

Open Rebellion in Punjab

Kapil Deva Malaviya



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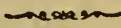
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# PREFACE.



“ The Punjab is the gravest issue before us ” yet we know precious little about the disturbances which we so genuinely deplore. I do not accuse the public of any unpatriotic indifference towards the affairs of the Punjab. On the contrary, I cannot stop wondering how what little is known to us could have leaked out of the impervious bottle in which the entire muddle was corked up by the Punjab administration. It was not possible to enter the martial law area while martial law was still in force. When it passed away, the terror it left behind fixed a seal on the tongue of those who could unravel its mystery and unfold its tale. But things have, I feel happy to say, changed during the last few weeks and the province is becoming duly communicative. Hence the opportunity to know more, which I have utilised and the result of which is embodied in this pamphlet.

I left for Amritsar on the 15th of July and the first letter I wrote from that place is dated the 18th of that month. When I was writing these letters I had no idea that they will ever be published as a book.

They were meant, as the light vein in which they are written will show, for newspaper publication. If I had the remotest thought of bringing out a book I would have laid an altogether different presentment before the public. But that affects the form and not the substance of the book.

The reason why I selected Amritsar out of Lahore, Kasur, Lyallpur, Gujranwalla, Wazirabad, Hafizabad, Gujrat and Amritsar, for special treatment is very simple. In the whole of the Punjab, Amritsar is the most affected area in as much as the loss of life during the disturbances was heavier in that town than in all others combined.

BHARTI BHAWAN  
Allahabad:  
15th Sep. 1919.

} KAPIL DEVA MALAVIYA.



# THE AMRITSAR TRAGEDY.

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## THE RISING OF THE CURTAIN.

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*Amritsar, 18th July, 1919.*

My full—boot was full of mud as I stepped down the tonga opposite the entrance of a house that was to be my temporary abode in this eventful city. I am ready to depose in any court of law (martial law courts included) that the roads and streets of Amritsar are decidedly the dirtiest I have seen. It has been raining here for the last few days and every street of the town reminds you of the splashy and stinky alleys of the pre-British period, before the establishment of municipalities ushered a new era in the history of Indian cities. And is there a municipality at all at Amritsar? In the most thickly populated parts of the town you find numerous butcher's shops where meat is sold side by side with other commodities in the most inæsthetic and unhygenic form possible.

Now the immortal C. I. D. ! When I got down at Amritsar Ry. Station two unceremonious constables in plain dress walked up to me and addressing me in an unconventional tone requested me to give



them my name, Their effrontery was aggravated by the suggestion they made that if I told them that I was a government servant they would not take down my name and permit me to go where I pleased. "Permit me to go where I pleased", I roared out in reply, "I know my business and I shan't tell you my name." "You shall do it", they said quietly but with a show of authority and walked abreast with me till I reached the station exit where my ticket was taken from me. Here they whispered something in the ear of that exalted functionary, the ticket-collector, who nodded rather significantly and handed over the ticket to them before I had moved five yards away from him. I thought for a moment that my movements were no more watched but I discovered my mistake before the next thirty seconds counted their time. The number of the tonga which I engaged was instantly taken down and I myself was once more asked to give my name. The peremptory arrogance of the former attempts to elicit from me the desired information had now given way to a mellifluous persuasive and when that proved of as little avail, my tongaman was beckoned to a separate corner where they held a parley with him. This was about the last I saw of this pair of the custodians of the peace of Amritsar.

At the entrance and exit to the Railway Station stand a couple of military sentinels with "fixed bayonets" to remind you that the railway premises are still under the heavenly administration of martial law. But this is not the only relic and monument of the majestic splendour of the martial law regime in the town. Strictly speaking, martial law has been abolished, but for practical purposes, the so-called precautionary or punitive measures that are in vogue, serve as an unmistakeable reminder of "the reign of terror" that was introduced on the 15th of April last. For instance, even now, I am told, there are rigorous restrictions in force for people going to the civil lines between certain hours at night. Again, some constables have been posted at the far off canal which is an unfamiliar innovation in the police arrangements of the city. Thirdly, the ancient gates of the town are guarded by military picquet and the Ram bagh alone, where the European club is situated, contains more soldiers than accompanied the processions and alams during the moharram disturbances at Allahabad. To cap the climax, all the entrances and exits of the Jalyanwalla Bagh, where the historic meeting of the 13th of April last took place, have been covered with wooden barriers and plank-walls and rendered impassable for intending visitors. I have been told that there

were no barriers till the day when the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya visited the bagh in the company of the Hon. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and that they were erected there for the first time on the following day. By the bye, I dare say it will not be *apropos de bottles* if I gave you a description of the Jalyanwalla bagh. The word *bagh* is particularly misleading in the denomination; in fact it is a positive misnomer. The Jalyanwalla bears no resemblance to a garden. On the contrary, it is something like what we call a *kharhar*, extending over 250 yds in length and over 200 in breadth. On the north side of the vast *maidan* there is a raised platform of earth, more accurately, a *tila* which runs from one end of it to another. Incidentally, it was on this *tila* that the soldiers stood while they fired at the people assembled at the meeting. On three sides, walls of adjacent houses surround the *maidan* like a fortress and the little space which is uncovered by house walls is enclosed by a *kaccha* fence over 5 ft in height. Again, it was this fence which thousands of people attempted to scale when terrific volleys were being fired at them. Here they fought between themselves for precedence in striding the wall while many of them were picked up by Gurkha sharpshooters in the very course of their frantic endeavour to jump off the fence. There

are no proper doors to the maidan but there are five crevices or shabby lanes on different sides which for the purposes of ingress and egress to it, may be exalted to the dignity of doors! There is one way which could admit half a dozen men walking abreast and it was through this entrance that soldiers armed with rifles and other deadly weapons sprung upon the audience within the twinkling of an eye! This door was thus closed to the people when they ran wildly about to find a way out. The other doors lead to small lanes that are anything but wide and moreover, full of sewer *nalies*. The utter impossibility of a colossal crowd of 25,000 men quickly getting out of the vast maidan when routed by fire may now be imagined. In the middle of the *kharhar* stands a small delapidated temple, and far on the east side, is situated underneath a couple of big banyan trees a well with an unusually big circumference. It was this temple which sheltered many lucky persons from the showers of bullets and it was this well where it is said scores of them fell when volleys of bullets flew past them buzzing on their right and left. Some of the bullets pierced the walls of houses on the southern side of the maidan and I counted 167 marks left on them apparently by those deadly missiles. I donot suggest that this number exhausts the countless marks that are scattered

over the several housewalls and fences. At all events, this means 167 less killed than but for a providential accident would have been killed. I am not, I assure you, here ringing the change on a phrase. Another providential accident also intervened, and saved many lives. Some retired military officers both Sikhs and Jats were mixed up with the crowd and naturally in entire possession of self control in face of shell and powder. When the soldiers opened fire and the bewildered mob took to its heel, these gentlemen raised high their voice and at the top of it counselled people to refrain from quitting there place in the running posture. "In that operation" cried they, "you present your backs to the soldiers to aim at, so lie down and you would be safe". It is belived that over a thousand people saved their lives by acting upon the advice. But I fear, I am digressing. I do not propose to write in this letter the story proper of the tragic events of Amritsar. The subsequent letters that I send you will contain a most accurate if a most startling and harrowing account of that.

### THE ENGLISH BANKS.

The European bankers here have performed a coup de main, physically as distinct from financially. They have, one and all of them, left the city proper and shifted to houses in the civil lines

which are guarded by military pickets. Perhaps, they are all admirers of Sir Michael ODowyer, and presumably subscribe to his political creed also. But the political creed of that strong ruler of the Punjab is too inelastic to harmonise with the panicky conduct of these gentlemen. Sir Michael is known to swear by the notorius maxim—India was won by the sword and must for ever be preserved by the sword. His is thus the cult of the sword and his swordly conscience, if I may so call it, cannot approve of the way in which the authorities of the National Bank, the Chartered Bank, and the Alliance Bank evacuated the city of Amritsar to encamp in the civil lines. However, our late Lieutenant Governor represents but one type of Anglo-Indians, namely, the sword type. There are, as we know, two more varieties of them, the hunting-knife class and the pen-knife class. Our valiant knight Sir William Vincent represents the hunting—knife variety while our good old friend Sir James Meston is an excellent specimen of the pen—knife class.

### THE CONGRESS.

And now, as is only natural, there is a very strong feeling here that the next congress should be held at Amritsar. There are no doubt many very great impediments in the way, and when they are over-come, there is still the proverbial

slip between the cup and the lip. But somehow, apparently, without rhyme or reason, the Amritsar people believe that the wrong done to them can be righted if the congress holds its next sittings in their town. Of funds, I am assured, there can be no lack. In fact, the old collection of Rs. 15 thousand and odd is already in the hands of the provisional Reception Committee that was formed so early as January last. The principal difficulty is felt as regards a couple of leaders who will organise the whole show, for Amritsar, thanks to martial law, has no person of any political consequence left there. If Swami Shraddhanandji could be persuaded to take it upon himself to see it through, Amritsar may be saved the indignity which its people feel for the inability to keep their promise in respect of holding the Congress there. For, Swamiji is no broken reed to rely upon.

A word more about our obliging friends of the C. I. D., before I close. Half an hour after my arrival at the house where I put up, I had several guards of honour sent to wait upon me by the C. I. D. Before I came to Amritsar I used to think that if I saw a person shadowing me under the instructions of this department, I would pity the man so deputed, for his must be a very odious task indeed! On the contrary, I find, that the task is any-

thing but odious and exacting. I have now begun to envy these men. They have to do nothing but lie comfortably in the verandah opposite my house and smoke their pipe as luxuriously as a grandee or nabob of a fairy tale would swallow his wine. If I engage a tonga and go out they would follow in another tonga and enjoy the drive much better than myself, because while I have to pay for my drive, "Nunky pays" all the expenses of these very lucky persons. On the whole, by Jingo, it is nice to be in the C. I. D.





The Jalyanwalla Outrage  
AND  
The Chronology of Amritsar Disturbances.

Mr Miles Irvine Goes on for Miles Erring.

Amritsar, Dated 22rd July.

The 30th of March witnessed a complete suspension of business at Amritsar which is commercially, the principal town of the Punjab. The hartal was the first of its kind but nevertheless an unique and unqualified success. Later in the evening, a colossal crowd of citizens met in the extensive grounds of Jalyanwalla and here the peaceful cult of Satyagraha was preached to the high and low alike. Mr. Gandhi's description of the day of universal *hartal* was contained in the brief expression "next Sunday" and the Punjab and Delhi in their eagerness seized upon the very first Sunday to mark their disapprobation of that infernal legislation, the Rowlatt Act. The rest of India, compared with the Punjab, was a week too slow or too late, but in fairness to it, it must be admitted that "next Sunday" lent itself to more than one interpretation and hence to more fixtures than one.

Between the 30th of March and 6th of April nothing of an unusual or noteworthy character took place unless it be that the bonds of friendship between the Hindus and Muhammadans which were being hourly strengthened during the period are deemed worthy of being placed on record. On the 6th of April, in common with the rest of India, Amritsar again observed Sunday as the Day of Mourning and all the shops of the town were closed accordingly. The meeting of the evening was about the best, from the point of view of attendance, that was ever held at Amritsar, and everything passed off as quietly as became the funeral festivities of the occasion. A little while before, an order purporting to be under the Defence of India Act was passed against some politically important personages of the town to refrain from speaking in the public. Even this order was faithfully obeyed by the individuals concerned.

The 9th of April was the Ram Navami day which is celebrated on a truly imperial scale by the Hindus of the town. Every year a grand procession is taken out and not unoften in the past the Ram Navami used to be a general signal to the Hindus and Muhammedans to dash at each other's throat as the bloodthirstiest and most uncompromising of foes. Naturally, the officials used to play the

patronising roll of disinterested though superior mediators on these occasions. The police and the military used to be in evidence on every road and street through which the Ram Navami procession passed, to prevent the less responsible and more quarrelsome elements from getting the upper-hand. And notwithstanding these extraordinary precautions, disturbances were a very common feature of the Ram Navami festival. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that *mar pit* had become an inseparable paraphernalia of the celebrations of the day. Against this the awakened conscience of the citizens of Amritsar asserted itself and Doctors Kichlu and Satypal, the two shining lights of the town held informal conferences of leading Hindus and Mohamedans to devise means to prevent the outburst of acrimonious and hostile feelings between the two communities. These meetings were held at the houses of Drs. Kichlu and Satypal. By the bye, by their sturdy independence, lofty patriotism and active participation in public movements the two gentlemen had long before the advent of Satyagraha established their place in the hearts of their fellow-townsmen. The extraordinary fascination of their Satyagrah activities so intensified the regard of the public for them that they virtually came to be apotheosized when at a most adven-

titious moment they launched the new campaign of Hindu-Muslim unity. The idea was by no means novel; its execution had none of the charms of a new and interesting experiment. It was the same ancient cry renewed with vigour at that particular moment. So "Hindu Musalman ki Jai" became as popular a watchword as "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai". It was accordingly resolved that Ram Navami should be made the occasion of a ceremonial demonstration of Hindu Muslim friendship. Next morning, the secretary of the Ram Naumi committee wrote to the Suptd. of Police of Amritsar that police arrangements would not be needed at the *mela* and that volunteers both Hindus and Muhamadans, would guide the traffic and make other arrangements connected therewith. And be it said to their credit, the Amritsar public were as good as their word. Volunteers managed the whole show in such a beautiful and in-offensive manner that the day introduced a new epoch in the social life of the town. The procession was the grandest of recent years. Thousands of Muhamadans led by Dr Kichlu joined the Hindu god's triumphal march and rent the kies with the soul-entrancing swell of "Hindu Musalman ki-jai." Thousands raised their cries to bless Doctors Kichlu and Satypal and Mahatma Gandhi was not forgotten in the joyous enthusiasm of the day.

So they buried their hatchets on the 9th and naturally Drs Kichlu and Satyapal were at the height of their popularity on the morning of the 10th. But the accursed day ! It dawned with ominous lights and woeful portents. At 10 O'clock Drs Kichlu and Satyapal are sent for by the Deputy Commissioner. An order of internment is suddenly served upon them by Mr. Miles Irvine who now goes on for miles erring. The news of the arrest spreads in the city within a very short time and in the words of the Civil and Military Gazette, " it is no exaggeration to say that all the shops of the town were closed within a quarter of an hour " as a result of this " amazingly sudden and spontaneous " outburst of feeling. A crowd of 400 to 500 men collects and with a view to orally petitioning the Ma Bap of the town proceeds in a quiet and peaceful manner towards the bungalow of the Deputy Commissioner. Now oral petitioning is a very ancient, popular and well known institution of India and anybody with the slightest pretension to Ma Bap solicitude for the masses must be well familiar with its unrestricted prevalence among the people. However, to proceed with my narrative, the crowd is met by a picquet at the footbridge which had to be crossed to reach the civil lines and the shots that are fired by this unthinking posse of

soldiers kill and wound a number that proves enough to excite the mob that was hitherto scrupulously law-abiding and peacefully disposed. What follows is a very sad story. Thrice during the course of the day the crowd attempts to go to the Deputy Commissioner but is every time thwarted in its design and ultimately repulsed by volleys of bullets. Mr. Irvine's erratic and sudden choice of *purdah* for his person thus causes the splitting of considerable blood where a tactful and conciliatory attitude could have softened the infuriated mob, and in all probability, averted the more serious developments that followed.

Excitement is now at its height. Looser elements are brooding mischief and are on the look out for an opportunity for abandoning themselves to it. At such a time, it is alleged, a crowd of men proceeds to the National Bank to ask the Manager thereof to close the business and join the general *hartal*. The crowd proceeds with the usual cry of Gandhi ki jai, Hindu Musalman ki jai, Satyagrah ki jai, Kichlu ki jai. The manager, poor Mr. Stewart mistakes it for an intention on the part of the crowd to loot his bank and to intimidate the people, fires a shot at the crowd. This proves too much of a provocation and both he and Mr. Scott are done away with in cold blood and the building of the National Bank is set on fire. Then in quick succession are burnt the Town Hall, the Chartered Bank,

the Alliance Bank, the Church and the Bible and Tract Society and three more Europeans lose their lives. One European lady, a missionary is brutally assaulted during the disturbances and another narrowly escapes an assault. Unpardonable sins, no doubt but the doing of a handful of *badmashes*.

The excitement now subsides and long before dusk the gruesome business of the day is finished and the hooligans and the riff-raffs engaged in it go back to their homes. On the 11th, the funeral of the five Europeans takes place. Sergeant Rowland and the exsoldier Robinson are buried with full military honours and the other three gentlemen are interred at the same time in the European cemetery. In the city proper, the "martyrs" who died the day previous are taken in a big procession to the burning ghat and the burial ground. The military and the police forsake the town and retire. Reports however reach the people that the military is bivouacking on the four sides of the city, but no officer of the Government comes to the town to soothe, pacify or even scold the citizens.

On the 12th again, the "martyrs" who died on the 11th and 12th as a result of firing on the 10th, are taken in procession to the burning ghat and the burial ground. It is a right royal funeral which they receive. Colossal heaps of roses that have been withering owing to suspension of business are brought

out and showered over the dead ! For furlongs together the streets become strewn with roses and men gaze in amazement at the sea of rose leaves around them. In the evening a meeting is held at Dhap Khatika. A number of arrests is also made during the day.

On the 13th, the day dawns with a clear sky. The people feel fatigued and are anxious that normal conditions should be reestablished. They then hit upon the usual device of holding a big public meeting to discuss the questions of the day. The meeting is accordingly, announced to take place in the fateful Jalyanwalla Bagh at 4-30 in the evening. One Lala Kanhaiya Lal's name is announced as the speaker of the evening. The gentleman is a very respected citizen of Amritsar and attracts many persons who might otherwise have kept aloof. On the other hand, the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act is applied to Amritsar on the 13th. Incidentally, let it be borne in mind that Martial Law is not yet proclaimed; it follows on the 15th. The Govt. officials had forsaken the town since the 10th. On the morning of the 13th an armoured car is followed by another motor car in which are seated some policemen accompanied by a *duggiwalla* who announces the declaration of Amritsar as a proclaimed area under the Seditious Meetings Act. Now it is emphatically asserted all over the town



that these two cars went along a few streets of the town only and left untouched the most thickly populated ones. It is further alleged that as the people were afraid of the armoured car very very few of those who saw it approached it. At all events, it is certain, the declaration of Amritsar as a proclaimed area was not made known to a majority of its citizens. Again, those who knew it were no better than those who did not know it. For Hans Raj, who turned approver and saved his skin, went about in the principal streets of the town, with a *duggiwalla* and told people that the morning's notification of the Government was a scare—crow which no honest citizen need fear. In short, a crowd of about 25,000, persons at the lowest computation, assembles at Jalyanwalla and is busy conducting the proceedings of the meeting in the most orderly and peaceful fashion when an aeroplane appears just over the *maidan* occupied by the meeting. The crowd is seized by panic and the people stand up to quit it in unseemly haste. But they calculated without their indefatigable host, Hans Raj who calls them unpatriotic cowards, and as the aeroplane disappears, quiet is restored and the meeting proceeds with the business before it. One Pandit Durgadas then gets up to address the meeting. A dead silence pervades all over the place. Suddenly from the back door described

above, stealthily enters a force of Indian troops of the 29th Gurkhas, the 54th Sikhs and the 59th Sindis, accompanied, it is alleged, by half a dozen British soldiers and a machine gun. The soldiers come in so quickly, fall in so quickly and open fire so quickly that there is no time for people to run away to save themselves. *Moreover, no order to disperse is given to the crowd.* Of course people begin to run wildly about as soon as they catch sight of the military enlinement arrayed against them. Several volleys are now successively fired and the number of the dead and wounded is roundly placed by reliable witnesses at a thousand. I have been assured that some atleast, of the victims of the day did not in their generosity curse the brutal authors of their sufferings. What rare magnanimity ! My soul bows in solemn silence to the sacred memory of such noble greatness. But let us not forget our mundane surroundings. The destitute children and the disconsolate widows that are left behind cannot rise to the selfless loftiness of for-giving the tyranny that tore them away at one woeful stroke from their loved ones. They cry for their pound of flesh and look up to the promised Commission of Enquiry to decree it in their favour. It may be unfortunate, but it is so human, so perfectly natural.

A notification had been issued the same morning that persons found in public streets after 8 o'clock in the evening would be punished. In the circumstances of the case, no order could be more cruel, monstrous and ill-placed. Thousands of people, including many young boys, were lying dead and wounded in the Jalyanwalla Bagh. That indiscriminate destruction of life was perpetrated between 5 and 6 in the evening. The friends and relatives of the wounded, in most instances, heard of the incident an hour afterwards. They naturally waited for another hour, each hoping that his relative was safe, and awaiting his return home in a somewhat terrified suspense. It was only when despair seized the mind that one stirred out of the house to search for the unfortunate relative who was missing. Then alas ! it was very near the curfew hour. Further, it should be borne in mind that it was only the comparatively more enterprising citizen who could stir out doors so shortly after the frightful carnage which had all the appearance of a general massacre. These circumstances may account for a majority of the dead and wounded lying all the night over, shamelessly forsaken and callously uncared for in the *maidan* of the meeting. Needless to say, there were no first aid or ambulance arrangements made by the authorities. When Germany neglected to

take proper care of the Allied soldiers fallen in battle; not a word of contempt in the dictionary but was used to condemn the shocking outrage of the Hun. But what about the inglorious attitude of British officers towards a civil population wantonly exposed to fire, hemmed in the impassable walls of Jalyanwalla which made retreat and escape utterly impossible? Many things moreover, are fair enough in love and war. Here surely neither love nor war could be urged as an attenuating circumstance.

