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{Confidential.}

District and miscellaneous reports

on the

PUNJAB DISTURBANCES

April 1919.

SECRET.

- p. 1. No 14163 (Home- Mily), dated Lahore, the 24th May 1919.
From the Hon'ble Mr. J.P.Thompson, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to
Govt. Punjab.
To.- All Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab.

The Lieutenant Governor regrets that it should be necessary at the present time to impose any extra work on Deputy Commissioners, but the recent disturbances and the unusual nature of the measures employed for their suppression make a detailed report inevitable, and the sooner it is taken in hand, while the memory of the occurrences is still fresh, the better it will be, and the more faithful the picture it will present. His Honour will do all in his power to continue the assistance which the Deputy Commissioners in the central districts are receiving from extra officers until the reports have been completed.

2. Except on the Railways, Martial Law has already been discontinued in Gujrat, and in the rural portions of Lahore, Amritsar and Gujranwala. Its complete disappearance, unless further disturbances occur, will be a matter of weeks, but an ordinance has been issued which permits the commissions appointed under the martial law Ordinance to finish all cases for the trial of which they have been convened.

3. The report should start with a survey of the pre-disposing causes of the unrest, both political and economical. It should be shown briefly how far the different classes of the population were effected by each of these causes and what methods have been used to exploit existing discontent. The outside influences which have been brought to bear for this purpose should be analysed and explained, and special attention should be devoted to the organization of agitation, the Hindu-Muslim unity propaganda and the campaign of misrepresentation in regard to the Rowlatt Act.

4. The report will then pass on with natural sequence sidera to a condition of the immediate causes of the outbreak in the districts where outbreaks have actually occurred and the third section should be devoted to a chronological narrative of events. This will be in some respects the most important part of the report, and great care must be exercised to avoid stating anything

- (1) Pleaders and their munshies,
- (2) College students and school boys,
- (3) Traders,
- (4) Members of the Arya Samaj, and
- (5) X Certain classes of Government servants, such as School masters and Railway and Telegraph officials, and possibly also
- (6) Pan-Islamic agitators.

It is believed that the rural population for the most part held aloof, but this point should be examined, and it should be determined as far as possible how far those members of the rural classes who did take part in the disturbances were influenced by other considerations than the possibility of loot and the belief that the British Government had lost its hold on the Country. The attitude of the returned emigrants should be specially noted.

7. In the sixth section the nature of the movement should be farther analysed and it should be shown how far it was in its manifestations definitely revolutionary, dis-loyal, anti-European or anti-Christian. In several cases it has been reported that portraits of the King-Emperor were destroyed and the cries were raised that the king was dead. In one case the demonstration made consisted entirely of a funeral of the King-Emperor. In other places the crowds showed unmistakably their hostility towards Europeans and Christians: European Banks were attacked and Europeans were murdered; churches were burnt and persons connected with missions were attacked. In one case the house of a missionary was burnt, and reports have been received of the hostile attitude of the roiters towards Indian christians.

8. The seventh section should be devoted to an examination of the methods of adopted by the rebels or roiters. Prominent among these have been the organization of strikes, attacks on communications and attacks on Government buildings.

9. The administrative changes introduced to meet the temporary strain, such for example as the additions to the staff of the officers ^{to} and the police, should be set forth in section 8, while in section 9 an account should be given of the punitive and protective measures adopted. To this section should be appended a statement showing the offences dealt with -

- (1) by the Commissions, and
- (2) by the summary Courts.

Under (2) should be shown the offences dealt with by summary Courts.-

- and (i) Under the proclamations of the 19th and 20th April,
 (ii) Under the powers subsequently conferred for the disposal of minor offences committed on or after the 30th March and prior to the dates of the above mentioned proclamations.

Forms for these statements and certain others are appended. As you are aware, there has been an outcry in the Press in other provinces against the punishments inflicted under martial law, and exaggerated stories have been published, especially in regard to the punishment of whipping. It would be well therefore to devote some attention to an analysis of the cases in which whipping was inflicted with a view to classifying the offences for which it was imposed and the persons on whom it was inflicted. It should also be stated in how many cases it was inflicted in public.

It is desirable that the persons dealt with by commissions and by Summary Courts should be classified under the various categories shown in statement F.

In some districts special punitive measures have been taken or sanctioned, such as the impositions of fines on individual villages, and the raising of extra police, while claims under section 15-A of the Police Act have been invited and are believed to be now under consideration. Instructions have been issued in regard to the scope of this section, and the claims which are not covered by it must, if they are to be dealt with at all, be dealt with under martial law. In some districts it is understood that measures are being taken for the recovery of the amount spent in removing women and children from the disturbed areas. The question whether section 15-A can be used for this purpose is being examined by the Government of India, and a further communication will be made.

Details should be given of all recoveries made under martial law should be shown separately from those made under the Police Act. The nature of the claims should be explained, and the amounts recovered to date should be stated. A brief note should be added in regard to the methods adopted or proposed for the

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proposed for the recovery of claims not covered by section 10-A.

10. Section 10 should mention the names of officials, Civil and Military, and private individuals who have been commended for valuable work done or services rendered during the disturbances. Similar mention should be made of any officers or individuals of importance or position who have shown themselves in sympathy with the rebels or insufficiently alive to their duties to Government, but mention in the report will not dispense with the necessity of separate reports where the proposals for reward or punishment require the sanction of Government. Under this heading general notes on the attitude of Honorary Magistrates, Zaildars, Jagirdars, Government grantees, etc. will be useful.

11. In conclusion, an attempt should be made to estimate the effect of the disturbances and of the measures which have been taken for their suppression on popular feeling, and reporting officers are requested to add in a special section at the end of the report any further suggestions or remarks that they may wish to offer.

12. The reports should be submitted by Deputy Commissioners to Commissioners, whether complete or not, by the end of June. They should be submitted in duplicate on half margin, so as to enable Commissioners to record their marginal notes on particular points. Commissioners will forward one copy of each report to Government, together with any general observations that they may wish to make, not later than the 7th of July.

13.-The disturbances have not extended to all districts of the province in equal degree, and some districts and even divisions have hardly been effected at all. In the case of such districts the reports will be necessarily much less elaborate, but the Lieutenant Governor thinks it desirable that reports should be submitted. They should follow as far as possible the scheme sketched out above.

14. The Agent N.W. Railway, and the Post-Master-General are being separately addressed and no doubt the military authorities will submit their own reports to Army head quarters. The Lieutenant Governor realizes however that Deputy Commissioners in certain districts will have to consult the Military authorities

authorities in regard to many of the points with which they deal:
A copy of this letter is being forwarded to the G.O.C. Lahore and Rawalpindi Divisions, with the request that they will direct the officers serving under them to give all assistance to Deputy Commissioners and Commissioners in connection with the preparation of the district reports.

SCHEME OF REPORT.

- 1.- Survey of the predisposing causes.
 - 2.- Immediate causes of the outbreaks.
 - 3.- Chronological narrative of events.
 - 4.- Martial Law and other measures adopted for the suppression of disturbances.
 - 5.- Classes prominent in promoting disturbances etc.
 - 6.- Nature of movement, showing specially how far disloyal, anti-European or anti-Christian.
 - 7.- Methods adopted by rebels and disturbers of the peace.
 - 8.- Administrative changes.
 - 9.- Punitive measures.
 - 10.- Mentions.
 - 11.- Effect of disturbances and of measures taken.
 - 12.- General.
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Copies of Mr. Thompsons letter also sent to:

1. Legal Remembrancer, Punjab.
2. Inspector General of Police.
3. Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.
4. Chief Engineers.
5. Inspector General of Civil Hospitals.
6. Director of Telegraph Engineering.

besides those mentioned in the letter.

LAHORE DIVISION.

Note by Mr. Kitchen, Commissioner.

pp. 93-98.

Secret, Lahore Division.

No. 371 dated 5th July, 1919.

From A. W. Kitchen, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Punjab.

I have the honour to forward the disturbances report of all the five districts of the Lahore Division. For the Gujranwala district there are separate reports for Gujranwala and for the Sheikhupura sub-division. I have made my own notes on the margin of each report and in addition submit my own notes on the following subjects:-

- (i) Predisposing causes,
- (iv) Martial Law,
- (vi) Nature of movement, and
- (x) Notes sub-offices.

I- PREDISPOSING CAUSE

In my opinion the agitation which ended in the disturbances was considered as a deliberate attempt by the Home Rule party to get control of the Government of India. The Bolshevik spirit of abroad and the Bolshevik agency were ~~xxxx~~ perhaps alike to the revolutionary party in India but speaking without evidence I doubt whether the revolutionary party in India and the Home Rule party are closely ~~xxxx~~ allied.

According to my view the bases of the modern Home Rule Movement is a belief in the stability of English Rule. At the beginning of the war the Indian Political party here that the British Empire might be defeated, and in consequence they remained quiet. The Ghadr party was frankly revolutionary and it received no support from ~~xxx~~ educated India, while the ~~fu~~ al classes were ~~xxxx~~ on the side of the Government. Two years later the home rule agitation began with the intention of extracting some advantage from the embarrassment of the British Government but in the full belief that the

British Govt. will certainly win the war. Indian politician throughout imitated Ireland. Also as in Ireland the policy of Government has driven the moderates into the ranks of the extremists.

The policy of the Punjab administration which has appealed successfully again and again to the rural and the military classes has been much resented by the educated classes especially outside the Punjab who have found themselves pilloried for talking and agitating when other men were winning the war. The great recruiting efforts in the Punjab and the War Loan appeals cooperated to cause discontent not among the classes which responded to the call made upon them but among the classes which did not respond. The politicians appealed to India's effort to the war and in the Punjab the answer was given that the educated and the commercial classes did not had done nothing. The contrast was presented constantly officially and unofficially while the English owned Newspapers were always rubbing it in. In the Punjab the cities of Amritsar and Lahore stood aside. The one is the educational and legal capital and the other the commercial Capital of the Punjab, and they were the subject of constant reproaches.

The Home Rule organisation has probably been preparing for it a battle for years, and they felt that the time has come when Germany was defeated. The Punjab was selected as a suitable battle ground and the Congress arranged at its next meeting at Amritsar.

The Rowlatt Act was of course the occasion and not the cause of the trouble. There is nothing in the Rowlatt Act for any law-abiding politician to object to. But it does interfere with the plans of the revolutionaries and the decision to object to the Rowlatt Act must have had a revolutionary origin. No doubt also the argument that a Rowlatt Act was a disgrace to India because no similar legislation existed in another countries not even in Ireland found sympathetic hearers. In the Imperial Council no Indian non-official was found to support the Act although many of them knew that

that the Act was necessary. Some of them have perhaps have voted for it had they not know that it would be passed in spite of their opposition. So it was passed in the face of the whole Indian representatives. When a clear issue had arisen, if Govt. could pass an act good or bad in the face of the unanimous opposition of all the Indian members then Indians had no power in their own country. The campaign began and it had its origin in the Imperial Legislative Council though there must be acuter brains behind. Mr. Gandhi who had been in opposition to something or somebody all in life proved a useful Agent just as Mrs. Besant who had been a useful agent two years before. The whole organisation of the Congress got to work to stir up the educated classes all over India and specially in the Punjab, which was to be the scene of the next Congress, and there the educated and the commercial classes had their special grievances. Up to a point the agitation was very successful. The campaign of lies began which was very ingenious and was successful beyond belief. The general dislike of the police which is very deep seated indeed was utilised to the full by a charge of enormous powers of summary arrests which were to be conferred upon them. The story about the intended interference in marriage customs and domestic life can undoubtedly be traced to the Patel Marriage Bill which orthodox Hinduism regard with horror. Of social reform in India there is yet no desire at all. The general rumour about confiscating of property comes from the annoyance of the enhanced income-tax and the excess-profit tax. The commercial resentment of the Punjab Land Alienation Act can be traced in others of the Rowlatt Act rumours. Indeed a study of the rumours which were afloat is most interesting and instructive and reveals much of the secret grievances and aspirations of the political classes. The spread of the rumours were most successful the Rowlatt Act became the Black Act so black that it was impious even to read it. None of the lower classes and very few of the educated had ever read the Act and had the least idea of its provisions. Any attempt at instruction was resented copies distributed to the public were burnt as unclean. The city

women in their houses were more moved than I have ever known ~~that~~ them before. It was, in short, a Hindu Congress movement of bitter misrepresentation, and the Mussalmans were gathered in by means of the racial mistrust which is always dormant. National feeling in India is growing, but its cement is racial feeling. As education spreads, the desire for India rule, and the dislike of foreign rule becomes stronger and stronger. The fact of the superior race is always present and always galling. Appeals to the Imperial spirit as the foundation of nationalism are not successful, while racial inequality continues, and racial dislike is the foundation of the national spirit which is growing in India.

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Economic causes ----- high prices etc.....

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The whole agitation began of course outside the Province, and from the beginning Lahore and Amritsar were the foci of disturbances. The Mussalmans appear to have been dragged in by the racial cry, rather than by the Pan-Islamists. The Hindu-Mussalman entente was purely racial. The Pan-Islamist movement has not much influence among ordinary Mussalmans, but has been encouraged to ally itself with the Home Rule party. The alliance is significant, as the Home Rule movement is significant of a very deep and general desire for self-determination. It is not, as I understand, a desire to expel the British from India, but a desire to reduce the ~~Saxx~~ British Government to impotence while retaining the protection of British Arms, and the advantages of membership of the British Empire. Ignorance of military issues was astonishing, as well as of the martial spirit which is latent in every British officer, and of the martial force which is the foundation and sanction of all law. The educated classes got the surprise of their lives when the hidden sword was dawn. But the depth of the strength of the desire of self-rule, bad or good, must not be underestimated.

IV. MARTIAL LAW.

The real need for martial law was to prevent the spread of disorders. In no place had the Civil Government, aided by military forces actually lost and failed to recover control. It lost control at Amritsar on 10th April, and did not recover control of the city till 12th April when the first arrests were made. It lost control at Gujranwala on 14th April and recovered control next day. Ferozpur, Hafizabad, Chuharkana and Batala were entirely out of control until troops arrived. No Govt. can claim to control a locality, where criminals can defy arrest, and when the local officials dare not make arrests for fear of an outbreak. But martial law was really wanted not to recover control, for this had already been done by the rifles of the troops, but to prevent the spread of the infection. The towns were in open insurrection, but the townpeople have no military value at all. It was necessary to strike quickly and to strike hard in order to save the rural people and above all to save the army from infection. Desperate attempts were made to involve the army, fortunately without success. emissaries from Amritsar and Lahore were calling on the village people to rise, and in Amritsar Tehsil at least the danger was great and imminent. The Jats were collecting for loot, encouraged by the immunity of the Amritsar mobs. The crowd in Amritsar was scattered on 13th April and as the news spread the villages settled down. All independent opinion is united that the blow struck on 13th April in Amritsar saved the central Punjab from anarchy, loot and murder. At that time martial law had not been declared.

The real need of martial law was to provide summary courts for the clearance of the lock-ups which were full of arrests. Delay was most undesirable, and it was necessary to show at once that the rising had failed. The single magistrate courts were not empowered until long after the tribunals and one of the advantages of prompt jail clearance was partially lost.

On the whole martial law worked very well and the judicial

officers who sat as judges in the summary courts showed no undue haste, or prejudice or relaxation of the established standards of evidence. The courts worked quickly, but they did justice as a court must do justice, which works in public, hears both sides and decides judicially. The discipline of the students in Lahore had become necessary, and the control of prices was a popular measure wherever attempted.

It was not in my view necessary or desirable that the ultimate control of the civil administration should pass to the military. Under the most extreme forms of martial law the military must take over full control, but that necessity never arose in the Punjab. There was actually very little friction, but the demands made on civil officers and on officers commanding to exercise tact and urbanity in their mutual dealings were very heavy. The work would have been better done if the ultimate decision of all matters had rested with the Punjab Government and if the district officers had remained in undisputed charge of their districts with the assistance of military support. Two military divisions were included in the martial law area and there were a number of independent commands. There was in fact almost no friction, but the constant effort to avoid friction was a very real strain. Not only did Deputy Commissioners cease to be in supreme charge of their districts, but as District Magistrates they ceased to be in control of police investigations. In none of the instructions for the investigation and presentation of martial law cases before the tribunals or the summary courts is there any mention of the District Magistrate or of his ultimate responsibility. District ~~and~~ Police officers generally continued to work with the District Magistrates in accordance with the traditions of subordinates and good will which invariably govern their relations, but neither District Magistrate nor Superintendents of Police were always in touch with the doings of the special police officers deputed by the Criminal Investigation Department. This was not necessary nor desirable. No ill effects happened, but there have again these years past . . .

demands on the tact and forbearance of District officers. In all such matters of mutual dealings and co-operation the Commissioner of the Division had a useful function to fulfil, but it was not an easy thing one. I was very much help by the fact that nearly all the military officers employed happened to be friends of mine, or at least old acquaintances. Relations were in fact always most cordial. If martial law comes again for anything less than an extreme state of military and civil insurrection, then in my opinion the ultimate control of the civil administration, including martial law regulations and orders and martial law courts, should remain with the Lieutenant-Governor and the control of districts should be left with district officers.

The effect of martial law on the people was immediate. From the very first there was no resistance of any kind. Many of the respectable or money classes felt an instant sense of relief. Crime stopped, the feeling of insecurity ended and the criminals and disorderly classes went under ground. No one could be expected to like martial law, but peace was agreeable to all respectable people and the control of prices was very popular. Not a shot was fired after martial law was proclaimed, nor was a single order openly disobeyed. Lahore and Amritsar remained sulky, but the villages were unaffected. The stopping of booking on the railway was very unpopular and troublesome, but that was the result of the insecurity of the railways, and not of martial law.

VI. NATURE OF THE MOVEMENT.

The movement was definitely racial and anti-European. The Indian Christians, though viewed with suspicion, were not attacked while Americans and other foreigners were in equal danger with British subjects. The Arya Samaj was involved from top to bottom with all its organisation, and the Arya Samaj is a definitely anti-Christian body. No one who has read the Satyarth Parkash can doubt that the Arya Samaj is a political sectional body, anti-Mussalman, anti-Sikh and anti-Christian, and above all anti-European. There are very many members of the Arya Samaj

possibly the majority of the members of the Arya Samaj, whose moral standards rise above those of their official creed, and who are attracted to the movement only by its pure Vedic teaching, but the nature of the organisation is beyond doubt. Few officers, British or Indian, have read the outcasth Pankash and known the nature of the obscene criticisms levelled at other religions. All of them read it, and understand the nature of religious teaching of the Arya Samaj, with reference to other religious bodies. The attitude to be assumed by Government towards that body needs to be reconsidered in the light of recent events, though I am not prepared to go so far as Colonel O'Brien and to proscribe the whole society, which contains many respectable and loyal men. Largely through the influence of the Arya Samaj, what has been classed as the Labu class was definitely hostile and especially the underpaid Labu class. A general strike on the railway had of course been intended and it failed partly from lack of organisation and partly from lack of courage. Railway subordinates were generally obstructive, and sometimes actually hostile. Workshop employees were similarly affected, largely through economic discontent, and a general strike was very narrowly averted. Clear proof of actual revolutionary causes being at work is given by the attitude of the Amir of Afghanistan. His absurd proclamation to the peoples of India with its familiar travesty of the law of the jungle might have been written by an unbalanced school boy in an Indian bazaar. The spread of the movement to Afghanistan is absolute proof that the organisation was widespread. It is worth remembering that during the 2nd Sikh War and Sikhs called in the Afghans to their assistance and withdrew from Peshawar. However, an Afghan invasion of India would raise all the martial classes of the Punjab against their invaders. But at this time no one took the Afghan invasion very seriously, and though it did sober public opinion it did not cause the revolution of feeling which more serious danger would have evoked.

X NOTICE OF OFFICERS.

As a general rule Government officers of all grades and departments stood firm. Exception must be made of the Railway who were generally unsound, and of the Post Office officials who were much affected. In other departments work in the offices went just as usual, in spite of strong pressure brought to bear on the clerks, who were then suffering from special grievances in respect of their pay. On the other hand, this was due in the main to the spirit of caution which permeated the masses included in the disturbances—clerks were afraid of dismissal, students of missing examinations, and all alike of being shot. Tahsildars and Extra Assistant Commissioners, with one or two exceptions, all did their best and worked hard. With one or two exceptions none of them showed any personal courage, initiative, nor acceptance of responsibility. But for the British officers and their more virile methods there would have been general anarchy. The Police force did best of all, and, though they showed on general occasions no desire to proceed to extremities or to run risks, yet several Police officers showed initiative and firmness of a high order, while with very few exceptions the whole force was loyal. In fact, the Police officers showed up a good deal better than the Magistrates. There is also very little doubt that during the investigations which followed the Police of some places extorted a good deal of blackmail. This was one substantial reason for expediting the investigation of cases, as protracted investigation and judicial delay led inevitably to blackmail. Bribes are paid to avoid arrest, and not on cases which appear before the courts. This was also a reason for stopping arrests and prosecutions, as soon as ring-leaders and active agents had been arrested and order restored.

LAHOPE DISTRICT.

Note by Mr. Mitchell, Deputy Commissioner.

Pages 99 to 120.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

No. 186 Confidential. dated 1st July 1919 from Mr. Mitchell
To, The Commissioner, Lahore.

NARRATIVE OF EVENTS by Mr. Fyson, major portion of rest by
Mr. Mitchell.

Section 1. Country people generally not concerned in the rising. In the towns mobs led by youths and educated persons usually of Pleader class. Educated class rose against Government owing to: (1) growth of national spirit which needed something to hate, (2) conditions of life in Lahore City and (3) defective system of education. (4) Alienation of Land Act. (5) Arya Samaj doctrines. (6) High prices and petrol system of taxation. (7) Outside influences e.g., letter from ShradhaNanda to Duni Chand. (8) Gandhi's propoganda principal cause of unrest. (9) Mostly Anaritsar Arya Samajists who started hartal at attl. (10) Rowlatt Bills misope/presentation.

Blame for unrest laid at the door of Government that it did not stop the stream of lies in the press.

Para 9.) There were no traces of an attempt to form a national Government to overthrow the government. There were no councils or Soviets except that in Lahore that an organisation called the Danda Fauj was formed and armed with clubs. No firearms were used by the mobs in this district. The completeness of the hartal was chiefly due to terrorism, though racial feeling was undoubtedly aroused by misrepresenting the policy of the Government. - - -

Para 10.) Movement against the Rowlatt bills was merely a trial of strength against the Government but it was more universal than the movement of 1907 and more organized in that a definite date was fixed for all India for the agitation to bring begin, and there was one object in view viz the repeal of the Acts."

SECTION 11.

The immediate cause of outbreaks in the district were

(1) On April 10th at 3.30 p.m. the news came to Lahore that Gandhi had been arrested, prevented from remaining in the Punjab and sent back to Bombay.

(2) On same day at 4.30 p.m. came the news of arrest of Satyapal and Kitchlew at Anaritsar and the outbreak there with its heavy loss of life and property.

(3) At Kasur there was a preliminary hartal and processions on 11th April and rioting on the 12th April after news had come of riots elsewhere.

SECTION 111.

CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE OF EVENTS.-

March 9th.-Meeting at Bradlaugh Hall at which Ch. Ghulam Kasul Mahi-ud-Din a pleader from Kasur and others used intemperate language and when Chairman, Azil Hussain, called the speaker to order he was bored.
In the latter days of March notice published that 30th had been fixed for a meeting, hartal and fast and signatories were warned by me of the consequences of intemperate language used on March 9th and of probable disorders of March 30th. This day was not however so observed in Lahore, proceedings being deferred to 6th April.

April 2nd.-Superintendent of Police forbade Public processions in streets for one month under Police Act.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

April 10th. At 3.30 the news of Dandni's arrest came to Lahore and at 4.30 the news of the outbreak at Amritsar regarding the deportation of two agitators there. Military preparations were being made at Lahore for a possible outbreak on Sunday when the orders had to be changed for the same evening. Mr. Broadway spent most of the day over this and the Deputy Commissioner (Mr. Wyson) did not see him till 5 P.M. nor hear the full news of the outbreak till then. The Senior Superintendent of Police and Deputy Commissioner were called to Government House at 6 P.M. and shortly after heard by phone of crowd coming up the Mall. Mr. Broadway went off at once to fetch his reserves of police and the Deputy Commissioner drove with Mr. Cocks, Deputy Inspector-General, Criminal Investigation Department, to meet the crowd. The crowd were pushing back a dozen Police Constables who had been hurried to the Mall largely, through the prompt action of Lala Gopal Dass, Head Clerk of the Senior Superintendent of Police, who went to Anarhali Thana to see that orders were being carried out. The Deputy Commissioner attempted (after he and Mr. Cocks had left the car) to induce the crowd to return by pushing back the flag bearer, but they pushed on and as the Police were being surrounded the Deputy Commissioner asked Mr. Cocks to draw them off an open fire. This was done and the crowd at once disappeared mostly behind the Soldiers' Club. The casualties were 1 killed and perhaps 5 wounded. The corpse and 2 men were captured. The crowd when coming up the Mall numbered several thousands and was composed chiefly of youths. It was difficult to distinguish what they were shouting or to ascertain their object. They had no weapons and had done no damage beyond breaking young trees. But it was the third day on which illegal processions had taken place and there was no saying when the temper of the mob would change or what the effect of their reaching Government House/ would be.

Later in the same evening the Cavalry arrived and

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and in the Anarkali Bazaar a large mob assembled which stoned the Senior Superintendent of Police and the Crown forces while the Deputy Commissioner was engaged at the Telegraph Office awaiting developments after informing Government of what has occurred. The Deputy Commissioner then rode to the Senior Superintendent of Police and as the stoning continued he gave two minutes time for the crowd to clear, intimating his intentions to Am Bhaj Bhatt who seemed to be leading the mob; and as it was disregarded he again ordered fire and one man was wounded and died later and perhaps 4 or 5 were wounded. The crowd at this place were carrying on a sort of Kulliarra and the nucleus sat down in the Chowk near Lohari Gate apparently refusing to budge. They disappeared very quickly when fire was opened by the Police from the sides of the street where bricks were available. The Circular Road was cleared by Cavalry, and a small force of police under Mr. deGale, Assistant Superintendent of Police, encountered rioters with sticks in the Jabbibazar; the rioters found themselves in danger of capture and dispersed. Police pickets were left on the Circular Road and the Cavalry retired to the Mall.

APRIL 11th.- At Lahore the city was under control of the mob all day and night but outside that area Government forces were in possession. Closures of shops had begun at 4 P.M. on the day before and continued for several days. Aeroplanes reconnaissance reported large crowds in the Badshahi Mosque near the Fort and it was learnt that Hindus were allowed to address political gatherings there. There was no corresponding admission of Muslims into Hindu or Sikh temples. A band of club men was also allowed to enter the mosque; this was a half drilled body called the Banda Fauj. Demonstrations of hostility to Government were very violent and included destruction of the King's picture. The Deputy Commissioner called a meeting of leading men to the Telegraph Office, including both parties for and against Government and warned them that

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that Martial Law would be brought in if the hartal were not stopped.

At the Railway workshops, during the breakfast hour two Sikh students distributed pink leaflets on the subject of passive resistance, with a portrait of Subramania Aiyar. Shortly after there was an attack on the time office, and stones thrown in by boys. The Police were called up and dispersed the crowd, but Mr. Gregson, Loco. Superintendent, was stoned. The assistance of Cavalry was also procured. The men returned to work, to the extent of about 30 per cent, of the usual numbers.

