of Martial Law is concerned, there is an indication in Sir Michael's letter to *The Times* that he is inclined to plead that he had no authority to interfere with military orders. He sets up this defence, even in regard to an order that was issued apparently before Martial Law was proclaimed. But however that may be, his authority in the Province remained supreme, Martial Law or no Martial Law. And the circumstances are such that it is clear that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, as Lieutenant-Governor, was cognisant of, approved of, and is responsible for, all that was going on. He was in Lahore throughout and in consultation with Colonel Johnson all the time, while Colonel O'Brien and others entrusted with the administration of Martial Law referred to the Punjab Government, at times, for the assurance that they would be indemnified for the drastic measures they were enforcing. It has been declared in evidence that it was the Punjab Government that ordered the erection of the

public gallows at Kasur. And we cannot find that Sir Michael O'Dwyer at any time used his authority or influence to lessen the horrors that were inflicted on the populace. On the other hand, his chief Lieutenant and coadjutor, Mr. Thompson, the Chief Secretary of the Punjab Government, strenuously defended the whole administration of Martial Law in the Imperial Council subsequently; and he spoke for the Government of the Punjab, of which Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the supreme autocratic head. Finally, we have the declaration of Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, made publicly in the Imperial Council, that he had given the Lieutenant-Governor the fullest latitude to deal with the situation, a pronouncement which, while it does not absolve the Viceroy from ultimate responsibility as may have been the intention, shows the responsibility of Sir Michael O'Dwyer throughout to be clear and undoubted.

One of the gravest counts in the indictment against Sir Michael O'Dwyer, as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, is the policy of concealment which he deliberately pursued. In

the first place, from the beginning every newspaper in the Province was placed under pre-censorship by the Government and nothing, either by comment or report of events, could be published without being submitted for official approval and sanction. In this way the publication of inconvenient exposures of the methods that were being pursued was prevented at one stroke. Editors who showed any independence in their attitude were drastically treated. Mr. Kalinath Roy, editor of *The Tribune*, a most respected journalist, greatly esteemed in his profession and by all classes of the public, was tried and sentenced to two years' hard labour on a far-fetched interpretation of an article he had published. His paper had to suspend publication. The restrictions on travelling made it well-nigh impossible for anyone likely to carry the news of what was going on to get out of the Province, and one man who got to Bombay by way of Karachi—a highly respected citizen of Lahore—and wrote an account for the *Bombay Chronicle* of events in Lahore, was subsequently arrested, tried under the Defence of India Act,

and sentenced to two years imprisonment. Several Indian papers in other Provinces joined in appointing Mr. C. F. Andrews, a well-known ex-missionary and public man in India, as their correspondent to go to the Punjab and investigate the terrible reports that were being heard of the events taking place. Sir Michael O'Dwyer refused to admit him, and on Mr. Andrews none the less proceeding, he was arrested and sent back. In the meanwhile, there was of course a rigid censorship of all telegrams.

The length to which this policy of exclusion was carried is evidenced by a still more extraordinary proceeding. In Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala, and other places, all the leading men who had taken any part in agitation against the Rowlatt Act, and many others as well, were under arrest, and charged with serious offences, such as "waging war against the King" and conspiracy against the State. They were anxious, naturally, to obtain the best legal assistance available from Calcutta and Bombay, apart from

* The editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* was deported very shortly after publishing the account.

the fact that the terrorisation of the local legal fraternity was making it difficult to persuade lawyers in the Punjab to take up Martial Law briefs. The Punjab Government, except in one instance under great pressure, refused to allow any barristers from outside the Province to come into it. Such leading Indian counsel as Pundit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das, and Mr. B. Chuckerbutty, and European counsel, like Mr. Eardley Norton, were refused admission. One accused, a well-known banker, merchant, and philanthropist, who was among those arrested, could only convey the papers in his case to his lawyers in Allahabad by getting his son to travel in disguise, accompanied by another man. These two changed the papers from one to another at the various stations where all Indian passengers were searched, and ultimately succeeded in reaching Allahabad after several days, dropping from fatigue and starvation.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's responsibility, however, does not begin and end with the chapter of events in the Punjab last year. The indictment is more extensive and raises the whole conduct of the