I have used some plain words in describing the incident of firing at the crowd and I have done so deliberately. In the House of Commons Burke used the word "murder" to characterise Hasting's conduct in the famous impeachment. He was afterwards told that he used very strong language. His vigorous reply was that the expression was not as strong as his sentiment. My purpose in using strong language, wherever it may be strong, is not to arouse hatred or contempt against the Government established by law in British India. As matters stand, I feel fully confident that the Commission of Enquiry itself would find it impossible to speak of the episode in terms of restraint. I may even anticipate its verdict: *Cold-blooded disregard of the sanctity of human life amounting to butchery.*

## How the Trouble Arose ?

The first man who was hit by a bullet.

*Amritsar, 20th July.*

“Truth is a thing that ever I shall keep.  
Till the day I creep into my sepulchre.”

As I sit to write to you I am reminded of the above lines which Washington Irving prefaces to one of his sketches in his characteristically vivacious style. I am however, in a phlegmatically serious mood this morning and I have cited the above lines merely to assure you that I have brought an extraordinary amount of discrimination and critical inspection to bear upon the narration that follows.

As I was walking up and down the streets of Amritsar I met an one-legged person moving on his clutches at a snail's pace with the utmost difficulty. On his physiognomy was writ large the agony that he had felt and the despair which constantly enveloped him. His right leg did not exist: it was cut off at the thigh. He wore shabby rags but did not look like a professional beggar. In short, he was the very picture of wretchedness. “Who are you my dear fellow”, I asked him as I overtook him. He eyed me for a while and when

the inspection reassured him he said in a faltering voice, "I am a victim of the sarkari Zulm." "And how is that" I hastened to interrogate as the answer excited my interest and curiosity. He looked around as if to make sure that he was not spied and then unfolded the following story: "On the 10th of April at about 11-30 a. m. I was sitting at a shop in Pachimwalla when I saw a crowd consisting of 400 to 500 men going to the Deputy Commissioner's house to beg him to release Dr. Satypal and Dr. Kichlu and I joined the crowd and accompanied it. By the time we reached the foot-bridge the crowd had come to consist of 1100, or, 1200 men. When we were at a distance of 20 yds. or so from the bridge a person who looked like a Sikh and appeared to belong to the crowd shouted at the top of his voice urging the crowd to go back. He told us that if we did not get back the military picquet that was posted at the bridge would fire at us. As soon as I heard this, I took to my heels and turned towards the hospital to realise some dues from a certain Prabhudayal. Before I had advanced 5 or 6 yds I received a bullet in the back part of my thigh and fell unconscious. When I awoke I found myself without a leg in the sick-room of the hospital." Further questioned the man said that many persons had taken to their heels along with him and

that he did not see anybody advance in the direction towards which the crowd was originally wending its way after that Sikh sounded the warning. "So you were the first person who received a bullet at Amritsar," I muttered with a sigh. "Yes sir" he sobbed out and then gave vent to his feelings in torrents of tears. I tried to console him but I found that I was playing the Job's comforter, so I allowed him time to over-come the emotion after which I elicited in a diffused form the following recital from him .

"I do not know Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kichlu. I cannot even recognise Dr. Satyapal though I can recognise Dr. Kichlu, I did not go to the meetings held on the 30th March and 6th April. I do not understand Satyagraha. I joined the crowd partly out of curiosity to see what it was going to do and partly because when I was told that the crowd was going to beg the release of Dr. Kichlu and Dr. Satyapal, I thought I might also go and beg for the release. *No soldier or officer asked us to go back.* A Sikh who was plainly dressed and mixed up with the crowd asked us to go back. *No brick-bats were thrown by the crowd.* I am not literate. I used to live in a village whence I came to Amritsar only 4 months before the event. I came to this town because I was told in my village that I could

find employment here. I used to make about 4 annas a day by selling sweetmeats from street to street. A hawker lives by his leg and I do not know how to earn my livelihood now that my leg is gone. I do not know any trade which might help me to earn my bread. I was born at Jammu in Kashmir and am 23 years old." An indescribable feeling of grief seized me as this Kashmere youth raised his eyes to meet mine when he finished the recital of his tragic story. His countenance envisaged his inner composition—innocence and abjectness combined with that agonized stupidity which does not know the author of its sufferings. I thought within myself that the invalidated soldier is looked after by the state but this poor man has none to look to for support. Luckily these musings landed my thought at the Seva Samiti and thither I directed the poor man after giving him the very little help that my means permitted.

But the man's tragedy and catastrophe have an aspect which has nothing to do with the individual and I will ask you now to consider a political issue involved in them. We have seen that our one legged friend has deposed that there was no throwing of brickbats upon the soldiers and that the only official prohibition that was promulgated to the crowd wending its way towards the Deputy



Commissioner's house was through bullets. The Punjab Government, or which is the same thing, the Martial Law Commissioners in the Amritsar conspiracy case, submit a different version of the story. Say they, " a hartal was promptly organized and a mob started to go to the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow in the Civil Station to demand the release of the two deportees. At the railway footbridge this mob was met by a small picquet of troops—the mob attacked this picquet with stones and brick bats and had driven it back some 100 yds. or so when Mr. Connor, Additional District Magistrate arrived on the scene. He endeavoured to stop the mob but failed and ordered the picquet to fire. This checked the mob and soon after the picquet was reinforced by Mr. Plomer, District Superintendent Police, with a posse of armed police "

Now whom to believe ? We owe allegiance to neither. The judgment of the Martial Law Commission in the Amritsar conspiracy case is a *rara avis* of absurd and fantastic logic and unconvincing marshalling of facts. But the statement of our one-legged friend, notwithstanding all the truth and nothing but the truth that it may contain, is after all a one man statement. I do not for a moment suggest that any reasonable person would distribute

his credence between two conflicting theories according to the support or opposition that they receive from officers of Government. In this particular instance, moreover, officers of Government are admittedly partisans. Therefore, if I do not decisively declare that the one-legged victim's account is indisputably the correct statement of facts, it is not because, I have much respect for the findings of the Martial Law Commission but because of my honest anxiety to arrive at the truth. I would therefore wait till the proposed commission of enquiry finishes its labours. In the meantime, let us consider a few more facts which are germane to this episode. The Civil and Military Gazette wrote in its issue of 13th April about this incident of the 10th as follows : " About 12 noon the crowd streamed out from the city in a wild roaring mob and tried to rush the Railway Station and the Civil Lines. They were fired on, stopped in the vicinity of the the Station and driven back by the mounted men of the 12th Annmunition Column...the Somerset light infantry and the police under Mr. Plomer—. The approaches had been guarded by picquets of cavalry—. Before order could be carried out to replace the cavalry picquets by infantry, the disorderly elements had armed themselves with *lathis* and stones and swept aside the cavalry, fought

on the road bridge and appeared to be within reach of the Civil Station." It was at this stage, the Civil and Military Gazette would have us believe, that the crowd was fired at. I have not the smallest hesitation in rejecting this version as utterly untenable. If that account were true, surely many pitched battles were fought between the troops and the crowd.

Now the account which is going the round here in the city is that the first crowd which wended its way towards the Deputy Commissioner's house was wantonly and unprovokedly fired at by the infantry picquet without being asked to get back, as a consequence of which some men died at the spot. This gratuitous murder of their men enraged the mob and it was after this incident that when the people returned to the city they embarked upon a policy which is the very antithesis of Satyagraha and of which no constitutional agitator can but be ashamed. Or how else is it to be explained that while the crowd was going to the Deputy Commissioner's house it passed on its way the Town hall, the National Bank, the Bible and tract Society and *did not injure them* them but while it returned to the city it set fire to these very buildings and killed the Europeans who were found in them. To elucidate the point further, we may call in the evidence of Mr. P. E. Jarman, Engineer, whose 'thrilling

escape' was described in his own words in the Civil and Military Gazette. Says Mr. Jarman, "I was cycling into the city at 12-45 p. m., and *met* a crowd coming towards the Hall Gate. They *took no notice of me*. I called at the National Bank and saw Mr. Stewart and Mr. Scott. No business was being done in the banks and there was obvious excitement in the air. I then went to my office which forms part of the Town Hall and is in the city. I heard a crowd come rushing back about one o'clock and saying, "*They have killed two of us. Bring lathis.*" After this he describes the burning of buildings and killing of Europeans. So here, Mr. Jarman meets the crowd at 12-45 p. m., but the crowd does not say a word to him. Why? Because, I am inclined to think, this crowd does not know that some men have been killed at the foot-bridge. At one, fifteen minutes after that, this very crowd hears of those murders and now attacks the Europeans all and sundry, Mr Jarman included,—all which is circumstantial evidence in support of the theory which is held, with the tenacity of a religious creed by the people of Amritsar and which I have outlined above.

In the course of my own researches and enquiries I have lighted upon a fact which seems to supply the missing thread of the story and reconcile, so

far as their inherent nature would permit, the conflicting findings of the Martial Law commission and the statement of our one legged friend on the subject. The commission says that brick-bats and stones were thrown at the picquet at the foot bridge and it was after this that the picquet fired at the people. Our one legged friend has deposed that he was hit by bullets before anybody so much as advanced towards the picquet. Now, it is well known that crowds of men tried to go to the Deputy Commissioners house to urge the release of Drs. Satypal and Kichlu at three different hours in the day. It is therefore not unlikely that if any brickbats were thrown at the picquet at the bridge they were thrown by the infuriated mob which attempted access to the Deputy Commissioner for the 2nd or 3rd time after the first firing had taken place and some men had been killed or wounded in consequence of it. These are, preeminently questions which ought to come before the proposed commission of enquiry. On the one hand, we have a big population submitting one version of facts and on the other the Government adducing another. A very unedifying spectacle to say the least ! And more than anything else, that is why we are most eagerly watching the commencement of investigations by the proposed Commission of Enquiry.

## How An Indian Lady Was Insulted ?

THE STORY OF FLOGGING AND CRAWLING.

“ HANDS UP, OR I WILL PUT THE BULLET  
THROUGH YOU.”

*Amritsar, 25th July, 1919*

Mr. Somdatt was arrested at noon on the 12th of April. He was in the last row of the vast crowd that was returning to the city after the burial of a few “martyrs” that morning. Amritsar is so laid out that to enter the city from the side towards which the crowd wended its way to do honour to the dead, you must pass through an old gate designated Darwaza Sultan Pind. This Darwaza was deemed to be a strategic position of no mean importance by the military and civil authorities who were in charge of the town during that period and they had taken jolly good care to station there a very strong picquet assisted by a machine gun. As the crowd returned from the burial ground they saw several officers including the Deputy Commissioner standing near the Sultan Pind Darwaza. Neither the garrison molested the crowd nor did the crowd take notice of the garrison. The soldiers however, were seated in the “knealing load”

position pointing their rifles towards the crowd as if about to fire at it. Then as all but the last batch of men had entered the Darwaza, Somdatt who was in the last line found himself confronted by the Deputy Commissioner holding a loaded pistol in his hand. He almost lost his wits as the Deputy Commissioner raised the deadly weapon against his fore-head and asked him to surrender. This gallant operation having been performed, Somdatt was asked to confess that he was Ratto. " But I am not he " faltered the bewildered gentleman. His straightforward speech did not at all unnerve the Deputy Commissioner, whose first impulse of incredulity was conquered by his impromptu resourcefulness which faced Somdatt with the alternative query, " Are you Bugga ?." " Neither he, sir," was of course the placid reply, but this time Mr. Miles Irvine modestly suspected that he was being out-witted in the vocal argument and so he be-thought of his loaded instrument and the tons of steel and powder that were at his beck and call, and casting a ferocious look at the unfortunate wretch before him told his men to haul him up. So Somdatt and his companions were taken captive and marched off to the kowtwali, where they were released after several hours of harassment. The attitude of the Deputy Commissioner and Mr.

Plomer, the Superintendent of Police was in the highest degree insolent and offensive towards Mr. Somdatt and his companions. They called him a "liar" when he said he was not Ratto. The charge was again repeated when Somdatt denied being Bugga. Everytime that Somdatt opened his lips to utter a few words in his defence, one or the other officer visited him with a crushing "Chup ho ja". Mr. Plomer told him that that was not the last funeral ceremony they had witnessed. "Wait, and the *janaza* of every one of you will be out." Somdatt's younger brother, a young lad, was also with him when the former was arrested and he kept on watching him from the roadside. Mr. Plomer was furious when he found the boy still lurching there after he had commanded him to run away. When he was told that the boy was Somdatt's brother, he eagerly fixed his eyes on him and observing that he was wearing a badge of the medal shape asked him if the badge bore the inscription "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai." The young lad very coolly replied "yes sir, that and Maharaj Ram Chandra ki jai also" It is impossible to find a more eloquent treatise on the psychology of these officers than is contained in the insolent and satirical interrogation of Mr. Plomer's.

A far more dramatic if scandalous scene was en-



acted at Buggas' house the same day. A small force raided his house to arrest him. He was not in but his wife was lying in her room upstairs. She was astonished and shocked to find enter her *zenana* without any announcement a couple of Tommies with "fixed bayonets". Before she could find tongue to call for an explanation, the licensed intruders placed the point of the bayonet very near her breast and in their chivalry commanded her to give them the whereabouts of her husband. Mrs. Baishnavadas—Bugga is only the pet name of Baishnavadas—is a lady of the finest mettle and highest courage and she sternly and equally truthfully replied that she knew not where he was. By this time, a number of *darogas* and constables had also popped up, each yelling for her husband. All the inmates of the house were hand-cuffed and Mrs. Baishnavadas herself was dragged out by one of those vulgar Tommies rudely pushing her by the arm. Up and down they searched for her husband but to no avail. Suddenly from one side of the street sprang up with majestic dignity a tall and handsome youngman who announced himself as Bugga and almost commanded the invaders of his house to take him captive. Mrs. Baishnavadas was released but the other inmates of her house were hand-cuffed and marched under guard to the Kowtwali.

Mr. Ratan Chand's arrest was hardly less scenic in effect and Mrs. Ratan Chand was as roughly handled as Mrs. Baishnavadas. The two ladies are, however, the model of courage and forbearance and their fine bearing of the *Sati* type cannot but kindle sparks of genuiue admiration in those who come in contact with them. I am here reminded of the other positively humiliating episode, the attack on Mrs. Eason. Mrs. Eason, it is said was the lady doctor of the local Muncipal Hospital. A number of people received bullets at the foot bridge on the 10th and some were brought to the hospital where Mrs. Eason is reported to have said in an offensive way that thousands of Indians would be blown up if they persisted in the pernicious political propaganda of that morning. Assuming that she said that, it is easy to imagine that an infuriated mob should feel wontonly hurt by it. That however, can under no circumstance constitute a justification for raising one's finger against a lady and a doctor to boot. Moreover, it is pretty long since these incidents happened and at this distance when the excitement of the hour has subsided we may with some approach to philosophic impartiality compare the brutal rudeness of the attack on Mrs. Eason with the shocking calousness of the dragging and pushing of Mrs. Bugga. To my mind, it is as objectionable

to intrude on the privacy of *zenana* and to hold Mrs. Bugga by the arm and drag her down as it is to abuse or assault Mrs. Easdon. What I am anxious to emphasise is that an act does not cease to be morally reprehensible if the emissaries of the state as distinct from its enemies perpetrate it.

Very dramatic incidents occurred in the Kowtwali and at the fort where the prisoners were lodged before the framing of charges and commencement of the so-called trial against them. A subtle official conspiracy to induce the prisoners to give out what they knew was so very patent that its existence cannot be questioned. That some of the most inhuman things were uttered by low-placed and high-placed officers of the Government in a manner and at a place calculated by design to be over-heard by the prisoners is about the least that can be said against the official way of collecting prosecution evidence. For the present, suffice it to say that the entire show was so managed as to be reduced to a farce of justice in the sublime name of and peace order.

I may mention in passing that the rumour that some unfortunate people were striped so cruelly as to make their skin emit blood and necessitate their removal to hospital is absolutely correct. In fact, some of those who have been transported for life

were first subjected to that atrocious punishment. Again, the rumour that for several days all Indians who passed that way were made to crawl on their stomach in a certain street of the town is also equally true. It is impossible to contemplate these monstrosities without a feeling of uncontrollable indignation. But it may be that you will not be satisfied till I have quoted chapter and verse to establish the accuracy of such a heinous accusation against the Martial Law administration. I am therefore reproducing below an account of the event given me by a person who had to undergo that indignity. Incidentally, his statement also throws light on the callousness with which people were flogged, where they were subjected to that barbarous penalty for the breach of some petty Martial Law regulation.

The statement .—“ I live in Dugglane ki Gali Koriyane. I had a son who was 17 years old. He was arrested in connection with Miss Sherwood's case and was first sentenced to death. Subsequently that sentence was commuted to one of transportation for life. Before he was sent to gaol he was ordered to receive 30 cuts. While he was being flogged, he became unconscious..... They dropped some water in his mouth. As soon as consciousness came back to him he was made to receive the

remaining stripes.' I found him bleeding, He was then removed to the fort where I heard that he was kept in the hospital ward for some time.'"

As regards crawling on the stomach, the same person says : As my house is situated in Dugglan ki gali I had to visit that street. There I was made to crawl the whole street on my stomach. The position would be better described if I said that I had to lie with my belly on the ground and to move on my shoulders with the arms bent like a grass-hopper's. The street is very long and hence it was very difficult and painful to crawl like that. All the old and young had to go through the same ordeal if they intended to visit the street. Many people left off going to the street altogether and some found abodes in other places. If anybody raised his buttock in crawling he was kicked by the *goras* who patrolled the street. The street was patrolled by about 18 *goras* who came at 6 in the morning and left it at 8 in the evening for many days.'"

I hope, Sir, your editorial conscience will assert itself against these harrowing revelations and even the gentle Press Act will not dissuade you from violently knocking at the official door to remind Mr. Montagu of the promised Commission of Enquiry.

## A Question of Legality.

### INDEFENSIBLE CONDUCT OF A MILITARY OFFICER.

*Amritsar, 26th July.*

“ If a man must needs be conceited, it is certainly better ” says Chesterton “ that he should be conceited about some merits or talents which he does not really possess. For then his vanity remains more or less superficial ; it remains a mere mistake of fact like that of a man who thinks he inherits the royal blood or thinks he has an infallible system for Monte Carlo. Because the merit is an unreal merit, it does not corrupt or sophisticate his real merits ” The Punjab Officials have been proudly indulging in the belief that their actions during the Martial Law days were strictly lawful and extremely just and they claim credit and praise for their wonderful achievement. If we accepted Chesterton’s doctrine of ill-founded conceit being harmless, it would not be necessary to examine the shamelessly unlawful actions of those officials. I fear, however, I cannot unreservedly subscribe to that doctrine and I must proceed to expose not some unlawful moles but unlawful mountains.

Martial Law was declared in Lahore and Amritsar on the 15th of April—the night of 14th.

Whatever steps were taken by the authorities to quell disorder before the 15th had not therefore the all-pervading and ever-ungrudging sanction of Martial Law. It was the ordinary law of the land by the provisions of which they were as much bound as the offenders against public peace. It may be urged in repudiation of this view that Regulation 1 of 1919, which the Viceroy promulgated, gave retrospective effect to Martial Law and that official actions may be justified, if need be, under the provisions of that Regulation. This is certainly an incorrect view as the Regulation in question had retrospective effect merely as regards the trial of certain people arrested before the declaration of Martial Law. I would not pause here to argue whether such a regulation, even for this restricted purpose, is or is not legal. For the purposes of the conclusion towards which I am wending my way, it is enough that official actions before the 15th of April had not the sanction of Martial Law and must be justified by the provisions of the ordinary law of the land.

The memorable meeting of the Jalyanwalla Bagh was held on the 13th of April long before the Governor-General had declared Martial Law. Official acts of commission and omission on that date must therefore be examined in the light of the ordinary law of the land. On the morning of the

13th, Amritsar was declared a "proclaimed area" under the Seditious Meetings Act. The meeting of the evening was therefore held in defiance of the provisions of this act and the promoters of the meeting made themselves liable to the penalties of such defiance. So far as I have understood the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, attending a public meeting held in direct contravention of the said act does not in itself constitute an offence. Unless the meeting can be proved to be an "unlawful assembly," this act does not penalise the attending of it. The only people who are liable to punishment are those who speak at the meeting and organise and promote it without the previous sanction of the District Magistrate. I have not got the act before me as I am writing, but I think that the maximum punishment for the speaker at such a meeting is only an imprisonment for six months. When the meeting can be proved to be an "unlawful assembly" the punishment is enhanced but I should think the maximum is only 3 years. If the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar had arrested the people who organized the meeting of the 13th, the promoters of the meeting would have been subjected to no very hard treatment compared to the one which was actually meted out to them. And it is relevant to enquire why the Deputy Commissioner did not



arrest the promoters of the meeting before the meeting was held. He had a clean twenty-four hour's notice of the meeting. A meeting was held at Dhap Khatika the previous evening where the announcement of the meeting of the 13th was made by more than one speaker. Again, on the 13th itself, for hours together *duggiwallas* went round the city notifying the event of the evening. The most prominent promoter of the meeting of the 13th was Hans Raj, who later turned approver. He went from street to street announcing the meeting. Why did not the Government arrest him before the meeting came to pass? There could have been some sense in arresting the organizers of the meeting, if the authorities were really trying to prevent mischief as they loudly proclaim they were. Instead, the authorities chose to shoot the innocent men who assembled at the meeting mostly in ignorance of the application to their town of the Seditious Meetings Act. On the evening of the 12th, a meeting had been held to which the Government did not object. How were the poor people to imagine that they would be visited with an unheard-of form of punishment, or for the matter of that, with any form of punishment at all, for attending a similar meeting on the 13th?