APRIL 12.- At 9.30 a military force under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Johnson, D.S.O. Royal Sussex, and consisting of British Infantry and machine guns, with Indian Infantry and Cavalry, and accompanied by Police and the Civil authorities marched through the city from the Dabbi Bazar to Hira Mandi via the Waterworks, and on to the Lakkar Bazar and Mori Gate and Radhaugh Hall, and Police posts at other points. The demeanour of the crowd was hostile and they called out for the cancellation of the laws. Shopmen at Delhi Gate seemed inclined to open. Magistrates were left with all the ~~military~~ pickets. At the west end of Hira Mandi the space in front of the Fort and Mosque was crowded, and this area was cleared, by Cavalry moving in line. It was learnt that some Criminal Investigation Department Officers had just been assaulted by the large crowd in the ~~Radshahi~~ Mosque and one officer had been nearly killed. After consulting General Clarke (who had arrived by car) and Colonel Johnson the Deputy Commissioner sent S. Rahim Bakhsh, Extra Assistant Commissioner to enter the Mosque and order the crowd to disperse. This was done and the entrances picketed by Cavalry. The crowd streamed across the open space to Hira Mandi in the form of a Muharram procession and they were carrying sticks. On reaching the bazar they began stoning the Cavalry there and the Deputy Commissioner attempted to clear the street

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by pushing forward the Cavalry but on Senior Superintendent's advice armed police were brought up and eventually as the stoning and excitement increased 4 Constables were ordered to fire. One student was killed and there were some few other casualties, but no prisoners were taken. The crowd then dispersed. In all 3 killed and 11 wounded were, as far as is known for certain, the total casualty list throughout the disturbances in Lahore. The troops were never called upon to fire.

At about noon a meeting of various parties was held in town Hall to discuss matters with no results. The D.C. informed the gathering that martial law would be brought in if the shops were not opened, and was asked to have the military and the police taken, otherwise shops would remain closed. Free food shops were opened by the organisers of the unrest, contributions of large sums being made by several persons. Offensive notices were put up and Government clerks and Railway men deterred from going to their work. The shops in the City, Anarkali and Gwalmandi areas remained closed, a constant stream of people passing up and down the roads all day. This continued for days and provided a striking spectacle of unrest the people mind being apparently completely on edge.

Order was kept at the Railway Workshops by Military detachments. The loco-shop had very few men working but there was a good attendance at the carriage shops. On the morning of this day occurred riots at Kasur, Patti and Khemkarn. (see Kasur report)

April 13th.- At Lahore the hartal continued and a meeting of leader of people called to get them to stop it. The district was proclaimed under the seditious meetings Act and notice given forbidding all assembled of more than 10 persons. All wholesale and retail shops were closed except Hotels and Restaurants in the Civil station. There was an attempt made to get Railway guards to strike. The organisation of Thikri Pahra on the Rys was begun. K.B. Muzafar Khan E.A.C. night patrols in the civil station also begun. The station of Wagah on the Amritsar line was sacked and burnt mostly by people from Manihla and Narwar where seditious meetings were held. The armoured train was derailed.

April 14th.- 3 Agitators were deported from Lahore. Precautions were taken against a possible outbreak, the city remained quiet. Filth was thrown into the streets which had been newly cleaned on a rumour that the Lt Governor was to pass through the town and the municipal staff deterred from cleaning it away. At Kote Radha Kishen stones were thrown at the 17 up train and telegraph wires cut at Wagah, Jallo and Atari. An assembly met by beat of drum at Padhana and there was general feeling of unrest in villages along the Amritsar line. Lahore civil area was separated from the rest of the district and put under the command of Lt. Col. Johnson, Brigadier General Clarke withdrawing his staff back to the Cantt. There were persistent attempts made to prevent workmen going to the Railway shops and these were only frustrated by employing Police with fixed bayonets to disperse the crowd at the workmen's train. Some 2/3rds of the carriage and wagon men attended their work. Telegraph traffic with Amritsar was again interrupted in such a way as to preclude the use of telephone. Simla was reached via Karachi and Agra. Two lines of wire were also cut near Delhi. Control of petrol in Lahore, requisitioning of Motor cars for Military purposes was begun.

April 15th.- At Lahore proclamations were issued (1) declaring the City to be in a perturbed state under section 15 of Police Act (2) declaring Martial law throughout the district. Hartal continued save in suburbs. A train was stoned at Kote Radha Kishen. Wires cut and timber obstruction placed on the line beyond Chhanga Manga. Two grass farm stacks were burnt at Bhungali and Padri. Two ladies were brought in an armoured car from a village near Amritsar boundary. A series of martial law proclamations were commenced today issued by Lt. Col. Johnson. (Details of proclamations given. Langars used for assisting the hartal were suppressed.)

April 16th.- Arrests by Police begun at Lahore and Kasur and Martial Law proclaimed in Kasur. A train was stoned at Kote Radha Kishen and several people injured. Gate keepers hut was broken into at Patti. A flying column with magistrate left Lahore for villages in Barki Thana and took prisoners in 4 villages. Third and inter-class booking stopped at Lahore Railway station. Registration of Agents and touts of Pleaders at Lahore was begun and they were forbidden to leave Lahore without permit. Roll calls of D.A.V. College were begun 4 times a day at Bradlaugh Hall. Owing to the defacing of notices steps were taken for their protection by owners of the property where they were put. The list of such owners consisted of

of persons known to be inimical to Government. The carrying of Lathis in Lahore Civil area was forbidden.

April 17th.- An attempt was made to derail trains between Jallo, and Marbanapura. Some shops began to open in Lahore in the evening. Martial law orders were issued for shops to open in Lahore but they began to open before the orders were distributed. The unrest now began to subside. (NOTE. The narrative so far was written by Mr. Tyson D.C. before going to England on leave). Tribunals were appointed under the Ordinance. Several martial law offenses were dealt with summarily.

April 20th.- Several prominent rioters and rebels were arrested. The disturbance by this time was completely quelled and the people realizing the futility of opposing the Government, with Martial law established. The various Martial Law proclamations to be separately dealt with later served to quiet the people and restore confidence. Keep malcontents busy and provide mobility for the Police and the Military. The attitude of the disaffected part of the population became one of apprehension concerning penalties and arrests and the demeanour of the people gradually ceased to be truculent and sullen. Finally on the 12th June Martial Law was withdrawn.

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SECTION IV.

Martial Law and other measures adopted for the suppression of disturbances.

1. Orders issued by Col. Johnson dealt with a variety of matters which had considerable effect on the daily life of the people as well as ensuring Law and Order.

(a) Inhabitants restricted to their houses from 8 p.m. to 5 a.m. Gatherings of more than 10 persons forbidden; people not allowed to walk more than 2 abreast; possession of Lathis forbidden; all fire arms had to be given up; severe punishments for persons damaging martial law notices and for owners of buildings where they were affixed in the event of their mutilation. In the first instance forcible hartal was forbidden, and in the 2nd any hartal at all first in the Anarkali quarter and then in the whole City. The students of disaffected Colleges e.g., Dyal Singh College, King Edward Medical College and D.A.V. College had to attend roll call daily four times, at the same time the authorities of the disaffected Colleges were directed to inflict punishments on all guilty boys, and these punishments were duly published in the Martial Law orders as an example to others. These Colleges were the King Edward Medical, Sanatan Dharma, Forman Christian, D.A.V. and Law Colleges. At Kasur the Municipal Board High School students behaved extremely badly, but in their case the matter was not dealt with by the Military, but, at the request of the civil authorities by the Education department.

Langars and messes in which Mohammedans and Hindus ate together were prohibited in order to prevent sedition and conspiracies. Severe penalties exacted in the case of obscene or filthy comments on Europeans in books and papers. Employees of legal practitioners forbidden to leave area without permits. Issue of 3rd and Intermediate class tickets was stopped. The G.O.C. Lahore Division issued order prohibiting legal practitioners resident outside Punjab to enter Division. When the Afghan trouble began an order was issued for the registration and restriction of movements of Afghans in Lahore civil area. In order to provide for mobility and well-being of the troops, motorcars and bicycles etc and horse vehicles of all descriptions were commandeered, while motor drivers had to register themselves for military employ and as many electric lamps and fans as were required were requisitioned. Finally penalties were laid down for the circulating of 'false' rumours, a thing which had played so large a part in fomenting disturbances from the first.

this sort the whole people will be punished and made to pay up all damages; and that pleaders will be of no avail in getting off the guilty or mitigating punishments, in fact that pleaders are very small persons indeed and liable to punishment and imprisonment themselves like ordinary zamindars, once the sircar has made up its mind to exert itself to the full; and finally that the sircar is quite as capable as in the days of their grandfathers of dealing with offences if necessary in a rough and ready mode of justice. For a very long time to come the people who have been under Martial Law will be politer to their officers than they have been for many a year and they are left wondering why if Government is so strong and can deal out justice so speedily, universally and surely, it leaves them to the mild rule of civil officials and permits pleaders to be the arbiters of their destiny.

SECTION V.

Class prominent in promoting disturbances.

Legal practitioners and news paper editors shared the chief blame. Their chief followers were students and school boys, and their instruments the riff raff of the town, e.g., artisans and menials, who make up 40% of the convictions by special Tribunals. It was not a rural movement in any way. 77.7% of persons convicted of rioting were urban and less than 15% zamindars. Only one returned emigrant was convicted. Over 80% of the convicts were literate. - - - - - The rural 20% were confined to a small group of villages near Wagah. Hardly any students were convicted, for boys having less developed features are not naturally easily identified by lookers on. But very large numbers were punished departmentally at Lahore and Kasur because they were known to have been concerned in the disturbances. Of Govt servants 3 convicted in Lahore cases; 2 in Kasur; and one sub-Inspector for extorting bribe.

The leaders at the back of the movement, especially Arya Samajists (4 Arya Samajists were convicted) were working hard to corrupt the railway department with a view to paralysing communications, probably they were not so anxious about the telegraphists as cutting wires was a simple matter.

age 109.

Seeing that a large number of demobilized soldiers specially of those recruited towards the end of the war were in the towns and villages disaffected, this is not only a sign of the loyalty of the military but a further disproof of the age allegation that recent recruiting methods were among the causes of disaffection.

SECTION VI.

Nature of the Movement.

The movement at Lahore was primarily anti-Govt. The idea was to stop Govt work, paralyse communications and inconvenience Europeans to such an extent that Govt would be faced to capitulate over the Rowlatt Act. Any other motives were secondary and were due to the fact that an Indian crowd is too excitable to be passive merely. Thus the movement incidentally revealed the real feelings of the urban population towards Britain. It may be said that they have no real feelings of loyalty and gratitude for favors past or to come. In their excitement they were willing to burn photographs of the king and queen and so to show that it is not merely the bureaucracy in India that they hate but England.

In Lahore District as a whole the movement was not anti-Christian as it was in Gujranwala and Amritsar. The Churches and Missionary buildings and schools of Lahore and the missionaries scattered through the District were not attacked nor an Indian Christian singled out for maltreatment.

The Gandhi rebellion, as it appeared in Lahore, was directed

was directed against the Govt and therefore against all its officers; and as the Government was identified with the British, the latter were veiled collectively as foes. In opposing the Government first aim was to hold up communications; telegraph wires extensively cut; successful attempts made to derail trains; Railway staff

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tempered with largely through Arya Samajist influence etc..... Second method of opposing Government was to insult or attack officials. H.H. the Lieutenant Governor was hated both as embodying the Government and as being conspicuous among the critics of the non-official members of the Viceroy's Council and a strong supporter of the Rowlatt Act. Constant efforts were made by the mob to reach Government House. Their intention of course was to make demonstration but there is no shadow of doubt that had they reached there, they would have lost their heads and run riot and acted as their brethren at Amritsar did. In the city filth was on one occasion thrown out on Roads which had been cleared in anticipation of the L.G. passing that way. The police were constantly hooted and abused and stoned by the mob. It is amazing that they kept their patience and caused practically no loss of life. Many police sustained slight injuries during the riots and in one case a Indian officer was nearly killed by the crowd at the Badshahi mosque.

The people also displayed their anger with all creatures and supported of Government.

SECTION VII.

Methods of Rioters.

(1) In order to demonstrate to the outside world the feelings of India, the leaders organised passive resistance and Hartal and in order to force the hands of Government an effort was made to hold up communications and stop work in Government offices and for the same reason to cause the maximum of inconvenience to the Britisher. In all all the people voluntarily or by compulsion assumed the demeanour of mourners and all shops were shut for days. Prominent men like Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Dass travelled on foot.

(2) Telegraph wires cut.

(3) Students went to the Station and workshops and distributed pamphlets.

(4) A general strike of the Railway would have occurred had not martial law intervened. Arya Samaj had a strong hold on the upper grades of the railway staff. The Kasur railway staff behaved disgracefully. There and elsewhere telegraph messages were intercepted showing the existence of a conspiracy to strike.

(5) Hartal was regarded as a useful lever against Europeans. Even men like Mool Chand joined in. Indian could manage for things among themselves not so Europeans. In Langars servants of Europeans were not admitted.

(6) Lahore Mob had no opportunities of attacking Government buildings but Kasur mob did havoc there.

(7) There is no trace to form an army. The Danda Fauj or gang of clubmen formed at Lahore was the only thing at Lahore of the sort and it was insignificant. The people probably expected the Police native troops to take their side. In Lahore the crowd used to call out the police to take their side. At Kasur it was once or twice suspected that people were approaching the soldiers and the crowd that attacked the tehsil called the police to come out and join them. But these were only cases of appeals made by the people on the spur of the moment. It does not appear that the leaders had made plans for corrupting the police and the soldiers, for the insight into the situation showed them the advisability of other lines of action. To begin with they knew that the police of the Punjab was too staunch and that the soldiers had too much at stake or were too contented to be likely to fail in their duty. Secondly they did not desire, because they knew it to be impossible to overthrow the Govt, but to paralyse it; and for this purpose they had far more willing instruments than soldiers and Police in the railway staff. Hence it was that the methods of strikes and cutting of telegraph wires and of hwa hartal were employed. Forcible picketing was too obvious a corollary of a strikes and hartal, so let it be supposed that the promoters not intend that also.

~~that also.~~ The outside promotion did not, however intend that attacks, on Government buildings should take place. This was planned more or less on the spot of the moment by local and less for sighted leaders. And as for the destruction of private property and the murder of Europeans this was the work only of the actual mob and mob fix leaders and the result of possession being aroused by the above methods.

Section VIII

Administrative Changes.

Section IX

Punition and Protective measures.

(1) Administrative

1. Military occupation of the City.

It appeared early that Police forces would be insufficient to cope after the troubles threatening and on April 6th military forces were called in. On April 10th 1919 at once became apparent that Military aid would be needed. Military forces therefore entered the city and garrisoned various points in the city and the civil lines. Firing was necessary that day, but then, as also on frequent occasions, only the Police fired and not the Military at all. On 11th the Police were so bad and demonstrations of hostility on Government (e.g. the picture was publicly burned) were so violent that the Deputy Commissioner warned leading men at a meeting that Martial Law would have to be introduced if Hartal was not stopped. This, however had no effect. Again that day 1/ Cavalry assisted in the city. It was not obvious that the military would have practically to take over Lahore until matters improved. And on 12th, it was arranged for a procession to march through the city starting at the Ry Station.

It consisted of mounted .. Police, 160 Soldiers of 17th Cavalry and 100 Infantry (Sussex & Jats) and the 75 dismounted Police. This force marched through and during this time aeroplanes flew over the city. Permanent Posts were arranged for ensuring the security of the City. Pickets Police, Armoured Cars were in readiness at various points. Throughout the trouble in the city only 3 persons were killed and 11 wounded and the Police alone fired. No more casualties ----- occurred after 12th. The people were coward by the news that aeroplanes would drop bombs in case of ~~xxx~~ trouble and by the presence of the Military. But Crowds contended to parade the streets and the Martial in spite of repeated warning~~xxxx~~ was continued. So on April 16th, Martial Law was proclaimed containing various measures for enforcing law and order. The City and the Civil Lines continued to be held in force~~x~~, but henceforward the Chief pre-occupation of the Military was with places outside Lahore proper.

2. Military arrangements in the District.-

Military ground despatch by guard various Railway ----- Station and Lines. Flying Columns were sent out in the District, Various men were arrested and sent to Lahore.

On the 16th April the " Column" moved through the villages Satyapal, Bhagali, Gravinda; Kurki, and Maduara and on the 17th marched Khara. It consisted of one Section R.W.A 212 Indian troops and 50 cavalry. After that the column marched on to Padhava, Atari and Wagah arriving there on the 18th. A Bahadur Lambardar and various other suspected persons were arrested. As it was found that those who had burnt Wagah Station (on 13th) were chiefly men from Narven and Solake, the column moved on to Karwar. Two ----- Lambardars and 4 villagers were beaten there (beating being in the public Jallo was then visited and the column returned to Lahore on the 18th.

Another flying column on the 20th April went to Kuridke and Kamoki on the telegraph wire had been cut between these places. Mr. Jacob I.C.S, accompanied it. The behaviour of a

Labbardar of Kamoki was not satisfactory and he was -----
sentenced by the above officer acting as a Summary Courts to
a fine of Rs 200/- and a whipping. At the same time
were taken in case of future mischief.

On the 28th another flying column went out to Wagah to
realize the fine of Rs 950/- imposed on that village which had
had not been paid on due date.

(3) Fines under Martial Law were imposed and collected by
the Military at the following places:-

Padhava	Rs 3500/-
Jallo.....	Rs 400/-
Harwar.....	Rs 1500/-
Wagah.....	Rs 950/-
Sahuke.....	Rs 300/-

These sums are in each case equivalent to half the land
revenue and were sent to the Civil Treasury.

(4) Students Punish Departmentally.

(5) Thikri Pshra was established in villages near the
Railway and kept in force till the middle of June.

(6) Various agitators were deported and several subsequent-
ly brought back for trial.

(7) On the 19th April standing Committee of Zamindars for
assistance in keeping Law & Order and in giving information
were formed.

(8) Additional Punitive Police stationed for three years
in certain villages in Lahore Tehsil.

(B) Judicial measures.

(1) On 13th ~~xxxxxx~~ seditious meetings Act in force

On 15th -Lahore declared as disturbed area under section
15 of Police Act.

On 15th Local Govt., authorized under defence of India
Rules to confiscate a press in case of disobedient of an
order under rule 3 (C) and publication of any new newspaper
without Govt.; Sanction was forbidden.

On 25th April, provision was made against persons attempt-
ing to tamper with the allegiance of Railway Servants.

(2) On 15th April Ordinances promulgated.

later on summary courts established.

(3) Trials by Commissions

"It should be borne in mind that a large proportion of persons acquitted by the Commissions were undoubtedly guilty. For a very strict line was taken as regards identification and in no case was one witness considered sufficient. There in the first Kasur the only acquittal was that of a Sadhu who was one of the worst of the whole mob and who had made no effort to hide his guilt when identified at Kasur, from among a large crowd, but as there was only one identifier Mrs Sherbourned, he was let off, yet to those present at the original identification there could have been no more absolutely certain case than this. There is no doubt that the accused persons had a far better chance of escaping in those than in the ordinary cases. It is correct to say therefore that never in the history of Indian Crime and perhaps in no country where treason and rebellion have occurred has the evidence been so true and untainted as in these cases and never before a series of cases in India has it been more absolutely certain that all the convicted persons were really guilty.

(4) Trials before Summary Courts.

For figures see statement C.

The vast majority of convicts both before the commission and summary courts are of the urban population. In the riot cases Hindu and Mohammedans equally divided and it is noticeable that over 50% of the convicts before tribunals were literate. No special reason can be given for the Mohammedans convicted by the Summary Courts being so much in excess of the Hindus. It may be because Hindus are more submissable and were more easily cowed by Martial Law than the Mohammedans.

(5) Punishments.

See Statements.

(6) Whipping

the only other
 case of whipping
 carried on Kasur
 by the Kily: as
 a disciplinary measure
 so far as is
 known was that of
 two Lambardars
 and 4 villagers
 of Narwarby the
 Courne Column
 in the 18th
 April.

P. Marsden.

There were 87 whipping sentences, excluding
 6 school boys beaten with a cane. Of these 24 were
 of 30 stripes.

5..... 20 stripes

44..... 10 or over

21..... 5 or over.

No one dead or was seriously injured by whipping
 At Lahore all whipping were done in private except
 after the first ^{four} ~~two~~ days and at Kasur all whipping
 was in private except in the case of 6 school boys
 whose whipping was semi-public.

X Mentions

In the Police Department Rs. 14364/- were distributed
 to Lower Subordinate of District Police of Lahore and Kasur
 and Rs. 3680/- to Railway Police.

Section XI.

Effort of Disturbances and of Measures Taken.

It is early to judge but the educated classes seem to
 be sullen. ~~That~~ It is possible that the spirit animating
 Bengali Politicians may ultimately arise in these parts.
 The educated men of India must have his theories fetishes:
 in many cases, he has resided in England and he has seen
 that political movement can be quashed in India by method
 of impossible in England. He ^{realizes} ~~thinks~~ too that Irish men who
 were traitors were given more rope. But a few of the
 deeper thinkers ~~may~~ have been led to think furiously on
 fundamental questions. During the Disturbances, they were
 ashamed of their own race, seeing them behave like savages.
 They ponder on problems ahead, and wonder what will happen
 when Musalmans suspect a Hindu inspired law or vice versa.
 But such men are in minority, for the mass of the educated
 are superficial thinkers, political martyrs of the young
 Turk type. And at present they hate Britain. Time alone
 can show the result.

The masses that is the country men are unaffected.

They regarded the

They regarded the Sahib as an omnipotent being and are now only confirmed in that belief. A tour round the villages of Lahore convinces one that the villagers were in the vast majority of cases loyal. They could not understand the attitude of those busy bodies the towns folk. After the riot they came into the town for their cases and found their lawyers in Jail along with blacksmith and sweepers. But the Magistrate was there in the court and did not seem to be disturbed. They returned to their villages and recounted the fate of the Vakil Sahib. Perhaps they belong to one of those very few villages where there were suspected and and at night a body of cavalry surrounded the village and took off one or two suspects. Other villagers on the way ~~beheld~~ beheld flashing past the village in the early morning. All this confirmed them in their belief of the Might of the Sarkar.

This attitude of the ~~xxx~~ town folk of Lahore is doubtful. They are going about their work and not at present displaying signs of discontent or the reverse. Now at the end of June it is known that there are outsiders ~~present~~ present ----- engaged in collecting evidence about official and military methods from the people and this may have a bad effect. Lahore did not have such a sharp lesson as Amritsar and therefore the results are not so obvious. Certainly they are not so subservient as the people of Amritsar. The Kasur people are kept in an extremely humble and submissive mode as it is a small place and punishments were in a larger number there. The ~~police~~ policemen and soldier were loyal to the core. The rapidity of the dis-affection and cruelty of the people made the Gandhi rebellion resemble the great mutiny. But the ~~great~~ great point of difference is the attitude of the military. It may be said that there are effects of the cruelty treachery and futility of the mobs of menials and students and shopkeepers and pleaders of the town has been to show up the high standard of the excellence of the police and the military.

It was found that the police forces is underst
There were other factors in the situations which show the
difficulty of the position. The criticism is made that the
firing was too common and provoked the crowd. In supposing
two effective round were fired in time to stop damage the
success
very ~~praxxx~~ of the measure in crease the effectiveness of
the criticism. Even, so however the police had their eyes
opened by the late events; and the saying is constantly on
those lips " How easily we would have ~~xxx~~ stopped the trouble
if only we had known we could fire". For many years to come
the police would ~~xxx~~ for the reasons the more effective in
the event of similar troubles.

The occurance have also shown the vital importance of sound
defence schemes and have had the effort it is understood of
bringing the question in all quarters. The scattered
building in Kasur were a temptation to the mob. The Lahore
Scheme also proved unsound and a new one is being evolved.
This is a very necessary result of the lesson that India is
not different from the India of 1857 but the same.

Finally there are efforts which every englishman feels
in his bones and that there is a change in the feeling to
wards the native of India. He now carries a revolver. He
now realises that the East is East and West is West as
thoroughly as his fellow country men. In less sophistical
parts of the orient. The ducated classes and the towns
folk have shown their hands they ~~kb~~ have once shown the
that
English men ~~but~~ he is in a land of an inferior civilization
among a people which has not yet advanced medievelism. At
any rate he may have to treat them as enemies. It is idle
to refuse to look facts in the face and to pretend that the
situation remains unaltered. The uneducated Indians will
have more power under new Reform Scheme. The editor will
be given more license . These two classes have shown what
they want and what are their real sentiments, towards Britain!

These

These reflections will inevitably weaken the English Officials and will advise him to leave the country at the earliest opportunity. Bitter feelings have been left behind and racial questions has re-ascerted himself. The Englishmen now feels that he must always be ready for trouble and that his family is in a hostile country.

Section XII General

(1) No truth in the allegation that the recruiting method were a cause of disaffection- no disaffection among troops or from elements which supply recruits. Nor any in the various areas attacked by mob.

(2) It is curious that fire arms never used by rebels. This proves that licences have been given to men of right type. Arms act should not be altered.

(3) Police recruitings and pay be improved. They should be armed with up to date weapons .

(4) Communications throughout the district should be improved and a road policy pursued. Telegraphic communication should be developed and above all the use of wireless should be introduced therefore telegraph wires should be had at certain points.

K A S U R.

Note by Mr. Varden, S. D. O.

Pages 121 to 135.

XXXXXXXXXXXX.

of the Municipal Committee, and Ghulam Mohiud-din Pleader, Omdatt General Merchant, Abdul Qadir Qadir, Gokal Chand, Dhanpat Rai and Harthagawan Pleaders and Rahim Bux member Municipal Committee who had been asked by the D.S.P. to attend and report Mohan Lal made a violent speech against the Rowlett Act. Ghulam Mohiud-Din and Omdatt spoke at length but the speeches were moderate. The speakers maintained that their object was to pacify the crowd and to see that the proceedings were orderly and not violent. When the speakers mentioned above were going away Nadar Ali Shah made a very inflammatory speech. However the attitude of all these men were anti-Government. Next morning most of these men held a meeting at Abdul Qadir's house discussing the institution of Langars; while they were so doing the crowd had collected again and advanced on the Railway Station.

On the 12th morning Kartal, was again absorbed. Two or three crowds paraded the city closing places of business and schools. The school boys played a conspicuous part led by Kamal Din of the M.B.School a nephew of 'ony' Magistrate who has since been 7 years in imprisonment. There were of strangers among the leaders. At the head of the crowd/several thousands a Charpai was carried on which was spread a black flag as an emblem of death of liberty. At about 9-45 A.M. the crowd made its way to the Railway Station. Just before arriving there Nadar Shah made a violence speech. The crowd was in a state of great excitement every one weeping and beating their breast. Having done considerable damage to the Station by breaking pots and doors and throwing stones at windows the crowd was about to leave. But the boy Kamal Din got up and urged them to do more damage. Then the crowd surged back to the station and just then three trains came up to the distant signals from Lahore. Patti & Ferozepur. The trains drew up to the signals crowd and a quantity of smoke was seen at the Station. Having found a small oil shed and damaged the signal and telegraph wire and looted some property, The crowd ran towards the Ferozepur train some four hundred off.

during these occurrences railway staff are proved to have made no remonstrances and in some cases to have instigated the rioter In the Ferozapore train were several Europeans-----

(account similar to C and M account and Kasur case account)

Finally the crowd was persuaded to leave the hut largely through the efforts of Ghulam Mahiuddin Pleader who showed great energy and personal courage in dissuading and even abusing the crowd. ----- the presence of the European party somewhat embarrassed the ~~European~~ officials and unfortunately proper arrangement had not been made to watch the crowd, ~~as~~ to concentrate any police force were necessary. So the movement of the official at every stage was too late and the mob was able to work its way; nor did any of the influential people of ~~the~~ Kasur make any serious effort to stop or dissuade the crowd.

Meanwhile the Ferozapore train had moved on towards the ---- platform. The crowd followed it and inside it were two warrant officers (Conductor Selby and Sergeant Mallet). They got out and stood at the ^{door} ~~gate~~ the door of the carriage. The crowd whereby some railings about 60 yards of and throwing stones at the men. One fell at one of them. Then they lost their heads and fired of all their rounds towards the ~~the~~ crowd, without doing any damage. The crowd then closed in on them, they ran up, and down the platform and went up to a group of railway officials and asked them if there was no railway staff or --- police who would assist them. The railway men nothing and gave no encouragement. Two railway constables who have been on the platform had run away. So the two warrants officers ran out of the station entrance and turned towards the waiting sheds, were hemmed in by some railings and there beaten to death by lathis the final blows being dealt by ~~the~~ some jass.