administration of the Punjab over a series of years. The methods of recruitment and of raising of war loans in the different Provinces of India have been mentioned in an earlier chapter. In the Punjab these methods reached a pitch of oppression which was provocative of long-smouldering discontent, to which the ultimate shock of the Rowlatt Act was the culminating stroke. Nowhere was the Defence of India Act, with its host of liberty-destroying regulations, applied with greater intensity than in the Punjab. Newspapers were suppressed one after the other, and public men restricted and interned, the while Sir Michael O'Dwyer, in the Imperial Council or the Durbar Halls of his own Province, delighted to boast of the loyalty of its people, which he extolled to the detriment of those of the other Provinces. The recruiting campaigns exhibited the methods of the press-gang, and various other modes of pressure which could, legally or otherwise, be brought to bear on people unwilling to contribute a sufficiency of recruits to the Army; and districts which were remiss in this respect were accorded the honour of a special

visit from the Lieutenant-Governor, which was followed by a general tightening of the screws and speeding-up of the repressive methods notoriously employed.. If the object had been to destroy any feelings of loyalty and affection for British rule, and to crush out political life in the Province, the whole policy in the Punjab, and the methods by which it was pursued during the four and a half years of war, could not have been better devised for the purpose. All this played its part in producing a general spirit of discontent and unrest in a Province noted for its peaceful character and loyalty to the Empire in the past, and requires to be strictly investigated.

As for the officers of the Punjab Government, civil and military, under whom and by whom Martial Law was administered, the record of those chiefly responsible has been given to us out of their own mouths. General Dyer, Colonel Johnson, Colonel O'Brien, Captain Doveton, Major Carberry Smith, Lieutenant Dodkins, Mr. Bosworth-Smith, Lala Sriram and others, have themselves related the deeds they committed. The Government of India have passed

an Act of Indemnity, which makes it difficult, if not impossible, to sue or prosecute them in the Indian Courts. But that is no reason why they should not be called to answer for their conduct in England, where officers of the Crown in distant parts of the Empire can be held to account, under the law, for acts of oppression they may have committed. After the revelations of the Hunter Committee, Great Britain cannot, if she is to maintain her honour before the world, remain quiescent. She owes it as much to herself as to the people of India, who have been so deeply wronged, to probe this matter to the bottom, and to ascertain the joint, and several guilt of all those concerned. And in doing so she will have to see whether the intention to terrorise the people of the Punjab was deliberate and prearranged. The military mind of the Prussian type is not confined to Prussia, and is liable to express itself in brutal and repressive fashion wherever the opportunity occurs. But we can claim that men of the Dyer and O'Brien type are exceptional in the British Army, and that our administrators are not men, usually,

whatever other defects they may have, who tolerate or approve of unbridled cruelty and ruthless oppression. It seems hardly conceivable that fortuitous circumstances could have produced, at one moment in one Province of the Empire, a coterie of officials who were capable of the frightful excesses which occurred in the Punjab last year. It is hardly credible that the moment should have found ready to hand the men to commit these excesses directly the opportunity occurred, and to vie with one another in their severity and cruelty. The question must suggest itself to the mind of those who know the British character as it really is, whether it was not by premeditated design that the right men were in their places ready for their job when the moment arrived. It is a question that must be fully examined. If the general character of our officials, civil and military, who are entrusted with dangerous powers in such countries as India, were such that outbreaks of terrorism of the kind we have seen in the Punjab are liable to occur at any time, we should be compelled frankly to abandon our claim to be a justice and humanity-

loving people. However ugly the facts we must investigate and face them.

LORD CHELMSFORD AND THE GOVERNMENT
OF INDIA.

The responsibility of the Viceroy and the Government of India is equally clear and grave. Lord Chelmsford seems to think, judging from his utterances in the Imperial Council, that his responsibility ended when he had given Sir Michael O'Dwyer *carte blanche* to do as he liked, and by his insistence on a Committee of Inquiry appointed by himself, instead of by Parliament, has assumed that only the responsibility of the local Government and its officers is a fit matter for investigation. The fact is that his responsibility began when he gave the Punjab Government a free hand. But it did not end there. It continued throughout. It was on the authority of the Government of India that Martial Law was proclaimed, and it was by their authority that it was continued for six weeks. They also proclaimed the Ordinances by which Tribunals were set up, superseding the

ordinary courts and making Martial Law retrospective, thus roping in people who had been guilty of no violence, were not "taken in arms"

as indeed nobody was and subjecting them to trials from which the most elementary requirements of justice were almost entirely absent, and by judges who were authorised to ignore all the statutory codes. It is not too much to say that, if the propriety of these proceedings were accepted, anybody who had made a speech against the Government prior to disturbances, in which he had no lot or part, but which arose out of the same agitation, would be liable to conviction for seditious conspiracy or waging war against the King.