And then the question is—did the meeting of

the 13th constitute an "unlawful assembly." ? It was certainly open to the Deputy Commissioner to take that view under the circumstances. I mean he could put it down technically as an unlawful assembly. But did the meeting behave in a way which justified that assumption ? The resolutions that the meeting adopted were certainly of a loyal character. A mob out for subverting the Government does not draw the attention of that Government to the necessity of the removal of any grievances or abuses. But this is precisely what that assembly did. The resolutions were all in the vernacular and an English rendering of them does not seem to be necessary.

For the sake of argument I will make the assumption that the meeting of the 13th constituted an "unlawful assembly" and that those who attended it did so in defiance of the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to Amritsar. If it was so, and I assume it was, the only right and sensible thing would have been to proceed against the offenders of the Act under the act itself. The Deputy Commissioner did not do that and I will tell you the reason why. He himself explained it in a hand-bill which he issued on the 14th.

The hand-bill was in Urdu. It was issued under his own signature by Mr. Miles Irvine. The

General", says he, " had issued an order " that no meeting was to be held without *his* permission. When that order was disobeyed, the General went to the meeting accompanied by 50 soldiers and as the assembly looked *as if disposed to resist* he dispersed it by the use of firearms etc." I regard this as a most precious confession. Firstly, it was the General who according to this notice had issued the order against the holding of meetings. The Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, if we are to believe this notice, was not proclaimed. Those who assembled at the meeting did not, according to this version, offend against the provisions of that Act but against the order of the General. But who, I emphatically ask, was this General to issue any such order when Martial Law was not in force and when the town *was still under civil administration ? Was this order legal ? And assuming that this order ought to have been respected, was the legal penalty for its disobedience the one which the General imposed on the meeting by shooting them brutally like wild beasts ?*

The hand-bill referred to makes some other disclosures also. It was the General who on his own initiative opened fire. There was no Magistrate with him. Section 129 of the Code of Criminal Procedure distinctly lays down that when an unlaw

ful assembly "cannot be *otherwise dispersed* and if it is *necessary* for the public security that it should be so dispersed," military force may be used to disperse it. But the section also says that it is "the Magistrate of the highest rank *who is present*" who may cause it to be so dispersed. Firstly, it is not true to say that other methods of dispersing the mob were tried and failed. The fact is that no order to disperse was given. Secondly, it has not been proved that it was *necessary* for public safety to disperse that crowd. It must be remembered that no acts of violence were committed by the people for three successive days at the time the meeting was being held. And lastly, no Magistrate was present to order the use of military force to disperse the crowd. Section 131 does no doubt authorise "any Commissioned Officer of His Majesty's Army" to disperse an unlawful assembly by military force but that is when no Magistrate can be communicated with which was not the case here. Here the General went to the meeting with the premeditated design of dispersing it with military force. The aeroplane which visited the meeting from above was sent there to reconnoitre, presumably, by the General himself. What right, I again emphatically ask, had he to do so? If it was the Deputy Commissioner who had asked him

to go to the meeting and disperse it by the use of military force then he most clearly acted beyond his jurisdiction. For the magistrate must be *present* at the spot when he orders the use of military force to disperse any assembly.

I cannot easily imagine that the civil and military officers at Amritsar were ignorant of the ordinary law of the land when they over-stepped its limits during the days that preceded the declaration of Martial Law. Dame Rumour is busy as ever ascribing all sorts of vindictive and malicious motives to the officers who were responsible for the indiscriminate carnage of the 13th. The case against the officers is, moreover, to all appearance, so overwhelmingly strong that it is due to them that they should receive a fair and impartial trial. I am at once reminded of the proposed Commission of Enquiry. You must have noticed that in all my letters, I express an implicit confidence in that Commission. We do not know the personnel of it yet, though it is pretty long since Mr. Montagu announced that there will be a Commission of Enquiry. If it turns out that the promised Commission consists of men in whose impartiality and honesty and integrity we have grave doubts, Mr. Editor, what a shock it would be to my almost pathetic confidence in it. I would then despair

of British statesmanship, nay probably, I would then despair of the continuance of the present administration. Nothing can deal a more terrible and staggering shock to our political notions and beliefs than disappointment on this score. The evil consequences will, most certainly, be such as I dread to portray. But every evil has its concomitant good. In this particular instance, the good that may come out of it, is the impetus that the agitation against the continuance of the present system of administration will receive from the indignation of the people consequent upon their disappointment and despair. Then all will be for Home Rule as Home Rule will be for all. Such a consummation on its own merits is extremely desirable. Only the peace-loving mind will sigh in vain for a more loving and less acrimonious way of attaining to the end.



## Martial Law Vagaries,

PENNY WISE, POUND FOOL CONDUCT

THE INSTRUMENT KNOWN AS LATHI,

Amritsar, 27th July,

R. E. H. Dyer, C. B., Brigadier-General, commanding Amritsar Area, issued on the 25th of April last, a bulletin entitled "Martial Law Order No. 1" It is an interesting document, specially the precious portions of it I reproduce below. "From and after the promulgation of this order it shall be illegal for any male person to carry or be found in possession of an instrument known as *lathi*." It is not easy to imagine why the gallant general should be so mortally afraid of *lathis*. Is *lathi* a formidable and deadly weapon of warfare? If it is, I wish with all my soul, Brigadier-General Dyer had made this useful discovery before the war with Germany broke out. How many a Hun would have then perished at *lathi* blows dealt by a battalion of *lathiwalas* under the command of General Dyer. Even now it is not unlikely that the authors of the most marvellous inventions of the age—the Handley-page ma-

chine for instance, are calculating without their *lathi-wala* host.

The amiable gentlemen of the Amritsar police took it upon their overworked selves to hunt up all the *lathis* in that doomed city. The police as a class are famous for their brilliant powers of interpreting law in addition to being gifted with talents for enforcing it. General Dyer—how his name smacks of O'dwyer—did not therefore think it necessary to define the instrument known as *lathi*. All is fish that comes to our net, was the formula which the police as usual adopted for their guidance and the obliging citizens of Amritsar brought to police stations along with instruments known as *lathi*, walking sticks, riding sticks, fancy canes and costly *charies*.

The bulletin also laid down that " From and after the promulgation of this order it shall be unlawful for more than two persons to walk abreast on any constructed or clearly defined pavement or side walks in such Area, and disobedience of this order will be punished by all such special powers as are conferred on me by Martial Law." And if I categorically catalogued the special powers conferred on you, General Dyer, I would either appear in sack cloth and ashes to weep for the fate of my countrymen or sadly meditate over the general darkness and savageness of a society which tolerates, much



less, confers such powers on you. I can understand the prohibition against more than 10 men meeting together but the fantastic regulation of traffic in twos and no more than twos is something I cannot even pretend to understand. But Mr. R. E. H. Dyer did not stop with these. Another section of the same bulletin reads:—"All pedal driven cycles owned or possessed by persons *other than Europeans* residing in the district hereinafter described shall be delivered to the officer appointed by me at the Fort between the hours of 09.00 and 16.00 hours on Sunday the 27th April 1919." Later on, all sorts of conveyances were commandeered and they were for several days mercilessly used by the military and police for all sorts of thinkable and unthinkable purposes.

In justification of all these regulations, it will perhaps be urged that Martial Law having been declared the resort to these petty hardships was inevitable. On the other hand, my contention is that the declaration of martial law, specially under the circumstances familiar to us, does not necessitate the framing and enforcing of these and a hundred other insulting and provoking regulations. All this time the Government and their worshippers of the Anglo-Indian press have gone on advertising the theory that all the strong measures that found favour with the authorities were resorted to merely to quell

disturbance and prevent mischief. Where, for instance, fire was opened, the official communiques say that the measure was taken to prevent mischief being done. In brief, the authorities tenaciously urge that all that was done in the name of law and order was really required by the exigencies of law and order, that there was no misuse of authority and that as a matter of fact a considerable amount of mischief was averted which was otherwise sure to have happened. It will certainly be pertinent to enquire, if possible, how much mischief was really prevented from being done by the enforcement of martial law and by the adoption of other drastic measures and to compare it with the mischief that was actually and directly the product of these drastic measures. Now at Amritsar the mischief done by the unruly mob consisted of the killing of 5 Europeans. The damage done by the Government in opening fire resulted in the death of 200 persons according to official computation and of at least five times as many according to non-official estimates. As for the amount of mischief prevented, it is not easy to determine it, because while the officials would in all likelihood maintain that the entire European population of Amritsar—incidentally, their number is far below 200—was saved by the efficacy of their measures, their critics would

urge that had it not been for the folly of officials themselves there would have been little or no trouble in the town. Therefore, we had better leave this part of the discussion here. It is a vague, indeterminate and indeterminable issue which it may be expedient to pass on to the Commission of Enquiry to investigate. It is easier to examine the situation with a view to finding out if the mischief that could be prevented was actually prevented—a problem for the solution of which sufficient data are available.

I will assume that a fraction of the population of Amritsar was in open rebellion against constituted authority on the 10th of April. Next, I will assume that the authorities had sufficient military and police force with them to meet the situation. The C. and M. Gazette wrote in its issue of the 13th April: "The authorities were prepared for a certain amount of trouble as a result of this arrest of Kichlu and Satypal.....—The garrison of Amritsar when the outbreak occurred consisted of one company of Somerset Light Infantry in charge of Captain Massey, (O. C, Station) half a Company of Garrison Artillery and the 12th Ammunition Column. Whilst the riot was taking place a Company of *Gurkhas* passing the station enroute for Peshawar was detained and armed under the command of Captain Crampton—". These forces supplemented

by the Amritsar police were obviously strong enough to cope with the situation. In fact, on the 13th, the Deputy Commissioner admits that only 50 soldiers fired at the crowd of 25,000 men and broke it up leaving hundreds killed. I am therefore thoroughly justified in making the assumption that the authorities of Amritsar had at their beck and call sufficient forces to prevent mischief in the town on the 10th of April. And now the crucial question—*did they* ?

The Town Hall and the Kotwali are, really speaking, parts of the same house. Why did the police stand idle and allow the Town Hall to be burnt ? Why did not any firing or red-handed arrest take place there ? Then, the National Bank is at a stone's throw from the Kotwali and not a finger was raised by the police to save it. The " Baboos " of the Chatered Bank went up the roof and yelled on but the police who were at less than 100 yards from the building came very late. Such instances can be multiplied. *And why was it so ?* Was this a practical proof of the much vaunted official anxiety to prevent mischief ? I must candidly confess that the people attribute all sorts of foul and fair motives to the undignified passivity of the authorities on occasions when prevention was possible and could readily be effected. This is again a matter upon which the Commission of Enquiry, if properly constituted, will be the most

competent body to make a pronouncement. The data that is available, however, sufficiently warrants us in drawing our conclusion as regards one aspect of the question. The hypothetical assumption being made that the authorities were throughout actuated by high and honest motives, the conclusion is irresistible that their conduct and tactics were of the penny wise and pound fool description.



## A Pernicious Theory Pulverized.

—❦—  
“ MARTIAL LAW KI JAI OR CHAI ”?

*Amritsar, 28th July.*

It is one of the commonest of platitudes that public memory is extraordinarily short. So far as the Indian public is concerned, I hope and trust public memory will prove long enough to get the offenders of civilisation in the Punjab brought to justice. At all events, public memory cannot be so ephemerally short lived as to forget the most ingenious lie of the century, *viz*, that the indirect blessings of Martial Law were appreciated by the public of the Punjab and that “ Martial Law ki jai ” was a spontaneous manifestation of the gratitude of the people. Far better is the callousness of those who promulgated Martial Law than the abominable hypocrisy of its stupid defenders.

The Anglo-Indian press stated for a fact that some people cried “ Martial Law ki jai ”. Next, by an amazing ratiocination of syllogism they argued that because the poor had for sometime been considerably oppressed by the exorbitant rise in the price of commodities and because under Martial Law dispensation the prices fell very low, therefore

the people blessed the Martial Law regime and invoked its "jai". There are thus two assumptions made here. Firstly, that Martial Law administration did lower prices to any appreciable degree and secondly that the Martial Law administration acted on very sound and unexceptionable maxims in lowering the prices. The first of these assumptions is a question of fact and is utterly untenable as the following notification of the rate of food-stuffs fixed by the Martial Law administration for Amritsar will show. The notification declares in so many words that far from lowering or raising the prices of foodstuffs, the authorities merely scheduled the rates obtaining before the disturbances and adopted them *sine die*.

(Please see the next page)

List showing the rates of foodstuffs in Amritsar City during the first week in April 1919. and which are to prevail till further notice.

Articles.	Rate per Rupee Ser. Chks	Articles.	Rate per Rupee Ser. Chks
1. Rice (Ordinary)	4 0	23. Mash ...	4 4
2. Rice (Basmati)	2 12	24. Moth	3 8
3. Wheat ...	6 8	25. Massr ...	8 4
4. Gram ...	9 0	26. Mastard Oil...	1 8
5. Barely ...	9 0	27. Ha'di ...	2 8
6. Jowar ...	4 4	28. Chilles ...	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
7. Bajra ...	4 4	29. Firewood ...	45 0
8. Kangni ...	4 12	30. Salt ...	14 8
9. Gur ...	3 12	31. Charcoal ...	14 0
10. Shakkar ...	3 4	32. Sugar ...	2 4
11. Wheat Flour.	5 12	33. Misri ...	2 4
12. Ghee ..	0 8	34. Milk (Buffalo)	5 0
13. Gram Dana.	8 0	35. Milk (Cow) ...	5 4
14. Chokar ...	10 0	36. Potatoes ...	8 0
15. Maida ...	4 0	37. Vegetables ...	8 0
16. Sooji ...	4 0	38. Fruits ...	2 8
17. Dal Arhar ...	4 0	39. Meat ...	2 8
18. Dal Gram ...	7 8	40. Fowls ...	One Re. each
19. Dal Mung ...	2 8	41. Eggs	9 As. per doz.
20. Dal Mash ...	3 0	42. Sperry's Oatm	Rs 2 per tin
21. Dal Masar ...	6 8	43. Quaker Oats.	" 1-8 per tin
22. Mungi ...	2 12		

18th April 1919.

{ (Sd.) E. D. Jarrad, Capt,  
For Brigade Major.



I am aware that this price list was amended and altered several times but the changes were nowhere of any radical character. *Where was then the incentive to cry " Martial Law ki jai?"* I am here reminded of an instance of waggish ingenuity and resourcefulness in defence. As the Anglo-Indian defence of their dishonest theory is bound to be of a piece with the instance I have in mind, I will quote it for the amusement of your readers. A fat old gentleman was bitten in the calf of the leg by a dog. He rushed to the office of the justice of the peace and preferred a complaint against the person whose dog had bitten him. The elastic defence that the latter offered on the trial was :—

(1) By testimony in favour of the general good behaviour of my dog, I shall prove that nothing could make him so forgetful of his canine dignity as to bite a calf. (2) He is blind and cannot see to bite. (3) Even if he could see to bite it would be utterly impossible for him to go out of his way to do so on account of his severe lameness. 4) Granting his eyes and legs to be good he has no teeth. (5) My dog died six weeks ago. (6) I never had any dog." And I will be hanged if this fictitious defendant was not on the staff of one of the many Anglo-Indian papers in this country.

Now to oblige our self-ordained benefactors of

Anglo-India let us assume that prices were so lowered as to induce people to cry Martial Law ki jai. Was it wise, or expedient, or even righteous to vary the prices of commodities and fix them at such a low level. Is the commercial class of our society to be trampled under-foot instead of being helped to compete with its foreign rivals? On the one hand, the interests of the great bulk of people in this country are so often disregarded to inflate the profits of the foreign merchant and on the other the Indian merchant is subjected to a preposterous and utterly ruinous arrangement of reduced prices. Aye, indeed if we believed all that the Anglo-Indian, in his stupid partisanship, has been urging on behalf of the Government, the Indian Government would be painted much blacker than it really is. Already I think, Lord Chelmsford's Government is at its wit's ends to discover some white spots among the countless black ones in its chequered rule of the Punjab, which might be held up for exhibition before the proposed Commission of Enquiry. In their misguided zeal to help the Government the Anglo-Indian press is, unwittingly but daily, making their position the more untenable and ridiculous.



## A Little More About Amritsar.



I came back from the Punjab about the middle of August. Some facts came to light after that. They are briefly recorded here.

On the 13th April, the fateful evening of the brutal massacre, the casualties included 42 boys. One of them was a baby only 7 months old who was sleeping in the lap of his father; several boys of 12 years, several of 14 and several of 15 years. Some were of 17 or 18 years also.

If the men who assembled at the meeting had any criminal intentions would they not have sent away these innocent boys? On the 10th when some acts of incendiarism were committed and some Europeans were killed and their property burnt a mighty regard was shown for the life of Indians. Even the evilly-disposed people regarded Indian life and property as something too sacred to touch or injure. While I was at Amritsar, a fact came to my knowledge which I did not mention in my letters from that place but which I now produce as evidence of the tendency on the part of the mischief makers to secure their countrymen from loss of life and property. The Chartered

Bank, an European financing concern, had no house of its own at Amritsar and occupied on rent a house belonging to an Indian landlord. Some mischief makers raided this building on the 10th with a view to burning it, after passions had been excited high by the uncalled for firing at the foot-bridge. They set fire to the outer door and the window. At that moment one of the crowd whispered: "But the house belongs to an Indian." At once the very men who had set fire to it began to extinguish it and succeeded in doing so before any material loss resulted from the fire.

As regards the anxiety of the same group of excited disturbers of peace not to assault or kill their countrymen, I need only allude to the "traitorous conduct" of several *razas* and lawyers of Amritsar which at times offered the greatest provocation to the crowd but which still went unpunished. Even those who were regarded as traitors, parricides and spies were exempted from rough treatment by virtue of being Indians. In view of the fact that the disturbers of peace were imbued with such a mighty regard for the life and property of their countrymen, it stands to reason that if they meant mischief on the evening of the 13th. they should have removed the babies, children and old men assembled at Jalyanwalla. The

fact that they did no such thing is one of the numerous proofs that their intentions as well as acts were scrupulously peaceful.

One of those boys was Abdul Karim, aged 16 years who passed the last matriculation examination in the first division and whose result was published after his death. He was shot in three places on his chest, thigh and head and died at the spot the same moment. Another was Madan Mohan, aged 13, son of Dr. Mani Ram who wrote the following letter to the Health Officer on the latter requiring the people to inform him of all deaths that occurred at the Jalyauwalla on the 13th.

“As desired in the official notification, I give below a brief account of the tragic death of my son, Madan Mohan, which occurred in the Jallianwala Bagh on the 13th April last. The delay in submitting this information is due to my absence from Amritsar to Mussoorie hills.

‘Jallianwala Bagh is at a distance of about three minutes walk and is the only open place near my house which is opposite the Clock Tower. My son, Madan Mohan, aged about 13 years (born on 27th *Baisakh* 1962) along with his playmates used to visit this open square for play almost daily. On the 13th April last he went there as usual and met his tragic

end, having been shot on the head which fractured his skull, he bled and died instantaneously. I with eight or nine others had to search for about half an hour till I could pick up his corpse as it was mixed up with hundreds of dead bodies lying in heaps there, who met their respective ends under circumstances well known. This is how my innocent child of innocent age was murdered by those who allege they acted in the name of justice, law and order, but behaved in a grossly un-British manner.''

... ..

One Dr. Kedar Nath, a retired civil surgeon aged 60 years who has been invalided on account of heart trouble, was arrested, handcuffed and marched through the streets with 62 other respectable men. The retired doctor is a very peace-loving and loyal citizen who takes very little interest in politics. He was, however, kept in confinement for 15 days where he was subjected to all sorts of harassments and inconveniences. When after that period it was found that no case could be got up against him, he was released.

... ..

As regards the total casualties at the Jalyanwalla Bagh, the Seva Samiti has been able to discover the names of 530 men who died and 192 persons who

received wounds and injuries. The list is not final and an estimate of 1000 does not overshoot the mark. The Government figures, however, are a scandalous under estimate and record only 291 deaths:

... ..

Reference has already been made to legal practitioners of Amritsar being subjected to several indignities and hardships. Nearly all of them, about one hundred in number, were enrolled as special constables and had to patrol the city every day. Then they were made to carry on their shoulders in public streets chairs, tables and other furniture for the use of Europeans. They had also to go to a far off place to answer the roll call every day.

... ..

I have mentioned in one of my letters the fact that the water and electric supply of the town of Amritsar was cut off by the order of the authorities for a number of days after disturbances took place on the 10th. What could that be due to? It has been said that the water supply was cut off because there was a rumour in the town that the wells of water had been poisoned. Surely there could be no such rumour of poisoning the electric currents. The fact of the matter is that the

authorities of Amritsar treated the loyal citizens of that town as alien enemies of His Majesty.

... ..