Crowd then went and attacked the post office etc. Munsiff Court, Tahsil etc.- Praise of Tahsildar -the police fired two shots in the air -mob thought blank ammunition- when Deputy Commissioner reached Tahsil Munsiffs' court had been burnt as crowd threatening to burn Tahsil the Deputy ~~the~~ Supdt: Police asked Litter if he had no objection to firing and

and then he and the constables opened fire, One man killed. Several wounded although 57 rounds were fired. Crowd fled- 8 persons apprehended on that day or lying wounded. On after-noon of 12th Military force arrived and all was then (3 P.M.) quiet. From 13th to 15th no arrests made. This was a pity. The E.A.C and Deputy Supdt: Police explained the fact as follows:- They found that few or no arrests were being made in other places e.g. Amritsar and did not know if they were expected to make arrests. E.A.C. wired to Deputy Commissioner on 13th asking if arrests were made and his reply on 14th was to the effect that arrested persons if their case was proved should be sent to Lahore . While the E.A.C was considering if this meant that further arrests were to be made a moveable column arrived with Melon I.C.S and he also was doubtful about making arrests. There-fore on 15th E.A.C and Deputy Supdt: Police went to Lahore to consult the Deputy Commissioner. On the 16th afternoon new S.D.o Marsden arrived. On the 16th morning a Durbar was held on the Town Hall and Col: Macrie proclaimed Martial Law. There was no more hesitation regarding to Kitcher.

At this meeting L. Dhanpat Rai notorious agitator who had presided at the ^{meeting against} Rowlatt Act ~~was~~ was arrested. 21 arrests were made in all that day.

On the 17th 3 arrests. On the 18th 4. and on 19th 40. Most of the arrests on these days was on the identification of the Europeans and the officials of Kasur. Large crowds of suspected persons near the station being assembled near the station for identification.

On 20th 22 arrests made. After that a few arrests were made daily as mere witnesses were called up. The only really prominent men arrested were Ghulam Mahiuddin and Abdul Qadir. These men were arrested because they were prominent at the meeting of Rowlatt Act and Langar and because certain witness said they had joined the riot. These were proved to be false as it was proved that the two men did to stop the riots. After some deliberations it was decided not to prosecute them as their speeches could hardly be called inflammatory.

On the same day April 12 there were troubles in

at Khem Karan Station and Patti. Khem Karan Station is about 6 miles off and some damage was done to it by about 20 men mainly sweepers from Pultu village near by. They were driven ~~with~~ ^{with} the help of ~~some~~ ^{some} Khem Karan zemindars. This occurrence was immediately after the trouble at Kasur from where a sweeper had run off to Paltu his village and told the other that all Ryé stations were looted and there was a good chance of -- looting Khem Karan Station.

Khem Karan is 28 miles off. The news of Kasur ~~and~~ excited the town folk who had previously been stirred up by lectures of one Durga Das of Amritsar at meetings convened by local Arya Samaj and by Amritsar people by train passing through. A riot lasted ^{from} about 8 to 11 P.M., the rioter being the riff raff of the town. Some damage was done to the station but the people were restrained by a few of the officials and chief inhabitants and the police.

Section V.

Classes prominent in promoting disturbances.

1. Main responsibility on pleaders.
2. Students --very infamable reason because parents pleader or friends of pleaders--shows that conversation in households of upper and educated classes over heard by the children was bitter and disloyal--crowd composed of the lowest classes--no attempt to attack the very small band of police who fired on the large crowd.
3. Sho-keepers prominent --Hartal universal and mainly voluntary in the bazars (several sho-keepers were convicted) ^{so} it may be said that the unrest was universal extending as it did through the professional trading labouring menial and student classes. The only official class ^{as} disaffected ^{were} ~~was~~ the Railwar staff who ~~and~~ were thoroughly disloyal.
4. Sadhus ? It was at first that Sadhus had played a great part but only one was identified. No trace of returned emigrant being implicated.

There were some villagers in the mob but they were only by chance in Kasur and being there thought it a good chance of loot. Also sprinkling of jats got their blood up and actually did the killing.

There was no trace of any general rising in the ~~the~~ villages or of any bands of villagers lying in wait outside.

Section Vi. Nature of movement.

Nature of movement primarily anti-Government and secondarily anti-British. It was in no way anti-Christian. The Chief work of leaders was to make people forget religion and its differences that they might work together--- fraternisation.

Section VII Method adopted by Rebels---

Section IX punitive and protective measures.

Moveable columns under Col: Smithers went along railway lines from Kasur Via Patti to Amritsar. Its duty was to arrest ring leaders and, inflict fines and take any other necessary measures. Arya Samajists etc arrested and hostages taken from bad villages. No persons flogged by this column.

Whipping.

40 cases total-- No: of stripes total 710.

All persons of lower classes excepting a ticket collector ---- 8 school boys.

Whippings carried out on railway platforms the public had no access here and all the whippings ^{were} therefore ~~take~~ in private.

CHUMARKANA.

Report by Mr. B. N. Bosworth Smith, Joint Deputy
Commissioner.

Pages 131 to 153.

CHUHARKANA REPORT. (B.N.Bosworth Smith.)
No. 53 of Camp Sangla.- Clear the air. May 1919.

I have the honour to suggest that the inhabitants of Sangla Market be fined One Lakh and fifty thousand rupees under Summary Martial Law for the following:-

The market is about ten years old, owes its birth, breath and existence to Government. Notwithstanding these facts it has long been a focus of sedition.

During March and early days of April this year, it welcomed an Brahmchari Lecturer or Mahant. This man was publicly giving out seditious lectures and not a single man in the market took any action to bring the fact to the notice of the Govt.

Sangla possesses a bench of Honorary Magistrates consisting of R.S.Teja Singh, Khan Doran Khan and Lala Ramditta Mal. The two former of these magistrates were away from 10th till 13th - 14th. Ramditta Mal returned on the 12th. None of these magistrates did anything to check the abuses and Ramditta Mal was present when the procession took place to and from the Station at 3 p.m. on the 12th. Likewise the members of the notified area did nothing.

I attach a short summary of the seditious proceedings and report by S.S.Bhai Amar Singh E.A.C. on the occurrences. In the second meeting practically the whole of the bazar was represented and similarly representatives from nearly the whole town went down to the canal bank at 8 a.m. and made common cause against Govt. The carrying of the black flag in public was designed to disgrace Government and the speeches delivered excited people to resist Govt. by any means. A crowd proceeded to the Railway Station by day and with only great difficulty were kept out from the Station. The people in the market got news of the special trains coming along this line and rushed to meet them. There is a good deal of evidence that the people of Baroha village came met people in the bazar in consultation about cutting the telegraph wire there. The assault on Mr. Wale, Tele Superintendent, was wholly unprovoked. The release of the Sepoy on the platform at Sangla was one instance of the utter

utter lawlessness of the people and no one tried to arrest the offenders. It is abundantly clear that all the inhabitants of the market were openly disaffected and incited people to crime from 11th to 16th April, and there can be little doubt that the Station and other public buildings would have been burnt and destroyed if troops had not been sent by Mr. De Montmorency from Lyallpur on the afternoon of the 16th. In the other cases, being dealt with on the Lahore-Sangla line, a large number of Zamindars have been punished for taking active part in demolishing the line. In Sangla, comparatively few people will receive punishment as little serious damage was done, and owing to the attitude of the inhabitants little evidence has been forthcoming, in fact no help at all has been given to Government by anyone, unless they were practically forced to do so.

- - - - -

The shopkeepers and others primarily indirectly responsible for the hartal were obviously also responsible for the subsequent open breeches of law and for the very great expenses and inconvenience to which Government and the public has been put by the closing of the Railway, posting of troops etc. It would seem that here is a case where a heavy fine can be most appropriately be inflicted. The annual income of the market is six lakhs a year and a fine of one lakh or 50000 would not be a serious infliction. - - - - - I understand that such summary fines under Martial law can in exceptional cases be inflicted and I would recommend that this be done here.

- - - - -

B.N.Bosworth Smith,
Joint Deputy Commissioner.

PAGE 138.No. 79 dated Shekhupura.- 28th May 1919.

From B.N.Bosworth Smith, Jt, Deputy Commissioner, to
the Commissioner of Lahore.

- - - - -

Suggests levy of 1½ Lakhs under section 15 Police Act
as per statement C to meet public and private claims.

Practically all residents of market of Chuharkana

Chuharkana implicated. - - - - - In all more than 10000 persons must have taken part in seditious meetings, wrecking and looting and only some 400 persons have been sentenced to imprisonment.

page 139.

Statement of damage done to Public and private property.

No.	Name of Station.	Damage to Public property.			Damage to private property.			Total.		
		Rs	As	Ps.	Rs	As	Ps	Rs	As	Ps
1.	Moman.	4,138-	2-	6	nil.			4,138-	2-	6.
2.	Dhaban Singh.	5,110-	15-	9	1,979-	2-	6	7,090-	2-	3.
3.	Bahalike.	1,450-	0-	0	nil.			1,450-	0-	0.
4.	Chuhar Kana.	6,497-	15-	0	2,733-	0-	0	9,230-	15-	0.
5.	Sangla.	1,892-	0-	0	3,000-	0-	0	4,892-	0-	0.
6.	Sbekhupura.	100-	0-	0	nil.			100-	0-	0.
Total.		19,189-	1-	3	7,112-	2-	6	26,901-	3-	9.
Supplementary claim by Revd Smith of Chuharkana.		-	-	-	466-	0-	0	466-	0-	0
Grand Total.		19,189-	1-	3.	8,178-	2-	6.	27,367-	3-	9.

B.N.Bosworth Smith.
Joint Deputy Commissioner.

Brief statement of offences committed.

(The main report contains a fuller account.)

B.N.Bosworth Smith.
Jt. D.C.

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REPORT OF SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE.

- - - - - with the happy exception of Bhalike not a single Railway Station between Sheikhupura and Sangla escaped without damage of some sort.

It has been found in the majority of cases the source of the trouble can be traced back to the mandis and Chuharkana and Sangla, both of which places were ~~the~~ the scenes of several meetings held to incite the more ignorant sections of the community to opposition and overt acts of violence against Government.

The direct result of these meetings can be traced in the series of outrages which followed- - - - -

The villages concerned all lie within five miles of the railway line on either side of it, and the persons concerned are for the most part Zamindars and shopkeepers of various degrees, together with a fair sprinkling of the menial classes.

----- additional police -----punitive posts.

28th May 1919.

Sd. D.Pilditch.
Addl. Supdt of Police.

page 141.

Strength and cost of Punitive Police to be located
at Sheikhpura.

5 Sub-Inspectors, 16 head constables and 100 foot constables
pay, clothing, equipment, allowances etc for 1 year 40376-8-8.

For three years. Rs 121,129-10-0

Initial cost of clothing. Rs 1,972- 0-0

Grand Total. Rs 123,101-10-0.

B.N. Bosworth Smith,
Jt. Deputy Commissioner.

R E P O R T.1. Summary of predisposing Causes.

The actual scene of disturbances confined to railway between Sheikhpura and Sangla and spread over a period of 4 days only. - - - - -

For 4 days this narrow tract of 36 miles along the line was in a state of open rebellion and people imagined that the last day of British rule had come.

Immediate predisposing cause of this extraordinary ignorance and credulity is the fact that Gujranwala district in its unwieldy size and multiplicity of work has been probably the worst administered district in the Punjab.-----

Ill disposed pleaders at Sheikhpura and seditionists in the markets of Chuharkana and Sangla misrepresented the Rowlatt bills and by distorting offences that had happened at Delhi, Amritsar and Lahore persuaded a good number of persons that the sircar had turned ~~khafra~~ be-iman; that its days were over, that Hindus and Mohamedans should join together and make common cause against the Government, that the native army was ready to help them that all India was in flames of revolution; and that if the people did their part here there would be home rule with no land revenue to pay, and they would have their own army. Crowds flocked down to meet every train that passed through and the wildest rumours were afloat. The Outbreak was immediately preceded by the Baisakhi festival. A large number of sikhs and others went to Amritsar. Some of these were shot and wounded there and the wildest tales came back to Government oppression which further inflamed the population particularly against Europeans.

- - - - - comparatively few persons have joined the Indian Army and those who have done so are thoroughly content with the conditions. No doubt during the year immediately preceding some executive measures had been taken to induce recruitment and this was cleverly turned to account by seditious persons at public and private meetings.

2. Immediate causes of Outbreak.

1. Double hartal on 6th and 14th at Sheikhpura carefully

carefully organised by the Pleaders community. The two public meetings and hartal at Chuharkana on the 11th and 12th. The three meetings at Sangla and procession etc.

The disturbances took place on 14th, 15th and 16th wire cutting etc. -----

The whole population of Chuhar Kana market and of the surrounding villages were out for war in the firm belief that the Sircars days were numbered. -----

3. Chronological narrative of Events.

Sangla - A brahmachari by name Govind Parshad came from Delhi about 12th March and stayed at a Thakurdwara and delivered sermons on religious subjects professing the Sanatan Dharma and ----- . Latterly he formed acquaintance with the local leaders of the Arya Samaj which indicates that he was an accredited agent of the Samaj sent out in persuance of a definite policy to preach sedition but of this there was no definite proof.

11th April.- Meeting at house of Gian Chand soap-merchant (Samajist) to protest against Rowlatt bill and urge hartal. Chief speakers: Brahmachari, Thakur Das, Manager of Thakurdwara and Gian Chand. On motion for hartal being put to meeting some difference of opinion was manifested. A 2nd meeting was held the same evening ^{in the} at Mandi. Motion for hartal carried unanimously.

12th April.- Whole town with 1 or 2 exceptions observed hartal. Meeting and bathing in Canal.

13th April.- Baisakhi- passed off quietly-

14th April.- Stones thrown at Calcutta mail.

14th- 15th.- Moman Railway Station burnt.

15th - 16th.- Three Sikhs cut Ry telegraph wires between Sangla and Salarwala.

16th April.- Military prisoner forcibly rescued from Station by one Harnam Singh and other Sikhs. In the Harnam Singh made a marderos attack on Mr. Wale Telegraph Inspector, and was wounded and captured.

16th - 17th.- Telegraph wires near Barna cut.

MOMAN.

Harnam Singh and Banta Singh attended Rowlatt meeting at Sangla on 11th - incite villagers to take active measures in opposing Govt. On 14th these two men and Mian Singh led a mob

mob to Moman Railway station, which they looted and burnt.

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DHABBAN SINGH.

On the 15th at eight a.m. Jagat Singh and Gian Singh, Kamboh, of Nawanpind summoned the villagers to a meeting and told them that Durbar Saheb has been bombarded, many people had been killed at Amritsar and Lahore and that Hindus and Muslims had united to force Govt. to withdraw the Rowlatt Bills. This roused the villagers and induced them to go and destroy Govt. property.--

Mobs cut wires, tears Ry line and burns railway bridge 1½ miles from Dhabban Singh railway station. - - - - Jagat Singh and Gian Singh then went of to Mananwala village about a mile away where they collected more men and returned to the bridge. From here the whole crowd proceeded with beating drums to Dhaban Singh railway station which they looted and burnt at 4 a.m. of the 16th. April.

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CHUHAR KANA.

Prior to 11th April there were no signs of unrest in Chuhar Kana. On that day Rowlatt bill meeting in the mosque attended by Hindus and Muslims.

12th April. Hartal and meeting in mandi.

13th April. Baisakhi fair at Saccha Sonda (Chuhar kana) Teja Singh of Chuhar Kana and Katar Singh of Jhabbar stirred up people to overt acts of violence and called upon them to display their feelings against the Govt. by tearing up the railway line. The effect of this was seen the next day when crowds assembled at the railway station to meet the train and maltreat any Europeans who might be travelling. Fortunately no victim for assault was found and the mob dispersed with cheers for Gandhi and Hindu Muslim unity.

15th April. 15, 20 persons from the mandi went to railway bridge in morning and started tearing up the railway line. At 11 a.m. a special troop train arrived containing a detachment of 2/22 Punjabi's (Sikhs and Mohammedans) on their way to Hongkong. The officer Commanding detrained a portion of his men, some of whom remained to protect the station, while others were sent to the Mandi. It is said that on being asked by the men of the mandi why

why they their brothers had come to prevent them from resisting Government, the sepoys replied - urging them to commit further excesses by cutting the telegraph wires and tearing up the line.

Special enquiry was made
a separate report sub-
mitted. The regiment was
found to be affected.
A.J.W. KITCHEN.
2/7/19.

At about 2 p.m. after the troop train had departed, rioters wrecked the line between the canal bridge and the station. On arrival of train from Lahore, mob attacked and looted it and damaged engine. Two bridges damaged by fire and telegraph wires cut, Station staff assaulted. The final act occurred after dark when a mob from villages north of the line approached the station with the intention of holding up a train and then going on to loot the mandi. The first train to arrive was an armoured train which picked up a portion of the crowd with its searchlight and opened fire with a machine gun. The rioters hastily dispersed and thereafter there was no more trouble.

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SHEIKHU PURA.

6th April. Hartal-meeting but nothing violent said because Government reporters present. Nothing further occurred till 14th when hartal observed, - - - - - about 5 p.m. a small party headed by Santokh Singh arora went to the railway station to meet the train and learn the latest news of events in Lahore and Amritsar, and as a result damaged the signals and tore up the signal wire pegs on their way back.

- - - - - wires cut - - - - - Military aid summoned from Lahore. No further disturbances.

4. Martial Law.

Martial Law was proclaimed on the 19th and its effect was instantaneous and electric. On the night of the 15th an armoured train came down from Lahore to Chuhar Kana, taking with them from Sheikhpura R.S. Siri Ram S.D.O. ~~xxxxxx~~ The armoured train worked hard in patrolling the line for 3 days with Siri Ram on board. Machine guns were taken to Chuhar Kana and even beyond. The effect was excellent and instantaneous. The armoured train undoubtedly saved the market of Chuhar Kana from being looted and if it had not come when it did, looting would certainly have spread further, and possibly Sheikhpura and even Lahore would have been visited by an ill conditioned mob of ruffians. Similarly

Similarly on the 16th, the Deputy Commissioner Lyallpur, despatched troops to Sangla, with a District Traffic Superintendent and an Extra Asst. Commissioner, and had not the troops come when they did Sangla market would have shared the fate of ChuharKana and station and other Govt. property would have been wrecked and looted.

On the 19th, Col: O'Brien, Deputy Commissioner Gujranwala came down the line with a special train and made arrests of pleader and others at Sheikhupura, Dhaban Singh and Sangla. The people concerned in these atrocities had by this time become thoroughly scared. The markets and the neighbouring villages were practically empty.

Note. Col: O'Briens brief
visit had a very marked
effect. A.J.W.KITCHEN.
2/7/19.

On the 21st, I arrived at Chuhar Kana and immediately took the statements of the Railway staff and on the following morning held a large identification parade, which was continued for the next 3 days. Some 4000 villagers were paraded and 14 or 15 of the railway staff passed down separately and independently in the presence of magistrates for identification. This resulted in the arrest of some 300 offenders, nearly all of whom have been punished.

On the 24th I proceeded to Dhaban Singh where similar procedure was undertaken. Till then only some 20 persons were arrested. Two villages of Manianwala and Nawapind were paraded at length and some hundred more arrests were made, and nearly all of these have been punished. Pressure was brought to bear on the relations of the absconders, and the absconders were soon forthcoming.

From Dhaban Singh I went to Moman, where the villagers were similarly collected, but unluckily I had sent before me a sikh Inspector, Kartar Singh and a sikh Extra Asstt Commssioner AmarSingh. The Superintendent Police is dealing departmentally with the Inspector, who undoubtedly tried to screen his brother sikhs. Some hundred sikhs had attacked the Moman railway station but the Ry staff was got at by them, and refused to admit that more than 3 persons had looted the Railway station. Unfortunately very few of these sikhs have been convicted.

From there I passed on to Sangla, which I reached the

the same day. ~~Mr~~ Here too there was a conspiracy of silence, as the market people and the neighbouring villages had all agreed not to give each other away. The consequence is that in Sangla and its vicinity very few offenders have been brought to account and an executive action of another kind has been recommended to deal with the situation here. There was a considerable delay in deciding whether Mr. Penny Assistant Commissioner and myself could use the power of a summary Court Martial, and we were not able to start trying the accused till the 6th May. Between 6th and 20th May, 477 persons were tried and 294 persons were convicted. This long delay at such a critical time was a most unfortunate episode, and the keeping of nearly 400 persons under arrest placed a great strain on the police, and they could not have undertaken these arduous duties without the assistance of the military, which was fully availed of. Three prison vans were obtained and temporary havalats were constructed at Chuhar Kana and Dhaban Singh. Troops arrived on 18th promptly at Chuharkana ~~in 18th~~ and at ~~Sangla~~ Sangla. However by the time the troops actually came, the countryside was thoroughly frightened and all was quiet.

te. The delay in empowering the Summary Courts as very embarrassing. The police force and the military are quite inadequate. The prisoners were kept secure and the district quiet mainly by the masterful personality of Mr. Bosworth Smith. A.J.W.KITCHEN.
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ 2/7/19.

Practically no martial law has been enforced in this part of the district and no

PUNISHMENTS GIVEN UNDER MARTIAL LAW. The school boys of Sangla were for a number of days made to parade every morning and salute the Union Jack. The people, as a whole, have been entirely unaffected by martial Law. They appreciated and enjoyed the importance of having troops and their behaviour has been admirable. People in this part of the country little realized before how efficient and quick the arm of the Sircar could be. Repeated visits of armoured cars, a display of gun firing at Sangla and elsewhere and the passing of a mobile section of machine guns on Ford cars and motor bicycles through the district attended by cavalry, have been useful in showing how quickly the military can get to any disturbed part of the country. The Military officers commanding troops at Sheikhupura, ChuahrKana and Sangla have acted with the greatest discretion and have made themselves popular with the community.

These recent disturbances have emphasised to a marked degree the value of armoured cars along railway communications, and, of mobile machine gun sections for other parts of the district. Such an armed force should always be ready for emergencies in the Punjab where everything depends on quickness. The civil authorities are certainly greatly indebted to the military in this part of the district for their promptness and efficiency in responding to the call.

Section 5.

Classes prominent in disturbances promoting disturbances

AGE #22. 147. The total number of really disaffected persons in this district was probably under 3 figures though some 10000 persons took part in demonstrations, looting or distroying without really knowing what they were doing.

In tracing the causes of disaffection it is safe and golden rule to look near home first of all. There is no place where disloyalty is so deep as in Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar. Similarly in this tract the headquarters of disloyalty were to be found in Sheikhpura, Chuharkana and Sangla. In Sheikhpura a retired Inspector of Police whose two sons were convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and half a dozen pleaders and their munshi's were prominent. Had there been no pleaders at Sheikhpurait is safe to say there would have been no trouble there.

In Chuharkana the chief leader was a discredited Manager of the Khalsa School Kartar Singh who gave lectures and embezzled school funds. He has been sentenced to death.

Teja Singh another Updeshak who had attended a seditious meeting at Lahore also gave lectures and inflamed a large number of Virk jats in Chuharkana. The other ringleaders of Chuharkana consisted of a half fledged patwari from U.P. A pseudo Moulvi from a neighbouring village and a sprinkling of Arya Samajists. The station staff who _____ with sedition was ready to strike but had not the courage to do so . They showed an utter incompetency to deal with crowds that thronged the station. They encouraged the roiters in private and by attending the meetings of sedition in the market.

Proceeding to Sangla we find the 'Sins et origo mali' to be a ~~shram~~- brahmachari. He was hospitably entertained by the Aryas of Sangla for more than a month and whose utterances were listened to by a sympathetic audience without protest. There can be no doubt that all the leaders at Sangla played a double game. They were only too pleased to see the trouble brewing but when things came to a head they took care to be out of the way and at all events not to do anything. Here too the attitude of the railway staff was not above suspicion. When special trains were expected the information was conveyed to the bazar and crowds rushed to the station long before the trains were signalled. ---

This is a preeminently a canal district and it is remarkable and significant that none of the sub-divisional canal officers nor their staff gave any help to the administration during the occurrences or immediately after. These S.D.O.'s managed to keep away from their headquarters during these times with the exception of the S.D.O. Pakka Dalla who did nothing. He had a great opportunity to help the Tehsildar and the Sub-Inspector when they came but all three showed lack of initiative.

Bl. 148.

6. Nature of movement showing especially how far Dis-loyal, Anti-European and anti-Christian.

It has already been said that the would be serious revolutionists were very few in number, possibly 60 or 80 out of 10000, who took part in the work of looting, destruction or demonstration.

After the news from Amritsar came in, there were very unmistakable anti-European and anti-Christian manifestation. The American missionary at Chuahrkana escaped on the night of the 10th or he would certainly have been murdered. His house and hospital were looted and burnt on the 15th by the villagers, who had enjoyed his hospitality.

The motor-car of an American missionary at Sangla was greeted with abuse. The Roman Catholic Father at Sangla found it convenient to immure himself in a barbed wire enclosure with other Europeans at Lyallpur for 15 days. Mr. Male telegraph Superintendent was attacked on the 16th at Sangla in broad day light. Any

Any European found between Sheikhpura and Sangla from 15th to 17th would have been murdered. The native christians were apprehensive and would have been attacked, had it not been for the timely arrival of the armoured car, and the native Christian girls of the American school of Sangla would have been raped but for the timely advent of the troops there.

Note. There have in fact, been no such attacks on Indian Christians anywhere and I do not think an Indian mob would outrage girls.
A.J.W. KITCHEN.
2/7/19.

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Section 7.
METHODS ADOPTED BY REBELS AND DISTURBERS OF PEACE.

On the 16th a fine old sikh Mool Singh, a Lambardar Sufedposh and a man of ideas who often gives lectures on religious and other subjects took occasion before an audience of some 600 to 700 Sikhs collected from 3 or 4 villages to say among other things that it was time that hindus and Muslams should make common cause in this part of the country as they were doing in Lahore and Amritdar; that the native army was ready to join them and that they could soon dispose of the few Europeans in this country and have Home rule. The audience doubtless liked listening to the speaker who is head shoulders above them in intellect. But I do not think any of them attached much importance to his words or agreed with his views. Similarly the lectures of the Updeshaks Kartar Singh and Teja Singh and the fiery words of the hair headed Brahmachari, probably few of the audience were converted tho' all enjoyed the importance and excitement of being members of such a meeting. The dullness of the routine of their life was broken for an hour or two in the same way as the idlers listen to the Hidepark orator.

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Section 8th. ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES.

I joined at Chuharkana on 21st. Sub-Inspector of Sangla absolutely inefficient. Kept away from 10th to 20th. The S.I. of Khankah Dogran who is a fine tall man did nothing when he arrived at Moman on the morning of the 16th. The Tehsildar when he arrived at Dhaban Singh on the 16th held a district Board election and took no action there that morning in connection with the ~~disturbances~~ disturbances. Both the Sub-Inspector and the Tehsiladar could, with the help of S.D.O. Canal, would have arrested all in the

the two villages, who were implicated in the riot.

9. PUNITIVE POLICE.

Total damage to public and private property was Rs 27,367-3-9, mostly at the-railway station. 499 people were dealt with and 323 were convicted. In all 40 whipping sentences were ordered, nearly all in the case of the juveniles, to save them from going to jail. The whipping was much less severe than that given in jail, and it was not public, though it was administered in the compound of the canal bungalows after the court rose. No sentences of whipping were given for any offences committed after the 19th of April.

Fines proposed under section 15-A of Police Act are:-

Rs 50,000- on Sangla market, where practically no convictions have been inflicted as the people combined to prevent proof being forthcoming.