Nor can Lord Chelmsford and his Government plead ignorance of what was going on under Martial Law. In spite of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's rigorous policy of concealment, news of the Amritsar massacre, though not at first of its full horror, the public floggings and many of the other excesses, reached the public in other parts of India, and numerous protests and appeals were made to Lord Chelmsford to stay the

hands of the Lieutenant-Governor and the military authorities. All were met, however, with a stern refusal to interfere, and the Indian public got nothing from the Government of India but an attitude of repression and public declarations, which might well cause them to believe they had been abandoned by those to whom they were entitled to look for protection, as, indeed, they had been. The only instance in which they intervened was the issue of an order to stop the public floggings after they had gone on for some days, which was accompanied by the explanation that they had taken place only in the case of those of low social status! Lengthy telegrams of protest were addressed to the Viceroy by the President of the Indian National Congress and other bodies, but nothing was of any avail.

As for the Amritsar massacre and the Gujranwala bombings, if they did not know of the gravity of these occurrences, theirs is a serious responsibility that they failed to make themselves acquainted with the full details of these terrible events. There is no reason to suppose, however,

that they did not know. But whether they knew them or not, it is a fact that they strenuously defended everything that was done in the discussions that took place later in the Imperial Council, and thus accepted responsibility. Sir William Vincent, for the Government of India, and General Hudson, Quartermaster-General, for the military authorities, attempted to justify or excuse all the acts committed by the civil or military authorities. They denied the full extent of the casualties at Amritsar admitted afterwards before the Hunter Committee by General Dyer, and hotly attacked the Indian members, who denounced these outrages, accusing them of exaggeration and inaccuracy. How they came to do this, when they must have had General Dyer's Report before them, is one of the matters which will have to be cleared up.

Finally, anticipating the inquiry of the Hunter Committee, they rushed the Indemnity Bill by their official *bloc* through the Imperial Council, in the face of the strong protests of the non-official members. The result of this is that, so far as India is concerned, officials responsible

for excesses and abuse of authority can only be dealt with departmentally. They are immune in the Indian Courts from prosecution or civil suits for anything done under Martial Law "in good faith."

The responsibility of the Viceroy and his colleagues is further emphasised by the fact that the Indian member of the Executive Council, Sir Sankaran Nair, actually resigned as a protest against the administration of Martial Law. Sir Sankaran Nair, to his credit, refused to remain a member of a Government which failed to perform the obvious duty of putting an end to these excesses. The question of the blame attaching to those who continued to connive at them is clearly one for investigation.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

We come next to the question of the responsibility of the Secretary of State. Mr. Montagu surprised the House of Commons, by indicating that he was ignorant of the gravity and extent of the casualties revealed in General Dyer's evidence. If he was ignorant, he was either

wilfully so or by his own neglect. At least he knew that statements, even more grave than that of General Dyer, regarding the Amritsar affair, had been made by responsible investigators, such as the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, President of the Indian National Congress, and member of the Imperial Council. And had he pursued the lines of inquiry open to him, he must have ascertained that the probability was that the facts were far more grave than those communicated to him in the first instance by the Government of India. Mr. Montagu, in fact, had unusual opportunities of ascertaining to the fullest extent the details of what had been occurring in the Punjab. He was in frequent communication during the summer months with the members of Indian delegations, who were acquainted with the facts, and it is a matter of public knowledge that some of these gentlemen made strenuous representations to him on the subject. Moreover, Sir Michael O'Dwyer came home early in the summer, and we have it on record from Sir Michael himself that he communicated fully to

the India Office the facts of the Amritsar shooting — though perhaps not fully admitting the casualties — and apparently told Mr. Montagu of his approval of General Dyer's action. Again, Sir James Meston, a member of the Government of India at the time, was also in England throughout the summer, and in constant communication with the Secretary of State. And finally there was Sir Sankaran Nair, who came to England immediately after his resignation. Did Mr. Montagu learn nothing, or care to learn nothing, from the man who had resigned as a protest against these things, and, as is generally understood, came to England to lay the facts before the Government and the public? Mr. Montagu, however, is an impartial man, and has his own way of dealing with these things. He appointed Sir Michael O'Dwyer a member of an important Commission proceeding to India in connection with Army re-organisation, and made Sir Sankaran a member of the Secretary of State's Council. And Sir James Meston, who came to England on behalf of the Government of India, charged further to

eviscerate an already anæmic scheme of reforms, was made a peer and sent into the House of Lords to give the scheme, minus the Government of India's proposed modifications, his blessing!