I have heard it stated, that 2000 service bullets were used at the Jalyanwalla Bagh on the 13th. But it is difficult to find out the exact number. There is another rumour that the number was over 3000,





## PART II.

### Facts About Open Rebellion

IN

### THE OTHER TOWNS OF PUNJAB.

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[The narrative given below has been collected and compiled from the various speeches of the Hon' Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the Viceroy's Legislative Council. It has been supplemented at places to make it more comprehensive.]

#### I. LAHORE.

Lahore observed the 6th of April as a Satyagrah day. The day passed off peacefully. Up to the 10th April no untoward event happened in Lahore. On the 10th owing to the news of Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew having been deported, there was trouble in Amritsar.

The same day news was received in Lahore that Mr. Gandhi had been arrested and deported to an unknown place, Mr. Gandhi having been responsible for the Satyagraha day he had issued instructions that the day should be observed without any violence. But certain unhappy events took place at Delhi, so Mr. Gandhi was going to Delhi to quiet the people and to see that public feeling was not further

embittered. While he was on his way to Delhi, the Government of India was advised to issue an order confining him to Bombay, and the Government of the Punjab and the Delhi administration issued orders prohibiting him from entering the Punjab and Delhi. The result was that as the news reached that Mr. Gandhi had been arrested and deported, the temper of the people became excited. At Lahore a mob gathered and they were going towards the Government House on the Upper-Mall in order to go to the Lieut-Governor and make a representation. They passed several European buildings ; they passed several European gentlemen without showing the samllest sign of any desire to hurt anybody. The Europeans who have their shops on the Upper-Mall did not find any of their shops injured, not even a window pane broken. When the mob were on the Upper Mall at a particular place the police prohibited them from going any further and wanted to turn them back.

### THE FIRING.

They did not like to be turned back but eventually they agreed and they did turn back and while they were going back they were fired upon. The attitude in going back showed that if firing had not been resorted to, there would have been no evil consequences resulting from the presence of the

mob at that place for a little while longer. A little more gentle persuasion, a little firm attitude, if need be, would have succeeded in turning the mob back to the city. That is the belief of a lot of people. That was bad enough, but when the mob was going back near Anarkali, they were again fired upon and certain persons lost their lives. This enraged public feeling, but what happened? There is no people on earth who would have shown their law-abiding character better than did the mob at Lahore and Delhi when they had been fired upon. They did not commit any violence, they went back to their homes. It was all quiet by 8 o'clock.

But before the people had returned to their homes Government House had been seized by panic. Messages had been sent to the troops to be in readiness and to take up positions. Ladies who were in the Club and other places were told to hurry to the Government House. Several of them did, but at 8 o'clock all was quiet, and those ladies who had gone to the Government House were permitted to go back to their homes. The people did not do anything to justify the panic. The whole trouble was over in a short time. Whether the firing was justified or not, leaving that question apart,—the whole thing was over within an hour and a half or two hours, and there was quiet in the city, and that same evening

the Lieutenant-Governor was entertained at a party. That was on the 10th.

### BADSHAHI MOSQUE MEETING.

Let us see what happened on the 11th. The people asked and they were permitted to carry their dead in procession, and they performed the ceremonies peacefully. Nothing untoward happened. On the 12th there was a meeting at the Badshahi mosque. The people had assembled there to express their regret at what had happened. The shops continued to be closed, but no harm was being done to anybody except the poor men, who were suffering for want of food. Lala Harkishen Lal, to his honour it may be mentioned, said he would subscribe Rs. 1000 to keep the people from starvation. At that meeting there was a C. I. D. man who expressed some sentiments which the people resented. This man was roughly treated, his *pugree* was thrown aside, and burnt but except for this the meeting passed off quietly. Nothing more happened. When the people were going back from the meeting they passed the troops that had, by this time, been posted in the city and the troops fired at the people. Again some of the people were injured and some killed? What happened afterwards? Even after this unfortunate incident the people kept quiet. There was no wrong done,

not a flower-pot injured in Lahore, not a pane of glass broken by the people.

What are the incidents which anybody would mention as having happened between the evening of the 10th and mid-night of the 15th which would justify a declaration that there was a state of *open rebellion* in Lahore? There was none. The people were living quietly as before. Some people may say that the quiet was due to the action taken by Government, others that it was due to the innate good sense of the people. Any way, the result was there. There was quiet in Lahore and all the panic which resulted in European ladies having been frightened into leaving Lahore and being sent up to the various hills seems to have been utterly unjustifiable.

### MR. MANOHAR LAL'S CASE.

Then Pandit Malaviya proceeded to say :—My lord, I had said in regard to Mr. Manohar Lal's case that his wife and children had been turned out and were obliged to live in one of the outhouses used as servants' quarters until the bungalow had been searched about a week later. I did not state the exact period, because I did not know it. Mr. Thompson in referring to it grew very angry, and said that the wife and children of this gentleman

were allowed, so far as he was aware, to return to the bungalow the next day. Now, my lord, I have ascertained the exact facts from Mr. Manohar Lal and from others who knew it. Mr. Manohar Lal's house was locked on the 18th. His wife, an invalid lady, was turned out of the house at once. She was compelled to live in one of the outhouses for the whole of the 18th, the whole of the 19th and until late in the evening of the 20th, until the search of the house had been completed. She had not any bedding to lie upon, she was not allowed to take anything out of the house. Her friends sent her bedding and food and thus she lived for three days. Now, my lord, if my statement that it was about a week later that they were allowed to return to the house was incorrect, Mr. Thompson in his capacity as Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government should have told us what the exact period was and not fulminated that this was a very serious discrepancy.

“My lord, I should not leave Mr. Manohar Lal's case without drawing your Excellency's attention to certain other remarks Mr. Thompson made about it. He said Mr. Manohar Lal was a trustee of the *Tribune* and as such he was wont to take some interest in the paper, and Mr. Thompson wanted the Council to think that that was a sufficient justification

for the action that had been taken against him. I am not surprised, my lord, that this view was put forward by Mr. Thompson because in the letter which appeared in the *Pioneer*, dated the 20th April to which I have referred before, I find it stated :—

‘ Manohar Lal, the trustee of the *Tribune* represents one of those cases which make one despair of educating on western lines. He gained a scholarship for England and at the university gained a brilliant reputation for economics. On his return to India, however, he failed to maintain the promise of his academic career and while he has always posed as an educationist he has done very little practically to utilize his own talents to their full extent.’

My Lord, it is sad to find that with the writer of the letter in the *Pioneer* Mr. Thompson thinks that the mere fact of Mr. Manohar Lal's being a trustee of the *Tribune* was sufficient to put this distinguished scholar, not less distinguished than Mr. Thompson, to all the indignities, humiliation and suffering to which he and his wife were exposed.

My Lord, I will now call the attention of the Council to the manner in which the students were dealt with. The students of Lahore have been wronged beyond expression, and I should like to know how it was necessary for the maintenance of law or for restoring order to deal with the students

in the manner they were dealt with. All the students of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, the Dayal Singh College, and the Medical College at Lahore were required to attend roll calls before military officers when they were made to stand in the sun guarded by the military with fixed bayonets and this process was continued for three weeks immediately preceding their University examinations.

"In the case of the King Edward Medical College, the total distance which the students were made to traverse on foot in the summer heat for attending the roll calls, amounted to not less than 16 miles a day. Some students actually fainted while going to, attending, or returning from such roll call parades, and it was only after that that a nearer place was fixed for taking the roll-calls. Besides this, my Lord, the principals of certain colleges in Lahore were coerced by the Martial Law administrator to inflict very severe punishments on a certain percentage of their students irrespective of any evidence of their guilt. Some of them were expelled, some were rusticated, some were sent down one year. I am told that the number of students who have been thus subjected to injustice and wrong is about a thousand. I should like to know how this was necessary to maintain order."

There are two or three facts which are not mentioned in Mr. Malaviya's speech but which ought to



be recorded here. The first of these is that on the evening of the 10th April, a crowd collected at the Lohari Darwaza. Here the crowd did no mischief whatsoever but was fired upon with the result that several casualties occurred. Mr. Rambhuj Datt Chowdhri was persuading the crowd to get inside the Darwaza and the crowd was seated on the ground when fire was opened.

Then, Lala Harkishen Lal, Mr. Duni Chand and Chowdhri Rambhujdatt were arrested on the morning of 14th under the Defence of India Act. These gentlemen worked as hard as they could to bring the *hartal* to an end. The charge against them however, was that they waged war against the King by organising *hartals* ;

Again, several very respectable and well-to-do people were flogged by the Martial Law authorities at Lahore for ridiculously petty breaches of Martial Law. I appended below the statement of the brother of a person who was so flogged :

" My name is.....My father's name is.....I am Khatri by caste and own a shop in Bajaz Hatta. I am a cloth merchant and deal in English goods to the value of several lakhs of rupees which I import through Messrs.....and one or two other English firms. I am literate and so is my brother who is 33 years old. He is a partner in the firm. We are respectable people and are thought of well by the

people around us. We also pay income tax. There was a Martial Law order that nobody should go out in the streets after 8 p m., One evening my brother went to the door of our house at 8-15 p.m. with a view to milch his cow which was fastened with a rope to the door of the house. The *gujjar* who used to milch the cow had not come that evening. My house is situated in .....which is a byelane at some distance from the main road nearest to it. The cow was making much noise. The police patrol came there at that moment and arrested my brother who was wearing a *dhoti*. He tried to explain matters to the police but they would not listen. Then he asked for permission to put on his dress but the police did not allow him to do that. The police took him to the Water Works where he was kept all the night. Next morning at 10 he was produced before Col. Johnson, who ordered 5 cuts to be administered and a fine of Rs. 10 to be paid. My brother pleaded with the Saheb to enhance the fine and exempt him from flogging. He was not listened. It was 10 in the morning when this order was given but 6 in the evening when it was actually executed. From 8-15 p.m. the previous evening to 7 p.m. on that day, my brother was not allowed to attend the calls of nature and was given nothing to eat or drink."

## II. GUJRANWALLA.

### DROPPING OF BOMBS FROM AEROPLANES.

Gujranwalla kept quiet for a long while. Up to the 13th we do not hear of any untoward incident there. They had held a meeting, they had observed the Satyagraha Day ; they had shown their opposition to the Rowlatt Act, but nothing further had happened. It was only on the 14th, when the news of Jallianwala Bagh massacre reached Gujranwalla that the people committed some excesses. "There was a complete and spontaneous *hartal* in the whole town ; everything went off orderly and everything was perfectly quiet in the town" so says the judgment in, the Pleadar's case. On the 13th the news of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi had reached the town and the citizens were thinking of observing a *hartal* on the 14th. The matter of holding a meeting in case of the proposed *hartal* was considered at an informal meeting at the house of Dewan Mangal Sen. Dewan Mangal Sen, is one of the most esteemed men in Gujranwalla. He had made his contribution to his Majesty's Government during the war, and considerable contributions too, and yet he and many other

respectable men were hauled up and tried as persons who had waged war against the King. On the 13th when they met to consider the matter, after having decided what they would do, they informed the authorities that the people had decided to close business on the 14th. Mirza Sultan Ahmed, the acting Deputy Commissioner, issued instructions to the Municipal Commissioners asking them to see that every thing remained quiet on the 14th. They did not act in a surreptitious way. They did all in a fair, frank and open manner for there was nothing wrong, nothing which they had to conceal. The proceedings of the meeting of the Municipal Commissioners and the conversations which took place with the Deputy Commissioner are, on the record.

### THE SLAUGHTERED CALF AND PIG!—AND C. I. D.

Now the morning of the 14th of April opened well. All was quiet. There was complete spontaneous *hartal* throughout the city on this day. A big *baisakhi* day fair is held at Wazirabad which is visited by numerous people from Gujranwalla and other places. Hence there was a tremendous rush for Wazirabad in the 7:30 train. Booking was therefore stopped and many people were thus kept back. Out of this arose a general feeling to the effect that either all or none should go to the fair at Wazirabad. The train moved and the guard was stopped from getting into

his compartment. As the guard was left behind the train stopped at the distant signal. The mob at the station rushed towards the train and succeeded in getting out of the train many of the people. The mob asked the driver to come out and the driver did so. There was thus nobody in charge of the engine. Some of the mischievous hooligans then took some burning charcoal from the engine and set fire to some old rejected sleepers lying near the Gurukula bridge. The happenings were purely accidental being due to the mischief of the very few people who committed them. It is worthy of note that no damage at all was done to the bridge and the train passed safely after some delay. As the mob was returning from the Gurukula bridge via the Grand Trunk Road, which runs parallel to the railway lines, it was increased by hundreds of other people from the town and the railway station. About this time news was on every lips that a slaughtered calf was hung up from a girder on the railway bridge on the Lahore side. Hindu and Mohammeden relations were perfectly friendly at the time and people therefore suspected that that was the work of some one in the C. I. D. This idea gained strength from the fact that there is a large number of Hindu temples in that vicinity. The effect of this news was most unfortunate on the public. Munshi Din Mohamed, a local pleader

and a Muhammadan Leader, declared that it could not be the work of Muhammedans and that he would himself remove the carcass. This convinced the public that it was not the work of any Muhammadan acting on his own behalf and that it was the work of some police underlings. At this time the excitement of the mob reached a high pitch particularly when some people who had seen a slaughtered pig on the other side of the station gave that news also to the mob. The mob had now reached the place where the slaughtered calf was hung up. Mr. Heron, the Superintendent of Police, had also reached there. Some of the enraged mob caught Mr. Heron and threw him down and snatched away his pistol. This they did because they thought the police underlings had done the mischief referred to. These young men were, however calmed down by Mr. Din Mohammad, who persuaded them to leave Mr. Heron alone and to give him back his pistol.

But when Mr. Heron had thus received his pistol he fixed it on the mob, particularly on the young men who had given it back to him. Several persons were wounded *vide* page 32, "Punjab Disturbances," published under the authority of Government. Thereupon, the excitement of the mob was fanned into a flame. The crowd then returned to the railway station and demanded the blood of Mr. Heron who

had so unjustly fired upon them. One of the men who was so wounded died the following day. The huge crowd faced the police, the Municipal Commissioners and the Magistrate who had all arrived at the railway station. The Grand Trunk Road alone separated the two. The mob continued to yell, tremendously enraged at the spilling of innocent blood. Mr. Heron wanted to open fire on the mob, although the magistrates and Municipal commissioners were doing their utmost to push the mob back into the town. The latter had just succeeded in persuading some people to go back when a shot was fired, accidentally or deliberately, one cannot say—by a police constable. This fanned the flame into a fire. The crowd, which had so far been passive and sullen now got very much enraged. They swelled in number. Mr. Heron gave the order to fire. Fire was consequently opened and many casualties occurred. Thereupon the excited mob resorted to many acts of incendiarism, burning the post office, the dak bungalow, the tehsildar's and the Honorary Benches' Courts, a block of the district courts, railway godowns, and the church.

Now the people who were wounded by the firing of Mr. Heron at the Siddhan bridge where the slaughtered calf was hung up were taken through the *bazaar* to Niyatin where an open air meeting was all the time being held to keep the public enga-

ged. At this meeting, speeches on Hindu-Muhammādan unity were delivered, and the people were advised to be calm, vide instructions given to the Manager of the Islamia School by the acting Deputy Commissioner to deliver a lecture at the meeting. The Manager's statement in the Pleader's case is quite sufficient for that purpose. All the trouble, the regrettable, unfortunate trouble was over by about 3 p. m. Moreover, there had been no riots in the city proper. The people had kept perfectly quiet in the city. All these events occurred in the civil station outside the Circular Road, between 3 and 4 p. m. Just about the time when the crowd was dispersing, the aeroplanes arrived.

The crowd had largely dispersed and the remnants of the crowd were dispersing when the aeroplanes arrived and bombs were dropped from the aeroplanes in several places. Several lives were lost, five in one place and two in another. When the crowd had dispersed or was going back, where was the necessity for dropping bombs from aeroplanes upon the town of Gujranwala? It was not in one place that bombs were dropped but in many places and in places in the centre of the inhabited parts of the city which were all surrounded by houses. One bomb was dropped in the boarding house of the Khalsa High School, where there were 160 boys about the place at the time. Bombs were also dropped in the suburbs of Gujran-



wala where the mob had committed no excess, near the house of Lala Amarnath, pleader, one of the secretaries of the Home Rule League, and in another village close by where a woman and child were killed by it. What earthly justification could there be for the dropping of half a dozen or may be, more bombs from aeroplanes over the people of Gujranwala when the mob had dispersed or was dispersing? This happened on the 14th. Everything had become quiet in the town by the evening of that day, and yet a bomb was dropped again in Gujranwala on the morning of the 15th. It is important to note that all was quiet. There was no rising of the people, there was no violence committed by the people. What little happened near the Railway station happened under the circumstances mentioned. One European gentleman, an engineer, was living about a mile or so away—There was no danger to European life and no insult to any European lady. Why then was this bombing resorted to? *What was there in Gujranwala to justify the declaration to bring it in the category of places which were proclaimed to be in a state of open rebellion?*

Further on the 15th April when the aeroplanes had done their work and frightened the people of Gujranwala beyond description there was not the smallest reason to think that there was any spirit of rebellion or resistance in the town. And yet on that

day the Deputy Commissioner of Gujranwalla with a strong body of police and European soldiers and an armoured car marched to the house of Lala Mela Ram, B. A. LL. B., pleader and arrested and handcuffed him and took him away without allowing him to dress himself or to speak to his family. The party then met Mr. Labhsing, M. A. (Cantab) barrister-at-law, and arrested and hand-cuffed him and chained him with Lala Mela Ram. They proceeded to the house of twenty other gentlemen (pleaders, bankers and other respectable citizens) and arrested and hand-cuffed and chained all of them together. The persons so arrested and chained together were marched to the city, two and two, headed by a Hindu and Mahomedan, to ridicule Hindu and Mahomedan unity as was stated at the time by Col. O. Brien. Two Municipal Commissioners under the order of Col. O' Brien walked in front of the procession thus formed and pointing to the aeroplanes overhead kept on shouting to Indians to make way for the prisoners on pain of being bombed or shot down. After being thus paraded through the principal streets of the town the prisoners were taken to the railway station and put into an open coal truck which was guarded by a number of European soldiers with fixed bayonets and by an armoured engine with a gun directed towards the prisoners. The prisoners were not allowed to leave their place even for the purpose

ses of attending the calls of nature and some of these gentlemen had to relieve themselves when they were huddled together and to suffer all the disgusting trouble and inconvenience thereof. On reaching the Lahore railway station and before being removed to the jail, the prisoners were kept for about ten hours along with thirty other prisoners in a room which opened by means of an iron barred door into another room which was used as a latrine. A number of pleaders and other respectable citizens in the town of Shekhpura in the district of Gujranwalla were arrested and treated in a manner similar to that adopted at Gujranwalla and were subjected to similar inconveniences and indignities when being taken to Lahore. Almost the entire population of the town of Shekhpura above the age of 10 years, irrespective of rank or social position was summoned by Mr, Bosworth Smith, I. C. S. joint deputy commissioner and one of the martial law officers and made to sweep a large open piece of ground.

It has been alleged by some of those who were tried by some of the martial law officers who were empowered to deal with these cases, especially towards the close of the martial law period, that the accused were convicted without the whole defence evidence being heard, even though witnesses were present, on the ground of want of time. As instance

may be mentioned the cases of Lala Gurdasram and Lala Shivaram, pleaders of Hafizabad in the district of Gujranwala, who were sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment each by M. Wace, I. C. S. It is said that a student Ramlok son of Daulatram, aged 17 years was arrested on the 25th April, and having been detained in police custody for three weeks was released for want of evidence against him. Several days after his release his father Daulatram appeared as a defence witness for one Ram Datta and deposed that the police had asked Ram Datta to turn an approver but he had refused to do so. On this his son Ramlok was rearrested on the following day and put on his trial for the very same offences for which he had been arrested and released before. The trial of Ramlok was fixed for the 9th and 10th June but as Martial Law was going to be withdrawn at midnight on the 9th June, the trial was accelerated to the 5th June without any previous intimation having been given to the accused or to his father. The accused was tried and sentenced to one year and seven months rigorous imprisonment for offences under section 147, 426, and 506 Indian Penal Code by Mr. A. L. Hoyle, I. C. S. officer presiding over summary courts under Martial Law, without any chance being given to him to produce his defence.

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### III. TWO NOTORIOUS CASES OF BURNING.

The Burning of King's Effigy at Ramnagar

AND

The Burning of Bhusa at Lyallpur.

*BOTH UNFOUNDED LIES.*

#### THE RAMNAGAR CASE.

Pandit Malaviya :—“ My lord, the next incident to which I referred and to which Mr. Thompson also animadverted, was the Ramnagar case, where it is alleged that the King's effigy was burnt. Mr. Thomson failed to grasp my point and did not represent me correctly. My complaint was that here was a case in which respectable, probably the most respectable Hindu citizens of Ramnagar were charged with having burned the King's effigy. Their position and status in society, their wealth and respectability make it impossible for me to believe, and should make it impossible for any reasonable man to believe that they would be guilty of such foolish and wicked mischief. Their complaint was that they had not had a public enquiry which they wanted. They had not

had a regular enquiry and they urged that if they had a regular enquiry, if they had an opportunity of appeal to a higher court, the facts would have been sifted and their innocence would have been established. They urged that the case was a trumped up one without any foundation and that they were entitled to have the matter regularly tried. There was no martial law necessity for trying this matter in a summary way before any martial law tribunal and my complaint was that by having been put before a martial law summary court for trial they were deprived of the opportunity they should have had to establish their innocence and that they have been unjustly dealt with.