Rs 25,000- on the market of Chuhar Kana, which was primarily responsible for the disturbances in this area.

Rs 78,000- to be distributed on 18 villages, which took part in the occurrences.

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10th. MENTIONS.

.....
.....

In all 11 Lambardars and 2 Zaildars have been dismissed and a case against one Jufedposh is pending. Two canal putwari's have been imprisoned and their dismissal recommended. The chief ring leader at Sheikhpura was a pleader and the matter is being reported to the High Court with a view to the permanent cancellation of his license. Other action will be recommended concerning some other members of the Bar there.

From 15th to 19th April, no help was given to Govt by anyone, official or otherwise. The whole population seemed to be paralysed and in a state of suspense. No one showed any initiative and it was only when Col: O'Brien came round on the 19th that a start was made. Local Indian officials lost a great chance of

Note. The Indian officials were)
STEADfast, but courage and)
initiative were lacking.)
A.J.W.KITCHEN.
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showing initiative, courage and loyalty to Govt. After the 19th of April; people

both official and otherwise, have shown themselves willing to help.

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9th. Effect of disturbances and of measures taken.

The promptitude and the complete manner in which Govt. has

has dealt with the disturbances have made a deep and far reaching impression on the people. They will certainly not be so ready in future to act on the false reports of ill disposed persons.

General suggestions:-

1. District too big a charge. - - - - -
2. The people are ~~exger~~ extremely democratic and ill disciplined, given to crimes and cattle stealing and there increasing wealth has made them worse rather than better. They have practically no interest outside moneymaking, drinking and vice, and enjoy very few pleasures. There are no national sports, few social gatherings, no cattle fairs and little interest is taken in education. There is no pride in the village community and its institutions and history. There is no bond of sympathy between village and village. There are no natural leaders of society and no close and friendly intercourse as there should be between Government and the Governed. The people should take a pride in their own Zaildars and leaders in their own village, tehsil and district. There is no esprit de corps or love for their own country. The more wealthy leaders should be encouraged to associate with each other. They should be encouraged to take a pride in the education of their children and train them for Govt. service especially for the army.

- - - - - The personal equation- - - - - In the last 25 years Gujranwala has had 40 Deputy Commissioners, a large proportions of whom have been Indians. Many villages have not been visited by Europeans within the memory of man.

The real secret of preventing disturbances of this kind and more far reaching outbursts of unrest in the future lies in the early formation of the new district when closer contact with the people can be insured. The summary procedure of Martial law is admirably adopted by a people of this kind in times of disturbances and indeed always if properly carried out and supervised. Quick and ready justice without the uncertainties of law, cost of the plaeders and the oppression of the police is what is wanted. No more suitable method could have been devised for dealing with a wide spread rebellion of this kind than Regulation 10 of 1804. Its presence on the statute book was an untold blessing for

for otherwise temporary anarchy of a widespread and most destructive nature would have resulted.

-----Publicity work by means of village communities with Zaildar Presidents tried and recommended. - - - - -
- - - - All schools and Patshalas should be in the hands of the Govt.:

"Loyalty must be insisted on in all Govt. servants and school masters. Black lists should be kept of Masters whose loyalty is doubtful and such should be summarily dismissed".

- - - - Govt. should abandon the policy of non-interference in matters of religion. In schools religion must be taught and masters must be religious people. - - - - -

"Similarly pleaders have an almost equally great power for evil and it is surely not too much to expect that the High Court will now after the present acts of sedition exert itself to make this profession, a profession of loyal gentlemen and it might well order Munsiffs and others to keep a close watch on the local Bar and the District Judges to maintain registers showing the characters and feelings of such persons".

- - - Railway staff should consist of loyal men. - - -

"Traders are always a source of danger in bringing new ideas and will become increasingly so amongst the fiery and warlike population of the Punjab, when places like Delhi are allowed to bring _____ sion and pressure to bear on the trading community in the Punjab by refusing credit and the like, with the object of securing their own disloyal aims. It should be made a penal offence for any trader to threaten another with stoppage of credit in order to achieve a political end. It was Delhi which forced a hartal at Ambala Cantt and bazar, where the people were most loyal and most reluctant to take up such an attitude. A hartal is in itself illegal and an open incitement of violence which should not be allowed after the present experience in the Punjab."

"I have taken the occasion of the past 6 weeks to see the inhabitants of about 60 villages and to talk with them and I am convinced that their attitude is all that could be desired and that they are most loyal. The bulk of the country is entirely

entirely unaffected and is probably more loyal than even ever it was

There can be no doubt that the intention of the originators was to cause revolution. There was considerable more organization than appears on the surface. But the timings and the details were bad. The time should have been selected a month later and should have been preceded by a universal railway and postal strike. A week later the breaking of railway lines and communications and general looting should have been started. And a week after this the war with Afganistan should have been declared. In this way crimes of violence would have spread far and wide, most of the European troops would have been in the hills and Govt. would have been faced with at least 6 months work in restoring order.

- - - - - Provision for railway strikes. - - reserve staff
- - - - - penal offence for employees drawing over Rs 10/- per mensem to leave without one months notice. - - - - more civilians to be employed also in posts and telegraphs.

The next effort of the revolution if it comes (and it is unlikely to come for a considerable time in this part of the Punjab after such a lesson) will be on much better concerted lines. The present methods were those of Bolshevism run rampant. There disaffection to spread in rural areas, the want of proper communications would be a real danger. Col: O'Brien has this year authorised 4 lakhs to be spent on roads and communications. - - - -

- - - - - More railways. - - - - -

It would be easy for legislation to enforce village responsibility for lines of communication and railway stations in times of unrest. - - - - -

12th. GENERAL.

It would seem that the most important lesson to draw from the present experience of martial law is that the executive control by the civil should never be surrendered to the Military otherwise there is grave danger of something being done which will be misunderstood and cause great trouble.

The summary procedure was admirably adapted to meet the emergency. Nearly 400 persons were punished, the bulk of them, being disposed of in 14 days. The total imprisonment thus awarded was 465 years with a fine of Rs 23,150/-. The policy adopted was

was in the main to deal with all offenders in the summary courts and they got off much lighter than those tried by the tribunals. The system adopted was simplicity itself. The statements of railway staff and others who had seen the occurrences were first recorded in detail and then all the inhabitants of suspected villages were paraded and most careful identifications took place in the presence of magistrates. This was only done after measures had been taken to get in the very many absconders as the villages were practically deserted at first. Police investigation and police enquiry were thus reduced to a minimum and there was practically no opportunity for corruption.

- - - - - The investigation and the enquiry as well as the trials were held in public and the general justice of the sentences and other action taken is universally admitted.

- - - - - The Izzat and name of Govt, never stood higher than it does at present with the whole country side. The revolutionists, few though they were, have shown their hand and have lost heavily.

- - - - -

It has been proposed to construct a Rabs Khana at Sheikhupura. - - - - - partly by public subscription and partly by district board funds as a public memorial of repentance, and the words "lest we forget April 15th 1919" will be appropriately engraved in stone over the main entrance. This will fitly commemorate the district as well as the world's peace and possibly in years to come on each April the 15th the D.C. will hold a local Note. An excellent report) and the first received.) durbar here which would still further A?J?W?KITCHEN.) enforce the value of the lesson "lest we 2/7/19.) forget."

B.N.Bosworth Smith.
Joint Deputy Commissioner.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Note by Mr. Miles Irwing, Deputy Commissioner.

Pages 165 to 186.

Amritsar District.

1: Predisposing causes.

1. War. Confidence of people shakened Rumours of defeat. "The great demand for recruits and the urgency of recruiting seemm to have been a minor cause of discontent, if a cause at all, because, as a matter of fact, it was not the classes recruited who rose, nor has it been heard that any one in this district has alleged recruiting as a justification for the rising".
2. Religious troubles.. Turkey. "Feeling was aggravated by the general belief that the British Government had instigated a puppet in the shape of the King of the Hedjaz to rise against the lawful authority of the Khalifa".
3. Commercial classes initated by taxation. "In Amritsar City the action taken to prevent profiteering in grain, namely, requisitioning stocks on payment was bitterly resented.
4. Rise in prices.
5. Reaction after Armistice.
6. Agitation - Rowlatt Act, Future of Turkey and in Amritsar stoppage of platform tickets.
7. Municipal elections. "If economic and religious causes supplied the fuel and the Rowlatt Act agitation applied the match, the metaphor may be pursued to say that the elections stocked the wood, so that it would burn.

Graze for popularity and violence of phrase
Elections organised the bad characters.

8. January 31st, meeting to protest about future of
Constantinople.

February 6th, meeting on Rowlatt Bill.

February 9th, meeting on Rowlatt Bill attended by
"Drs. Gokul Chand and Naurang Chand" from Lahore.

February 17 ? Moslem meeting addressed by Kitchlew.

February 21st, Moslem meeting about holy places and
Moslem internees. Satyapal spoke at it.

February 26th. Public meeting to consider question of
cheap grain shops. Kitchlew blames Government
for high prices and says grain being exported to
Europe.

February 28th, meeting on Rowlatt Bill.

9. Other meetings besides above also held. Government
attacked. Inflammatory utterances. Wild rumours.

"A quiet and persistent attempt to bring Mahomedians into
line with an agitation that was in its source Hindu.

We find Hindus attending Mahomedan meetings and Maho-
medans given the place of prominence in the general
meetings, the chief link between the two being always
found in the person of Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew."

10. "The fact that the next meeting of the All India Congress
was to be held in Amritsar, was undoubtedly a contribu-
tory cause. It brought into prominence the local
Congress Committees. This was founded in October 1917
with the object of uniting Hindus and Musalmans in
Political action and though no action was, during the

the period covered by this report, taken directly under its auspices, it is significant that out of an Executive Committee of 6, 2 have been put on their trial for conspiracy."

II. Immediate causes of the outbreak.

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11. The Rowlatt Bill became Law in March 1919 and there was a short pause apparently to see what was being done at the Head Quarters of the movement. It was on March 23rd that the first meeting was held to support the passive resistance movement, but it was not disclosed what line passive resistance would take. This appeared in a 2nd meeting on March 29th in which a Hartal was declared for the following day. On the evening of the 29th orders were served on Dr. Satya Pal not to speak in public. The Hartal was an unexpected triumph for the malcontents and stopped the whole business of the City, but there was no collision with the Police. Next day brought the news of the Riots at Delhi, and it seems to have been felt by those behind the movement that there was a danger of premature explosion - as one Swamy Satya Deo, a follower of Mr. Gandhi, came down on April 2nd to lecture upon "Soul Force", who dissuaded the people from violence and from holding public meetings until a time should come when a manifesto should be issued by Mr. Gandhi calling on the people to go to jail by thousands. On April 4th orders were served on Dr. Kitchlew and Pandit Kote Mal not to speak in public.

12. After this it was very doubtful whether there would be another Hartal on April 6th. The local Congress Committee alarmed by the events at Delhi declared against it, and the Deputy Commissioner was assured by a meeting of the Chief Citizens held at his house on April 5th that there would be no Hartal. It was not until 5 p. m. on that day that Drs. Kitchlew and Satya Pal and others decided at a private meeting that the Hartal should take place. It was as great^a/success as that of the preceding Sunday. The Officer commanding the Station had been warned to be ready to act on the Internal Defence Scheme, but there was no collision with the Police, the organisers refraining from any overt act of intimidation which could justify intervention.
13. The situation had however begun to take a threatening aspect. It was not that any immediate violence was then apprehended. On the contrary the policy of the brains behind the movement appeared to be directed in the opposite direction. It seemed their intention to avoid any collision with authority which would justify armed intervention and to train the crowd with a view to some collective form of passive disobedience to authority which would paralyse government by the sheer weight

weight of offenders. Whether that was indeed all that they have in view is, while this report is being written, still doubtful. But events were soon to show either that they had raised a storm that got beyond their control or that their plans of violence were brought to a head prematurely.

14. On the evening of April 9th, the festival of Ram Navmi was observed. An important feature of this was the fact that although it was purely a Hindu festival, it was celebrated by Hindus and Mahomedans alike. Water was provided by Mahomedans and drunk from their hands by Hindus, although, it is true, in silver vessels. As the procession passed, the cries raised were, in place of those giving honour to the Hindu Deities, the Political shouts of "Hindu Musalmanki Jai" and "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai". At the same time there was little sign of active hostility to Government and none of hostility to Europeans as such. The Deputy Commissioner by accident was caught in the crowd and, witnessed the procession unguarded from the Verandah of the Allahabad Bank. Every car in the procession stopped in front of him and the accompanying Band played God Save the King. Only one party of Mahomedans dressed to represent the Turkish Army made a somewhat offensive demonstration, clapping hands, and shouting "Hindu Musalman Ki Jai".
15. On his return from the procession at about 7-30 p.m. the Deputy Commissioner received the order of Government

Government that Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal were to be escorted quietly to Dharamshala. The situation was discussed between the Deputy Commissioner, the Officer Commanding Station (Captain Massey) and the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Rehill, accompanied by Mr. Plomer, Deputy Superintendent of Police. Lieutenant Colonel Smith, I. M. S., the Civil Surgeon, was by reason of his experience of the City and his knowledge of Indian opinion also asked to join in the deliberations.

16. The situation as it presented itself did not seem to argue any serious results as likely to arise from the arrests. There had been no signs of enmity to Europeans as such; During the Martial of the preceding Sunday, Europeans had been walking about among the crowd quite unmolested. The most that there seemed reason to apprehend in Amritsar was that there might be a disorderly demonstration in front of the Deputy Commissioner's house or the District Court house to demand the return of the arrested persons. That was considered a more likely occurrence was that an attempt might be made to rescue the deportees on the way and to meet this danger the Deputy Commissioner asked Mr. Rehill, the Superintendent of Police the only responsible Officer who knew the way to accompany the Escort.

17. As regards Amritsar it was decided that no crowd should be allowed to cross the Railway Line, and 3 European Magistrates were detailed to the three main

main crossings and on the following morning received written orders to the effect that any crowd attempting to cross the line was to be dealt with as an unlawful assembly. In event of the crowd attempting to persist in their design the Officer Commanding Station was warned to be ready to take up the Internal Defence Scheme at a moment's notice, and the preliminary dispositions of the troops and Police were worked out in consultation. Briefly they were that the peace of the City should be protected by 75 armed Police under a Deputy Superintendent in the Kotwali, and that the Police Lines, Railway Crossings should be protected by Police, that the Revolver Bridge, Foot Bridge, Hall Gate Bridge and Hospital Level Crossing should be picquetted by Mounted Troops and that British Infantry should be kept at hand in the Ram Bag Gardens. The Military Reserve was retained in Cantonments. The Railway Station had for some days been under the protection of a Military Picquet. In event of evacuation of Europeans being called for. It was decided that Lieut. Col. Smith should keep a Motor Ambulance with him and that the first intimation of disturbance evacuate Civilians in it.

18. April 10th. Drs. Kitchlew and Satya Pal arrived at the Deputy Commissioner's house at 10 a.m. without any disturbance being created. They departed in two motor cars at 10-30 a.m. without any disturbance being created. They departed in two motor cars at 10-30 a.m. under Escort. Between 11 a.m and noon crowds began to collect in the City and Aitchison Park. Information was received

received by Telephone at noon that the crowd intended to go to the Deputy Commissioner's house, and the Military were warned. The Deputy Commissioner proceeding to the Hall Gate Bridge found at about 12-30 that an angry crowd had poured over it driving back a small mounted picquet accompanied by Mr. Beckett, Assistant Commissioner. The Picquet was stoned and could not hold the crowd back; but the opportune arriving of Mounted supports held them temporarily. The Deputy Commissioner rode to the Officer Commanding Troops to explain the situation and while he was absent the Mounted Troops were again attacked and pressed back; And on being called on by Mr. Connor, First Class Magistrate, opened fire, wounding and killing a few rioters. This was about 1 p. m. This and the arrival of a body of Police under Mr. Plomer, Deputy Superintendent of Police, held the mob, and the forces were further augmented by a British Infantry Picquet. Finally the crowd was driven back over the Railway line but not before the Infantry had been obliged to fire. Upto this point casualties among rioters were small. The Military then took charge of the Hall Gate Bridge and the Foot Bridge.

19. Part of the crowd repulsed from the crossing attacked the Telegraphic Office and destroyed the Telephone Exchange and were beaten off just in time to prevent further damage by a detachment of the Railway picquet which had been sent forward to protect it by the Officer Commanding Station as soon as the first sign of trouble began. This must have happened about 1 p. m. as a

a conversation was taking place over the telephone at that time between the Municipal Engineer and the Agent Alliance Bank, about the crowds coming back into the City. Another part of the crowd turned to the Goods Yard where they did considerable damage by fire and killed Mr. Robinson a Guard. They also chased the Station Superintendent, but were turned back by the Railway Picquet. The arrival by chance of a detachment of the 1/9th Gurkhas, about 260 strong, finally secured the Railway Station.

20. Within the City all Europeans and all Government property were attacked. The National Bank of India was sacked and burnt and Mr. Stewart, the Agent, and Mr. Scott, his Assistant, were murdered. The Alliance Bank was attacked and the Agent, Mr. G. M. Thomson, murdered. The Chartered Bank was attacked, but the Agent Mr. J. E. Thomson and his Assistant, Mr. Ross were rescued by the Police from the Kotwali. The Religious Book Society's Depot and the Hall were burnt down, but the inmates who were Indian 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 Zenana Hospital was entered and every effort made to find and kill Mrs. Easdon, the Lady Doctor in charge who however escaped. Miss Sherwood, a Mission Lady, was caught cycling in the City and brutally attacked, being rescued with difficulty. The mob burnt the Indian Christian Church and attempted to fire the C. M. S. Girls' Normal School, but ~~xxx~~ were

were driven off by Police from the Police lines. The electrician to the Military Works Sergeant Rowlands, was caught by the rioters near the Mitchison Park and murdered.

21. There was further an organised attempt to cut communications. Telegraphic wires were cut and Bhetanwalla Railway Station on the Taran Taran Line was burnt and looted. An attempt was also made on the main line of rail towards Lahore, but was defeated by fire from the railway Police Guard on the ~~Down~~ Down Calcutta Mail.
22. The mob also made another attempt to burst into the Civil lines and after repeated warning, were fired on by order of the Deputy Commissioner at the Hall Gate bridge. There were probably about 20 to 30 casualties caused at the time. This was at about 2 p. m.
23. In the meantime, Civilians had been collected at the collecting Stations, the Alexandra School and one of the Canal Bungalows. The ladies of the Saint Catholic Hospital in the City had according to the plan been promptly evacuated by Lieut. Col. Smith, as it turned out, at considerable risk. As soon as the road to the Fort was picquetted, the Civilians were removed thither. Appeals for help had been sent to Lahore by an Officer on a light Engine and also by Phonophore as soon as communication was re-established and at about 10 p. m. 400 Reinforcements arrived from Jellundhur and Lahore. The

arrival of these troops the Military situation) which had been very critical became comparatively) sure. I told the Officer Commanding Troops on) rival that he was to consider himself in charge) the Military situation and take whatever steps)

City was entered and the Kotwall occupied at mid-night. The Commissioner,

No thought necessary to re-establish Civil Control. --- --- --- --- ---) Commissioner, Mr. A. J. F.

A. J. F. Kitchin,
5-7-1919.

Kitchin, C.I.F., and the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Mr. D. Donald, arrived by Motor Car from Lahore at about 5 p.m.

24. The same night an attack was made by a mob of villages on Chheharta Railway Station. The mob only broke the windows of the Station itself, and proceeded to loot a Goods Train that was standing in the yard.
25. The morning of April 11th was taken up with precautionary measures designed to prevent any trouble over the burial of the killed rioters; It was forbidden to make any demonstration over them and these orders were carried out. Troops again marched into the City after noon accompanied by Deputy Commissioner and the Police set to work on their investigations. At the same time precautions were taken to prevent the trouble spreading to the villages. A First Class Magistrate (Lala Sant Ram) was sent out to Taran Taran with orders to organise local levies for the protection of the Tahsil. Similar instructions were given to the Tahsil dar of Ajnala and Honorary Lieutenant Sirdar Reghbir Singh O.B.F. of Rajasani went out to his village to assist in composing the minds of the people of the Tahsil. That evening Brigadier General R. E. H. Dyer, C.B., commanding Jullundhar Brigade, arrived and assumed charge of operations. Orders were received for general watch and warn along the Railway line.

26. On the morning of April 12th, a Military Force was sent round the City to prevent a threatened disturbance and then marched into the City when a considerable number of important arrests were made. As trouble was threatened from Taran Taran, a small force was sent out and an armoured train, but owing to a misunderstanding did not remain there. After they had gone, a body of villagers collected with the object of looting the Tahsil, but were dispersed on a bold front being shown by Inspector Aziz-ud-din and a few men. A permanent force was despatched early the next morning.

27. April 13th. About 2 a. m. this morning the line was cut between Chheharta and Khasa and a Goods Train derailed. The situation was still critical. In Amritsar, the mob still, when out of sight of the Military, boasted that it might be the Raj of the Sirkar outside, but inside it was Hindu-Muslimnon-ki-Hakumat. At the same time villagers were pouring into the City and the wildest rumours were prevalent that the Bazars would be looted. Subsequent inquiries make it appear that there were substantial grounds for this fear, and that the influx of villagers was inspired with the idea of loot and was not merely due to the Baisakhi. In the District the attitude of the people was still in suspense, and it was said that Government could not or would not use force.

In the forenoon the Officer Commanding Troops, Brigadier General Dyer, accompanied by the Deputy Commissioner, marched through the City at the head of a body of Troops with the object of giving a clear warning that no meetings would be allowed. At every important street the Column stopped while this was announced by beat of drum. Notwithstanding this warning, news was received at about 4 p. m. just after the column had returned, that a meeting was being assembled in the Bagh Jallianwala. The General took a small party of 50 Indian Troops and an armoured car to the spot being accompanied by the Superintendent of Police and on entering a garden

There were two dangers, both imminent, lest the Indian troops should mutiny and lest the villagers should revolt. It was necessary to give a sharp, severe and early lesson -- that British Rule still stood. It was effective and the waverers came in at once. --

with the Infantry found a large crowd assembled which he considered necessary to disperse by fire. He estimated the casualties at about 200 or 300 killed, besides -- wounded.

Sd/- A. W. J. Kitchin,
5-7-19.

28. April 14th. The effect of this was electric. The news ended all danger of further disturbances in the District. It was taken far and wide as an assurance that the hand of Government was not, as it was thought, paralysed, and all who were waiting on events hastened to declare for constituted authority. There was indeed a sympathetic lurch in Taran Taran on April 14th, but the arrival of reinforcement of British Troops put an end to all danger in that quarter. An attack by the villagers of Balle-real on the neighbouring village of Hakewal was dis-

dispersed. The history of the rising henceforward is merely the record of progress in bringing offenders to justice and, it may be added, in dispelling the wild rumours that were in constant circulation and in quieting the minds of the people.

29.

Measures adopted to restore confidence among people. Patrol of villages. Meetings of soldiers etc. under the control of district authorities.

A special durbar held by the Deputy Commissioner at Taran Taran on April 16th and similar durbars presided over by magistrates were held for the other two Tahsils. Sardar Sundar Singh magistrate addressed all these Durbars.

Moveable column under General Dyer visited Rajmans and Atali accompanied by the Deputy Commissioner and durbars held at both these places.

Local Publicity Board organised. Leaflets issued contradicting false rumours, and in this work authorities of Golden Temple, Chief Ubhha Diwan etc. assisted. These steps, coupled with the knowledge that Government was determined to maintain authority, had the desired effect, and after April 14th the district outside the city very rapidly returned to normal conditions.

4. Martial Law.

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Martial Law was
declared on
1 April.
W. J. Kitchin.
5-7-19.

30. Martial Law was declared in Amritsar District on April 13th. On April 19th a proclamation was issued by the General Officer Commanding 10th Indian Division making

making certain acts punishable under Martial Law and this proclamation, common to all districts within the Divisional Area, was the basis of all punitive measures. In amplification of this proclamation a series of Martial Law orders were issued. The most important, containing Nos. 1 - 13, was specially applied to the city of Amritsar only, and as a matter of fact no attempt was made to enforce the others outside this area.

31. Most important of these orders were following:

No. 1. Curfew from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. These hours changed to 11-30 p.m. to 4 a.m. on May 16th with further modification in favour of persons requiring medical assistance. On May 23rd the curfew was removed altogether out of consideration for Mahomedans observing the fast of Ramzan.

32. No. 3. Restriction of Meetings making it unlawful for more than 10 persons to assemble.

33. No. 5. Restriction of travelling was imposed from above.

34. No. 9. High Prices controlled.

Grain stopped coming. necessary to raise prices week by week. Finally it was found expedient to discontinue fixed prices.

35. The above are all the restrictions of importance imposed under Martial Law besides the commandeering of meters, tongas and bicycles. They did not amount to very much ---- and it cannot be said that abolition of Martial Law made very much difference to the life of t

the ordinary citizen. Only 50 persons were punished for breaches of Martial Law and some of these would have been punishable under the ordinary law. The effect of Martial Law was indeed moral rather than material, and lay in the feeling of the citizen that he was under a new and entirely strange dispensation very much swifter than anything he knew and whose action was terrible because unaccountable.

36. In circumstances like these of the Amritsar riots such a complete change of atmosphere as is involved by the swift transition to Martial Law is undoubtedly salutary. It may be suggested however, that it would be more in conformity with the principles of Military as well as of Civil Administration if a more regular position were given to the Deputy Commissioner. He was in this case formally in a worse position than if he had been political officer on the staff of the local commander as there he would have the right to be consulted on matters affecting his province. As a matter of fact, by the courtesy of the General Officer Commanding, he was in practice very generally consulted, but in reviewing the position

my opinion the supreme control should not have been taken from the civil administration.) } for future guidance it is
A.W.Kitchin. 5-7-19. } necessary to point out that

this was purely a matter of courtesy, and that under the letter of the law he was in the anomalous position of having his authority superseded and having no right to insist on being consulted, while remaining responsible to his official superiors for the good administration of

of the district. If it is ever necessary again to impose Martial Law, it is worth considering whether the administration of Martial Law should not be entrusted to the Deputy Commissioner as Staff Officer of the local Commander, with the power to appeal through the Commissioner to the Divisional General if he felt that any order he received should not be carried out.

5. Classes prominent in promoting the Disturbances.

37. Of the people responsible for the disturbances not one in ten intended them. They were promoted by the politically conscious classes involved in a wild competition for popularity. As the appetite of the mob for excitement grew with what it fed on, the man who fell behind his fellows in violence or speech fell out of the race. "A leader" said one of them apologetically "must follow". In this race all the politically minded were starters, and one can only distinguish those who were sagacious enough to see that it was a race upon a moving avalanche and withdrew in time, and those who from blindness or desperation pressed on. The pleader class, perhaps, may be said to have contained a very large proportion of the former category, and the men who continued to the end are representative of every section of the educated. One can detect a strong tendency towards pushing the "Mohomedans into prominent positions in an agitation which declared itself Hindu in the very shouts of its advocates "Jai" is pure Hindu. But generally speaking it is a

a mixture of pleaders, doctors, and traders who emerge. College students and school boys marched round in the hartals but are not prominent either in the promotion of the disturbances or in the disturbances themselves. The Arya Samaj was not prominent as a body in Amritsar; in small towns one hears of it as adopting a passively sulky attitude. There is no complaint of any class of Government servants. Pan - Islamic did undoubtedly help to work up the Mahomedan side of the agitation. The actual rioters were the bands of bad characters under their bad captains. These were chiefly Kashmeeree Mahomedans, but many Khattrees and Aroras of the poorer class took part. The villagers as far as they took part in the movement were inspired by pure love of loot. They thought that the British Raj was tottering to its fall, and were hastening in their share in the spoil.