Mr. Montagu, in fact, although he knew of the gravity of the charges that were being made regarding the administration of Martial Law in the Punjab, was a consistent defender and upholder of the authorities in India throughout.* The most glaring example is to be found in the answers he made to questions put to him in June last, regarding the bombing of civilian crowds by aeroplanes in Gujranwala. He admitted that "a few bombs" had been dropped, but when asked by Colonel Wedgwood whether he would give instructions that civilian crowds should not be bombed in future, he replied :

"No, sir. The responsibility for the administration of Martial Law must rest with those who have to administer it."

And in reply to a further question, he added :

He has quite recently declared that Lord Chelmsford has enjoyed his full confidence throughout.

"I refuse to interfere with the discretion of the military authorities."

Mr. Montagu's theory of responsibility would quickly make an end of constitutional government if it were accepted. But he cannot divest himself of the responsibility that rests with a Minister of the Crown for all the acts done by those who derive authority, through him, from the Crown and Parliament. And the extent to which he has justified or neglected his responsibility must inevitably be as much the subject of investigation as the responsibility of General Dyer or Sir Michael O'Dwyer. We may as well abandon ourselves to anarchy as admit that responsibility for the administration of Martial Law rests alone with those who have to administer it, or that the Minister responsible to Parliament cannot interfere with the discretion of military authorities engaged in operations of the kind that we have counted first among the crimes charged against the Germans.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY AND DUTY TO INDIA.

Finally, we have to consider the responsibility of the British people, and their duty in this matter to the people of India. It has been made clear, we trust, that our prime responsibility will not have been discharged until the disturbances in India last year, and their causes, and the measures adopted to deal with them, have been made the subject of a full and impartial investigation by a Royal Commission, on which Indians shall be represented, and which shall have power to fix the responsibility on all concerned, from the Secretary of State downwards; and unless, when that has been done, those who have been guilty of oppression are brought to trial, and if convicted, adequately punished for their misdeeds.

But there is more than that. We have to ensure that, so far as is humanly possible, the people of India are duly protected from having forced upon them liberty-destroying laws and the recurrence of such oppression as that inflicted on the people of the Punjab last year. They

cannot be allowed to remain at the mercy of an autocratic Government, armed with repressive weapons, which it can bring into use at any moment to supersede the civil law and the most elementary process of justice. The ordinance-making powers of the Government of India, which the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council holds it to possess, exceed anything which is decently conformable to the needs of a civilised State. While the ordinary Courts are still sitting, while there is actually no danger to the State from any rebellion or armed rising in being, the Government can bring into force its ordinances, and subject people to the whim of courts which have power to ignore and supersede all the existing codes and laws of procedure and evidence by which justice is normally secured, and to follow any sort of procedure they may choose to lay down; and the application of such an ordinance may, apparently, be made retrospective to any extent. This, in itself, quite apart from the dangers attaching to the easy terms on which Martial Law may be imposed on the Indian people, is a danger to which no

people living under the pretence of a just and humane Government should be exposed. Such power in the hands of a responsible Government would be bad enough. To place such resources in the hands of a Government which owes no responsibility to the people it governs, and is responsible only to a Parliament seven thousand miles away, which learns of events of the most grave nature eight months after they have happened, is to invite abuse.

But it is not enough merely to destroy the ordinance-making powers of the Government of India. It would still remain an irresponsible Government with autocratic powers. The scheme of reforms embodied in the Act which has recently passed through Parliament, and is sometimes humorously called Mr. Montagu's Home Rule Act, leaves the autocracy of the Government of India absolutely untouched in all essential matters. Those who know the present temper of the Indian people, and how profoundly they have been stirred and embittered by the events of last year, are under no illusions as to their attitude towards a measure of reform which

leaves them as helpless as before in the face of such oppression as may be meted out to them. Quite apart from all considerations of the principle of the right of self-government, they realise that it is absolutely essential for their own safety, for the restoration of the liberties of which they have been deprived, that they should have the fullest power of control over their own Government necessary to protect themselves from oppression, and to save them from the humiliation and suffering they have recently undergone. There is no other way to ensure that safety but to make the Government responsible in the first instance to themselves, and to no one else. And if the British people believe that their own interests and safety are inseparable from the Indian connection, let them realise that the only assurance of that connection lies in the full recognition of India's right to responsible government now, and without equivocation; for nothing is more certain than that the road to infinite trouble in India and ultimate separation lies along the tedious way of half-hearted reforms and the claim to determine for India from time

to time what she is entitled to determine for herself—the sort of Government under which she is to live.

Let those who can be moved by the knowledge of what India has been made to suffer, at the hands of persons wielding power in their name, ponder whether, in the light of that knowledge, they can still acquiesce in the denial to her people of that full freedom which they have fought, not only to win for the oppressed peoples of Europe, but to preserve for England herself.