### LYALLPUR BHUSA CASE.

“Now, my lord, I must also say a word about the Lyallpur *bhusa* case. It has been said that at Lyallpur Rs. 50,000 worth of *bhusa* was set fire to by incendiaries. If this was so, it was of course a very serious mischief. But was it so? I hold in my hand a copy of an order passed by the district magistrate of Lyallpur on an enquiry relating to this affair. Government had evidently asked him to report under section 15 A. of the Police Act what compensation should be fixed upon for the burning of this *bhusa*. The case was taken up by Mr. G. F. de Montmorency, and the conclusion which he arri-

ved at was that the burning of the *bhusa* was not the result of incendiarism committed by any one of those who were supposed to have taken part in the disturbances and that it might have been due to an accident. At any rate, he was unable to find that it was the act of any of those who were suspected of it. This is what he said :—

“ The *bhusa* appears to have gone on fire between 8-15 and 8-45 p. m. The flare was noticed by the picket at about 8-40. A few people from the factories, a few members of the municipal staff and the storekeeper alluded to above were the only persons on the spot when I arrived. There was no information of any crowd having visited the stacks or of any single person having been seen near the stacks. The absence of the *chaukidar* seems to have been due to laziness and not to have been arranged or premeditated. Neither patrol nor picket saw anything suspicious in the vicinity of the goods yard.....

“ A very exhaustive police enquiry was made ; no trace of anything bearing on the burning of the *bhusa* came out. There were some approvers in Syakpur who were associates and in the secrets of those who were convicted in the Lyallpur disorders. None of these, however, had any information to give in regard to the burning of *bhusa* which does not

seem to have formed part of the plans of their associates.

' There was a strong suspicion at the time that this was the work of an incendiary because

(1) similar acts had occurred elsewhere in connection with the disorders.

(2) a plot to burn *bhusa* had been alleged to exist at Toba Tek Singh,

(3) the fact that goods had been moved from the goods yard the day before.

' The police enquiry has failed to connect the burning of this *bhusa* with the act of any incendiary or with any rioters.

' Those convicted in jail in Lvallpur disorders were questioned by me. They have now after conviction no object in concealing what they know and have given information on a number of other points but none of them have any information to give about the *bhusa*.

" I have examined the theory whether it was the act of some villager or villagers, but no clue has been obtained."

The learned district magistrate says that there have been several fires since April last due to cinder from chimneys, etc., in the neighbourhood. It is possible, though not likely owing to the distance,



that this may have been the cause of the *bhusa* fires and in conclusion he says :—I have been unable to find anything except suspicion to point to this injury having arisen from riot and unlawful assembly within the area. I am therefore unable to make the assessment contemplated in section 15 A (2) (C) of the Police Act." So much for the burning of the *bhusa*. I hope that my hon. friend will revise his opinion about this incident also."



#### IV. KASUR.

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[This account has not been taken from Pandit Malaviya's speeches. I myself paid a visit to Kasur in the first week of August last and have repeated here what I was told by residents of that town. It is interesting to note that some high officials of the Punjab Government think that the events at Kasur formed the strongest justification of the Government for declaring Martial Law. The Government version is that at Kasur Europeans were attacked without any provocation being given to the native population.]

All was perfectly quiet at Kasur till the morning of 12th of April when news arrived of the firing upon the public at Lahore and Amritsar. There had been but one meeting on the 6th to protest against the Rowlatt Act. Kasur is a comparatively backward place from the educational and political point of view. Business was stopped on that day. The speeches and the temper of both the speakers and the audience at the meeting were unexceptionable. In other towns where disturbances occurred the men who spoke at the meeting on the *hartal day* were subsequently convicted but

the organizers and speakers of the meeting at Kasur were not convicted, though harassed they certainly were.

On the 12th, news reached the town that Lahore and Amritsar were in mourning as much on account of the Rowlatt Act as the loss of life due to firing by officials. A crowd of school boys started a procession in the day crying Hai Rowlatt Bill and "fooling themselves." They were joined on the way by a number of shop-keepers and others and ultimately a crowd of about 200 men went towards the Railway Station. Be it noted that they did not set fire to the Railway buildings when they reached there. They advanced further and were met on the way by some more people among whom, were scattered a few riff-rafs of a mischievous character. After a short time the crowd was passing when the train from Ferozepore was seen coming. Some men in the crowd were very anxious to give to their demonstrations a striking or dramatic touch. They had the foolhardiness to suggest that the train should be stopped for a while. The suggestion was seized with alacrity though there were not wanting those among the crowd who protested against it. However, those who protested against the suggestion as well as those who fell in with it did not anticipate the developments that followed. I cannot vouch for the

accuracy of the facts I am relating. I have no written statements with me and am merely placing before the public the version of some respectable and reliable residents of Kasur whom I met there. Well, the train was stopped. The crowd began to shout "Hai Rowlatt Act" etc. There were four European passengers in the train, two corporals in the army and one Mr. Sherbourne with his wife and children. The little European group naturally got frightened for they had heard about the "murder of Europeans," at Amritsar and Lahore. They took the mob for a hostile crowd out for mischievous and unlawful ends. Some men approached the little European group *with a view to making a demonstration before Europeans*. The feeling was very natural. I am told that the men who went towards them had absolutely no desire to hurt anybody. The corporals mistook the friendly march of the crowd towards them for an attempt at their lives and one of them fired a shot which wounded one of the crowd. The crowd now got enraged and attacked and killed the two corporals. Some degenerate *badmashes* took advantage of the general indignation and proceeded to molest Mrs. Sherbourne and assault her husband. A voice of protest was raised by the crowd against the dastardly act and one member of it, a young student risked his life to save her. It was unfortunate that

the Sherbourne group had been driven a little aside by a few *badmashes* who wanted to assault them. The student referred to was about the only person who was near enough to take notice of them and when he interfered the *badmashes* were very angry with him for frustrating their plans. I am told that that young man is now rotting in the jail. Mrs. Sherbourne did subsequently identify him but he was hauled up in connection with some other disturbances.

At this stage, the decent folk deserted the crowd. The Post Office was burnt during the day and the Tahsil was also attacked. When the *badmashes* tried to set fire to the Tahsil, fire was opened on them and 7 or 8 men were wounded and one or two killed there. I have been told that the firing at the Tahsil was justified and that but for that all the records of cases etc, kept in that office would have been reduced to ashes along with the building and the furniture. Long before dusk all was quiet again in the town and no disturbances happened on the 13th or following days. So Martial Law was proclaimed on the 15th when all was quiet.

The story of persecution begins after the disturbances in the town were over. The entire male population of Kasur was ordered to be present in the *maidan* near the Railway Station where they were

kept for several hours in the sun. Every person so assembled had to dance about a small round arena in which certain Europeans were seated who inspected the faces of those who danced round them. A number of persons were flogged for most ridiculous offences and many respectable residents of the town were arrested and kept in gaol for absolutely no reason that they knew of. Some of them had to be released after several weeks when nothing incriminating could be found against them.



“ THE CERTAINTY, CELERITY AND SEVERITY OF  
MARTIAL LAW.”



Specimens of Martial Law Orders.

Notice No. 2 issued by the Lyallpur area officer.

“ Whereas it has come to my notice that certain inhabitants of the Lyallpur district are habitually exhibiting a lack of respect for gazetted European or civil and military officers of his Majesty’s services, thereby failing to maintain the dignity of the Government, I hereby order that the inhabitants of the Lyallpur district shall accord to all such officers whenever met the salutation usually accorded to Indian gentlemen of high social position in accordance with the customs of India. That is to say, persons riding on animals, or on or in wheeled conveyances will alight, persons carrying open and raised umbrellas shall lower them, and all persons shall salute or *Salaam* with the hand.”

C. G. Hodgson,

Lt. Col.

Area Officer, Lyallpur,

24th April, 1919.

A responsible journal like the Leader " that prides itself on its moderate views " felt constrained to comment as follows on Col. Hodgson's antics.

" A class of persons might have been accustomed to demean themselves and to cringe before superiors. But to give the extinct practices of servility the status of a custom and to seek to revive and enforce them under martial law was only to remind the people of their political subjection and to display an un-British temper. The whole district must realize that it was no business of any of its inhabitants to show by their demeanour that they regarded themselves as the equal subjects of His Majesty. No, they must bow before every representative of authority, civil or military, and thereby acknowledge and realize their political serfdom. Why are not these refinements practised in England where the dignity of the Government seems to be almost nil, and where it is ever ready to negotiate with and surrender to every malcontent group, not excluding its own police service ? What has been done in the name of martial law to humiliate and wound the natural pride of a people growing in self-consciousness and immediately after a war in which every district throughout India, and more especially in the Punjab, did its utmost to help the prosecution of the war, will rankle long in Indian memories.



When civil authorities hastily abdicate their functions and make an abject confession of their failure to govern without the aid of the military, they render themselves responsible for all the martial law excesses and eccentricities,"

An ex-principal of Muir Central College, Allahabad, was extraordinarily fond of receiving *salams* from his students. He was wont to scold his pupils if they failed to salute him wherever they met him. There was a group of men in the college with whom it became a creed to avoid saluting the principal as far as possible. The principal got a cue of the conspiracy and regretted that the university regulations did not permit of his expelling a student from the college on the ground of unintentional failure—so the students always pleaded if they were caught—to make the conventional curve with the hand. Any way, this amounted to "habitually exhibiting a lack of respect for a Gazetted European, Civil Officer" whereby the dignity of the Government was lowered which would have justified the introduction of martial law at Allahabad and necessitated the replacement of Sir Harcourt Butler by Sir Michael O'Dowyer if only our ex-principal was a little more lucky than he really was. In the recent war, there have been hundreds of instances of British Officers showing

pluck and cool courage and discretion but none of those instances, which silly historians prize so much, can be compared as a feat of arms or in point of strategy to the wonderful achievements of these area officers under martial law in the Punjab.

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Notices Nos. 4 and 5 Issued by

Lt. Col. Frank Johnson Commanding Lahore  
Area.

“ By virtue of the powers vested in me, I have prohibited the issue of Third or Intermediate Class tickets at all Railway Stations in the Lahore (Civil) Command, except only in the case of servants travelling with their European Masters or servants or others in the employ of the Government.”—  
[15-4-9].

“ Whereas, from information received by me, it would appear that shops, generally known as langars, for the sale of cooked food are used for the purpose of illegal meetings and for the dissemination of seditious propaganda, and whereas I notice that all other shops (particularly in Lahore City) have been closed as part of an organised demonstration against His Majesty's Government, now therefore, by virtue of the powers vested in me under Martial Law I

order that all such langars or shops for the sale of cooked food in the Lahore (Civil) Area, except such as may be granted an exemption in writing by me, shall close and cease to trade by 10-00 hours to-morrow, Wednesday, 16th April 1919."

The Martial Law authorities protested a mighty regard for the convenience of the public. The orders quoted above furnish an illuminating commentary on that claim.

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### Notice No. 9 of Lahore Area.

"Whereas the leaders of the people whom I summoned to meet me yesterday have not kept their promise to arrange for my orders to be communicated to the people in their respective wards, and whereas I deem it expedient for the people themselves that they should not be exposed to the risk of disobeying my orders through the neglect of their own leaders,

"Now therefore I give notice that copies of all orders and notices issued by me under Martial Law will be exhibited at the following places:—"

[A list of fifty seven.]—[16-4-19.]

Messrs Harkishenlal, Duni Chand and Rambhuj Datt were arrested on the morning of the 14th. Who were the 'Leaders' left and what facilities were

offered to them for communicating with the people on the 16th. the date of issue of this order ? Could the persons described as leaders remain out of their doors after 8 in evening ? And were any conveyances supplied to them for knocking about from place to place, all the *garis* having been commandeered already ?

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### Notice No. 24 of Lahore.

#### HOW THE GREAT WAR WAS WON.

“Whereas, I deem it expedient to make provision for the preservation of health and the greater comfort of *British* troops stationed in the Area under my Command.

“And whereas a number of electric fans and lights are required in the buildings in which some of such troops are quartered.

“Now, therefore, by virtue of the powers vested in me by Martial Law I authorize any officer appointed by me for that purpose to enter any college, public building, hostel, private or other residence or buildings and remove such number of electric lights and fans required for the purpose aforesaid.

“And any attempt to obstruct such removal, or to hide, or to damage or to impair the immediate

efficiency of any such fans or lights, will be summarily dealt with under Martial Law.

“But nothing in this order shall authorise the removal of any fan or light from a room usually inhabited by a woman.— [23-4-19].”

Members of the Allahabad University Corpse of the Indian Defence Force were subjected to all sorts of physical inconvenience during the two months that they were at Dehradun in 1918. All the members of the corpse came from educated and many from well-to-do and aristocratic families. Even the addition of a water tap to their barracks was regarded as an unpardonable luxury. But here in the case of regular British troops consisting naturally of men unaccustomed to the use of electric fans, they were regarded a necessity. The necessity too was not such as could be put off by any means. Are these “comforts” of electric fans and electric lamps supplied to the British troops when engaged in war? How many shiploads of fans and bulbs, it is pertinent to enquire, were despatched to Mesopotamia, for instance? But perhaps the surrender of Kut was due to want of electric fans! What a shame that an officer haughty with racial arrogance, acting for reasons patent on the face of his orders, should pollute the fair name of the troops that defeated the Hun by the scandalous suggestion that electric fans

and lamps were a necessity for them! Moreover, the troops had no arduous task to perform at Lahore. There was no battle raging or disturbances rampant in the town. . . And then, why was the preservation of health and the greater comfort of British troops *alone*, the consideration which weighed with Col. Johnson? Apart from the public, there were the Indian Troops to whom the same consideration was due. But it is not the first time that one finds invidious distinctions observed between Indians and Europeans. The peculiarity of this Martial Law order is that it manifests racial intolerance towards those persons also who were engaged at the bidding of the British officials in arresting and shooting their own countrymen.

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### MOST PREPOSTEROUS AND ABSURD.

LAHORE, No. 30.

“Whereas it has been proved to me that certain students in Lahore Colleges are in the habit of defacing with obscene and filthy comments pictures appearing in illustrated papers of members of His Majesty’s Naval and Military Forces, Civil or other Services.

“And whereas such obscene and filthy comments are calculated to promote disaffection and bad feeling, and to be prejudicial to good order.

"Now, therefore, I warn all concerned that it shall be deemed to be a contravention of Martial Law for any person to deface or mark any picture or literature purporting to refer to British subjects by signs, drawings or words calculated to bring contempt, ridicule or dislike on such British subjects.

"And such prohibition is also extended to the use of words, signs or gestures directed at, addressed or referring to, any such British subjects.

"And I shall hold responsible for such outrages on illustrations all who are inmates, owners and (or) occupiers, students and teachers of the premises in which such damaged or defaced picture or literature is discovered."

This order did not only penalise the exhibiting in public of pictures or other literature showing disrespect towards British Officers. The possession of such literature became as great a crime, and what is more, every inmate of the house in which such pictures or literature was to be found was liable to punishment. The all-embracing terms "obscene and filthy" could be made to include everything. Moreover, it is a favourite pastime with students everywhere in the world—more perhaps in the west than here, to inscribe comments on pictures in their books and magazines. A damned fool,

a silly ass and a consummate hypocrite, are as innocent as common. And officers would be none the worse if these epithets were inscribed below their photographs in possession of private individuals.

### A PRECIOUS ADMISSION BY COL. JOHNSON.

LAHORE No. 33.

"Whereas it has come to my knowledge that attempts are frequently made to extort money from persons with a view to either saving them from penalties for intentional or other breaches of Martial Law, or for the purpose of removing them from the restrictive incidence of such Martial or other Laws.

"And whereas I deem such conduct gravely detrimental to the good order and governance of the Area under my Command ;

"I, therefore, by virtue of the powers vested in me under Martial Law, Regulation No. 15, declare that it is an offence under Martial Law for any person in the said Area to offer or receive money or other valuable consideration, or to act as agent or "go-between" in any transaction or proposed transaction by virtue of which the person paying such money or giving such consideration expects, or is promised, to evade any penalties or proceedings, or to obtain any benefit of any kind whatsoever under Martial or other Laws or Orders.



“And I warn all concerned that any person convicted of any breach of this Order in the said Area is liable to two years’ imprisonment or fine and whipping.”—[4-5-19.]

This order was obviously directed against the British troops, (for whose comfort electric fans were being requisitioned) the Indian troops and the Indian police. It stands to reason that such an order would not have been issued if a large number of cases of official corruption had not been brought to Col. Johnson’s notice.

**“SHOPS WILL BE OPENED AND KEPT OPEN BY FORCE.”**

LAHORE No. 14.

“Whereas practically every shop and business establishment in the Area under my Command has been closed in accordance with the *hartal* or organized closure of business directed against His Majesty’s Government.

“And whereas the continuance or resumption of such *hartal* is detrimental to the good order and governance of the said Area.

“And whereas I deem it expedient to cause the said *hartal* to entirely cease :

“Now therefore by virtue of the powers vested in me by Martial Law I make the following order namely :—

"By 10-00 hours to-morrow (Friday), the 18th day of April 1919, every shop and business establishment (except only *langars* referred to in Martial Law Notice No. 5, dated 15th April 1919) in the Area under my Command shall open and carry on its business, and *thereafter daily shall continue to keep open and carry on business*, during the usual hours, up to 20-00 hours, in exactly the same manner as before the creation of the said *hartal*.

"And likewise I order that every skilled or other worker will, from 10-00 hours to-morrow, resume and continue during the usual hours his ordinary trade, work or calling.

"And I warn all concerned that if at 10-00 hours to-morrow, or at any subsequent time, I find this order has been, without good and valid reason, disobeyed, the persons concerned will be arrested and tried under the summary procedure of Martial Law, and shops so closed will be opened and kept open by force, and any resultant loss arising from such forcible openings will rest on the owners and on occupiers concerned.

"And I further warn all concerned that this order must be strictly obeyed in spirit as well as in letter, that is to say, that to open a shop and then refuse to sell goods and to charge an exorbitant or prohibitive

rate, will be deemed as contravention of this order.—[17-4-19.]”

No fresh comment is needed on this order. It sent a thrill of terror in the hearts of the inhabitants of the unfortunate district. They decline to believe that alien enemies could be treated worse by any army of occupation than they, the un-offending and loyal subjects of His Majesty were treated by Col. Johnson.

### ORDERS AGAINST THE STUDENTS.

#### LAHORE No. 7.

“Whereas I have reason to believe that certain students of the D. A. V. College in Lahore are engaged in spreading seditious propaganda directed against His Majesty’s Government, and whereas I deem it expedient in the interests of the preservation of law and order to restrict the activities of such students, I make the following order :—

“All students of the said College now in this Command Area will report themselves to the Officer Commanding Troops at the Bradlaugh Hall daily at the hours specified below and remain there until the roll of such students has been called by the Principal or some other Officer approved by me acting on his behalf, and until they have been dismissed by the Officer Commanding Troops at Bradlaugh Hall.”

No. 13.

"Whereas information laid before me shows that a Martial Law Notice issued by me and posted by my orders on a property known as the Sanatan Dharm College Hostel on Bahawalpur Road, has been torn or otherwise defaced, in contravention of my Martial Law Notice No. 8.

"Now therefore by virtue of the powers vested in me under Martial Law, I order the immediate arrest of all male persons domiciled in the said Hotel and their internment in the Lahore Fort pending my further orders to their trial or other disposal."

[17-4-19:]

No. 16.

"Whereas I have reason to believe that certain students of Dyal Singh College in Lahore are engaged in spreading seditious propaganda directed against His Majesty's Government, and whereas I deem it expedient in the interests of the preservation of law and order to restrict the activities of such students, I make the following order :—

"All students of the said College now in this Command Area will report themselves to the Officer Commanding Troops at the Telegraph Office daily at the hours specified below and remain there until the roll of such students has been called by the

Principal or some other Officer approved by me acting on his behalf and until they have been dismissed by the Officer Commanding Troops at the Telegraph Office.

07-00 hours ; 11-00 hours ; 15-00 hours ; 19-00 hours ; First parade at 11-00 hours on 19th April 1919.—[18-4-19 ]”

**ORDER NO 1 OF THE AMRITSAR AREA OFFICER.**

“Whereas Martial Law has been declared in the District of Amritsar and.

Whereas I have been appointed to command Troops and administer Martial Law in the said District of Amritsar.

And whereas Martial Law may be briefly described as the will of the Military Commander in enforcing law, order and public safety.

Now therefore by virtue of the powers vested in me by Martial Law I do make and issue the following order :

1 At 22·00 hours each evening and from then until 05·00 hours on the following morning no person other than a European or a person in possession of a military permit signed by me or on my behalf will be permitted to leave his or her house or compound or the building in which he or she may be

at 22.00 hours. During these prohibited hours no person other than those excepted above will be permitted to use the streets or roads, and any person found disobeying this Order will be arrested, and, if any attempt is made to evade or resist arrest, that person will be liable to be shot.

2. In order to protect the lives of His Majesty's Soldiers and Police under my Command, I make known that if any firearm is discharged or bombs thrown at them the most drastic reprisals will instantly be made against property surrounding the scene of the outrage. Therefore it behoves all loyal inhabitants to see to it that no evilly disposed agitator is allowed on his premises.