6. Nature of Movement.

38. Prior to April 10th the movement showed itself as one of opposition to Government, but there were no signs of hatred to Europeans. As has been said Europeans walked unmolested among the crowds on the day of hartal, and even the angry crowd that poured^{out}/of the city to find the Deputy Commissioner on April 10th took no notice of unofficial Europeans that it met on the way. Only after the troops had been compelled to fire the feeling was changed to a passion for vengeance which was undoubtedly racial. It was the hated European that on whom the mob sought to wreak its vengeance, and it made not the least

least difference that its victims were wholly unconnected with Government. On the other hand the mob could always be persuaded to spare Indian property - even though occupied by Europeans - such as the Alliance Bank and St. Catherine's Hospital. Christians and Christian property were only attacked as connected with Europeans -----

The only Indians threatened were those who were regarded as traitors to the common cause. There was no hostility displayed to the Government servants, not even to the Police as such, and though the crowd certainly burnt the Municipal office, it was dissuaded from burning the Octroi office when it was pointed out that it belonged to the people. There were no acts directed against the King Emperor and the Statute of Queen Victoria in the City only suffered the loss of a finger.

As regards the villages, it may be said that they had no motive but loot. They believed that the British Government was tottering and wished to be first in with the loot and there is no reason to think what they were inspired with any hatred for Government or for Europeans.

VII.

Methods employed.

59. The mob came out unarmed save for stones it picked up on the way, but on being fired on it dispersed and re-assembled in a suspiciously short time with iron-pointed lathis and other sticks. Kerosene, oil found at the Municipal Office and elsewhere was used

used to burn down buildings, and the rioters who cut the telegraph wires provided themselves with cold chisels and other implements. The rioting in the city was over in a very short time but it included attempts on communications both by wire and rail. Shops were closed in the city on the 11th and 12th and at Taran Taran on the 14th. The attempt on the line on the night of the 12th - 13th was made with gangmen's tools.

VIII.

Administrative changes.

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IX.

Punitive and protective measures.

41.

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Unjeb Government
Notification No.
0658 dated 20-4-19.

On April 20th the General Officer Commanding nominated following Civil Officers to preside over Summary Courts:

Miles Irving, I.C.S.

G. V. Rudkin, I.C.S.

F. H. Puckel, I.C.S.

R. B. Backett, I.C.S.

F. A. Connor, E.A.C.

Unjeb Govern-
ment Notifica-
tion No. 12341/A
dated 5-5-19.

It was originally intended that offences committed before April 19th should be dealt with by the Tribunals but the Officers above mentioned were on 5th May given power to try minor offences committed between 30th March and 19th April.

In considering the classification of persons convicted in Statement F the 62 persons convicted in the Taran Taran attempt must be remembered.

42. Only 22 cases were dealt with and 102 out of the 147 persons involved belonged to one case - Taran Taran - No sentences of whipping were imposed by these Courts (Summary Courts) presided over by Civil Officers).

With exception of 5 or 6 cases, offences against Martial Law were dealt with by Military Officers.

..... 26 men were ordered to be whipped, all by Military Courts for the following offences:-

Breach of Fort Discipline -----	6
Beating drum to instigate disobedience to orders, -----	2
Threatening witnesses, -----	3
Drink and disorderly behaviour, --	4
Grazing cattle in grass farm, ---	2
Attempt to open railway gate, --	1
Out during prohibited hours, --	2
Refusing to give transport, ---	2
Disseminating false news, -----	1
Assault on constable, - - - - -	1
Abuse, - - - - -	1
Refusing to halt when challenged,	1.

The six sentenced for breach of Fort Discipline were flogged in the Bazar but the public were not permitted to approach. The three sentenced for threatening witnesses were flogged at General Head Quarters. The only public flogging properly so called was at the Kotwali of the men who instigated disobedience to orders. All other whippings were in private. No person of the respectable classes was whipped.

43. Increase in Military Garrison and Police
44. Petty fines aggregating Rs.36-9-0 were levied under Military Law: No other recoveries have been made from the inhabitants of the District under Military Law
45. Expenditure of nearly Rs.30000/- was incurred under the orders of the Military Authorities in defraying the cost of the move to the Hills of women and children whom it was necessary to remove from the Station. The money was advanced by the Municipal Committee and proposals will be submitted for the cost being met.
46. Watch and Ward established along Railway lines and adjoining villages made responsible.
47. Under Military Orders the members of the local Bar were enrolled as Special Constables and patrolled their respective divisions of the City. This service was at first unpopular, but gradually the sense of its usefulness and dignity increased, and when it ceased to be compulsory and Volunteers were called for to perform the same service under the more dignified title of Ward Officer, there was no difficulty in obtaining the requisite number. These gentlemen did really good work, and the Ward Officers were presented with badges of office at the hands of H. H. the Lieutenant Governor.
48.

X.

Mentions.

Generally speaking it must be admitted that the Roll played by the leading citizens of Amritsar was very disappointing Indeed when the troubles broke out the self-styled leaders of the people were in hiding or fleeing for their lives.

.

Mr. F. A. Connor, E.A.C. deserves credit for his decision in calling on the Mounted Reserves to fire, thus stopping the progress of the crowd into the Civil Lines

.

(Plomer highly commended)

XI.

Effect of Disturbances and of measures taken.

63. Stoppage of trade

64. Morally, there is one tale from all whose opinion is worth having. It is, as regards the people of the City that they are cowed. "Dabbe hae "flatenned out" is the vernacular expression. Not the most consummate flatterer dares to say that they are contented. Let every allowance be made for the fact that they have little cause for contentment, that economic conditions are as bad or worse than before the disturbances, still the fact remains that there burns a slow but bitter fire of resentment among the people. The ring leaders in the murder of innocent men are their heroes. Government (thereby meaning the English) is their Master, stronger than

than they thought, but also sterner. For many years to come the lives of Europeans in Prussia depend on the presence of a strong military force disposed for instant action.

65. In the villages the mind of the peasant is dark and doubtful. I cannot make up my mind whether his attitude of embarrassment is due to resentment or repentance. It is certain that he has learnt that we are strong and he probably has no mind to be entrapped again into abetting the designs of the city folk. But we may cast aside the illusion that he likes the European or regards the District Officer as the tribune of the people. I do not think he hates us as do the city crowds but neither do I think that he likes us. He will keep quiet and till his fields as long as he believes that we are strong. When he ceases to believe this, he will turn out to get all he can before the next rulers can assert themselves.

XII. General remarks - Suggestions.

66. Law and order cannot be maintained if civil disobedience or passive resistance is preached or if agitation is carried on with the object of arousing the passions of the people against Government. The lesson I desire to press is that we dare take no chances, the material for anarchy is more inflammable than we thought

Hiles Irving,
D. C.

P.180.

District Amritsar.

Statement A.

5 Europeans killed.

3 " wounded.

Indian casualties not known.

Damage to Railways Rs.41000/-.

Damage to Posts and Telegraphs Rs.20000/-.

Damage to Municipal and private property 30 to 35 Lacs.

P. 181.

Statement B.

Cases disposed of by Commissions.

Number of cases	63
" of persons,	266
" convicted,	203
" acquitted,	36
" otherwise disposed of,	-- 12 (pending 15).

P.182.

Statement C (1) Martial Law Offences.

Number of cases,	33
" of persons	60
" convicted	50
" acquitted	10

183.

Statement C (2). Minor offences committed before dates of
proclamation of 19th and 20th April and
tried by Summary Courts.

Nos of cases.	22.
" of persons,	143
" convicted,	105
" acquitted,	37
Pending,	1.

Statement D.

Sentences passed by Commissions.

Number of persons on whom imposed

203 sentenced.

Death	-----	----	50	(34 committed to transportation for life).
Transportation for life,			34	
Forfeiture,		----	77	
Imprisonment for 10 years & over			2	Rigorous
"	7	" "	79	
"	5	" "	10	
"	3	" "	11	
"	2	" "	3	
"	1	" "	4	
"	6 months	" "	3	
" less than 6		" "	1	
Fines				
Rs.200/- and over	---	--	2	
100/-	"	---	5	
Whipping:				
30 stripes,	-----	---	3	
20 "	and over	--	1	
10 "	"	---	2	

Miles Irving,

D. C.

Statement E. Sentences passed by Summary Courts.

1. By Summary Courts under proclamations for offences against Martial Law.

Number of persons on whom imposed

50 plus 105 = 155

Imprisonment -	Rigorous	Simple.	
2 years	9	-	
1 "	1	-	
6 months	3	-	
less than 6 "	<u>16</u>	<u>3</u>	
	29	3	plus = 32

Fines:

Rs.200 and over	----	Nil	
Rs. 10 and over	--	6	----- 6
Whipping	---	-----	<u>12</u>
			Total number 50 convicted.

30 stripes	---	8) This includes 12 men who received stripes only and the remaining 4 are those who received imprisonment besides as shown above.
20 " and over		9	
10 " "		8	
5 " "		1	
Less than 5 stripes ..)	

2. By Summary Courts for minor offences committed between 30th March and dates of proclamations.

	Rigorous.
Imprisonment for 2 years, --	24
" 1 " and over	69
" 6 months	7
" for less than 6 months,	<u>5</u>
	105

Fines Rs.200 and over	---) These men got imprisonment also in lieu of fine and are indicated in above statement.
" 50 and under	100	
Whipping	----- Nil.	

Miles Irving,

D. C. .

Statement F, analysis showing ages, occupations, &c., of
persons convicted by Commissions and Summary
Courts.

Number convicted - - - - - 358

Age:
 Over 30 ---- 171
 20 to 30 ---- 154
 Under 20, ---- 33

Literate ---- 35
 Illiterate, --- 323

Religion:
 Hindus ----- 80
 Sikhs, ----- 99
 Mahomedians, --- 166
 Others, ---- 13

Occupations:
 Professional, ---- 2
 Government service (Civil including
 Civil Pensioners), 3
 Trade and Commerce, --- 20
 Students, school boys and
 teachers, ----- 5
 Agriculture, ----- 78
 Soldiers, Military Pensioners and
 ex Soldiers, ----- 9
 Artizans and labourers, ---- 231
 Miscellaneous, - - - - - 10

Rural, - - - - - 176
 Urban --- 182

Miles Irving,

D. C.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Note by Col. O'Brien, Deputy Commissioner.

Pages 199 to 218a.

and had twisted my instructions so as to prevent any person from interfering with the organizers of the hartal.

On the 6th - - hartal - - - Rumours circulated - - -. "The day passed off peacefully, the shopkeepers accepting it as an extra holiday and the population wandered idly and was without excitement, fasting and humiliation being conspicuous by their absence.

This description has been introduced to show how unreal the first demonstration was; and it was this very unreality which had the effect of obscuring the real danger which lay behind it.

- - - - - distorted versions of occurrences in these places (Amritsar etc) were widely manufactured and circulated. Special efforts to stir up Sikhs by rumours of damage done to Golden Temple. - - - . Lack of action at Delhi had a very bad effect everywhere. (Kitchen's note). - - - - - Coming municipal elections. - People try to take prominent part so as not to lose the reputation of being leaders.

page 201.

111. Chronological Narrative of events.

- XXX 5th April.- Rowlatt Act meeting at 5.30 p.m. Hakim Rai presiding. D.C. Warns leaders at 1 p.m. Speeches highly objectionable.
- 6th April.- Hartal general all over the place but day passed off peacefully.
- 7th-10th April.- No movement was visible and the demonstration appeared to be at an end although rumours were still afloat and it was evident that a certain amount of excitement prevailed in the City. Late on the night of the 10th news reached Gujranwala of the occurrences at Amritsar and Lahore.
- 11th April.- Meetings of War League and District Board. D.C. warns against repetition of Amritsar incidents. Minor Darbar in the evening for distribution of recruiting etc rewards.
- 12th April.- I (O'Brien) left the district, making over charge to Sultan Ahmed E.A.C. Other magistrates and notable people left for Lahore to attend Darbar on the 14th
- 13th April.- In the morning the Assistant Commissioner and Naib Tehsildar left for Eminabad to superintend the annual cattle fair. It appears that the local leaders held a meeting on the previous evening but had come to no decision as to measures to be taken. Today however at a further meeting it was definitely decided "to repeat the incidents of Lahore and Amritsar in order to discredit the Govt. and to show sympathy with the people of those places." The plans decided upon were to interrupt the railway and telegraphic communications. These plans were however kept well concealed and the only information which reached the S.P. was that there would probably be a new hartal on the 14th. The American Missionaries received a warning late at night from the Indian Christians that it would be as

Speeches

Approved

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Survey of the predisposing causes.

It is difficult for anyone in Gujranwala to make a survey of the predisposing causes of unrest, because they lay in the fact that this was much is certain that there were no economic causes in Gujranwala being a district with two large canals in it, which were exceedingly during the war owing to the high prices of agricultural produce and even during the last year the districts were suffering for want of rain on unirrigated lands, the canal irrigated crops have been magnificent. The labourers have obtained wages proportionate to the rise in prices. The persons who have suffered have been govt servants and those on fixed wages. There has been an immense absorption of silver throughout the district. Equally the unrest is in no way connected with the recruiting campaign. If it had been the case in the Punjab it would have been visible in Gujranwala. It is known, a very intensive campaign took place in a district not previously accustomed to recruiting from November to the end of the war..The agricultural classes which provided the recruits took no part in the out break, except in the neighbourhood of Chuharkana where it happened that the agriculturists showed great reluctance to recruit. The towns-people did not do more than provide men for the subsidiary and less advanced sections of the army. The movement was therefore entirely political. It was organised from the beginning. Once the armistice was signed the Indians outside India, hostile to Government, were incited by all influences, inimical to the Allies, whether Turks or Bolshivists. In the same way the recent rebellion in the Punjab appears ridiculous as it would not have occurred if one believes that the return of Gandhi to Bombay and the arrests of Kitchlu and Satyapal started it off before the recruits were ready, much is explained. It can only be said that one is unable to agree with the encomiums paid by Mr. Montagu in Parliament on Mr. Gandhi. The organization was such that he had actually encouraged it as

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GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

page 199.

1. Survey of the predisposing causes.

It is difficult for anyone in Gujranwala to make a survey of the predisposing causes of unrest, because they lay elsewhere. This was much is certain that there were no economic causes. Gujranwala being a district with two large canals in it, has thriven exceedingly during the war owing to the high prices obtainable by agricultural produce and even during the last year when other districts were suffering for want of rain on unirrigated areas, the canal irrigated crops have been magnificent. Traders have gained concomitantly with the agriculturists and labourers have obtained wages proportionate to the rise in prices. The only persons who have suffered have been govt servants and others on fixed wages. There has been an immense absorption of gold and silver throughout the district. Equally the unrest is in no way connected with the recruiting campaign. If it had been anywhere in the Punjab it would have been visible in Gujranwala where, as it is known, a very intensive campaign took place in a district not previously accustomed to recruiting from November 1917 to the end of the war. The agricultural classes which provided the recruits took no part in the out break, except in the neighbourhood of Chuharkana where it happened that the agriculturists had shown great reluctance to recruit. The towns-people did not do their share even in providing men for the subsidiary and less dangerous sections of the army. - - - - . The unrest therefore was entirely political. It was organised from outside. - - - - . Once the armistice was declared the Indians outside India, hostile to Government, were worked upon by all influences, inimical to the Allies, whether Germans, Turks or Bolshivists. - - - - . In the same way the recent rebellion in the Punjab appears ridiculous as it stands, but if one believes that the return of Gandhi to Bombay and the arrests of Kitchlu and Satyapal started it off before the organisers were ready, much is explained - - - - . It need hardly be said that one is unable to agree with the encomiums bestowed by Mr. Montagu in Parliament on Mr. Gandhi. The organi-

The organization of the agitation has been Arya Samaj coupled with pan-Islamists. The Rowlatt Act was naturally chosen as the basis of a campaign of misrepresentation. The agitation in this district was confined to the towns on the Railway lines of communications and was similar to the agitation elsewhere. So much of the organization has been worked underground that it is difficult to ascertain much knowledge of it. There are two Societies worthy of mention; (1) The Seva Samiti and (2) the Krishna Kumar Samiti. These societies are apparently organised for useful social service but are obviously available for other purposes, and a number of the members have been shown to be concerned in the recent agitation.

11. Immediate causes of the outbreak.

The immediate causes of the outbreak were the previous outbreaks in Delhi and Amritsar. Mr. Gandhi's campaign of passive resistance was intended to be a challenge to Govt and as such it was generally understood by the intelligent classes. In Delhi when the mob came into conflict with the police no action was taken against the organisers. Consequently it was decided to push a hartal in as many places in the Punjab as possible. The campaign of misrepresentation of the Rowlatt Act was systematically worked up and local leaders (almost all members of the bar) concerted measures for the hartal. In Gujranwala Barristers and Pleaders arranged a public meeting on April 5th. Notice of this meeting signed by 15 persons was hurriedly printed at Lahore as Gujranwala presses would not undertake the work. At 1p.m. on the 5th I sent for the leaders of the movement and warned them that if disorder resulted I would hold them responsible as instigators.

The meeting of the 5th held near Amar Nath's house. No attempt made to explain the bill but it was summed up as allowing "No dalil, no appeal, no vakil". Particularly objectionable speech by one Mangal Sain, manager of a local insurance swindle. One Chuni Lal spoke as an eye-witness of incidents at Delhi and alleged official account to be incorrect. I had deputed L. Shankar Das, the most senior magistrate to hold a meeting of the Municipal Commrs and take necessary action to discourage the hartal. I received however the information that he had actually encouraged it

and had twisted my instructions so as to prevent any person from interfering with the organizers of the hartal.

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GUJAN PATA DISTRICT.

14th April.- Early in the morning a calf was killed and hung up by the neck to the Hathi Railway Bridge. Rumours were circulated that this was the work of the Police. The calf was discovered and promptly buried by the Police. From early morning crowds collected in the bazaars, raising various cries and seeing to the closure of all the shops. When the the up morning train came into the station, large numbers of people were appeared to go by this train to the Hainakhi fair at Nazirabad. Certain leaders, however, walked up and down the station platform shouting out that this was no day for holiday making, and that any one who went to Nazirabad should be considered a bastard. Many people thereupon alighted. As the train was starting the was seized and prevented from mounting the train. The train moved on, but came to a standstill short of the distant signal, that crowd meanwhile surrounding it and stoning it, and attempting to damage the engine. Part of the mob then proceeded to set on fire a small bridge over the railway opposite the Gurukul. Mr. Heron, Superintendent of Police, observed the train at a standstill from his bungalow and after enquiry despatched Mr. Nevill, Assistant Superintendent of Police to the spot with a small guard while he himself set off towards Police Lines to collect more men and to warn the station. Mr. Nevill on arrival found two or three sleepers of the bridge burning fiercely, with the help of kerosene oil. The crowd, consisting mainly of small boys, ran off on his approach and he set to work to extinguish fire. The Superintendent of Police after making his other dispositions went to the station to see how matters stood there. He found that the Telegraph wire had been cut on both sides, but as the telephone to Lahore was still open he sent a brief message of what had occurred to the Inspector-General of Police through the Controller. It was found very difficult to keep the station clear as the station staff refused to co-operate.

6.

Up to this time no Magistrate had been present, but the officiating Deputy Commissioner, with Agha Ghulam Hassan Khan, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Lala Anar Nath, Extra Assistant Commissioner, now appeared. At 9 A.M., as the Permanent-Way Inspector certified that the bridge was safe, the morning train was sent off to Hazirabad. Shortly after 10 o'clock information was received that the Katchi Bridge on the Lahore side of the railway station had been set on fire. Police were at once sent to extinguish it. All communication to Hazirabad and Lahore had by this time been cut. The crowd in front of the railway station greatly increased in numbers and one or two black flags made their appearance. Two men meanwhile were moving among the crowd distributing chapatis and calling out "Langer ke roti". The three Magistrates meanwhile were endeavouring to induce the people to go quietly to their homes. One or two pleaders also made a pretence of leading away a small portion of the crowd into the city. It was afterwards found that they were led away to listen to further inflammatory speeches. The mob next attacked the railway near the distant signal on the Lahore side, having secured tools for the purpose the gang huts. The Superintendent of Police, with Lala Anar Nath, Extra Assistant Commissioner, and a small force of Police proceeded to the spot and the crowd ran off. The Katchi Bridge was still burning and more constables were deputed to extinguish it. The Superintendent of Police was returning to the station when a large mob came up and commenced to throw stones at him and his Police escort. At this moment Chaudhri Ghulam Rasul, Deputy Superintendent of Police and Agha Ghulam Hassan Khan arrived from the city with another posse of Police. But despite their presence, the mob worked themselves up and made a rush and attempted to seize the Superintendent of Police himself. He had to use his revolver and the Police also fired with buck-shot, so the crowd dispersed in the direction of the city. As the state of affairs was now more really serious Mr. Heron sent off telegrams by special messengers to be despatched from Eminabad and

7.

and Bahwal to Lahore and Sialkot respectively, requesting military assistance. There was still a large mob in front of the station, all the members of it being by now in a state of great excitement. During this time it appears that access has been gained to the Post Office from the rear and the inner rooms of the Telegraph Office had been set on fire. All water had been removed from the premises and the pumps at the station had been damaged obviously by previous arrangement. It was therefore impossible to save the building. This damage done, the mob cleared off for a time, but returned again in numbers opposite the station. The rioters had been greatly inflamed by the speeches made by mob orators at various meetings and by stimulus given by the leaders on the arrival of a couple of wounded men into the assemblage. There were in consequence a number of persons wild with excitement.

Later on, news came that two other mobs had crossed the Railway line some way from the station, one mob intending to attack the tahsil and open the jail, and the other to attack the Kutcheri, Treasury, Mission Compound and Civil bungalows. The Superintendent of Police and Assistant Superintendent of Police both set off to deal with these mobs, but the crowds had already succeeded in setting fire to the tahsil, Dak Bungalow and Kutcheri. They were driven off from the Police Lines and the jail, but the guard on the Church failed to prevent the rioters from destroying the building. The crowd was fired on whenever seen, but scattered on the approach of the Police. Meanwhile, during the absence of the Superintendent of Police, the crowd had gained access to the station premises and had set the building on fire and the Casson Industrial School had also been gutted. Subsequently to this another party set fire to the goods shed, and what property was not burnt was looted by the crowd of bad characters who collected

The arrival of the aeroplanes and their bombing crowds just made the people realise the issues at stake. There was no more rioting.

A.J.W. KITCHIN-26-6-1919.

* on the spot. While this
* was going on, aeroplanes
* arrived from Lahore and

Had Colonel O'Brien not been *
transferred there would have*
been no open rising, and it *
collapsed on his return. *

A.J.W.KITCHIN.

and by dropping bombs drove the
crowd to the safety of their own
houses. Two of these bombs
are known to have fallen into

the thick of the rioters. About this time I arrived by motor car from Lahore. The more violent of the rioters had full intention not only of completing their evil work of destroying the Civil Station and its white inhabitants, but of looting the wealthy merchants of the town. The unexpected arrival of the aeroplanes effectually discouraged the rioters who lost five killed and four wounded by one bomb alone outside the godwon. Whether they would have plucked up courage during the night to make a fresh attack on the small party with women and children which had taken refuge in the Treasury, cannot be said. Fortunately, however, the arrival of troops from Sialkot at 9.P.M. finally quieted the situation.

15th April.- During the morning I went round the city with Mr. Douglas Donald, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, the Super-

~~These arrests~~ arrests completed
the dismay of a people already frightened.*

A.J.W.KITCHIN.

* intendent of Police
* and a party of British
*
* soldiers and made some

23 arrests of those who were known to be the leaders, including several barristers and pleaders. Word had been sent out on the 14th evening by special messengers to the various tahsils giving orders for the prompt suppression of any disorder, for the assemblage of all persons licensed to carry arms and for the institution of a system of civil patrols on the Ry. line.

16 April.- Martial Law was proclaimed over the district.

W-A Z I R A B A D.

6th April.- Efforts made by Hindus to force hartal -frustrated by efforts of prominent mohamedans.

12th April.- Secret meeting held at the home of Dial Shah Municipal Commissioner where it was first decided to have a hartal on the 13th but at the request of the Sweetmeat-sellers it was postponed to the 15th so that they may not lose their profits for the Baisakhi fair.

14th April.- News of the riot at Gujranwala ~~quickly~~ spread quickly to Wazirabad. Local agitators paraded the streets exhorting the people to observe hartal. In the afternoon a meeting was convened in the Juma Masjid of Hindus and Mohammedans together under the presidency of Jamiat Singh Bagga. Speeches were made by him and others denouncing the Rowlatt Act and preaching hartal. After dark groups marched through the streets singing inflammatory ballads. No actual violence occurred.

15th April.- A general hartal was observed. Led by the local agitators, mob went round to the schools and forced them to close, and so added a number of school boys to their ranks. The crowd then gathered in front of the tahsil. The Tahsildar called in the most prominent leaders and advised them to disperse. No heed, however, was taken and the crowd split up in several directions. One portion proceeded to the engine shed and attempted to induce a strike of the employees. Another lot went to the Dak Bungalow where they damaged Telegraph wires and also the compound fencing. A party of cavalry guarding the station proper partially dispersed the mob; the latter, however, returned and pelted them with stones. The Military, considering that they had

not sufficient authority

I believe that Major Marsh, Commanding the troops, considered that he had not authority to fire. I am told that he has been exonerated by the Military authorities. I do not exonerate him. Fortunately for the peace of Punjab, the case is unique.

(A.J.W.Kitchin.)

* to disperse the mob by
*
* fire, only fired in the
*
* air. A part of this
*
* mob by fire, only fired in
*
* the air. A part of this

mob moved on to the Falgu Railway Bridge. They cut Telegraph wires, damaged the distant signal and set fire to the bridge itself. The mob was dispersed by the Police and driven to the city and the fire extinguished. They re-assembled and did more wire cutting near the civil hospital, but were dispersed by Police near the District Board bungalow. Another mob went towards Hizamabad and were joined by a crowd from that village, where hartal had been induced by the Lambadar, Mu arak Ali and others. They set fire to a gang hut, took the tools and did what damage they could to the Ry bridges and level crossing gates. They then went to the house of the Rev. Grahame Bailey, burnt it and looted it. After this they returned to Wazirabad and gathered before the Post Office with a view to destroying it, but they were prevented by the action of the Police.

April 10th.- I with S.P. visited Wazirabad and superintended the arrest of certain leaders. Sufficient troops had by this time arrived to maintain order and headquarters of the Sialkote Brigade was subsequently moved to Wazirabad.

205.

H A F I Z A B A D.

5th April.- The anniversary of the Arya Samaj High School was in progress. Among the speakers was L. Raja Ram, Professor D.A.V. College Lahore. A secret meeting of the leading local agitators was held at the house of Ram Sahai, Soda-water manufacturer to discuss the measures of passive resistance. A special delegate was sent from here to consult the editor of the Desh at Lahore, Dina Nath Pasi, a resident of Hafizabad.

6th April.- Partial Hartal. Rowlatt Bill meeting in the evening.

12th April.- Another meeting called to organise hartal for the 14th.

14th. April.- Hartal carried out as previously arranged. Crowd gathered in front of Tehsil, but on the Tehsildars order to disperse it went away. It reassembled however outside the town and proceeded towards the railway station. Speeches were made in the neighbourhood of the goods shed openly advising rebellion. While these were going on a passenger train steamed into the station, in a first class carriage of which, Lt. Totham of the Military Farms deptt, was travelling with a small boy. The crowd sighted him and rushed towards the station. He scented trouble and snatched up the carriage all round, but the crowd made a fierce attack with sticks and stones and broke in the windows. It was only the plucky action of 2 or 3 Indians who came to his rescue and the moving of the train which saved his life and that of the small child with him. After this mob dispersed and nothing further happened that day.

15th April.- Hartal again observed. Mob collected with the intention of destroying a culvert but dispersed without doing any damage. It then reassembled damaged the distant signal and cut wires. One man who climbed the signal promptly arrested and so was another who came to his rescue. They were taken to the Tehsil, whereupon the mob collected outside and threw stones at the building. The Police from the roof fired in the air and the mob dispersed. Later on the Police Inspector went into the City and dispersed a gathering which he found there, without causing any casualties.