3. During the period of Martial Law, I prohibit all processions, meetings or other gatherings of more than 10 persons without my written authority, and any such meetings, gatherings or processions held in disobedience of this Order will be broken up by force without warning."

#### **MARTIAL LAW IN ITS NAKEDNESS.**

4. *"I forbid any person to offer violence or cause obstruction to any person desirous of opening his shop or conducting his business or proceeding to his work or business.*

*Any person contravening this Order will be*

*arrested, tried by a Summary Court and be liable to be shot.*

5. I prohibit in the area under my Command the issue of Third or Intermediate Class tickets at all Railway Stations in the Command, except only in the case of servants travelling with their *European* masters, or servants or others in the employ of the Government, or all such to whom Railway permits have been granted by me or on my behalf.

6. WHEREAS I deem it advisable to take steps to prevent any evilly-disposed persons tearing down or defacing Notices and Orders which I may cause to be exhibited for the information and good government of the people of this Area,

All Orders that I have to issue under Martial Law will be handed to such owners of property as I may select, and it will be the duty of such owners of property, to exhibit and keep exhibited and undamaged in the position on their property selected by me all such orders.

The duty of protecting such Orders will therefore devolve on the owners of property, and failure to ensure the proper protection and continued exhibition of my Orders will result in severe punishment.

Similary I hold responsible the owner of any property on which seditious or any other Notices,

proclamations or writings not authorized by me, are exhibited.

7 Whereas I think it advisable to take such steps as I think necessary for the prevention of violence and the preservation of good order, more particularly for the prevention of injury to His Majesty's Soldiers and Police, as well as to all law abiding citizens in the Area under my Command, I make the following Order .—

From and after the promulgation of this Order it shall be illegal for any male person to carry or be found in possession of an instrument known as *lathi*.

All persons disobeying this Order will be arrested, tried by summary Proceedings and punished under the powers conferred on me by Martial Law.

8. Whereas I deem it expedient to take further steps for the prevention of violence and intimidation and for the maintenance of good order in the Area under my Command, I make the following Order:—

From and after the promulgation of this Order it shall be unlawful for more than two persons to walk abreast on any constructed or clearly defined pavement or side walk in such Area, and disobedience of this Order will be punished by all such special powers as are conferred on me by Martial Law.



9. Whereas practically every shop and business establishment in the Area under my Command has been closed in accordance with the *hartal* or organized closure of business directed against His Majesty's Government,

And whereas the continuance or resumption of such *hartal* is detrimental to the good order and governance of the said Area,

And whereas I deem it expedient to cause the said *hartal* to entirely cease :

Now therefore by virtue of the powers vested in me by Martial Law I make the following Order, namely :—

On and after the promulgation of this Order every shop and business establishment in the Area under my Command shall open and carry on its business, *and thereafter daily shall continue to keep open and carry on its business* during the usual hours, not beyond 22.00 hours, in exactly the same manner as before the creation of the said *hartal*.

And likewise I order that every skilled or other worker will resume and continue during the usual hours his ordinary trade, work or calling.

And I warn all concerned that if I find this Order has been, without good and valid reason, disobeyed, the persons concerned will be arrested and tried under the summary procedure of Martial Law, and

shops so closed will be opened and kept open by force, and any resultant loss arising from such forcible openings will rest on the owners and or occupiers concerned.

And I further warn all concerned that this Order must be strictly obeyed in spirit as well as in letter, that is to say, that to open a shop and then refuse to sell goods and to charge an exorbitant or prohibitive rate will be deemed a contravention of this Order. Rates will be fixed from time to time by competent authority.

10. Whereas it has come to my knowledge that the present state of unrest is being added to and encouraged by the spreading of false, inaccurate and exaggerated reports or rumours,

Now therefore by virtue of the powers vested in me by Martial Law, I give notice that any person found guilty of publishing, spreading or repeating false, inaccurate or exaggerated reports in connection with the Military or Political situation will be arrested and summarily dealt with under Martial Law.

11. And finally I declare that loyal and law-abiding persons have nothing to fear from the exercise of Martial Law, but I warn all people that any disobedience to these or any other Orders that

I may think fit to issue under Martial Law will be severely punished under the summary powers possessed or delegated by me.

12. Whereas it has come to my knowledge that a number of persons in the Area under my Command are in possession of firearms and ammunition, by virtue of exemption, license or otherwise,

And whereas I deem it desirable, in the interests of the safety of His Majesty's Troops and Police and for the prevention of disorder and violence, to take steps to ensure that such arms should not pass, by theft or otherwise, into the possession of those who might use them unlawfully,

Now therefore by virtue of the powers vested in me by Martial Law I do make the following Order, that is to say,

Any person in possession of any arms or ammunition, ordered by me or by any Officer, Magistrate, Soldier or Policeman acting on my behalf, to surrender for safe custody such arms and ammunition shall deliver them to me at the place and by the hour mentioned in such Order.

And for the purpose of this Order, every Military or Police Officer, Magistrate, Soldier and Policeman shall be deemed to be acting on my behalf.

And I warn all concerned that disobedience of

this Order will be summarily dealt with by me under Martial Law.

13. And whereas by virtue of the powers vested in me by Martial Law, I order that

All pedal-driven cycles (save and except such as are the *bona fide* property of Government) owned or possessed by persons, other than Europeans, residing in the district hereinafter described, shall be delivered to the Officer appointed by me at the fort between the hours of 09-00 and 16-00 hours on Sunday, the 27th April 1919.

And thereafter it will be a contravention of Martial Law for any such person to be in possession of a cycle unless accompanied by a Certificate of Exemption from military service signed on my behalf.

For the purposes of this Order, all cycles owned or ridden in the course of duty by Officers or servants of the Government shall be deemed to be the property of Government and therefore exempt from this Order.

#### DISTRICT AFFECTED.

The portion of the Area under my Command known as the " City."

R. E. H. DYER, C.B., BRIG.-GENL ,  
*Commanding Amritsar Area."*

HEADQUARTERS, RAMBAGH, AMRITSAR :

*25th April 1919.*

The first part of the report is devoted to a general  
 description of the country, its climate, soil, and  
 natural resources. It is followed by a detailed  
 account of the various industries and occupations  
 pursued by the inhabitants. The report then  
 proceeds to a description of the principal towns  
 and cities, and the state of agriculture, stock  
 raising, and other branches of husbandry.  
 The concluding part of the report contains  
 a summary of the principal facts and  
 observations which have been made during  
 the course of the expedition.

DISTRICT HISTORY.

The history of the district is divided into  
 three periods, the first of which is the  
 period of discovery, the second is the  
 period of settlement, and the third is  
 the period of improvement. The first  
 period is the most interesting, and the  
 second is the most important. The third  
 period is the most recent, and the  
 most promising.

# APPENDIX A.

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## COMPARE AND CONTRAST.

### I—FACTS ABOUT AMRITSAR DISTURBANCES.

*(According to the Martial Law Commission in the Amritsar conspiracy case.)*

The events that occurred at Amritsar on the 10th April last are too well known to require any detailed description. Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, accused 1 and 2, were deported at 10 a. m. on that date—the news of their deportation was quietly taken to the city ; a *hartal* was promptly organised and a mob started to go to the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow in the Civil Station to demand the release of the two deportees.

At the railway footbridge this mob was met by a small picquet of troops—the mob attacked this picquet with stones and brickbats and had driven it back some 100 yards or so when Mr. Connor, Additional District Magistrate, arrived on the scene. He endeavoured to stop the mob but failed, and ordered the picquet to fire. This checked the mob and soon after the picquet was re-enforced by Mr. Plomer, D. S. P., with a posse of armed Police.

A section of this mob attacked the Railway Goods Shed, murdered Guard Robinson and assaulted Mr.

Bennet, Station Superintendent. Near the Rego Bridge Sergeant Rowlands, Cantonment Electrician, was brutally beaten to death and the telegraph office was attacked—other sections of the mob attempted to force their way over the Railway Road Bridge and the District Magistrate was compelled to give orders to fire on them.

In the city the National Bank was burnt and looted—Messrs. Stewart and Scott being murdered. The Alliance Bank was sacked and Mr. Thomson murdered, and an attack was made on the Chartered Bank. The Religious Book Society's Book Depot, the Town Hall and the Indian Christian Church were burnt. Attacks were made on the Normal Girls' School and the Zenana Hospital, the Lady Doctor Mrs. Easdon having a narrow escape while Miss Sherwood was brutally and badly beaten. The city itself was in the hands of the insurgents till the 13th April. That these acts constituted a deliberate and most determined waging of war cannot be disputed. Indeed the learned Counsel for the accused made no attempt at urging that war was not waged, and we have no hesitation in holding that war was waged on the 10th April.

## 2—FACTS ABOUT LAHORE DISTURBANCES.

*(According to Mr. Justice Leslie Jones' Commission).*

The Commission details the circumstances leading up to the Lahore Riots, mentioning the first protest meeting held at the Bradlaugh Hall on the 4th of February, 1919, organised by the Indian Association and

convened by Mr. Duni Chand, the Secretary, speeches being made by Messrs. Manohar Lal, Rambhaji Dutt, Gokal Chand, Dharam Das and others ; Mr. Gandhi's manifesto of March 1, including his Satyagraha vow ; the second protest meeting held at the Bradlaugh Hall on the 9th of March, addressed by Dr. Kitchlew of Amritsar, Messrs. Rambhaji Dutt, Gokal Chand, Mr. Saunders and Habib-ul-lah ; Mr. Gandhi's message advocating fasting and suspension of business and the third protest meeting fixed for 30th, but postponed to the 6th of April. On the 6th of April, there was a complete *hartal* in Lahore, extending even to Muzang and Baghwanpura. As a natural consequence and, in spite of the fact that processions had been forbidden, a crowd collected and threatened to become unmanageable. The authorities had the situation in hand and nothing serious happened. The advertised meeting was held in the Bradlaugh Hall that afternoon and was addressed by several speakers, including Messrs. Rambhaji Dutt and Gokal Chand. Great pains had been taken to popularise this meeting, the names of 30 conveners had been advertised, and the number of those attending was so great that an overflow meeting had to be held outside.

#### OUTBREAK OF APRIL, 9TH.

Business was resumed as usual on the 7th. On the 9th of April, the annual Ram-Naumi procession was held, at which speeches were made advocating Hindu



and Mahomedan unity. On the afternoon of the 10th news arrived of the Amritsar disturbances and the murder of Europeans, and also of Mr. Gandhi's arrest. A fresh *hartal* was started at once. On the evening of the 10th a large mob advanced down the Mall and had to be dispersed by firing both on the Mall and at the Lohari Gate. On the morning of the 11th a mass meeting of Hindus and Musalmans was held in the Badshahi Mosque, and when this broke up in the evening, it degenerated into a disorderly and mischievous rabble and marched through the streets shouting, among other cries, that the King was dead and destroying pictures of Their Majesties. On the 12th the crowd once more assembled in the Badshahi Mosque and began the proceedings by driving out and beating an Inspector of the C. I. D, who was fortunate to escape with his life. After listening to some speeches and electing a committee, they marched through the city and came into conflict with the authorities at the Hira Mandi and had to be dispersed by firing.

The remaining incidents relate to various meetings and committees concerning the *hartal*, which continued in Anarkali until the 17th and in the city until the 18th when it was finally ended by orders passed under, Martial Law.

### 3—FACTS ABOUT GUJARANWALLA.

(*From the Civil and Military Gazette.*)

On April 12, Lieut. Col. O'Brien, Deputy Commissioner, left the station on transfer. On the 13th

there were rumours that another *hartal* would be organized for the 15th. It appears, however, that the local organisers decided hastily on pushing this forward to the 14th on the ground that many of the officials and better class non-officials had gone to Lahore on the 13th to be recipients of rewards at the hand of His Honour, and also that Mr. Wace, Assistant Commissioner, Rai Bahadur Barkat Ram, Vice-President of the District Board, the Naib Tehsildar and other notables had gone to Eminabad for the annual Bisakhi Fair. Late in the day, suggestions reached Mr. Heron, Superintendent of Police, that some evil-doers were inclined to work mischief on the lines of the mob of Amritsar. He therefore advised the American Missionaries to send away their womenfolk to Sialkot, and to consider the question of organising the able-bodied Christians for some form of defence. At the time the Missionaries demurred but it appears that later on they were warned by converts to leave hastily and were told that Indians, whatever their religion, would not be in danger.

#### RIOTING AT THE STATION.

Mr. Heron, had no special warning. About 7-30 a. m., he noticed the train standing some 300 or 400 yards outside the station with a large crowd of people round it. Mr. Heron and Mr. Nevill, A. S. P., then turned out all the local police and proceeded to do their best to keep order and remained on duty continuously till the arrival of the aeroplanes about 3 p. m. It

appears that the same organisers had been working continuously underground for some time and that the mob had been well plied with liquor to give them Dutch courage. Many false rumours about the evil intention of the Government towards the people had been spread broadcast. A calf was killed and hanged by the neck on a girder of a railway bridge on the Lahore side of the station. This was discovered by the police early in the morning and buried by them, but the rumour was spread that it had been killed by the C.I.D. in order to cause dissension between Hindus and Mahomedans. Both communities were exhorted to combine against British officials who used such enemies of the people as their minions. On the arrival of the train at 7-30 in the morning a large number of people collected at the railway station to proceed to Wazirabad, where there is also a very large Bisakhi fair, but a number of the leaders of the mischief shouted up and down on the platform that this was no day to go for holiday and rejoicing when all should be mourning for the deaths of their friends in Delhi, Amritsar and Lahore. The crowd, therefore, alighted from the train. The train moved out but the guard was attacked by the mob and when the train got to the distant signal it stopped. The mob rushed up and threw stones at the train, damaged the engine to some extent and handled the driver roughly. Shortly after this the railway bridge in front of the distant signal was found to be on fire. The police officers made their way there and extinguished the fire. Mean-

while the railway telegraph wires were cut on both sides but telephonic communication with Lahore was open long enough for brief messages to be sent through. Then the telephone wires were also cut. The crowd shouted about a good deal, some retiring at intervals with their leaders to listen to fresh lectures about the inequities of the Rowlatt Act and the necessity of the unity of the Hindus and the Mahomedans. One bright speaker, it is alleged, made play with the Hindustani word *Ham*, which it was pointed out was made up of the letters *H* and *M* with nothing between, therefore he said "we Hindus and Mahomedans should allow nothing to come between us." To make up for the trouble caused by closing the shops a *langar* or free kitchen had been arranged by subscription and food was distributed among the crowd.

#### MR. HERON ASSAULTED.

About midday crowds began to attack the railway line on the Lahore side. They were dispersed by the police but then it was found that a bridge was burning further along the line. Mr. Heron and the police went to extinguish it. He was about to return to the railway station when a large mob of men and boys came towards him armed with sticks, heavy railway hammers, pickaxes and other tools. Till then, despite the happenings at Amritsar and elsewhere, the utmost patience was shown by Mr. Heron, who was continuously urged by the

various Magistrates on the spot with him that the crowd would settle down and all would pass off as on the 6th without any untoward incident if nothing was done to disturb it. However, at last a determined attack was made on Mr. Heron himself by the mob. Two stones struck him and one ruffian got near enough to reach forward to grapple with him. At last orders were given to fire. The crowd then dispersed, returning towards the city and apparently several were wounded though none was killed there.

#### BUILDINGS SET ON FIRE.

It appears that while a certain number remained to demonstrate outside and near the railway station others returned to deliberate in an open space in the town. While speeches of the previous type were going on news of the wounded arrived at the assemblage, and spread like wildfire, and the mob started out again bent on mischief. From that time onwards various buildings were set on fire in turn by different parties. The Post and Telegraph Office opposite the railway station, the Dak Bungalow and the Tahsil were soon set on fire by various parties of boys mainly, it would appear, under some sort of discipline. When news came that the Kutcheri and the Civil Station were being attacked, Mr. Heron left the railway station with a posse of police, leaving others with injunctions to fire on any one attacking the railway station.

SAVED BY THE AEROPLANES.

Meanwhile the few women and children left in the station had taken refuge in the Treasury. The crowds were already giving up the contest as not good enough when several aeroplanes arrived from Lahore and drove the evil-doers hastily to cover. However it is satisfactory to know that by bombs and machine-gunning several casualties were inflicted though not nearly as many as the ruffians and hooligans of the mob deserved, still the effect was decisive and the people hid themselves in their houses and during the night a large number of them fled into the adjoining villages. About the time that the aeroplanes turned up Colonel O'Brien arrived in a motor from Lahore. Seeing that the Civil Station was burning he pressed on towards it. The mob was already disappearing by other routes and by the time he reached the Treasury and ascertained that all Europeans were safe there was no opposition to be seen.

4—FACTS ABOUT KASUR.

[*From Press communiques issued by the Punjab Government.*]

The morning train from Ferozepore on the 12th was held up outside Kasur station and looted by a mob of about 1,000 of whom many were armed with *lathis*. Two Europeans, Honorary Lieutenant Selby of the Ordnance and Sergeant Mostyn, R. A, were killed, and another was injured. After looting the train and doing

a great deal of damage in the station the crowd burnt the Post Office and attacked the Tahsil. Here, however, they were driven off by the police with a loss of one killed and about six wounded. Some arrests were made.

Further information received regarding the Kasur outrage shows that Mr. Sherbourne and his family owed their preservation to the bravery and devotion of the two British warrant officers who lost their own lives in trying to protect them, and to the resourcefulness and presence of mind of Khair-ud-din Khan, Traffic Inspector. Mr. Sherbourne, who is a Signal and Interlocking Inspector, N.-W. Railway, was a passenger with his family by the 9-18 from Ferozepore to Lahore. He states that on arriving within one mile of Kasur the train stopped. He looked out and saw all the passengers leaving the train and getting on to a high bank. Some 200 or 300 yards in front of the train he saw a mob of over 2,000. Two soldiers carried his children and they made for the gatekeeper's hut at the level-crossing. The mob came up and smashed in the door and window and the soldiers were dragged out. One of the rioters (who was afterwards arrested) came inside the hut and pulled Mr. Sherbourne's hat off and tried to drag him outside. Thereupon Kheir-ud-din Khan, Traffic Inspector, pleaded with the rioters not to hurt the Sherbournes and they cleared off.

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## APPENDIX B.

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### THE HON'BLE PANDIT MALAVIYA'S INTERPELLATIONS IN THE VICEROY'S LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

*[These questions are an indispensable compendium for those who wish to examine the scope, nature and accuracy of the findings of the Hunter Committee. When the Committee publish their report we would do well to compare their findings with the facts embodied in these questions.]*

1. Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing :—

- (a) The number of persons actually arrested and detained in custody in connection with the recent disturbances in the Punjab, classified according to town or village, and showing the names, parentage, caste, profession and place of residence of the persons arrested or detained ;
- (b) The number of persons out of the above list who were actually put on trial:
- (i) Before the Commissions constituted under the Martial Law Ordinance of 1919 promulgated by the Governor-General;



- (ii) Before the Summary Courts established under the orders of the General Officers Commanding the Lahore and Rawalpindi Divisions;
- (iii) Before the Area Officers constituted by or in virtue of the powers conferred by the General Officers Commanding the Lahore and Rawalpindi Divisions for offences against the Proclamation issued on the 19th April, 1919. (Notification No. 10,766 of Home Department Military, dated 21st April, 1919;
- (iv) Before the ordinary Municipal Courts in districts where Martial Law was not declared; and
- (v) Before the Special Tribunal constituted under the Defence of India Act;
- (c) Number of persons convicted out of those mentioned in clause (b) and the offence or offences of which they were convicted and the sentences passed in each case;
- (d) The number of persons discharged or acquitted out of these mentioned above in clause (b);
- (e) Number of persons arrested but released.

### LAHORE AND RAWALPINDI SUMMARY COURTS.

2. Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement giving the following particulars regarding all cases tried by the Summary Courts established by the General Officers Commanding the Lahore and Rawalpindi Divisions and also by the Area Officers appointed under Notification mentioned in Q 1, (b) i i:

- (a) The total number of cases decided by each of the said courts and officers from day to day.
- (b) The number of cases in which summaries or memorandum of evidence and reasons for findings arrived at were recorded;
- (c) The number of cases in which only reasons for findings arrived at were recorded and
- (d) The number of cases in which no summary or memorandum of evidence, nor any reasons for the findings arrived at, were recorded, and
- (e) The number of cases in which the record does not show even the offence charged against.

3. Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing :—

- (a) The number of applications for copies of judgments and evidences and other proceedings of the Summary Courts and of the Courts of the Area Officers made on behalf of the persons convicted, to the Legal Remembrancer, the District Magistrates, Martial Law Administrators and other Civil or Military Authorities;
- (b) The number of cases in which copies have been supplied; and
- (c) The number of cases in which such copies have been refused and the reasons for such refusal.

4. Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing:—

(a) The number of persons flogged in each town or village within the Martial Law Area in the Punjab, whether

1. under Martial Law

(i) on conviction, or

(ii) without conviction or

2. under the ordinarily Criminal Law during the period in which Martial Law was in force, giving names, parentage, age, caste, profession and residence of the persons flogged;

(b) The offence for which each such person was convicted and the name and designation of the officer who passed the order;

(c) The number of stripes inflicted on each such person, and

(d) The name of the locality where the flogging was administered.

### FLOGGING.

5. Will the Government be pleased to state:—

(a) The number of persons who were sent under the Martial Law to the Central Jail, Lahore, to be flogged there and were actually flogged;

(b) The authority under whose orders they were so flogged; and

(c) Whether there is a record of all such cases of flogging. If there is, will the Government be pleased to lay it on the table ?

6. Will the Government be pleased to give the names, ages and other particulars of persons who were flogged on being arrested and subsequently put on trial in what is known as the Sherwood case of Amritsar?

7. Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table lists of persons who after being sentenced by Martial Law Commissioners or other Martial Law Officers were

(a) executed,

(b) transported,

(c) confined in the Lahore Central and Berstal Jails and various District Jails in the Punjab?

#### TOTAL CASUALTIES ?

8. Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the total number of persons who were (1) killed or (2) died of wounds, or (3) were wounded but recovered during the recent disturbances in the Punjab, giving the names, parentage and other particulars and specifying the place where each person was killed or wounded?

9. Will the Government be pleased to state how many people were

(a) killed and

(b) wounded by the firing that took place on

(i) The Upper Mall, on the 10th April.

(ii) Outside the Lahori gate on the 10th April.

(iii) In the Hira Mandi Chauk on the 12th April?

Will the Government be pleased further to state the number of persons injured, if any, among the Police

or the Military specifying the nature of their injuries received in the places and on the occasions mentioned above?

10. Will the Government be pleased to state what steps were taken by the Police or the Military to disperse the crowd in the three places mentioned in the preceding question before they resorted to firing; also to state what was the immediate cause which necessitated the firing on each occasion?

11. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that some of the wounded on the Upper Mall, Lahore, who had been taken possession of by the Police were removed to the Chairing Cross Police Station and not to the hospital which was nearer, and that some out of this number died at the Police Station, without any medical aid? Will the Government be pleased to state the number of persons who so died at the Police Station, with their names and other particulars?

DR. SATYAPAL AND DR. KITCHLEW.

12. Will the Government be pleased to state (a) whether orders had been issued at the end of March or the beginning of April, 1919 against Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew, of Amritsar under the Defence of India Act requiring them to abstain from addressing public meetings and whether these gentlemen had submitted to those orders, (b) if so, what was the reason for deporting these gentlemen on the 10th of April?

13. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Government apprehended public excitement at the deportation of Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal and for that reason piquetted the carriage-over-bridge with the Military or mounted Police?

14. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that on the morning of the 10th April, business in Amritsar was going on as usual till the news of the deportation spread through the city, when all shops were suddenly closed in consequence thereof?

15. Is it a fact that after the shops were closed an unarmed crowd started from the city to go to the house of the Deputy Commissioner to urge the release of the deportees and on the route passed by the National Bank, the Alliance, the Chartered Bank, the Church, the Town Hall and other public buildings without making any attempt at mischief?

16. Is it a fact that the progress of the crowd towards the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow was barred by the piquet mentioned above which fired upon the crowd? If so what was the immediate occasion for the firing?

17. Will the Government be pleased to state—

(a) The number of times the crowd was fired upon at the foot and carriage-over-bridges at Amritsar on 10th April?

(b) Is it a fact that no violence against person or property was committed by any section of the crowd till after they had been fired upon?

## SEDITIONOUS MEETINGS ACT.

18. Will the Government be pleased to state:—(a) whether any proclamation prohibiting meetings under the Seditious Meetings Act was issued on or before the 13th April, 1919, at Amritsar? If so, at what time, in what manner and in what parts of the city was it published?

(b) If no such proclamation was published will the Government be pleased to state if there was any prohibition of meetings by any other authority on or before the 13th April and, if so, when under what law and by whom such prohibition was issued, and in what parts of the city and in what manner it was published?

## JALLIANWALLA BAGH TRAGEDY.

19. Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a plan of Jallianwalla Bagh where a large number of people were shot while assembled at a meeting on the 13th April, 1919, drawn to scale, and showing

(a) All the entrances and exits to the Bagh;

(b) The height of the houses and the walls surrounding the Bagh;

(c) The spot where the Military were posted at the time of the firing on the 13th and its height above the ground where the people were assembled;

(d) The position of the armoured car posted in or near the Bagh on that day and

(e) The position of the audience and their distance from the firing party.

20. Will the Government be pleased to state what was the number of persons assembled at the Jallianwalla Bagh on the 13th April at the time they were fired upon ?

21. Will the Government be pleased to state

- (a) How and when and by whom the meeting at the Jallianwalla Bagh held on the 13th April was advertised in the city ?
- (b) When did the authorities come to know that such meeting was going to be held ?
- (c) What steps, if any, were taken by the authorities to make it known to the persons assembling that the meeting was prohibited ?
- (d) When did the people begin to assemble in the said Bagh ?
- (e) At what time did the proceedings begin and how long did they continue before the arrival of the Military ?
- (f) Whether there was any reconnoitering by aeroplane over the Jallianwalla Bagh at the time the meeting was going on and before the Military arrived ?
- (g) What steps, if any, were taken by the authorities to disperse the meeting from the time the people began to assemble to the time when the Military arrived ?



- (h) At what time the Military arrived on the scene and how long after did they open fire on the crowd ?
- (i) What was the strength of the Military what was their equipment and who were the officers in command ?
- (j) Did any, and if so, which Magistrate or other responsible civil officer accompany the Military to the garden or was present there at the time of the firing ?
- (k) By whose orders were the Military sent there and with what instructions, if any ?
- (l) Were the people assembled entirely unarmed and were there also a number of children among them ?
- (m) Was the order to fire given by any Magistrate or did the Military act on their own initiative ?
- (n) Did the officer who ordered the firing warn the people assembled and give them time to disperse before giving the order ?
- (o) How long did the firing last and how many rounds were fired ? What was the nature of the ammunition used ? What was the total number of bullets actually fired ?
- (p) What was the total number of persons (i) killed, (ii) wounded, who subsequently died, (iii) wounded who recovered, at Jallianwalla

Bagh together with their names, parentage, age residence and other particulars?

- (g) Whether there were any ambulance or first-aid arrangements previously made by authorities for the wounded, on the spot? If not, were any steps taken after the firing for the disposal of the dead bodies and the statement of the wounded?
- (r) Of the persons wounded at the garden how many were admitted to any hospital?
- (s) Was any order in force at Amritsar on the 13th April last, prohibiting people from leaving their houses after 8 p. m.?
- (t) How long after the firing was the Bagh cleared of all corpses and by what agency?
- (u) Will the Government be pleased to state if some of the bodies of the dead and the wounded lying overnight in the garden were mutilated and dispoiled of their valuables during the night?
- (v) Will the Government be pleased to state whether any boys or children were shot or otherwise killed or injured at the Jallianwalla Bagh on the 13th of April, 1919, and if so, will the Government be pleased to give a list of the children, stating their names ages, *etc.*?

22. Will the Government be pleased to state whether there were any casualties among people who were in the houses or streets in the neighbourhood of the Jallianwala Bagh when the firing took place there on the 13th of April? If so, will the Government be pleased to state the names, ages and other particulars of the sufferers?

23. Will the Government be pleased to state if any steps were taken by the authorities and if so, when to ascertain the names and prepare a list of all the persons killed and wounded in the Jallianwala Bagh?

24. Is it a fact that the 13th of April was the Baisakhi festival the "New Year's day" on which the biggest *mela* in the province is held at Amritsar which is attended by thousands of persons from all parts of the province? Will the Government be pleased to state if a large number of such persons from outside also were present in the meeting at the Jallianwala Bagh on that day? If so what steps were taken and when, to trace out the casualties among them?

25. Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement giving the names of persons who were wounded at the Jallianwala Bagh, who have been prosecuted and convicted or discharged, stating in cases of conviction the offence or offences with which they were charged and the punishments awarded to them?

26. Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table copies of all orders, proclamations, posters, notifications and notices issued.

- (a) by the administrators of Martial Law in the Punjab in their respective areas,
- (b) by civil authorities in the same areas during the operation of Martial Law,
- (c) by civil authorities after the withdrawal of Martial Law notifying that certain acts by the civil population will be treated as offence, and dealt with by Military officers?

27. (a) Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that in the lane known as Daggalan-ki-gali in the quarters known as Kanriyanwala Khul where Miss Sherwood was assaulted, every Indian, irrespective of age or position in life, wishing to pass through the lane, was made to crawl on his belly through the whole length of the lane and British soldiers were posted from morning to 8 p. m. to enforce the observance of this order?

- (b) Whether as a consequence of the enforcement of this order, houses in the lane remained unscavenged for many days?

28. Will the Government be pleased to state—

- (a) If all the legal practitioners of Amritsar, nearly one-hundred in number, were compulsorily enrolled as special constables, and irrespective of age and physical fitness, were

not only made to patrol the city for nearly a month, but also required to walk several times a day to a place outside the city, to answer the roll-call?

(b) Were they allowed to attend to their professional duties during the period?

(c) Is it also a fact that those lawyers were made to fetch and carry tables, chairs, *etc.*, for Europeans?

(d) Is it also a fact that the said lawyers were all summoned and made to stand in rows in front of the flogging stand and that two persons were actually flogged in their presence?

29. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that the electric and water supply of the whole city of Amritsar, exclusive of the Civil Lines was cut off for four or five days about the 12th of April last?

Is it also a fact that a large number of wells in the city of Amritsar had been closed in recent years when Mr. King was Deputy Commissioner there?

30. Will the Government be pleased to state—

(a) If it is a fact that several very respectable under-trial prisoners, including bankers, lawyers and doctors of Amritsar, were handcuffed in pairs and confined for several days in an open racket court in April last, at a time when it was hot during the day and cold during the night?

(b) Whether they remained so hand-cuffed continuously for all the 24 hours of the day for several days together and whether they had to eat, drink, sleep and attend to the calls of nature while so hand-cuffed in pairs ;

(c) Whether the said prisoners were subsequently removed to cells in the forts and kept there so hand-cuffed? If so, what were the dimensions of such cells and the number of prisoners confined in each?

31. Will the Government be pleased to place on the table a plan drawn to scale, of the town of Gujranwala and of Gharjakh, Bhagwanpura Dhulla and other neighbouring village thereof where bombs were dropped or machine-guns were used showing

(a) That situation of the properties to which damage was done by the mob on the 14th, April last ;

(b) Houses actually occupied on the 14th and 15th April by the Europeans; and

(c) The spots where bombs were dropped, or to which machine-gun fire was directed, indicating in each case whether it was part of a house or other building or an open space?

Will the Government be pleased to state—

(d) How many aeroplanes were sent from Lahore to Gujranwala on the 14th April, 1919, and by whose order?

- (b) How many of these aeroplanes were equipped with machine-guns or armament of other kinds ?
- (c) How many bombs were dropped from these aeroplanes and how many shots fired from machine or other guns ?
- (d) What was the total number of casualties wounded, or killed, due to such bombing and firing, giving the names and other particulars of the persons.
- (e) Whether any bombs were thrown or shots fired from aeroplanes at any place in Gujranwala town or its neighbouring villages on any date after the 14th April ? If so, how many and where ?

32. Will the Government be pleased to state the sex, ages, designations and other particulars of Europeans who were in Gujranwala town at the time of the arrival of the aeroplanes on the 14th April ?

33. Will the Government be pleased to state the names and places if any in the Gujranwala district other than the town of Gujranwala and its neighbourhood, where any firing was resorted to by the Police or the Military ? If so, will the Government state the nature of arms and ammunition used in each place and the number of casualties with names and other particulars ?

LALA MELA RAM'S CASE.

34. Will the Government be pleased to state:—(a) If it is a fact that on the 15th April last Col. O'Brien, Deputy Commissioner of Gujranwala with a strong body of police and European soldiers and with an armoured-car marched to the house of Lala Melaram, B. A., LL. B., Pleader and arrested and hand-cuffed him and took him away without allowing him to dress himself or to speak to his family.

(b) Whether the party then met Mr. Labh Singh M. A., (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law and arrested and hand-cuffed him and chained him with Lala Melaram ;

(c) Whether the party then proceeded to the houses of twenty other gentlemen (Pleaders, Bankers, and other respectable citizens) and arrested and hand-cuffed and chained them all together ;

(d) Whether the persons so arrested and chained together were marched to the city, two and two, headed by a Hindu and Mohammedan to ridicule Hindu and Mohammedan Unity, as was stated at the time by Col. O'Brien ;

(e) Whether under the order of Col. O'Brien two Municipal Commissioners walked in front of the procession thus formed and pointed to the aeroplanes hovering overhead kept on shouting to the people to make way



for the prisoners on pain of being bombed or shot down ;

(f) Whether after being thus paraded through the principal streets of the town the prisoners were taken to the Railway Station and put into an open coal truck which was guarded by a number of European soldiers with fixed bayonets and by an armoured-engine with a gun directed towards the prisoners ;

(g) Whether the prisoners were not allowed to leave their places even for the purposes of attending to the calls of nature; and whether some gentlemen had to relieve themselves where they were huddled together ;

(h) Whether on reaching the Lahore railway station, and before being removed to the Jail the prisoners were kept for about ten hours along with thirty other prisoners in a room which opened by means of an iron barred and impanelled door into another room which was used as a latrine ?

35. Will the Government be pleased to state whether a number of pleaders and other respectable citizens, in the town of Shekhupura in the district of Gujranwalla were arrested and treated in a manner similar to that adopted at Gujranwalla and were subjected to similar inconveniences and indignities when being taken to Lahore ?

36. Will the Government be pleased to state whether almost the entire population of the town, of Shekhupura above the age of 10 years irrespective of rank or social position was summoned by Mr. Bosworth Smith, I. C. S., Joint Deputy Commissioner and one of the Martial Law Officers, and made to sweep a large open piece of ground ?

37. Is the Government aware that a marriage party of certain Muhammedans of village Rajgarh within the Municipal limits of Lahore, was arrested and the members thereof were convicted by Mr. E. A. Penhearow, one of the Martial Law Officers of Lahore ?

If so, will the Government be pleased to state—

- (a) The number of persons tried and convicted ;
- (b) Whether the bridegroom and the Mullah (Priest) were also among the accused ?
- (c) The offence for which they were arrested and tried ; and
- (d) The sentences passed upon each person ?

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38. Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table the correspondence which passed between it and the Punjab Government leading to the declaration of Martial Law in the Punjab ?

39. Will the Government be pleased to state—

- (a) the facts and circumstances, which in its opinion constituted a state of open rebellion against the authority of the Government in

certain parts of the province of the Punjab, within the meaning of Regulation X of 1804, on the date on which Ordinance I of 1919 was promulgated by the Governor-General and

- (b) the date or dates up to which such state of open rebellion continued in each part of the Punjab to which the said Ordinance had been applied?

### GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

40. Will the Government be pleased to state—

- (a) Whether a number of barristers, pleaders, and other respectable persons of Gurdaspur district, where Martial Law was never proclaimed, were arrested on or about the 2nd May, 1919, brought in hand-cuffs to Lahore, confined in the Central Jail there, and released at Gurdaspur on the 8th July without trial, after having been kept in solitary cells for most of the period?

- (b) If so, will the Government be pleased to give the names and other particulars of the persons arrested, and to state the reasons for their arrest and the law under which they were detained in custody without trial for such a long time?

41. Is it also fact, that at the time of the release of the Gurdaspur lawyers referred to in the preceding

question, the District Magistrate of Gurdaspur, Mr. Harcourt, I. C. S., expressed his regret in open Court that Government had taken no action against them and told them that he, however, was taking steps to move the High Court at Lahore to proceed against them under the Legal Practitioners Act?

42. Will the Government be pleased to state—

(a) Whether General Dyer visited Gurdaspur on the 18th April, 1919 and held a Durbar in the Government School Hall to which lawyers, Honorary Magistrates, Government servants, bankers, traders, Ziladars, Lambardars, *etc.*, were invited by the Deputy Commissioner?

(b) Was the Hall guarded by the military with armoured cars and machine-gun?

(c) Did General Dyer address the audience as Budmashes and use other insulting language?

43. Did General Dyer address similar remarks to a similar meeting at the town of Ratula in the district of Gurdaspur?

#### RETIRED INSPECTOR'S CASE.

44. (a) Is it a fact that Sardar Gauhar Singh, a retired Inspector of Police of Shekarpura was arrested and sent to the Central Jail at Lahore as a hostage of his three sons, named Amar Singh, Atma Singh,

and Santokh Singh, the last aged 16 years, who were wanted by the police but could not be found at the time in the station ?

(b) Is it also a fact that though he has been released, a report has been made by the Executive Authorities recommending forfeiture of his pension ?

45. Will the Government be pleased to state—

(a) If it is a fact that the Gujranwala Police proceeded to the town of Hafizabad with a warrant for the arrest of 121 persons, containing neither the names nor the descriptions of the persons to be arrested, and that the said police did arrest 21 residents of Hafizabad under the said warrant ?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to place on the table a statement giving the names and other particulars of the persons so arrested, dates of their arrest and release or conviction, the offence or offences for which they were arrested or convicted and the sentences awarded to those convicted ?

46. Has the attention of the Government been drawn to a letter published in the "Leader" newspaper of Allahabad, dated the 14th August, 1919, and signed "Justice" detailing the humiliation to which the people of Hafizabad were subjected during the Martial Law

period, in particular that school children and even infants of four or five years of age had to be present at the roll call twice a day before a Military Officer?

47. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that certain District Officers or their subordinates in the Punjab have imposed and collected by coercion and threats large sums of money as fines from several villages and small towns for their alleged misdeeds during the recent disturbances? If so, will the Government be pleased to make a detailed statement showing the amount so collected from each village or town, the law under which, and the authority under whose orders the money was so collected and the manner in which it was disposed of?

#### BOMBING FROM AEROPLANE.

48. Will the Government be pleased to state—

(a) Whether on the 14th April last a bomb was thrown from an aeroplane at the Khalsa High School Boarding House at Gujranwala, which is situated at a distance of over a mile from the buildings against which any violence had been committed and the places where any mob had collected?

(b) Did the bomb burst and injure the platforms and some of the walls of the premises?

(c) Were over 150 students present at the time in the Boarding House?

(d) Is it a fact that shots were fired from one of the aeroplanes and injured a *halwai* who had a shop on the premises?

49. Will the Government be pleased to state whether Lala Dhanpat Rai, Pleader of Kasur, aged over 70 years, was arrested on the 15th April (four days after the riot that took place there) hand-cuffed and marched to the Railway Station surrounded by a strong military guard with fixed bayonets, and from there taken to the Lahore Jail where he was kept for nearly two months, and then released without any charge or trial?

50. Will the Government be pleased to state, if amongst others, Maulvi Ghulam Mohi-ud-din, Pleader of Kasur, (who had last year been publicly rewarded for his services in connection with the War) and Maulvi Abdul Qadir, a senior Pleader of Kasur, were arrested and kept in confinement for some weeks in an improvised lock-up near the Railway Station and were then released without any charge or trial?

#### GALLOWS AT KASUR.

51. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that three gallows were erected in a public place at Kasur, and were not taken down till after several days? If so, what was the object with which they were so put up?

52. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that several school boys at Kasur were flogged,

and if so to state their names, ages and their particulars together with the number of stripes administered in each case and the offences for which the boys were so punished ?

53. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that during the Martial Law period permits to travel were refused to several pleaders of Kasur, who had to attend to their cases before ordinary Municipal Courts at the headquarters of the district, *viz*—Lahore ?

54. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that on or about the 1st of May, 1919, practically the whole population of the town of Kasur, was summoned to the Railway Station for the purpose of identification, and that they were made to stand bare-headed exposed to the sun for six hours or so ? Is it also a fact that while the male population was thus withdrawn from the town, several houses were searched by the Military or the Police, accompanied by the Ward Member, and that in some cases, even the Zenana apartments were entered in search of possible hidings ?

#### MR. MANOHAR LAL'S CASE.

55. Will the Government be pleased to state why Mr. Manohar Lal, M. A., (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, formerly Minto Professor of Economics at the University of Calcutta and now a prominent member of the Lahore Bar and a Syndicate of the Punjab University was arrested on the 18th April, 1919, and kept in Jail, for nearly a month, including one week of solitary confinement ?



56. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that on the date Mr. Manohar Lal was arrested, his bungalow was locked and sealed by the police and his wife and children turned out and obliged to live in one of the out-houses used as servants' quarters, until the bungalow had been searched about a week later ?

57. Will the Government be pleased to state—

(a) Why Rai Sahib Seth Ram Persad, Municipal Commissioner, and one of the largest house proprietors and bankers of Lahore, was arrested in April last and marched in hand-cuffs to the Central Jail, a distance of nearly three miles, kept in solitary confinement, and then released without trial after several weeks ?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state the sums subscribed by him and his sons towards the War Loans and War charities and other services rendered by him during the war ?

58. Will the Government be pleased to state if the following incidents connected with the arrest and detention without trial of Lala Ratanchand, Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, and Lala Dhaniram Bhalla, a merchant of Anarkali, Lahore, are correct ? A letter from the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore was received by Lala Ratanchand

on the 19th of April, asking him to produce his carriage before the Martial Law Officer-in-charge of the Transport. Lala Ratanchand immediately wrote in reply that he had never possessed and was not then in possession of any carriage at all. In spite of this, on the 20th of April, he was sent for by the Deputy Commissioner and asked why he had failed to produce his carriage. Lala Ratanchand explained that he had no carriage at all. After further questions his statement to this effect was recorded by the Deputy Commissioner, and he was allowed to go.