16th April.- Shops open as usual. No further disturbances occurred.

A K A L G A R H & R A M N A G A R.

6TH April.- Members of the Dewan family, descendants of Dewan Mulraj, the rebel of Multan fame, with other hindus went round the bazaars of Akalgarh inducing shopkeepers to close their shops. In the evening a meeting was held under the presidency of Dewan Gopal Lal, the speech being mostly moderate in tone.
At Ram nagar Hartal was also observed.

14th April.- Shops at A kalgarh opened as usual in the morning. At about 9 a.m. however rumours began to arrive about the disturbances at Kasur etc. The leaders thereupon formed a procession and again forced hartal by the threat of Boycott. The mob collected and proceeded shouting towards the railway

necessary at an early date to prohibit the issue of railway tickets, except on passes given by Military authorities, because the railway was made use of by the agents of rebellion to disseminate evil ideas far and wide. Orders were also issued for the inculcation of respect for authority and the school boys were ordered to salute the British flag for some days. These orders were, I consider, salutary as the youth of the present day is brought up without respect even for his parents. The troops gave some displays of the use of the Lewis gun, Machine Gun and six-pounder gun in different places which all had a good effect on the population which had forgotten the troops existence and had no knowledge of modern arms. No orders issued under Martial law in this district appear to have been unnecessary or undesirable.

V. Classes prominent in promoting disturbances etc.

There appears to be no doubt that the organization working behind the rebellion was that of the Arya Samaj. In every portion of the district the leading workers and organizers were members of this society. I venture to think that the chief Secy. No. 1829 S.B. dated 2nd Nov, 1907 requires to be reconsidered. A study of the Satyarth Prakash itself ^{or} or the opening speech of Mr. Gray before the special Tribunal at Patiala in 1909 and 1910 appears to make it absolutely clear that the religion of this society precludes loyalty to the British Govt and I think that the situation should be definitely realized. There is absolutely no other reason that can be seen why the hindus of the Punjab should be disloyal. The prosperity that they have enjoyed during the recent years - - - - - has been very great. All classes (except officials and others on fixed salaries) have shared in the prosperity brought by the recent rise of prices. It is, therefore, necessary to find some other special reasons for their hostility and this special reason appears to me to be directly in the teachings of their religion as expounded by the Satyarth Prakash.

- - - - -
 (Satyarth prakash discussed with quotations.)
 - - - - -

- - - - - The Arya Samajists are taught by their very religion to be hostile to the British Govt. This is all very well from their point of view, but I think that Govt should do nothing to encourage this society. No grants-in-aid should be given to any educational institutions of the Arya Samaj and no person professing tenets of this religion should be employed in any form of service under Govt or local bodies.

In Gujranwala the majority of those who were prominent in promoting the disturbances belong to the Arya Samaj. The same was the case in Wazirabad. In Hafizabad, Akalgarh, Ramnagar practically all those concerned belonged to this society. In Gujranwala there were few young men of pan-Islamic tendencies who took a share in the movement and at Wazirabad, which has been for some time effected by the teaching of a Wahabi, Moulvi Fazal Ilahi, and the influence of the schemer Zafar Ali, some fanatical Mohammedans took a part. In the riots of Gujranwala, Wazirabad and to a limited extent Hafizabad, Mohammedans took a part in the actual disturbances, but this was only natural, especially in Gujranwala, where the bad characters had a good opportunity of looting the railway godown. A separate report had been sent by Mr. Bosworth Smith but it is also clear that in Sangla, Chuharkana and Sheikhupura, the movement was fostered by Arya Samaj hindus, though ill-educated sikh peasants joined in with a desire to loot. - - -

- - - Educated sikhs stood strictly aloof as did all the agricultural classes, with the exception of those in the neighbourhood of Chuharkana. The returned emigrants, who are fairly numerous in this district, remained absolutely quiescent.

- - - - - Rural notables and agriculturists in general and all those who did so well in Gujranwala during the recruiting campaign were entirely dissociated with this rebellion. - - - - -

To sum up those who were previously loyal remained loyal and the disloyal came from the ranks of those who had shown no loyalty before.

Classes most deeply implicated were:-

1. Pleaders with their munshies.
2. College students and school boys.
3. Traders.
4. Certain classes of Govt servants, e.g., School

school-masters, Railway, Telegraph, Postal and other officials who were mainly members of the Arya Samaj with a sprinkling of pan-Islamic agitators.

NOTE.- Abstract from O Dwyer's speech at Gujranwala Durbar of 3rd August 1918. Figures of recruitment given- Khatris and Brahmans and Aroras rebuked.

page 208.

VI. Nature of movement.

The movement as intended by the leaders was certainly revolutionary but it appears certain that the time was not ripe for the larger enterprise under consideration by the originators. - - - - - as in Egypt matter precipitated by (1) turning back of Gandhi from Punjab and (2) arrest of Kitchlu and Satyapal. - - - - - The hostility of crowds to Europeans as such was marked. - - - - - There were Indian Christians inside Gujranwala town and in Wazirabad against whom there were no demonstrations.

page 209.

VII. Methods adopted by rebels.

Test hartal on the 6th April.- Great success.

Employment of large number of boys.

"In the attack on Lt Tatham there was hardly one of the assailants whose age was-above exceeded 20 and in Gujranwala Mr. Heron was undoubtedly hampered in taking energetic action by the fact al that all the people in the forefront were boys."

Railway strike contemplated.

- - - - -

Attacks on communications.

- - - - -

VIII. Administrative changes.

* * * * *

page 210.

* * IX. Punitive measures.

* * * * *

There was no abuse in this district in regard to the punishment of whipping.

There were five sentences of whipping passed by the

the Commissions and 4 by the summary Courts for minor offences between 30th March and the date of the proclamation. These were mainly juvenile offenders sentenced to whipping after the manner of school discipline, or persons found guilty of theft only, for which whipping is suitable under the ordinary law. There were 15 sentences of whipping by Summary Courts for offences against Martial Law. One is reported to have been inflicted in Public before instructions in this connection were issued. I cannot go into detail as to each of the cases. The majority however were youths or men who were caught out of their houses during the Curfew hours. A very few sentences of this type were sufficient in each of the different places where martial law was in force, to remind the people, unaccustomed to discipline, that orders were orders. Whipping in such cases was distinctly a more suitable punishment than imprisonment. Of the 16 orders only one was of 20 stripes or over, 3 of 10 stripes, 10 of 5 stripes, and one less than 5 stripes.

There were no fines on individual villages.

Claims under section 15A of the Police Act are as under:-

Gujranwala.	.	.	.	Rs 537,494-7-6
Wazirabad.	.	.	.	Rs 69,276-8-0
Hafizabad.	.	.	.	Rs 6,525-0-0
Akalgah.	.	.	.	Rs 1,001-0-0

The claim of Rs820,000 put in by the N.W.Ry is under consideration, but probably under section 82 of the Railway Act the claims for the damage done by the act of the Kings enemies are not recoverable.

X. Mentions.

age 212.

XI. Effect of disturbances.

Frankly it may be said that the recent disturbances have done good. They started undoubtedly before the rebels were ready. - - - - - The powers of evil have been depressed by a realization of their own futility while the rest of the people recognise the strength of the Govt and its power to act whatever the emergency. The most important act done in this

this district was the prompt arrest of the pleaders, barristers and other local leaders in Gujranwala the day after the outbreak. Persons concerned in stimulating mob outrage are criminals and the right place for the criminals under trial is the lock up and after conviction the jail. No doubt that internment is better than taking no action at all but I deprecate the line drawn in places between criminals and political criminals. All over the district the leaders were struck at first. It is unfortunate perhaps that in Gujranwala town there have been insufficient arrests of the lesser fig. considering the thousands that turned out on the 14th. The staff was so absorbed and so tampered with by the long delays in Lahore waiting on the will of the tribunals that the numerous offenders escaped their just due. However the punishment of the leader is ample to discourage others from following their example in future.

XII. General.

Urges partition of the district and strengthening of Police force to meet emergencies. Also increase the pay of the Police. - - - - - .

"Finally, I would urge again the necessity of dealing strongly with the Arya Samaj. Records and history sheets should be kept of all members showing their relationship and their connections, and, as already said, no employment should be given to members professing this religion and no assistance should be given to their educational institutions. It is necessary to lay stress on the importance of mixing the establishments of the telegraph, postal and railway departments which appeared to be too much in the hands of the sections referred to .

F. B. Wace,
Offg. D.C. Gujranwala.

(This report although signed by Wace was apparently prepared by Col. O'Brien. It bears internal evidence of this- Also see Kitchen's reference to it.)

GUJRAT DISTRICT.

No. 118-3 dated 1st July 1919.
From H.S. Williamson Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Gujrat.
To, The Commissioner, Rawalpindi Dn.

page 225.

Section 1.

The predisposing causes of the unrest are hard to trace, because they do not appear to be local. There are no prominent political organizations in the district. The most important is the Arya Samaj which has branches in the district, but except at Jallalpur Jattan it has not shown itself active in the district as a body. Some of its members have been concerned individually. The musalman organizations have done nothing. The district has no history of political organization and there is no one in the district (except Mohammed Habib, interned at Jallalpur Jattan) who has hitherto been classed as an agitator. There is no newspaper in the district, except the Bufl which upto recently has not written about politics. But the eastern half of the district is a congested tract of small holdings, and a very large number of men from the district are in Govt. service of various kinds and in private service. The men of the district are adventurous. Many go to Hongkong and the East in the Police. A large number travel to Australia and other places as traders. A large number trade regularly in Central India as pedlars. In Gujrat City there is a small number of men who have trade relations in cloth, Ingar etc, with Bombay and Karachi.

In all these ways the men of the district are in touch with affairs elsewhere, but looking back at the disturbances it cannot be said that political influence has been brought to bear through any of these channels. It is fairly certain, though it cannot be proved, that some traders were influenced by a threat of Boicott which has been found elsewhere and some pleaders were influenced by their friends elsewhere, particularly in Gujranwala and Salkote, who urged active participation in the movement. Ordinarily the Bar at Gujrat as a whole has not shown any political activity or been guilty of any objectionable conduct, though as in other places, they take more interest than the rest of the town in politics.

Section 2.

W.S.

rk

of political agitation is seen in Gujrat before the 6th April. On or about that day it is alleged that a shopkeeper named Sunder Das received messages from friends in Amritsar urging him and his friends to have shops closed and threatening to Boycott them if they would not. One Mela Ram tried to coerce Ram Chand, cloth merchant, by telling him that he was a butcher and no hindu if he failed to close his shop. However these efforts failed and no hartal was observed. On the 15th April at the Deputy Commissioners bungalow, Ram Chand himself mentioned that Mela Ram had approached him with a request to support a hartal, which he refused to do. Between the 6th and 14th of April the apathy of Gujrat in the passive resistance movement began to be the subject of comment. Kirpa Ram, Pleader, visited Sialkote and came back with an account of the bitter reproaches he had suffered from the members of the Sialkote Bar. On the 11th and the 12th Har Gopal returned from Lahore and gave a highly coloured account of happenings there to certain members of the Bar, including an account of the Badshahi mosque affair at which he implied he was present. On some date between the 6th and the 11th, Ghulam Hussain Khoja, went to Lahore and according to the statement of Ghulam Nabi accused in the roit case, saw Duni Chand Barrister, whom he tried to persuade to come to Gujrat. On the 13th of April many people went from Gujrat to Wazirabad for the Baisakhi festival. One reason for going was the construction of the new road bridge over the Chenab made the Gujrat bank unsuitable for bathing, so the Gujrat bathers joined in a crowd which they might otherwise not have seen. Some of them returned by a night train and went from the station to the City shouting "Gandhi ki jai", "Mohammed Ali Ki jai", etc.

Early on the morning of the 14th April two inflammatory notices were found posted in the city, possibly written by students saying they were 7 men from Amritsar. The notices said there would be a Mutiny at 8 in the evening on the 15th April, in which English and Christians would be killed; Musalmans and hindus should unite as in Amritsar: the English should look to themselves.

3. Ghulam Shah pleader, has informed the Deputy Commr. that on the morning of the 14th, Lala Ishar Das Pleader, came to him to suggest a meeting in the mosque. S. Ghulam Shah demurred

2.

durred at holding it in the mosque and suggested the Arya Samaj premises. But no meeting was arranged. According to the statement of Ranjha, accused, on the same morning a meeting took place in the house of Kirpa Ram, pleader, which was attended by Kirpa Ram Isher Das pleader and his brother, Amar Nath, Tara Chand Munciple Comr., Har Gopal Barrister, Ghulam Hussain, Raja Ram and Ranjha, at which Kirpa Ram exhorted Hindu-Muslim unity, Har Gopal advocated the use of force against the Rowlatt Act, and Tara Chand promised to arrange the closing of shops in combination with Ram Chand. Every effort has been made to establish this conspiracy but no corroborative evidence is forthcoming.

The closing of shops started at the station bazar, Ram Chand, his brother, Kahan Chand and their friends and relatives and servants being the moving spirits.

The driving force was supplied by the pleaders and shopkeepers and the moving spirits were the Hindus. The Musalmans as a community held aloof. It is noteworthy that in both Gujrat and Jalalpur a majority of Muslims were convicted. The reason is that the few who joined had little support from their community, whereas the Hindus were backed solidly by theirs.

The general conclusion is that the chief immediate cause of unrest in Gujrat was infection from outside, probably Wazirabad. The infection at Jalalpur probably came from Gujrat. Malakwal will be dealt with separately.

page 226.

Section 2 (3)- NARRATIVE OF EVENTS.

The following account shows what disturbances took place at various places in the Gujrat Dist:-

Gujrat.

The following quotation from a report sent in at the time by the S.P. shows what happened. "The very first incident was the discovery of 2 manuscript notices in the Bazar inciting to mutiny, but these were seen by few people and apparently caused no excitement. At about 2 a.m. on the ~~xxx~~ morning of the 14th April a band of Baisakhi revellers returned from Wazirabad shouting "Gandhi ki Jai, Mohammed Ali ki Jai, Shaukat Ali ki Jai" but they immediately dispersed to their homes.

No disturbance or general excitement of any kind upto,

upto 10 O'clock on the morning of 14th April. That morning I saw several leaders at the request of Deputy Comr. who was in Camp and they all assured me that there was no likelihood of any closing of shops or other disturbances demonstrations in Gujrat. Among these were Kirpa Ram and Ghulam Shah Pleaders and Rup Lal Hony Magistrate and shopkeeper. The lastnamed was the last to leave me at 9.30 a.m. and half an hour later the shops suddenly began to close without warning and in a very short time practically every shop was closed. On hearing this I ordered for an armed guard of 20 constables and 2 head constables to be sent to the City police station and after a brief consultation with the Senior Sub-judge and Shahzada Mohammed Yusuf Hony Magistrate, I proceeded with the latter to the bazar. I addressed a crowd of Shopkeepers in Shishanwala Bazar telling them that I should afford protection from any intimidation and advised them not to be coerced by anyone into closing their shops. I also asked various Hony and Stipendiary magistrates to use their influence to check the hartal. About 3 p.m. I received a report that a procession had been formed. I ordered another guard of 10 men to the City and one of 2 head constables and 20 foot constables to be ready for use in the civil lines while I proceeded to the city. At this time a thunderstorm came on with heavy rain and by the time I reached the city the ardour of the crowd was cooling. They were standing in the chowk with a black flag and presently they broke up. At 5 p.m. Deputy Comr. turned up and he and I went through the city and found a crowd of boys and loafers collected uttering cries of lamentations. D.C. spoke to them a few words of about Rowlatt Act to which they listened but did not disperse. We decided to send for some troops as a precautionary measure and at 4 p.m. next morning 2 platoons of 37th Gurkhas consisting of 70 rank and file arrived from Jhelum under a British officer.

D.C. ordered thikri pehra and night passed off quietly. Next morning the 15th April shops still closed and a crowd of youths, which was more exciteable than that of previous day. Police distributed 20 at Jail, 20 at S.P's, 20 in lines and remainder in City thana as a mobile force.

10 a.m. Conference held by D.C. with magistrates and leading men. Decided that efforts should be directed towards bringing crowd to reason and getting shops opened, trying to find out ring-leaders and preventing school boys joining the crowd. Half an hour later the crowd went to Mission High School and compelled to close. Brickbats thrown breaking some windows and doors and damaging some furniture. One or two masters also assaulted. They then went to Zamindara school and Govt High S. but these closed before their arrival, hence no disturbance. Subsequently the crowd disappeared.

At 4 p.m. crowd emerged from Kabuli gate and finally went to railway station, Senior Sub-Judge and D.S.P. accompanying it, ordered-in mobile force from police station to follow. On reaching Ry station crowd began to- destroying telegraph and telephone instruments and furniture and setting fire to records. Senior Sub-Judge gave order to fire and the police opened independent fire, the too crowd being too scattered to admit of a volley. A few shots were enough to disperse them and 7 were arrested on the spot. Police extinguished fire. On receiving news D.C. and S.P. proceeded to Station ordering troops to follow. By time troops arrived everything was quiet but they were marched through the city by way of a demonstration. - - - - 100 more troops were wired for and at midnight 3 platoons of 120 men and 3 British Officers arrived from Lala Musa. Night passed quietly Thikri pehra being carried out.

On morning of 16th notices were issued prohibiting meetings and processions without license in connection with Rowlatt Bill and restriction of Gandhi.

Practically all shops opened confidence being restored.

page 228.

Jallalpur Jattan.

Meeting to arrange for hartal held on evening of 14th and shops began to close on 15th. Crowd paraded through the town with the usual shouts about Gandhi and the Rowlatt Bill. Crowd made other shopkeepers to close but committed no acts of violence - - - - - Military arrived. This evening the most serious offence committed at Jalalpur occurred. 2 men cut 2 telegraph wires at 2 places.

On 16th April shops again closed and crowd gathered. Leading men gathered at Municipal Hall to discuss how to stop trouble but crowd entered hall and made a disturbance. They insisted on the members of the municipal committee mourning with them by knocking off their pagris. forcibly - - - damaged furniture of hall worth Rs18-. Crowd broke windows of Mission High School and carried funeral of Sanitary Inspector who had not joined them. Also made constables take off their pugris. Crowd made no further disturbance. News arrived that crowd at Gujrat had been fired on and this helped to make the crowd disperse.

On 17th shops gradually opened and crowd did not collect again.

Malakwal.

Predisposing causes here different. For some time past railway staff has been discontented and a strike was being arranged. Signallers were getting news on their instruments of events in other places. No proof that political agitators had any hand in the strike. Presence of seditious lecturers, Bhoj raj and Choudri Kavi merely a coincidence. Either it because it was on their way back from Miani or because they had been asked by some local Arya Samaj adherents on the railway staff, to stop here. They addressed a Rowlatt meeting on 15th in the Dharamshala. Audience chiefly of railway staff and residents of the town, 16th meeting held in mosque attended by hindus but no definite result attained. Rajaram ex-student D.A.V.College, addressed the meeting. Here he saw Sarwar and thought him to be a likely man to join in some definite action. During the day, Raja Ram was busy in arranging cutting of telegraph wires and taking up a section of the rails. Raja Ram got volunteers - - - partly his own _____ and relations and partly some Loco people inclined to mischief and 4 students supplied by the Moulvi of the mosque. No premeditation. But Raja Ram appears to have got the idea from knowledge of what had been done elsewhere. In the evening he goes out with his party. He and Sarwar were the leaders. A rail 24 feet long taken off. Signaller and some of the station staff knew of it but did not inform the authorities. Next morning 34 down train derailed at the gap. Damage done to stock and two lives lost.

Kunjah.

Martial on 15th organised by a Mistri but not successful.

Rasul.

Some indiscipline on the 14th and 16th among students of the Engineering college. They refused to attend lectures and marched round the headworks of the canal 1½ miles away as a demonstration, but no disturbance took place. 16th. meeting of canal officials in the mosque attended by canal officials.

- - - - -some students expelled.

Section 4th. Military and civil measures.

page 232. On the night of the 19th April a telegram from Govt. informed me that that martial law had been extended to Gujrat on the same lines as to Lahore Amritsar and Gujranwala.

Brigadier General Campbell of Sialkote appointed as the officer. He later on appointed Lt. Col. L.S.Brown.

On 27th the Commissioner discussed matters with me and it was decided to treat Gujrat more leniently than Lyallpur or Gujranwala. Martial law notices only published in the 4 towns of Gujrat, Lalamusa, Jalalpur and Malakwal.

Only 13 persons tried and 11 convicted for offences against the martial law proclamation.

In criticising the administration of martial Law, it is necessary to point out that by the time the extension of martial law to this district was notified, the actual disturbances were over and it was not then necessary to use troops to quell disorders. Affairs were not at any time, in that extreme stage when the military authorities have taken over charge and D.C. is to all intents and purposes a military intelligence officer. Even when there is such a stage, there is a resumption of authority by the D.C. and in Gujrat it was not necessary to abandon it.

Suggestions for the future.

1. Military authorities must keep the D.C. informed, of their actions. In the present case the crisis developed quickly and troops were sent to Gujrat by the military authorities on information not given by me, before I asked them on my own account. With regard

regard to Gujrat city I was there myself but I should have been informed how many troops have been sent to Lalakwal, Lalamasa and Rasul and why. Otherwise I could not appreciate the situation. I had to find out from other sources. I had no desire to delay matters by being consulted in any emergency, but the G.O.C. should have kept me informed of the original despatch of troops and subsequent changes. If the troops were sent in accordance with a military railway security scheme, I should be told so. Position of D.C. relating to the railway line guard should be cleared up and defined. In

5. In the issue of martial law notices, the D.C. should be consulted as far as possible.

6. Increase of police force recommended.

page 233.

The effect of the presence of troops and of martial law on the social and economic life of the community has been very small. The effects even generally did not reach the rural area which has all along been busy in harvesting crops. - - In the towns, the effect was to give a wholesome respect for Govt's power and its determination to suppress disorder. It had no perceptible effect on crime. It did not so far as I can see cause resentment or sullenness. The people realizes that there were influences prevalent which justified the action of Govt, and the mild interpretation of Martial Law according to the need for force has been appreciated. - - - - It was not necessary to control prices by martial law notices. - - - - -

The spread of disorder in the district was certainly checked by the prompt show of force. When the crowd at Gujrat was fired on by the police and knew that troops would next be used, it dispersed, though if unchecked it would probably have proceeded to further excesses. - - - - -

page 234.

E. Class prominent.

(a) Martial promoted by pleaders, traders and cloth merchants Sarafs both in this and the disturbances.

(b) Rioters comprised of the slum of the town, Kanjars, loafers and petty shopkeepers with a sprinkling of students and better class shopkeepers.

The Arya Samaj did not take a prominent part in the dis-

On the 16th April shops again closed and crowd gathered. Leading men gathered at Municipal Hall to discuss how to stop trouble but crowd entered hall and made a disturbance. They insisted of the Members of the Municipal Committee, mourning with them by knocking off their Pagris forcibly. Damaged furniture of Hall worth Rs. 18. Crowd broke windows of Mission School and carried funeral of Sanitary Inspector who had not joined them, also made Constables take off their Pagris. Crowd made no further disturbance. News arrived that crowd at Gujrat had been fired on and this helped to make the crowd disperse.

On 17th shops gradually opened and crowd did not collect again.

B A L A K W A L.

Predisposing causes here different. For some time past, Railway Staff has been discontented and a strike was being arranged. Signallers were getting news on their instruments of events in other places. No proof that Political agitators had any hand in the strike. Presence of seditious lecturers, Ehoj Raj and Chander Navi merely a coincidence. Either because it was on their way back from Miani, or because they had been asked by some local Arya Smaj adherents on the Railway Staff, to stop here. They addressed a Rowlatt meeting on the 15th in the Dhamsala. Audience chiefly of Railway Staff and residents of the town. 16th meeting held in mosque, attended by Hindus, but no definite result attained. Raja Ram, ex-student, D.A.V. College addressed the meeting. Here he saw Sarwar and thought him to be a likely man to join in some definite action. During the day Raja Ram was busy in arranging cutting of telegraph wires and taking up a section of the rails. Raja Ram got volunteers partly his own friends and relations and partly some Loco. ~~people~~ people inclined to mischief and 4 students supplied by the member of the mosque. No premeditation. But Raja Ram appears to have got the idea from knowledge of what had been done elsewhere. In the evening he goes out with his party. He and Sarwar were the leaders. A rail 24 ft. long taken off Signallers and some of the Station Staff knew of it, but

(6 a)

but did not inform the authorities. Next morning 34 Down
Train derailed at the ~~gap~~ gap. Damage done to stock and 2
lives lost.

LYALLPUR.

note by Mr. DeLontmorency, Deputy
Commissioner.

Offence.	Regulation under which convicted.	Number of cases.	Number of persons.	Number of persons convicted.	Number of acquitted.	How disposed of.
Promoting hostility between different classes.	M. Law Ordinance No. 5.	1	1	1	...	...
Exhibiting lack of respect towards Civil & Military Officer of H. M.'s services.	M. Law Notice No. 12.	11	11	9	2	Under Regulation 8 of F. L. Regulation, 17 persons were confined to the limits of their respective villages.
Committing an act to the prejudice of good order and public safety.	M. Law Ordinance No. 15.	5	7	7	...	...
Defacing Notices,	M. Law Ordinance No. 13.	1	1	1	...	...
Being in possession of Motor Cycle without permission.	Do. No. 7.	1	1	1	....	...
Assisting harbouring rebel.	Do. No. 3.	2	3	8	....	...
				----- 27		
Three of these conviction under 2 heads				----- 3		
Persons convicted				----- 24		

Minor offences committed before dates of proclamations of 19th and 20th April and tried by Summary Courts.

No. of cases.	34
No. of persons.	247
No. convicted.	212
No. acquitted.	7
Trail cut short by withdrawal of Martial Law and now pending before ordinary courts.	28

H. L. Hoyla,
Summary Court.

201. Statement E. Sentences passed by Summary Courts.

(1) - - - - -

(2) By summary courts for minor offences committed between 30th March and dates of proclamations.

	No. of persons on whom imposed
Rigorous imprisonment: 2 years.	15
1 year.	34
6 months.	100
less than 6 months.	33
Fines: of Rs 200/- and over.	35
100/- and over.	4
50/- and over.	5
20/- and over.	1
Whipping.	nil.

NOTE.- The figures of imprisonment exceed the actual number of individuals sentenced. This is because a number of persons were convicted of 2 or more offences each.

Statement F.

Analysis showing ages, occupations etc of persons convicted by Summary Courts. District Lyallpur.

Number convicted.	78.
Ages.- Over 30.	32
20-30.	33
under 20.	8
Literate.	27
Illiterate.	51
Religion.- Hindus.	42
Sikhs.	31
Mohammedans.	5
Occupations.- Professional.	8
Govt. servants (including civil pensioners.)	1 Postman
Trade and Commerce.	33
Students and teachers.	4

next page.

The cost will be borne by the landholders of these 3 villages.

The guarding of the whole length of the line by village Thakri has been discontinued, but certain bridges and culverts on the railway line are still being guarded by persons from adjoining villages.

The inconvenience brought home to the people of this district by the interruption of railway traffic has in itself been no small punishment.

In the case of mauza 150, Gugera branch, where practically every compound supplied a man to join the gang, which wrecked the telegraph line between Jaranwala and Toba Tek Singh, proposals have been made to decrease the irrigation water supply to the village and to confiscate the pensions of the pensioned Indian soldiers, who hold grants of land from Government in this village. Orders are still awaited on this proposal.

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X. Mentions.

Page 294.

XI. Effect of the disturbances and the measures taken.

We are perhaps too near events to be able to judge the effects of the measures taken or the aftermath of the feeling about the disturbances. The people at large, however realize that they were on the verge of general disorder throughout the country, and that Government was strong and prompt in meeting the situation. There is a party - a somewhat numerous party - which considers the punitive measures taken have been too heavy severe, and that all who did wrong should now be forgiven like naughty children, but the majority of the sober-minded admit that in a country like India measures, prompt and deterrent, must be and were rightly taken.