On the evening of the 22nd at about 8-30 p. m., Lala Ratanchand was arrested by a Police Inspector and taken to the Police Station where he was told that the reason for his arrest was his failure to produce a carriage in accordance with the orders of the Deputy Commissioner. On his again representing the facts of the case, the Police Officer had enquiries made from Lala Ratanchand's neighbours and relations, and after having satisfied himself, he released him.

In the afternoon of the 24th April, the Superintendent of Police, C. I. D., went to his house with a military guard in a motor car and arrested Lala Ratanchand again, and took him to the Delhi Gate Police Station while he was under high fever. Here Lala Ratanchand and Lala Dharamdas Suri, Vakil High Court, and Lala Dhaniram Bhalla, who had also in the meanwhile been arrested were surrounded by about a hundred European and Indian soldiers, with fixed

bayonets and made to walk through the city to the Fort, a distance of about a mile, where they were confined. Here Lala Ratanchand and Lala Dhaniram were kept for fifty days during which time no statement was ever taken from them nor were they ever told for about what offence and under what law they had been arrested and detained.

#### ARRESTS AND RELEASE WITHOUT TRIAL.

59. Will the Government be pleased to state the circumstances under which the following persons were arrested and released without trial after being kept in custody for several days :—

1. Lala Dunichand, piece-goods merchant, Bazaz Hatta, Lahore.
2. Lala Vaid Raj Sardarilal, Managing Director, Ayurvedic and Pharmaceutical Company, Ltd., Lahore.
3. Sardar Wadhwa Singh, dealer in perfumes, and Jams, Lahore.
4. Lala Amirchand, Proprietor, Swadeshi Stores, Anarkali, Lahore.  
Lala Jagannath, Secretary, Arya Samaj, Wachhowali, Lahore.
6. Lala Hiralal Kapur of the Punjab Samachar, Lahore.
7. Lala Kaluram Kohli, Proprietor, Simla Hindu Hotel, Lahore.
8. Lala Diwanchand, Proprietor, West End House, Lahore. (Arrested at his shop at Amritsar.)

9. Lala Mohanlal Sarraf, Banker, Suha Bazar, Lahore.
10. Lala Kishenchand, carpet-merchant, Lahore.
11. Lala Saligram, Proprietor, Aror-Bans Press, Lahore.
12. Lala Rajaram, Jeweller, Bazaz Hatta, Lahore.
13. Lala Daulatram, goldsmith, Gumti Bazar, Lahore.
14. Lala Mistri Karimbakhsh, Gas Contractor, Gumti Bazar, Lahore.
15. Pandit Amarnath Sharma, Estate Agent, Jauri Mauri, Lahore.
16. Lala Chunilal, shop-keeper, Moti Bazar, Lahore.
17. Sirdar Mohan Singh, hardware merchant, Dabbi Bazar, Lahore.
18. Lala Hemraj, banker and landed proprietor, Shahdara.
19. Mian Sirdar Mohammad *alias* Saradara Munshi, Shahdara.
20. Mian Siraj Din, Munshi, Shahdara.
21. Mian Nurdin *alias* Madha, Mochi Gate, Lahore.
22. Mian Zahur Din, son of Nurdin, house proprietor, Rang Mahal Bazar, Lahore.
23. Lala Jagannath, cloth-merchant, Bazaz Hatta, Lahore.
24. Lala Desraj, stamp-vendor and deed-writer, Bazaz Hatta, Lahore.
25. Lala Mul Raj, shop-keeper and Chaudhri of Gumti Bazar, Lahore.

26. Badshah, Bhūsawala, Bhati Gate, Lahore.
27. Malha Khan *alias* Malha, *Halwai*, Delhi Gate, Lahore.
28. Mian Shadi Khan, Kakezai, Mohanlal Kalal, Lahore.
29. Mian Ibrahim Khan, cloth-merchant, Lohari Mandi, Lahore.
30. Pandit Jairam Das Khatri, Kucha Khaghzian, Mochhi Hatta, Lahore.
31. Lala Jairam Das Khatri, Kucha Khaghzian, Machhi Hatta, Lahore.
32. Pandit Hukumal, son of Pandit Thakurdas, Wachhowali, Lahore.
33. Lala Beliram of the firm of Ganeshdas Shankerdas, Bazaz Hatta, Lahore.
34. Mian Rajdin, umbrella-maker, Dabbi Bazar, Lahore.
35. Mian Muhammad Hasan, son of Shadi Khan Kakezai, Mohalla Kalal, Lahore.
36. Mian Jalal Din, son of Azi Din, shop-keeper, Akbari Mandi, Lahore.
37. Swami Sevananda, physician-in-charge of the Ramkrishan Charitable Dispensary, Sutar Mandi, Lahore.
38. Lala Ganeshdas, Merchant, Bazaz Hatta, Lahor ; and
39. Tarachand, barber, Wachhowali, Lahore.

60. Will the Government be pleased to state if Dr. Kedar Nath of Amritsar, a retired Civil Surgeon, aged 60 years, who had been invalided in 1909 on account of heart troubles, was arrested and handcuffed and marched through the streets with 62 other prisoners to the Jail, and kept in confinement for a fortnight with two other prisoners, in a cell which was meant for one person only and then released without trial? If so, for what offence?

61. Will the Government be pleased to state—

(a) If it is a fact that Martial Law notices were posted at the houses and shops of a number of people at Lahore with directions that the occupants must guard the posters, and that if they were damaged, torn or disfigured, the occupants would be severely punished under Martial Law?

(b) Is it a fact that mostly the people who had taken part in public movements or had any interest in any of the persons arrested were selected for this form of harrassment?

#### POSTING OF MARTIAL LAW NOTICES.

62. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that even after the arrest of the persons at whose houses the Martial Law Notices were posted at Lahore, Martial Law Authorities continued to post such notices at their houses, making the members of their families responsible for duly exhibiting and protecting

them, thus forcing them to keep anxious and continuous personal watch over the said posters ?

63. Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the number of persons punished for tempering with the Martial Law posters giving in each case the name, age, parentage, *etc.*, of the said persons and the punishment inflicted upon them ?

64. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that (a) the name of the Sanatan Dharma College Hostel, Lahore, was not included in the first published list of places at which Martial Law Notices were to be exhibited ?

(b) That notwithstanding this some posters were put up on the boundary wall of the Hostel without intimation to the College authorities or the inmates of the hostel ;

(c) That one of the posters was torn by some unknown person whose identity has not yet been discovered and on this all the students in the hostel were called by the Martial Law authorities and were marched in the sun carrying their bedding on their shoulders to the Fort, a distance of nearly three miles, and interned there in a body ;

(d) That the students were not released until the Principal and the President of the Committee of the College gave an undertaking on the

following day to the authorities to be personally responsible for the proper exhibition and safety of the notices ?

#### DAYALSINGH COLLEGE INCIDENT.

65. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that (a) one morning during the Martial Law period, the Principal of the Dyalsingh College, Lahore, was served with an order of the Administrator of Martial Law, Commanding Lahore, Civil Area, to the effect that it had been reported to him that a certain objectionable poster had been found put up on the outer wall of the College premises and had been removed by the police and brought to his notice, and that if the College authorities did not find the writer and report him before 12 noon the same day, drastic measures would be taken against all concerned with the College ;

(b) On this the trustees (Raja Narindra Nath, M. A., once Commissioner of Lahore, Rai Bahadur Sundardas Suri, M. A., and Lala Shiva Dayal, M. A., retired Inspectors of Schools, and Lala Kunwar Sain, M. A., Barrister-at-Law and Principal, Law College), and the staff made a careful inquiry and came to the conclusion that none of the students of the College was the writer of the notice ;

(c) That meanwhile Col. Frank Johnson, the Martial Law Administrator, arrived there in person and it was pointed out to him that there



were no signs on the walls at all to indicate that the poster in question had been nailed or posted there. But he replied, pointing his finger to a certain spot on the wall, that he decided that it had been posted at that spot ;

- (d) That the next day the Principal was sent for at the Martial Law Head-quarters and was informed that he must pay a fine of Rs. 250 or in default undergo three months' imprisonment and then he was taken in a motor car to the College with two soldiers, with fixed bayonets, and was released on payment of the fine to the latter ;
- (e) That from that time onwards the students began to keep careful secret watch all round the extensive College and Hostel premises day and night in batches and kept a regular diary ;
- (f) That after a few weeks continuous watch and ward, the batch of students on guard at the time caught hold of a person red-handed trying to put up on the College wall a spurious poster and were about to take him before the Martial authorities when several other persons arrived on the scene and rescued the offender, saying that they belonged to the Police and would themselves take him before the Martial Law Officers ;

(g) That on this incident being brought to the notice of the Martial Law authorities by the Principal the fine which had been previously imposed on him was remitted?

Will the Government be pleased to give the name and other particulars of the offender, and state what action, if any, has been taken against him?

### STUDENTS AND MILITARY ROLL CALL

66. Will the Government be pleased to state—

If it is a fact that all the students of the D. A. V., the Dyalsingh and the Medical Colleges at Lahore were required to attend roll-calls before Military officers when they were made to stand in the sun, guarded by the Military with fixed bayonets and that this process was continued for three weeks, immediately preceding the University examinations?

(b) Is it also a fact that in the case of the King Edward Medical College, the total distance which the students were made to traverse on foot in the summer heat for attending the roll-call, amounted to not less than 16 miles a day?

(c) Is it a fact that some students actually fainted while going to, attending, or returning from such roll-call parades and that thereupon a nearer place was fixed for taking the roll-call?

67. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Principals of certain colleges in

Lahore were coerced by the Martial Law Administrator to inflict very severe punishments on a certain percentage of their students without regard to any evidence of their guilt? If so will the Government be pleased to lay on the table all the orders issued by the Martial Law Administrator and all the correspondence relating to this matter between him and the Principals of the said colleges?

### COMMANDERING OF VEHICLES.

68. Will the Government be pleased to state how many motor-cars, cycles, carriages, bicycles, electric fans, lamps, and telephones were commandeered from the inhabitants of Lahore and what was the military necessity justifying such a course?

69. Is it a fact that most of the Europeans whose motor-cars had been commandeered were supplied by the military authorities with conveyances commandeered from Indian gentlemen?

70. (a) Will the Government be pleased to give the names and addresses of all the residents and institutions from whose premises electric fans, lights, and phones were removed?

(b) Have the fans, lights, telephones so commandeered been in all cases returned to their respective owners since the withdrawal of Martial Law? If not, why?

71. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that electric fans and lamps were removed by the Martial Law authorities from places of worship

like the temples of the Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj, thus hurting the feelings of and causing discomfort to the worshippers? And is it a fact that in spite of representations having been made both to military and civil authorities these fans and lamps have not yet been returned?

72. Is the Government aware that in some cases tried by Martial Law officers, especially towards the close of the Martial Law period, the accused were convicted without the whole of the defence evidence being heard, even though witnesses were present in Court on the ground of want of time, *e. g.*, in the case of Lala Gurdasram and Lala Shivaram, Pleaders of Hafizabad, in the district of Gujranwalla, who were sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment each by Mr. Wace, I. C. S.?

#### LYALLPUR SUMMARY COURTS.

73. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact (a) that Ramlok, son of Daulatram, aged 17 years, a student of the Government High School, Lyallpur, was arrested on the 25th April, and having been detained in Police custody for 3 weeks was released for want of evidence against him; (b) that several days after his release his father Daulatram appeared as a defence witness for one Ramditta and deposed that the police had asked Ram Ditta to turn an approver and he had refused to do so;

- (c) That on this his son Ramlok was re-arrested on the following day and put on his trial for the very same offences for which he had been arrested and released before ;
- (d) That the trial of Ramlok was fixed for the 9th and 10th June, but as Martial Law was going to be withdrawn at midnight on the 9th June, the trial was accelerated to the 5th June, without any previous intimation having been given to the accused or to his father, and
- (c) That the accused was tried and sentenced to one year and seven months' rigorous imprisonment for offences under Sections 147, 426 and 506, Indian Penal Code, by Mr. A. L. Hoyle, I. C. S, officer presiding over Summary Courts under Martial Law, without any chance being given to him to produce his defence ?

74. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact—(a) that one Bhagwan Singh a meat-seller of Lyallpur was arrested on the 6th June last and placed before the Martial Law Summary Court on the 7th June; (b) that on the 8th June, part of the evidence was heard and the case was adjourned; (c) that as the Martial Law was to be withdrawn at midnight on the 9th June, the case was taken up at 11 o'clock that night without any opportunity being given to his counsel to be present, and the accused was sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment ?

## CONVICTIONS WITHOUT EVIDENCE?

75. Is the Government aware that in some cases tried by the Martial Law Commissioner constituted under Ordinance No. 1 of 1919, no record of evidence of witnesses either for the prosecution or the defence has at all been made, nor judgments recorded though heavy sentences have been awarded. *e. g.*, (a) the case of Crown *versus* Farzla, son of Gumardin, Kakazai convicted under section 124 A, and sentenced to transportation for life by the Commission presided over by Lt. Col. Irvine, on the 26th of April, 1919, and (b) trials Nos. 20 and 21 of Hansraj and Hariram of Amritsar, before the Commission presided over by the Hon. Mr. Justice Leslie Jones. I. C. S., Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Lahore, convicting the aforesaid persons to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment each under Section 412, I P C.?

76. Is the Government aware that in several cases tried by the Martial Law Commissions constituted under Ordinance No. 1 of 1919; examination of outside witnesses for the defence was refused except by interrogatories; and when in pursuance of this order of the Commission interrogatories were actually put in, they were referred by the Commission to the Convening Authority who disallowed such as he did not think proper, without hearing the accused or his counsel in contravention of the provisions of Section 85 (7) of the Indian Army Act?

77. Is the Government aware that in several instances the Convening Authority refused to issue interrogatories for examination of defence witnesses unless money was deposited by the accused to defray the expenses thereof?

### GUJRANWALLA LEADERS' CASE.

78. (a) Is the Government aware that in the trial known as the Gujranwalla Leaders' case, held before the Commission presided over by the Hon. Mr. Justice Broadway, a Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Lahore, one of the accused Jagannath who wanted to establish an *alibi* by production of State records and other evidence from Kathiawar, was ordered to deposit Rs. 250 before the interrogatories could be issued?

(b) Is the Government also aware that though Jagannath did deposit the above sum and interrogatories were actually issued, the learned Commissioners delivered judgment convicting Jagannath and sentencing him to transportation for life and forfeiture of property without waiting for the return of the interrogatories, in spite of the written and oral protests of his Counsel?

79. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that in the case known as the Lahore Conspiracy case (King-Emperor *vs.* Harkishenlal, *etc.*) tried by the Commission presided over by the Hon.

Mr. Justice Leslie Jones, I. C. S. though the Public Prosecutor was present throughout the trial to conduct the case on behalf of the Crown, the cross-examination of the defence witnesses was conducted by the Commissioners themselves and the Public Prosecutor put only half a dozen questions to 2 out of more than 600 witnesses examined for the defence, thus depriving the defence of the right of re-examination?

80. Will the Government be pleased to state—

- (a) Whether it is a fact that the Convening Authority issued written orders which were exhibited in the Court roof prohibiting the taking of shorthand notes of proceedings before the Commission even though an undertaking was offered on behalf of the accused that such notes would be used solely for the purposes of the cases and would not be published?
- (b) Is it also a fact that on protest being made by defence counsel that the Convening Authority had no power to pass such an order the Commission presided over by the Hon. Mr. Justice Leslie Jones, I. C. S. expressed its inability to interfere with the order of the Convening Authority?

#### BAN AGAINST LAWYERS.

81. (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the grounds on which the Martial Law Authorities prohibited the entry of counsel from outside the Punjab into the Martial Law area?



- (b) Will the Government be pleased to state if Sir Erle Richards, Senior Counsel for the Secretary of State for India, who opposed the application of Ratanchand and Choudhry Bugga for special leave to appeal to the Privy Council was right in stating that the prohibition was confined to persons coming from Bengal?
- (c) Is it a fact that besides Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. J. N. Roy, Mr. B. Chakravarti, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Langford James, Mr. C. R. Dass, Mr. B. C. Chatterji of Calcutta Bar, permission to appear before the Martial Law Commissions at Lahore was refused to the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru of the Allahabad High Court, Mr. Syed Hasan Imam of the Patna High Court and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Mr. Azad of the Bombay Bar?

82. Is the Government aware that the Administrator of Martial Law at Lyallpur issued an order prohibiting the entry into that district of legal practitioners who ordinarily practise in the districts in the Punjab, other than Lyallpur?

83. Is the Government aware (a) that Maulvi Muharram Ali Chisti, a Vakil of the High Court at Lahore, who was unaware of the order referred to in the preceding question, appeared in the last week of May before the Sessions Judge at Lyallpur in an

ordinary criminal case (No. 116 of 1919) without any objection being raised by any one to his entry in the district, (b) that about a fortnight later, on the 11th June, two days after the Martial Law had been withdrawn from Lyallpur and on the day on which it was to be withdrawn from Lahore, Mr. Muharram Ali Chisti was arrested by the Lahore Police and placed before Major Ferrar, one of the Martial Law officers at Lahore, on the charge of having acted in contravention of the Lyallpur Martial Law order referred to above and fined Rs. 100.

Mr. C. F. ANDREWS.

84. Will the Government be pleased to state (a) the reason why permission to enter the Martial Law area was refused to Mr. C. F. Andrews, who had been appointed as their representative by several leading Indian papers ; and (b) why later on when Mr. Andrews was coming to Lahore on his own account he was taken out of the train at Amritsar Railway Station, detained there for several hours and finally sent back out of the Province ?

85. Will the Government be pleased to state :—

(a) If it is a fact that after the declaration of Martial Law at Lahore no Indian was allowed to travel by train either from or to Lahore, without a special permit granted to him by the Martial Law Authorities ?

(b) Whether as a matter of fact such permits were granted to Indians only on the recommenda-

tion of a European or Anglo-Indian, irrespective of his position in life ?

86. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Hon. Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi, C I. E., at that time a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and president of the High Court Bar Association, Lahore, asked for a permit for his agent to enable the latter to travel to his lands in the Montgomery district, and that this application was refused ?

### COMPULSORY SALAMING OF EUROPEANS.

87. Will the Government be pleased to state if one of the orders issued by the Martial Law Authorities at various places in the Punjab, was that every Indian of whatever status in life must *salam* every European ? If so, will the Government be pleased to state—

- (a) the areas in which such orders were issued and enforced ;
- (b) the number of persons arrested and punished for infringement of such orders ; and
- (c) the names, ages and occupations of persons who were flogged for breach of this order and the number of stripes inflicted in such cases ?

88. Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that one Gopaldas, son of Daviditta Mal, caste Arora, of Akalgarh, who was a telegraph peon at Lyallpur during the Martial Law days was arrested for not

*salaming* a European officer to whom he had gone to deliver a telegram and that he was given five stripes for it in jail, although he protested that he had actually *salamed* the officer and was willing to do so again ?

89. Is it a fact that in some districts in the Punjab where Martial Law was in force, orders were issued that every Indian driving in a carriage or riding a horse must get down when he passed by a European, and further that Indians carrying open umbrellas must close and lower them when they met an European ?

90. (a) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the number, names and other particulars of persons, if any, who have been arrested, detained, tried and punished on the Railway Stations by the Martial Law officers since the withdrawal of Martial Law from the districts in which those stations are situated ?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state what is the nature of the punishment inflicted in each case ?

91. Will the Government be pleased to state if there is any reason for the continuance of Martial Law on the Railway Stations in the Punjab ? Is the Government aware that such continuance of Martial Law exposes Indians to unnecessary humiliations and hardships and causes needless irritation ?

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# APPENDIX C.

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## FOR EASY REFERENCE.

Martial Law was declared on the 15th of April, 1919, and withdrawn from all places in the Punjab except Railway premises on the 9th of June, 1919. From the Railway premises it was withdrawn late in August.

Disturbances took place at Lahore, Kasur, Amritsar, Gujranwala (including, Hafizabad and Wazirabad) Lyallpur, and Gujrat. A number of Railway Stations were also the scene of some disorder. Prominent among these were : Bhagtanwala, Khemkaran, Wagah, Lal Musa and Chuharkana.

The Government profess ignorance of the actual number of persons arrested and detained in custody in connection with the Punjab disturbances. It is generally believed that the total figures must be appalling and 5,000 is not an overestimate.

The number of persons actually tried by Martial Law Commissions was 852. The number of those tried by the Summary Courts established under Martial Law was 1,437. Out of those tried by the Martial Law Commissions 581 were convicted.

Altogether 18 persons were executed, 26 transported for life and 1,229 confined in Jails.

The number of Martial Law Commissions appointed by the Government was 4.

The official figures of deaths that occurred as a result of firing on the mob are :—

LAHORE 14, Amritsar 301, Gujaranwala 17, Gujarat 2—total 334. The incomplete non-official list of deaths at Amritsar is 541.

Altogether 7 Europeans were killed by the mob in the whole of Punjab during the disturbances. Out of these five were killed at Amritsar and two at Kasur.

Fifty-eight persons were flogged in public streets in the Punjab. Out of these 31 persons were flogged by the order of Lt.-Col. Frank Johnson of Lahore.

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THE PERSONNEL OF THE OFFICIAL COMMITTEE  
OF ENQUIRY.

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*Chairman.*

Lord Hunter, formerly Solicitor General for Scotland.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rankin.
2. The Hon'ble Mr. Rice.
3. Major General Sir George Barrow.
4. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.
5. Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed.
6. Mr. T. Smith, of Cawnpore Muir Mills.
7. Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narain.

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