A good deal of soreness exists between the rural population and the trading classes, the former accusing the latter of having dragged them into the movement for their own ends. The Manjha Jat Sikh population, as in 1907, were the last to come to heel and still contain sulky and diseffected elements. The plebeian class has again had the dangers of agitation brought home to it

Statement F. Continued.

Occupations.- Agriculture.	.	.	18.	
Artisans and Labourers.	.	.	11	
Miscellaneous.	.	.	<u>3</u>	78.
Rural.	.	.	22	
Urban.	.	.	<u>56</u>	78

No persons were actually killed or injured during the disturbances here.

A number of claims have been made for damage to property, compensation etc. which may be classified as follows:-

1. Claims directly sustainable under the Police Act:-
 - (a) Damage to Railway. Rs 50-
 - (b) Damage to telegraph line. 5,000-
 - (c) Damage to Canal telegraph line. 500-
 - (d) Damage to govt. Bhusa by fire. 48,000-
 - (e) Damage to private Bhusa. 1,317-
 - (f) Damage to Municipal property at Gojra. 163-
 - (g) Loss owing to closure of liquor shops. 372-

Orders for the recovery of these items from certain classes of inhabitants in the villages and towns which were directly responsible for the damage are being issued. There may be delay as regards two items on account of loss of Bhusa by fire as the case is still sub-judice. Where villages are responsible, recovery will be made from landowners and shop-keepers only. Where towns are responsible the richer inhabitants - mostly income tax payers- will bear the cost.

In addition to these claims certain claims not directly classifiable under the Police Act have been received. These are:-

2. Miscellaneous claims.
 - (a) Articles supplied in connection with the defence of the Rallying Post. Rs 336-0-0
 - (b) Articles lost or damaged in the Rallying Post. 4,482-14-0
 - (c) Cost of moving women and children from the area and in some cases of maintaining them. 2,022- 0-0
 - (d) Cost of living and removal outside the area incurred, on behalf of women and children who left the area under the orders of the Military authorities. 13,367- 0-0

A reference has been made to Government as to how these claims are to be met with and from whom the money is to be realized. No orders have been received as yet.

Proposals have been sent to the Inspector General of Police for the location of additional punitive Police in the villages of:- (1) Khiala Kalan. (2) Jahangir. (3) Chak 150 Gujra branch.

These persons have been more markedly sufferers by their own actions on this occasion than in 1907. They profess penitence; but their sentiments do not appear to go deeper than the lips. It is becoming increasingly evident that they desire the self-determination of India to come, not when the people are ready for and have developed upto some form of representative and responsible institutions, but at once, when their own oligarchy "fante de mieux" may expect to reap the fruits of its intelligence.

XII. General.

G. F. De Montmorency,

Dated 20th June 1919.

Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

No. 111C- Dated 29/6/19.

From G.F. De Montmorency Esqr, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur.

To Commissioner, Multan Division.

1. Predisposing causes.

War. - - - - - armistice - - - - - slowness of arrival of peace. - - - - - "Continuous call for recruits, for investment in war loan and for subscriptions to various war funds had undoubtedly begun to fall on the people and to cause murmurings. - - - - - Several of the latter (office holders) openly said that the inauguration of a third war loan or another "Our Day" would have a bad effect and be badly received; though in this district recruiting was purely voluntary, the colonists who all came from other districts in the Punjab, were not slow to quote other instances of undesirable methods of recruiting occurring among their friends or relations in other districts."

- - - - -

"The Sikhs of some regiments who returned from France magnified the part which they had played in the war and complained of insufficient recognition and rewards."

Scarcity of coin.

Pleader and student class - - - - - Home rule propaganda in Allahabad, Calcutta and Madras.

Taxes etc.

Turkey.

Economic causes.

On 30th January 1919 District Congress Committee formed.

Rowlatt agitation - misrepresentation - "no one in future will be allowed to store more than 10 bags of grain in his house".

Allegations that Golden Temple at Amritsar bombed and that a cows head had been put in the sacred tank of the temple. Rumoured that British soldiers had raped some Sikh girls at Airon and that British officers had undressed some Sikh girls and deprived them of their kirpans.

- - - - -

One of the most striking points about the agitation is:

was¹ was engineered at harvest time. This was unfavourable to rural cooperation.

Page 272.

11. Immediate causes of the outbreak.

Direct action of the District Congress Committee.

Arrivals from Lahore Amritsar and Delhi.

Students from Lahore prominent instirring illfeeling.

Outbreak imitative.-Bhusa burnt in Lyallpur, wires cut damage done to railway communications, etc.

- - - - -

"In rural areas, the formation of the gang at Chak 150, Gogera branch, which cut the wires and did damage to the line between between Toba Tek Singh and Jamralli appears to have been directly due to the fact that a number of the youngmen in this neighbourhood had gone to the Baisakhi fair at Amritsar and seen or joined the riots there, and that the brother of the leader of the gang had received a bullet wound in the Amritsar riots.

At Khiala Kalan in the Lyallpur tehsil, the formation of a gangg to loot appears to have been mooted first of all by young-men who had returned from Baisakhi fair in Amritsar and the idea was encouraged by emissaries of the Lyallpur District Congress Committee.

In one or two other sikh villages where there was a good deal of wild talk, it was invariably found that youngmen had come back from the Amritsar fair and spread wild rumours.

111. Chronological narrative of events.

PAGE 273. Saturday, the 5th April, 1919. The District Congress Committee held a meeting of protest in the Kings gardens in Lyallpur against the Rowlatt Act. It was resolved to exhort people to observe hartal or a strike on the following day as a protest against the Rowlatt Act.

Sunday, April 6th. A general hartal was observed all day in Lyallpur City. The District Congress Committee held a public meeting in the Kings gradens in the evening at which resolutions were recorded and forwarded to the Secretary of State by telegram. The behaviour of the crowds was orderly and there was little excitement. There was much misrepresentation of the objects of t^e Act.

Attempts were made to promote a hartal at Jaranwala by some Arya Samaj employees of Japan Cotton trading Company. Some subscriptions were collected for the families of the Delhi martyrs who it was explained were Hindus and Mohammedans and killed by British soldiers without cause at Delhi.

A pleader from Lyallpur and some local Arya Samajists tried to organise a hartal at Gojra but failed.

A hartal was organised at Thandariwala after the arrival of the morning train (8 a.m.) which lasted till sunset. This was instigated by local merchants of the Arya Samaj persuasion who had arrived from Lahore.

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

Friday, April 11th. - News arrived of the Amritsar and Lahore riots and the turning back of Mr. Gandhi from Lahore the Punjab. This caused general excitement; but action prevents demonstration.

Saturday April 12th.- Lyallpur City very restless, and District Congress Committee active with propaganda and misrepresentation.

Sunday, April 13th.- A general hartal was observed at Lyallpur. Fraternalization of hindus and mohammedans in evidence. Attempts to hold public meetings were frustrated by the authorities but towards the evening the crowds in the bazar became very restless and unruly. Some coersion is applied by them to shops where attempts to open are made. Some small riots occur. Feeling of crowds is distinctly anti-British and anti-Government. Posters and notices advocating continued strike and expressing hatred of British and Government appear. Towards night the crowds become distinctly hostile and are with difficulty prevented from becoming an enry mob.

At Jaranwala Nand Lal petition writer, returns to that town from Delhi and gets together a band with a view to inducing a coercive hartal on the morrow. His propaganda is decidedly anti British in form.

Monday, April 14th.- The hartal in Lyallpur City continues. Members of the Bar and Petition-writers go on strike and do not attend the courts.

More definite attempts begin to be made to excite other classes. The rumour about the Kairon girls and the Golden temple at Amritsar is widely circulated. Crowds are still hostile and posters take a more hostile-form violent form. It is thought wise to collect the Europeans at the Rallying post. Some cavalry jawans sent for from the regimental horde runs in the district arrive. Attempts to hold public meetings in the morning frustrated, but in the afternoon a big public meeting is suddenly got together in the Idgah. Proceedings there threatened to be violent; but the presence of the Deputy Commissioner with a few cavalry at the meeting and a message delivered by him through the Vice-President of the Municipal Committee, who is also a custodian of the mosque that the conveners will be held responsible if violent talk or action leads to unfortunate results has a cooling effect. A committee of 20 is appointed to decide whether the hartal should continue or not. Strenuous efforts are made during the day to get Govt servants to strike. There is a seditious meeting at Jaranwala organised by Nand Lal and his friends. This is followed by a coercive hartal. Dis-loyal propaganda of an anti-British type is used. A Mohammedan is asked to preside over a meeting in the Thalsur devala (Idol temple).

Movement to start hartal begins again at Gojra. Hindus meet at the cremation ground in the morning and join hands with the Mohammedans in the Idgah afterwards. A Mohammedan is made president of a dis-loyal meeting by the Hindus. A message is conveyed to a Church Mission Society missionary that his house, church and the public buildings of the town are to be burnt, and he is forced to leave Gojra.

Shopkeepers of Dijkot returning from Lyallpur begin dis-loyal propaganda there.

Tuesday, April 15th. - Hartal continues at Lyallpur. A few shops open in the evening. A fresh crop of seditious posters is observed. A coercive Hartal begins at Gojra. There are anti-British demonstrations. The crowds visit the railway station. Railway refreshment vendor is mobbed and forced to stop his work. Members of the crowd climb up into the Engine of a train and try to persuade the engine driver from taking on the train.

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The ⁷ is a funeral procession of the Rowlatt Act in the Mandi accompanied by a black flag.

Hartal begins at Dijkot and the Zaildar is flouted by the professional and trading classes when he tries to read out and explain the Rowlatt Act.

Wednesday April 16th.- Some troops arrive at Lyallpur, but a portion of them have to be sent off at once to save Sangla station from the mob which burnt Chuharkana, Moman and Dhaban Singh wala stations the night before. The news of the outrages on the Sangla Shahdara line cause considerable excitement. Hartal is temporarily suspended at Lyallpur, but there is still a large crop of new seditious leaflets, notices.

Gojra resumes Hartal and repeats dis-loyal demonstrations for a while and then opens shops.

Disaffection begins and spreads to viallges. The canal telegraph wire is cut in Mauza 253, R. B., nine miles from Lyallpur. There is a preliminary seditious meeting in Mauza Khiala Kalan some nine miles from Lyallpur.

This is probably not the first meeting of the kind as rumours of meetings and Sohal have been received since the previous Monday,

Thursday April 17th.- A few more troops arrive at Lyallpur. Hartal is resumed in Lyallpur City. A seditious meeting is held in Khiala Kalan to which emissaries from neighbouring villages colonised by Manjha Jat Sikhs from Amritsar are called. The meeting is also attended by representatives from Lyallpur City. Plans are discussed for looting and burning of Govt buildings, etc at Lyallpur. A party from Lyallpur goes out to Chak Jhumra and creates a demonstration in that town, but fails to induce a hartal or gain adherents. They return by road to Lyallpur breaking telegraph insulators and cutting telegraph wires on the way. A serious occurrence, probably an act of incendiarism takes place at Lyallpur at night when Bhusa, mostly belonging to Govt, worth Rs 50,000/- is burnt. No one from the city visits the scene of the fire or offers any help.

Friday, April 18th.- Some rumours come of danger threatening
threatening

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Friday, April 18th.- Some rumours come of danger threatening threatening

~~the~~ ending at Mohun Kanjan station which is visited by an armoured train.

The hartal finally collapses at Lyallpur. A gang of villagers at Toba Tek Singh from Chak 150 Gogera branch, a village colonised by Manjha Jat Sikh colonists comes out at night and tries to wreck the line between Toba Tek Singh and Janiwala and overturns telegraph poles and cuts wires. Most of these are tracked to the village by the police next morning and induced to surrender.

Saturday April 19th.- The moveable column arrives in Lyallpur.

Sunday, April 20th.- Punitive measures and arrests are begun by the Deputy Commissioner with the help of the moveable column and the situation begins to improve rapidly.

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IV. Measures adopted.

A. Period prior to arrival of troops.

Municipal Commissioners etc, placed on duty, warned etc.

Thikri Pahra.

Europeans collected.

- - - - -

On 16th morning some troops (75 Indian infantry) arrived from Multan.

On 17th more Infantry arrived.

On 19th a moveable column consisting of a motor machine gun battery and a squadron of Cavalry arrived.

B. Work done by moveable column.

April 20th.- The Deputy Commissioner with part of the moveable column paid a disciplinary visit to Jaranwala and made nine arrests.

April 21st.- Deputy Commissioner with part of the moveable column paid a disciplinary visit to Gojra and made nine arrests.

April 22nd.- The column moved into Lyallpur City. Ten arrests were made including that of a well known agitator and seditionist and three plaeders.

April 23rd.- The Deputy Commissioner with part of the moveable column visited Khiala Kalan where meetings had been held and conspiracies to loot had taken place. Thirteen arrests were made in this and 5 other neighbouring Manjha Jat Sikh colonist villages.

- April 24th.- Moveable column visited Jahangir, a village where canal telegraph wires had been cut and made 5 arrests. An extra Assistant Commissioner visited Tandlianwala with an escort.
- April 25th.- Moveable column visited Toba Tek Singh and Chak 150, Gogera Branch, where Deputy Commissioner arrested the missing members of a gang which had cut telegraph wires and tried to wreck line between Janiwala and Toba Tek Singh.
- April 27th.- Moveable column with Deputy Commissioner visited a village called Sohal and made some arrests.
- April 28th.- Moveable column and troops of garrison marched through Lyallput City.
- May, 1st.- Moveable column departed for the Gujranwala district. The itinerary of the moveable column completed one stage of the measures of suppression. Troops were shown in every part of the district and the rapid visits without warning to different points had an excellent effect in cooling down the dis-loyal and giving confidence to the loyal.

C. M A R T I A L L A W.

Martial law was proclaimed in the district at 10 a.m. of the 24th of April. A parade was held for this purpose at headquarters. Lt: Col: Hodgson, D.S.O., assumed the duties of administrator of martial law and charge of troops in the area.

A number of orders were received from the administrator Martial Law, Sialkote brigade area, Waziabad, but of these a number were considered un-necessary or unsuitable for local application, and the only subjects on which orders actually issued and came into force in the Lyallpur district were the following:-

1. Orders re responsibility for the protection of canal, bridges, railway lines and telegraphs.
2. Orders regarding Salooming.
3. Order Orders restricting travelling by rail.
4. Orders regarding posting and safe-guarding of martial law notices.
5. Orders restricting movements within the area of certain persons.
6. Orders regarding reserving grass and grazing on public lands for military purposes.
7. Orders regarding parading of certain schools.
8. Orders restricting outside legal practitioners from entering the area.
9. Orders forbidding the charging of discounts on the encashment of notes.
10. Orders re refusal to sell stocks or replenish stocks or trade by merchants.

Major Polley was appointed Field Officer for trying offences against martial law summarily. Only 24 cases were tried. Of these only 4 were for serious offences, e.g.,-

- 2 cases for harbouring rebels.
- 1 case of obstructing recruiting. ✓
- 1 case of tempering with witnesses.

- - - - -

The effect of the martial law was on the whole salutary. Order had been largely restored before martial law was proclaimed; but there is no doubt that the introduction of martial law stopped further agitation. It was a useful discipline at Lyallpur, both for Indians and Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The restriction of the movements of undesirable within the area was a useful provision. Morally martial law had a bracing effect. Martial law acted as a slight check on social intercourse, though in no case were applications to hold social or quasi-religious gatherings refused. In this district, where the people are colonists and every one has two homes, the restrictions on travelling were felt to be particularly irksome and the applications for railway passes threw a great deal of work on the civil authorities.

- - - - -

V. Classes prominent in promoting disturbances and classes taking a leading part in the disturbances.

"As has been explained before the District Congress Committee was the 'Fons et origo' of the agitation at Lyallpur."

"The original agitation was engineered entirely by the pleader class. - - - - -"

"Pleaders munshi's were used as go-betweens and messengers - - - - -"

"Radical practitioners and Hakim's were prominent in almost every town - - - - -"

"The behaviour of College students and school boys was on the whole good."

"The general attitude and conduct however, of school boys in the district as a whole is not good."

"The trading classes as a whole were deeply implicated in the disorders."

~~"The railway staff were actually implicated;-----"~~

"It is difficult to say the exact purpose which animated the unlawful assembly in the village of Khiala Kalan and the gang which issued from Chak 150, Gugera Branch, to destroy the Railway near Jaruwala. The underlying idea seems to have been to do Govt. some harm in revenge for acts of Govt. in Amritsar."

"The Railway staff were actually implicated; - - - - -"

"The inception of the disturbances may be traced almost entirely to the hindu community."

"The extreme Mohammedans and pan-Islamists kept fairly quiet."

"Returned emigrants gave no trouble."

page 281.

VI. Nature of Movement.

"The movement in its inception was very markedly anti-Govt. It was directed towards weakening and discrediting the existing Govt. The nationalist party hoped to force Govt to a defeat over the Rowlatt Bill and then to wring concessions from a discredited bureaucracy which would be much in advance of anything included in the reform scheme issuing under Govt. approval. This feature was markedly present in the demonstrations of the 5th and 6th of April. The movement was not at that time clearly anti-British. By the end of the following week however, the news from Amritsar and Lahore had resulted in a hostile anti-British atmosphere and the same spirit of the 2nd hartal and of the crowds which joined in unlawful assemblies and demonstrations was both anti-Government and anti-British alien. - - - - -"

page 282.

VII. Methods adopted by the rebels.

The methods adopted by the rebels were curiously similar to those which characterised the recent disturbances in Egypt.

- (a) Striking and inducing strikes- - - - -
- (b) Interference with communications - - - - -
- (c) Damage to Government property - - - - -
- (d) The spread of dangerous and exaggerated rumours-----

page 283.

VIII. Administrative changes.

Mr. A. Hoyle, I.C.S. Asstt Commissioner from the Central Provinces was posted here on the 29th April 1919. - - - - -

IX. Punitive measures.

The only case was sent to be tried by commission. This

This was the case in which 18 youngmen of Chak 150 G.B. had gone out and tried to wreck the line - - - - - .

All the accused were found guilty and sentenced. .

page 234.

STATEMENT B.

District Lyallpur.

No. of cases disposed off by commissions.	No. of cases.	No. of persons.	No. convicted.
Cutting telegraph wires.	1.	18.	18.

page 235. .

STATEMENT D.

Sentences passed by Commissions at Lyallpur.

	Number of persons on whom imposed.
Death, transportation forfeiture.	nil.
Imprisonment rigorous:-	
3 years.	1
1½ years.	7
1 year.	10
Fines.	
200 and over.	1
100 and over.	12
50 and over.	nil
20 and over.	5
Whipping.	nil.

STATEMENT F.-Analysis showing ages occupations etc., of persons convicted by commissions.

No. convicted -----18.
Age not given.

Religion.-

Hindus.	-	-	-	1
Sikhs.	-	-	-	10
Mohammedans.	-	-	-	nil.
Others.	-	-	-	7

Occupations.-

Agriculture.	-	-	-	18
Soldiers and ex-soldiers.	-	-	-	1
Other occupations.	-	-	-	nil

Rural.	-	-	-	18
Urban.	-	-	-	.

NOTE. 21 cases involving 26 persons were tried by Major Polly as Summary Court Martial Cant in connection with offences occurring after the Court Martial proclamations against the provisions of the proclamations. These cases with the exception of 4, to which allusion has been made in part 4 of report, were of a petty nature. Particulars of these cases are given in the annexed statement. Only 2 persons were acquitted. There were no severe sentences of whipping or public whippings.

STATEMENT H.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Imprisonment rigorous.-	1 year.	2
	6 months. (one of these in addition 15 lashes and one more in addition Rs 200 fine.)	10
	Lesser periods.	1

Fines.-

Rs 200 or over.	-	-	-	1
	(person also received 6 months)			
Rs 30	-	-	-	2
Rs 15	-	-	-	1
Rs 10	-	-	-	2

Whipping.

15 stripes (one of these also 6 months rigorous.)	-	-	-	2
8 stripes.	-	-	-	2
5 stripes.	-	-	-	3

Punishments.	-	-	-	26
2 cases two kinds in each case.				2
Total convictions.				24

STATEMENT F.

Number convicted.	-	-	-	24
Ages.-				
Over 30.	-	-	-	9
20-30-	-	-	-	12
under 20.	-	-	-	<u>3</u>
				24
Literate.	-	-	-	13
Illiterate.	-	-	-	<u>11</u>
				24
Hindus.	-	-	-	7
Sikhs.	-	-	-	11
Mohammedans.	-	-	-	5
Others.	-	-	-	<u>1</u>
				24
Professional.	-	-	-	nil.
Govt servants.	-	-	-	3
Trade.	-	-	-	4
Students and teachers.	-	-	-	nil.
Agriculture.	-	-	-	8
Soldiers and pensioners.	-	-	-	1
Miscellaneous.	-	-	-	<u>8</u>
				24
Rural.	-	-	-	15
Town.	-	-	-	<u>9</u>
				24

24 CASES were tried by Mr. Hoyle under the special powers conferred on him, in connection with offences committed after 30th March but before the date of the martial law proclamation. These cases related to disturbances at (1) Jaranwala, (2) Ditchkot (3) Khisla Kalan (4) Gojra (5) Lyallpur. All these cases were finished by Mr. Hoyle prior to the ending of Martial Law except the main case of a series of cases connected with

with Lyallpur City, in which he had heard 97 witnesses and had 24 more to hear, by the night of the 9th June 1919. 78 persons were convicted in the cases heard by him. Particulars of these are given in the annexed statement.

It is most unfortunate that the period of Martial Law could not have extended for 2 days in order that the hearing of the most important of the Lyallpur cases could be concluded. This long case will now have to be heard again. (NOTE.- Since decided).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, 8th JULY, 1920.

[Extract from Official Report.]

PUNJAB DISTURBANCES.

SPEECH BY MR. T. J. BENNETT, M.P.

Mr. BENNETT: A meeting took place in this city not many weeks ago attended mainly by Englishmen whose lives have been spent largely in India. As reported to me, the speech of the Chairman of that meeting may be summarised in these words: "We English have got to live with the natives, and the best we can do is to get on good terms with them, and say as little as we can about these disturbances." With part of that sentiment I cordially agree. We have to pursue a policy of moderation. There are obstacles in the way of that policy and in the way of a good understanding between the two races. Some of them are raised by hon. Members opposite, some by hon. Members around me. So far as hon. Members opposite are concerned, I deprecate the agitation—premature and purely fictitious—on this question which they have carried on. The meetings that have been held have been artificial in character. I have a letter from Mr. Horniman, who has been referred to to-day, a journalist, who was expelled, and, in my opinion, properly expelled, from Bombay. In that letter he writes to a newspaper in Bombay to the effect that he is

"working the Press in this country for all that it is worth."

He goes on further to say,

"You may trust me to keep the Press of England up to the mark."

That discounts a great deal of what we read in the English papers. On the other hand, we have got a mischievous Press in England poisoning the wells against the

Secretary for India. I think we have seen some co-operation in that unworthy purpose in some of the questions which have been put in this House during the last few days. The great obstacles to a friendly understanding, which is profoundly to be desired, therefore come from two sides. Two eminent members of the legal profession, one representing the higher and the other the less high branch of the profession, have shown what I may call forensic astuteness in concentrating the discussion to-day upon the case of General Dyer. They made an appeal to our fair-mindedness, they put before us the case of an honourable officer, who has served his country for 34 years, and who, they think, has not had justice. I have read fully the statement which General Dyer laid before the Army Council, and have given it my best consideration, and I am satisfied that there is every warrant for the decision which has been come to in regard to him. I notice one thing that was not known to me before—namely, that General Dyer was for some years on the Staff as instructor in military law. That rather disturbs me. I want to know how many officers of the Indian Army have received the benefit of his teaching in military law, and how many of them have imbibed the peculiar principles to which he has given expression. For instance, is it generally believed, amongst the officers of the Indian Army, that, in cases of trouble, it matters little whether there is to be excess of shooting or not? He says

those who were believed to be the leaders of the popular party, to be handcuffed and chained, marched through the streets to the station, and sent to Lahore in a goods truck. The same official arrested Mr. Singh, aged 60, as a hostage, because his three sons were missing. An order was passed confiscating his property, and a warning was issued that anyone attempting to reap his crops would be shot.

These are matters to which hon. Members here attach no importance. They concentrate the whole of their thought and care upon vindicating General Dyer, and proving that he has been very badly treated. I think they would spend their time a little more usefully, and would be more fully performing their duties in regard to India, if they would inquire into the methods by which martial law was administered at that time. I think we ought, in following these proceedings, to note the mentality of the men who were engaged in them. What can you say of the mentality of a man who, over and over again, will tell you that the people of the Punjab like martial law? We have heard of eels getting used to being skinned, but when it is said that the people of a province like martial law, it only shows what extraordinary persons were put in charge of the administration of martial law at that time. "People liked my administration." "People liked martial law, especially the masses." Another officer who had not been saluted by some children—the pupils at a school—gave orders that the whole of the boys in that school should for a week be made to come and salute him at his office, and should, in addition, salute the Union Jack. If that officer had set himself to devise means by which the children of that town could be made, as long as they lived, to hate the Union Jack and the people who ruled under it, he could not have adopted a more efficacious procedure. Because the pupils in one group of colleges were suspected of tearing down a martial law notice, the whole of the students—a thousand all told—were made for a whole week to march 16 miles a day to the military headquarters. That is the rising generation in India. Those are the students, the class of people who in Italy, for instance, took a prominent part in the *risorgimento*. What *gaucherie*, what stupidity there must be amongst this school of officers in

the Punjab, who will take these men and make them hate England and English officers! We have heard a great deal about General Dyer, and the dangers that would have arisen if he had not been as stern as he was, but no one in this Committee, so far, has seemed to contemplate the danger to British rule that follows proceedings of this kind. I maintain that those who uphold this procedure, or who ignore it, and concentrate their attention in a wrong fashion on the problem, are doing every harm to British rule. The proceedings I am describing do not stand alone.

8.0 P.M. There is a whole group of blunders and oppressions and hardships of this kind which seem to me to provide material for a hymn of hate against England, and nothing short of it. I ask hon. Members to study that aspect of the question, and not to concentrate upon General Dyer. I will give another instance. We have heard—reference was made to it in the speech of the Secretary of State—of a particular officer who arrested a wedding party and had them flogged because they were in excess of the number allowed to pass in the streets. The officer said this whipping of the wedding party was the only regrettable incident that occurred in his jurisdiction under martial law. He must have had a dense mind and a strange perception, because it was this officer who had been responsible for this marching backwards and forward of students and for a number of other acts of oppression which were only too characteristic of the reign of martial law in that part of the country.

We have had in the Report of the Commission an exoneration of the Government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer from the charge that he had exercised undue pressure in recruiting and in the Loan campaign. As to recruiting, it is fair to Sir Michael O'Dwyer to recognise that there was a quota which the various administrations were expected to work up to in their recruiting operations, and though I cannot acquit the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer of a great deal of oppression in his recruiting operations, it is fair to say that when these were brought to notice measures were taken to prevent their repetition, and it is also fair to say that one witness before the Commission said that those who were guilty of exercising pressure in recruiting

Debate and do not find one word as to what the people of India think of these happenings. It is no sign of a real interest in India when a number of hon. Members become excited, as they did this afternoon, over the interests of an individual, who are so absolutely indifferent to the bearings of our discussion upon the people of India. We have been told that India was conquered by the sword and is being held by the sword. That doctrine is absolutely repudiated by every historical authority of any importance. We began as a trading nation. We did not go as a military nation, and we should have accomplished nothing in India but for the co-operation of Indian agents. Why should we flaunt this doctrine of holding by the sword in the face of a people whom we want to make a free people, and whose liberties we are enlarging? During the inquiry we had the commandant of a regiment stating that we can influence the Asiatic only by force. That is a view which is at the back of all these happenings and the operation of martial law. There has been an idea that the native of India is an inferior person who has to be held in restraint by coercion. The Secretary of State for India seems to have aroused the anger of certain hon. Members by a speech which I regard as a dignified and noble vindication of the liberal policy which has been pursued in India. What hon. Members have seen to justify them in speaking of it as an appeal to racial prejudice I do not know. The appeal to racial prejudice has come from their side. There is no warrant for the condemnation which has been passed upon a speech which is worthy of the subject and worthy of the occasion. Recently we have had an opportunity of refreshing our memories on some of the achievements and speeches of the Earl of Beaconsfield. I came across a passage in which he reminded the people of this country that we were proud of our Empire, and the chief reason for being proud of it was that it had been based on sympathy as well as on force. Let us never forget that. Unless we get the sympathy and goodwill of the people of India our task is ended or will be ended in a short time. We cannot contemplate a future in which the normal condition of things in India is one of antagonism between the people and the Government. If we are to con-

tinue the Dyer policy, the results must necessarily be no progress in India and no improvement in the relations between the people of India and the Government. The other day I had a letter from India, in which the writer—an Englishman who had lived the better part of his life there, and in whose judgment I place the most absolute confidence—said: "Dyer is the greatest asset that the extremists in India have got." No truer word has been contributed to this discussion. Dyerism will be an enormous help to those who are trying to oust the British Government from its place in India, and hon. Members who have been censuring the Secretary of State for India for the generous and sympathetic words in which he spoke of the people of India ought to realise that we have reached a point at which most critical issues have to be decided. We have to ask ourselves whether we are to be on terms of friendship with the people of India or whether we are to go on dealing with them in a way in which so many officers have dealt with them. Those who have looked too lightly and with approval, in too many cases, upon the action of General Dyer have a scale of values of their own of human life, in which they place the Indian below the European. This is not a political question, but a question of human values, and until we get rid of that idea and recognise the sacredness of Indian life as on a par with the sacredness of European life, we shall be suspected by the people of India, our actions will be unfavourably coloured, and our policy in that country will be a failure.

I appeal to those hon. Members on the other side of the House who have put themselves in antagonism to the policy of the Government to realise that it is they and not those who are supporting the Secretary of State who will be responsible if in the time to come we should ever lose India. God grant that the connection between this country and India may long continue, that it may never cease, that India, being a self-governing country, will at the same time remain an integral part of the British Commonwealth. But at the same time we have to make it worth the while of the people of India to retain their place in that Commonwealth, and if they are to be treated as serfs, to be

The National Liberal Federation of India.

Meeting of the Council held at Calcutta on the 12th June, 1920.

Chairman.—The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea.

Texts of Resolutions Passed.

I.—The Hunter Committee Reports and the Resolutions thereon.

- (a) The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India view with deep disappointment the Majority Report of the Hunter Committee whose conclusions are in the main unsupported by the weight of the published evidence. The Council regret that the majority have supported the declaration and continuation of martial law in the Punjab without justification, and that they have condoned in most cases the atrocities that were perpetrated in deliberate disregard of the canons of civilized government. The Council feel constrained to say that the Majority Report lacks the authority that should have attached to a state paper treating of such grave and far-reaching issues as were raised by the recent deplorable events in the Punjab. The Majority Report.
- (b) The Council endorse the conclusion of the Minority that there was no rebellion in the Punjab, and their condemnation of the declaration of martial law and its prolongation without even a colourable excuse, as well as of the ruthlessness with which it was administered entailing cruel hardships upon large numbers of innocent persons and wantonly causing humiliation to the people by bringing home to them their utter helplessness. The Minority Report
- (c) While appreciating the Secretary of State's dispatch for its condemnation of some of the worst horrors of last year and its repudiation of the doctrine of military necessity that made them possible, the Council must express their sense of strong disapproval of the awarding of a wholly inadequate punishment to General Dyer and of none as yet to the several other officers who were guilty of unpardonable excesses. The Council earnestly urge that the Government should take immediate steps for the suitable punishment of all officers, military or civil, of whatever status, who were guilty of, or condoned, gross abuse of power and indisputably failed to maintain "the standards of conduct which" as the Secretary of State's dispatch says, "no civilized government can with impunity neglect, and which his Majesty's Government are determined to uphold". The Council believe that without such punishment, neither will the enormity of their conduct be brought home to the offending officers nor will the national self-respect of India be vindicated. The Secretary of State's Dispatch.
- (d) The Council record their emphatic protest against the high encomium bestowed upon Sir Michael O'Dwyer both by the Government of India and his Majesty's Government in the face of the admission that "his Majesty's Government do not regard Sir Michael O'Dwyer as immune from criticism"; their criticism of the "application of martial law procedure to certain trials" which, it is admitted, "must be taken as applying to Sir Michael O'Dwyer in so far as he was personally Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

II.—Reforms Rules.

The Council of the National Liberal Federation are of opinion that the Draft Rules under the Government of India Act are defective, and should be amended, as specified below :—

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| (a) The prohibition of the provision of food to voters on the election day will operate as a real hardship in the conditions of this country and will deter large numbers of voters from going to the polling stations. The definition of "treating" should therefore be amended so as to withdraw the prohibition against the supply of food. | Corrupt Practices. |
| (b) The provision of hired conveyances in rural areas should not be deemed a corrupt practice. | |
| (c) The discretion of local Governments should not be restricted as regards the purposes for which they may borrow, nor should they be required to obtain the previous sanction of the Government of India. | Local Governments' Borrowing Powers. |
| <i>Devolution Rules.</i> | |
| (d) The Devolution Rules should be amended wherever necessary so as to bring out clearly the corporate responsibility of Ministers. | Responsibility of Ministers. |
| (e) Provision should be made not only for the possible revocation or the suspension of the transfer of any subject (<i>vide</i> Rule 6 of the Devolution Rules) but also for possible additions to the list of transferred subjects. | Variation in the list of transferred subjects |
| (f) The Government of India should meet their estimated deficit in 1921-22 and following years by reducing military expenditure to a reasonable figure and by crediting a substantial part of the gain in exchange to their revenue account, and not by levying contributions from the provinces. | Contributions to the Central Government. |
| (g) In cases of emergency, the Government of India should have power only to borrow from local Governments and not to levy additional contributions. | |
| (h) Rule 28, etc., of the Devolution Rules concerning taxation and borrowing should be amended so as to be more in conformity with the system of a joint purse for the whole Government as distinguished from a separate purse for either half of the Government. | Taxation and Borrowing. |
| (i) Rule 34 should be amended so as to leave it to the discretion of the Governor to select any member of the Government and not of the Executive Council only as finance member and to provide that the financial secretary shall not be controlled by any one member of the Government. | Finance Department. |
| (j) There should be a Council Secretary for Finance selected from among the elected members. | |
| (k) The effect of the provisions of Rule 34 will be to convert finance virtually into a reserved subject, which is clearly contrary to the recommendation of the Joint Committee of Parliament, and it is of the utmost importance for the success of the new regime that it should be amended as proposed. | |
| (l) There should be a Finance Committee of the Legislative Council in every province. | Finance Committee. |
| (m) As Industries will be a provincial and transferred subject, Stores and Stationery should also be provincial, and not central as provided in Schedule I. | Provincial Subjects |
| (n) In view of the separation of provincial finance from the finance of the central government and of the popularization of the constitution of provincial governments, the provisions of Schedule III requiring the previous sanction of the Secretary of State or of the Governor-General in Council for expenditure proposed to be incurred by local Governments should be reconsidered, and amended so as to increase the powers of the latter. | Expenditure Rules. |

IV.—Indians in South Africa.

- (a) Having regard to the fact that the responsibility for the presence of Indians in South Africa lies on the British Government, that Natal owes its prosperity to Indian labour, and that a new generation of Indians born in South Africa has grown up, the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India view with the deepest regret and the greatest indignation the recommendation made by the South Africa Asiatic Commission for the repatriation of Indian labourers in South Africa.
- (b) In view of the persecution suffered by Indians in South Africa the Council apprehend that voluntary repatriation may prove to be only another name for compulsory deportation, that it may lead to the expulsion of practically all Indians from the Union, and that in its effect it may also jeopardize the position of Indians in other parts of the Empire.
- (c) Such a policy will naturally produce a feeling of bitter resentment in this country and may further complicate a situation that is already serious owing to the nature of the terms of peace offered to Turkey and the disappointing result of the Hunter Committee Inquiry. The Council would therefore urge earnestly that his Majesty's Government may be pleased to exert all their influence to prevent the adoption of the policy recommended by the South Africa Asiatic Commission and to secure to Indians settled in that dominion the full rights of British citizenship on terms of equality with the white settlers.

V.—Indians in Fiji.

The Council of the National Liberal Federation invite the urgent attention of the Government of India to the harrowing accounts published in the Indian press regarding the treatment of Indian settlers in Fiji.

The Council would urge strongly that the Government of India should press for an independent inquiry into the causes of the recent riots in Fiji and the methods employed in suppressing them, with special reference to the treatment of women and the wages of labourers, representatives of the Government and the people of India being associated with the inquiry.

VI.—The Turkish Peace Treaty and the Agitation in India.

- (a) The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India protest against the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire as proposed in the peace terms, and they are of opinion that they are underly harsh and contravene the principles proclaimed by the Allied Powers and the pledges given by the Prime Minister. They sympathize deeply with the Islamic feeling in the matter and earnestly urge that his Majesty's Government should make a genuine effort to obtain a revision of the terms so as to allow Turkey a chance of revival and to satisfy Moslem sentiment.
- (b) At the same time the Council strongly disapprove of the non-cooperation movement which, without doing any good to Turkey, is certain to do great harm to the peaceful progress of India.

VII.—Proposed Disbandment of the Bengali Regiment.

The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India strongly protest against the proposed disbandment of the 49th Bengali Infantry and urge on the Governor-General in Council and the Secretary of State the great necessity of the continuance of the Regiment and of taking early and effective steps for its improvement and for sustained recruitment in all districts of Bengal.

TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU,
C. Y. CHINTAMANI,

Secretaries.

SURENDRANATH BANERJEA,
Chairman.

Memorandum on conscription or compulsory service for
the Punjab draft in accordance with the instructions
of the Lieutenant Governor.

1. In its original meaning conscription means the selection by lot or otherwise of a proportion of the men of military age for compulsory service in the military (and naval) forces of the country. More widely, it is used to denote compulsory military service in any form.

2. Previous to the initiation last year of measures to organise effectively the man power of India on the system which has been adopted the question of conscription was considered by the military authorities and its introduction negatived in the belief or hope that the men required for the Indian Army could be obtained without resort to it. The arguments against conscription were marshalled as follows:-

(a) Its introduction involves grave political consideration. It might give rise to wide spread disturbance and unrest. This is proved by certain instances of panic caused by rumours of compulsory service, even though there had been no hint of any Government action in favour of conscription.

(b) The difficulty of applying conscription to the vast heterogeneous population of the country. If compulsory service has to be hastily improvised the procedure becomes very complex and requires an immense organization. It involves the registration of the entire male population, followed by necessary exemptions on account of employment or disability. Such registration with the available machinery is well nigh impossible in India.

(c) There is in reality - in contradistinction to modern European countries - but a small minority of men fit for military duties and it is clearly inequitable that they should bear the whole brunt if compulsory national service is to be introduced.

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Meaning of
conscription

Arguments

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pulsory ser-
vice in India

3. These objections to compulsory service were held to outweigh the advantages; and it was resolved to rely on the voluntary system for raising the numbers of men required for the Indian Army during the war.

4. As regards the Punjab it was felt that in this Province with its military traditions and associations, if anywhere, success would best be achieved and consequently for the heaviest burden in regard to the supply of recruits was placed on its shoulders. A monthly quota of 15,890 was fixed for the year beginning the first July 1917; and this total has recently been raised to 16,940. It is calculated that since the war began the Punjab has given over 300,000 men to the army.

5. The newly organised system of recruiting scarcely came into full play before July 1917; and its only for the succeeding 9 months of 1917-19 that we have accurate returns of all enlistments in the Province. These give a total of 122,492 men obtained or a monthly average of 13,610.

The results hitherto obtained The results are no doubt excellent but to obtain them official and non-official exertions had to be made to a degree that has almost reached the breaking point. If we continue to recruit as successfully during the twelve month beginning with the 1st June, 1918, we should reach an aggregate of 163,320 or just 40,000 short of the annual quota of 203,280 including 180,000 combatants assigned to the Province (without making any allowance for desertions which must be expected to increase for reasons noted in the next paragraph). In other words, if we are to meet the full demand, made on us our enlistments must be augmented by about 25 per cent, All round.

6. Can we hope to attain such results with out present system? if not, can we improve and popularise this system so as to give us the required numbers or must we have recourse to some alternative system? Since the outbreak of war various improvements in the conditions of service of all ranks have been introduced. and it is not to be doubted

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doubted that numbers of men have been attracted to the colours by these concessions. Further inducements in the shape of increased pay or a war allowance etc., are under consideration; and, if sanctioned, may be expected to influence a proportion of wavering or indifferent men who are hesitating to join the army. But as will be seen from the opinions reproduced in paragraphs 8 and 9 below the general conviction of officers most closely connected with recruitment is that these additional privileges cannot outweigh the scale heavily enough to ensure a steady flow of the urgently needed numbers of men under the voluntary system. The fact is that this system is capable only of meeting strictly limited demands. This has been proved in the case of the United Kingdom which is close to the theatre of war and the inhabitants of which are far more capable of understanding of the perils and needs of the situation than the people of this (at present) remote country. When the demands of the army exceed the supply of real volunteers, first persuasion of the indifferent or reluctant must be employed. This is soon succeeded by pressure on the unwilling which sometimes takes the form of veiled compulsion; and this again leads inevitably to a sense of unfairness and discontent accompanied by a marked rise in desertions - a rise which is already forming the subject of comment by military authorities. Then a point is soon reached at which the stream of recruits begins to dry up.

7. In the Punjab certain tracts have always been thoroughly acquainted with military service; other tracts have been

The present

situation in the

Punjab

less familiar because they had not been regularly exploited; yet other tracts have held entirely aloof from all connection with the army. Experience has

shown that whilst volunteers for the army have hitherto been procurable in the first named parts without difficulty, the persuasion of the second named has been accomplished only dint of long and persevering effort. In what may be termed the hostile tracts, very poor results, quite incommensurate with the time and labour expended have hitherto been obtained, an

and these only by means of severe pressure or monetary inducements. The present military situation requires us to raise 2 lakhs of men in a twelve month for the army; and has made it imperative that we attain a complete measure of success. We have therefore, to take stock of the situation and ask ourselves whether we are to carry on under the so called voluntary system in the hope that all may turn out well in the end or whether we should take power to assure our supply of recruits by boldly facing the alternative of compulsory service in the case of areas and communities which have hitherto made an inadequate response. Divisional and district officers are almost unanimous in the view that the time has come when the authority to should be granted them in order to equalize burdens and mitigate the harassment of the people which adherence to the voluntary system inevitably brings in its train. Their opinions also express the views of a strong and growing body of non-official opinion throughout the Province.

8. In December last the Deputy Commissioner, Montgomery wrote in his fortnightly report: "I am unable however to say that I am at all satisfied with recruiting prospects. I should very much like to see a form of conscription introduced into

Views of officers this district. I am confident that it could be worked
intimately connected with less trouble and less discontent than the present
with recruiting system of constant nagging". Two and a half months

later the Deputy Commissioner Hoshiarpur, and Attock, discussed the same subject. The former writing of a district which has maintained steadily a *Good* recruiting record gave his opinion that some mild compulsion seems necessary in order to make a start in new tracts. The Deputy Commissioner, Attock (which has proved itself one of the best recruiting districts), expressed the view that in his district he had come very near to the end of compulsory voluntarism; before increased demands were made the question of legalised compulsion should be examined. From the end of March onward the Deputy Commissioner Mianwali has advocated the introduction of compulsion in his district if recruits were to be obtained.

Since the military situation of the Allies became critical and India consequently offered to raise half-a-million of men within the next year numerous officers and many influential non-officials have frankly advocated the introduction into the Province of some form of conscription.

9. The public meeting at Lahore on the 4th May, at which the Lieutenant Governor presided ~~and~~ unanimously resolved that the possibility of conscription should be considered if the ----- voluntary system failed to produce the necessary numbers. ~~and~~ Thereafter a conference of Divisional Commissioners was held to make suggestions as to the quotas which might reasonably be expected during the ensuing twelve months from each division and district. The unanimous opinion was that while those ----- districts had hitherto done best might be relied on to continue their good work, it was highly improbable that backward ----- districts would do their duty unless Government was armed with power to enforce military service. A rough scheme of the quotas which might, reasonably be demanded from divisions and district with a margin of safety was drawn up and is attached to this memorandum. Since then the general opinion has been rapidly --- hardening that the Province will be unable to supply its ----- quota of 200,000 men during the present year without legal --- authority to compel enlistment where necessary. The Commissioner of Rawalpindi has, as the result of a recent tour, made a careful survey of the situation in his Division which has been -- responsible for such splendid results. He reports that ----- official opinion is unanimous that authority to conscript must be given if the Division is to raise its share of the - fixed quota, although it is probable that the actual use of the power would be a restricted scale. He sums up the situation thus "while I cannot honestly say that conscription will be unattended by risk I am dead certain that we cannot do that - which we have undertaken to do without it." That remark also expresses the views of the Lieutenant Governor. The non-agriculturist community (which is comparatively small in - Division) will in any case not move unless they know that

that the Deputy Commissioner's ~~antixixix~~ demand is backed up by legal authority. Taking individual districts Rawalpindi and Jhelum generally anticipate no difficulty in making up full quotas in the very few villages which are yet below standard. In attock the Deputy Commissioner reports that compulsion is really only requirrd in the Chah tract that the big men of his district appear to favour compulsion if regularised; but the smaller men are afraid of the word; and that if a Compulsory Service Act were passed as an enabling one to be applied only to shirking areas he is convinced it would receive a wide measure of support. Side side with such compulsion should, he thinks, be issued an announcement that the momed classes if not conscripted would be taxed specially for the war. In Gujrat the Deputy Commissioner - an experienced Indian officer- notes that as most of the future recruits must come from backward tracts both officials and non-officials are unanimous that powers to conscript should be obtained though it may not be necessary to use them. "When all the villages know that they will have to give the required number of young men they will probably do so without much fuss". In Shahpur it is generally admitted that the extra effort required during the present year will not be effective without some form of conscription; and it is not anticipated that conscription in this district if tactfully applied, will meet with any opposition. In the case of the agricultural community the existence of a conscription law will probably produce the required result without the necessity of applying it. The resentment of this community at the failure of the Trading classes to do their duty is growing, and Government is expected to enforce performance of this duty by these classes. The Deputy ~~sumixixix~~ of Mianwali is convinced that compulsion alone will effect anything appreciable in his unresponsive district.

The Commissioner of the backward Multan Division for which very low quotas have been pitched, reports that public feeling

feeling is dead against the present methods of recruiting and the efforts made to secure have in Multan and Muzaffargarh given rise to local disturbances. Endeavours have been made to work through the leaders of the people and it was confidently expected that through this agency the 15,000 recruits asked for by the Lieutenant Governor last February would be obtained. But now that a new demand has been ----- formulated for the Province the Commissioner doubts if the original demands can be reached under the voluntary system. Conscription is being generally talked of: and this merely means that the burden is shifted from the headman to the people themselves. Past results are due to the exertions of district officers and also to the loyalty of the headman who have paid large sums for practically every recruit ---- produced. "I know", he writes, "that the people ought to give thousands ~~and~~ more, but I know that they will not unless and until we have the conscription machinery on the statute book to back us up." Threats of conscription which do not materialize will only make the people more sullen. Believing ^{be} conscription will generally be welcomed as a relief from the present inequitable and unevenly distributed burden, the Commissioner recommends that the question of legalizing conscription should be faced at once. As the Deputy Commissioner, Multan notes, leading men and villagers recognizing the possibility of compulsory service being legalized are reluctant to undertake the trouble and expense of obtaining voluntary recruits. The Deputy Commissioner, Muzaffargarh a Sikh, states that the Zamindars if they are made to give recruits will prefer conscription to the present system because they believe that the pressure by local Officials will be mitigated. The Deputy Commissioner, Jhang remarks that it becomes more and more apparent that some form of compulsion is the only means of getting a proper supply of recruits from his district. The Deputy Commissioner, Montgomery, writes:- "I cannot refrain from expressing my opinion that a system of conscription tactfully worked by officials with local knowledge would be generally wel-

welcomed. It should only be introduced in villages or among sections of the population where voluntary methods ~~have~~ have failed. I have in view definite cases where I should be prepared to recommend compulsion and am confident that my recommendations would meet with support from the people".

From the Lahore Division the Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar - The home of the Manjha Sikh and one of the most uniformly successful recruiting districts - gives it as his opinion that an increase of pay, if substantial will probably expand the recruiting returns considerably; but the full quota assigned to this district is not expected to be reached without some compulsory measure being passed into law. The people of the Tarn Taran Tahsil - the best recruiting ground in the district - would not be averse from a law requiring the necessary quota to be provided by drawing of lots by eligible young men. At present the whole burden falls on the shoulders of the village officers who have not sufficient influence and authority to obtain the required numbers. From Gujranwala the Deputy Commissioner, who has been so successful in raising recruits from a hitherto unapped district, writes that the spirit of the Zamindars is excellent and he expects a big rush of recruits from the end of June onwards. He asks for a large recruiting depot for several classes who are not regularly entered for at present by the military authorities. But he adds "I think the fiat should go forth that there must be no expense (i.e. in procuring recruits) and that if men can't be got by consistent pressure conscription must come".

The new Commissioner of Jullundur Division notes his impression that while no particular difficulty is anticipated in obtaining a largely increased number of recruits the introduction of some form of compulsion in order to bring the backward into line with those -----

that have done already their share willingly and freely is expected of us. With this view the Deputy Commissioners of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur both agree. The Deputy Commissioner of the Ludhiana district in this division himself a Mohammedan and experienced in recruiting matters, writes:-

"Strong as it may appear the leaders of the agitating classes ~~now~~ now demand conscription. So do the Mohammedans But Sikh Leaders seem opposed to it. It is suggested that the underlying idea in this attitude of the Sikhs is that their class superiority will wane with conscription ~~both~~ The intelligent opinion is that there should be conscription both in man power and money-power, so worked that those classes who produce men should not have to pay money. Really moneyed people have not given sufficient money and they are not usually fit for the army. By a statesmanlike policy of working out this principle both men and money ought to be forthcoming without people feeling that the incidence of the burden has not been equally distributed."

In the Umballa Division the Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon a district in which recruiting has all along been particularly good and free from difficulties- is convinced that the day of persuasion is over. The scheme for recruiting through village punchayats has proved a dead failure, and enlistments are now drying up. The Deputy Commissioner, Hissar, doubts if he can get the quota fixed for Hissar and reiterates his fear that local Home Rulers are hampering progress. The Deputy Commissioner, Rohtak, hopes to get his district quota, but admits that willing workers are a bit fagged, The tone and spirit generally of the district is good; but even advanced politicians do not seem to resent the idea of compulsion in respect of men and money.

10. The district reports as above summarised and other information which has reached Government show that there is a strong and growing body of public opinion in favour of applying furnish a reasonable quota of men and money and that

applying compulsory service to areas which have been hitherto failed to furnish a reasonable quota of men. Areas and Classes and they are the great majority which have been hitherto done their duty, will, it is believed, not only continue to do it but will actively support measures taken against the shirkers, while the latter when they realise that the officers of Government are armed with powers to enforce what after all is a very moderate demand, will accept the inevitable.

These views of officers have been endorsed by a number of non-officials who have practical acquaintance with the difficulties of the recruiting question, believing as unofficial opinion they do that some form of conscription will be less harassing than the arbitrary and haphazard pressure employed at the present stage of the voluntary system. Of the ruling Princes and Chiefs of the Maharaja of Patiala verbally expressed to the Lieutenant Governor his approval of the principle of compulsion if this discriminatingly applied and his written opinion is expected from Adan the Maharaja of Jhind, Nabha and Kapurthala have also expressed their approval to the political Agents of Hind the Maharaja of Kapurthala has in writing expressed his willingness to apply to it to his state.

11. Accordingly the conclusion that the principle of compulsion must be applied on the lines suggested in paragraph 10 if we are to obtain the numbers of men urgently required we may examine the arguments against its introduction into India which have been stated in paragraph 2 above and consider how far they are applicable to the Punjab.

The apprehension has been expressed that the application of compulsion might give rise to widespread disturbance and unrest. It is impossible to deny that in some quarters of the Province a scare might be created. These quarters are the tracts inhabited by the more backward classes of the population who have already resisted pressure to bring them into the army. But these tracts all lie within the Multan Division or on the borders of the Province and the general drift of the remarks reproduced above goes to prove that unless all local officers

are at fault, the application of a modified form of compulsory service will not be generally resented and in some and those the most important from a recruiting standpoint will even be welcomed as ensuring quality of sacrifice. The ----- instances which have been cited by the Military authorities panic supervening on rumours the introduction of compulsion all ~~as~~ occurred outside this Province and most of them among notoriously unmartial peoples. One case happened in Alwar in February 1917 and the mess of that state sought assistance from their Gurgoon brethren in order to assist recruitment and - since then the mess into resist recruitment both tracts have conquered their aversion from military service as enlisted . During the last 12 months the recruiting officer has penetrated into many tracts previously unexploited by them; the military authorities have co-operated freely in making the people conversant with the merits and the advantages of soldiers' life thousands of men have returned to their homes on leaves or pension from the various theatres of war and lastly the large sum of money poured into districts where recruiting has been good have brought home to the population in touch with the army, the many solid benefits of a military careers. As regard the objection to compulsion based on the necessity of general registration it is suggested that although the law must give the power to order registration if necessary, the registration, of the entire male population will probably prove ----- superfluous, many parts such as urban areas and unresponsive tracts will require registers but the village registers of ownership tendency and population already furnish useful and in most cases ample material for fixing the village quotas the village will have the option of supplying that quota ----- voluntarily within a stated period before any measures of --- compulsion are put in force it is believed that in the vast majority of cases the knowledge that the power of compulsion exists will make even hitherto unwilling villages willing to comply with the modest demands that will, be made and where the people ~~cheerfully~~ cheerfully accept the inevitable it will be ~~for~~

found possible to dispense with the special registers and other machinery of compulsion if so it will be an enormous gain. The people will be saved from harassment and black mail by subordinate, Government and its agents official and non-officials will be relieved of much difficulty and unpopular and loss of time and money.

12. As to the objection that it is inadmissible that a small minority of men fit for military duties should bear the whole burden, the reply to this would seem to be solus populi suprema lex. When the ship is staggering in the gale no one rightly complains that seamen are busy all the time while the kitchen staff are idle. We have to get the men and whether the system under which they are obtained is a voluntary or a compulsory one the unfit will be useless. The sacrifices entailed in

~~on those who are fit and are called on to serve and to right can be compensated for by special regards and privileges including the increased bonus pay pension are equated by the --- imposition on non-combatants of other obligations. It must be remembered that in all European countries outside the United Kingdom where conscription prevails, the conscript receives besides his rations only a nominal wage. While the pay of the Indian Army is now substantial and in the past even when lower has sufficed to attract the pick of our martial classes. The burdened to be shouldered by this Province will in any case not be an oppressive one. The numbers needed in the 12 months represent ~~roughly~~ roughly one in every 55 males.~~

13. Appended to this memorandum in a skeleton draft Bill to draft Bill. provide for compulsory military service in the Punjab which has been drafted by the Legal Remembrancer in order to form a basis of discussion. It will be observed that this draft contains no scheme for enforcing communal responsibility.

the 4th June 1918.

Sd/- L. French,

Asstt. Secy: to Govt: Punjab.