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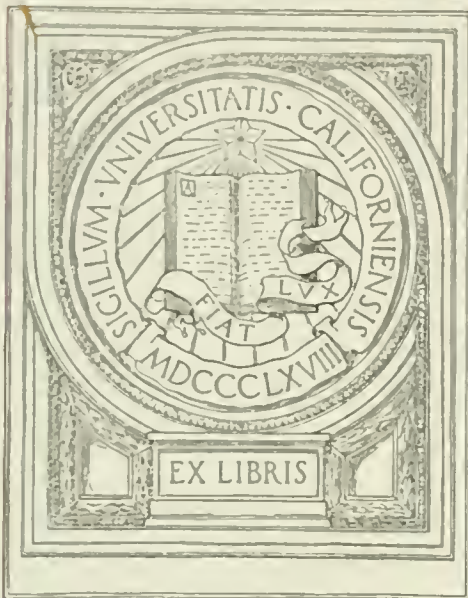
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EAST INDIA (PUNJAB DISTURBANCES).

REPORTS

ON THE

PUNJAB DISTURBANCES

APRIL 1919.

Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.



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1920.

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EXPLANATORY NOTE.

This Report was submitted by the Punjab Government to the Government of India on the 11th October, 1919, and was received in England on the 18th December. The portions not reproduced either relate to events in districts in which no violent outbreak occurred, or discuss questions of administration upon which Lord Hunter's Committee of Enquiry will pronounce. While the portions reproduced also, of necessity, deal with questions that are still under enquiry, they form in substance a narrative of events and not an expression of opinion, and are now published, without prejudice to the results of the Committee's labours, as giving a fuller account of the occurrences than had previously been accessible in England.

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District Reports.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

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

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

The history of the agitation dates back further even than in the case of Lahore. The fact that the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee of 1919 was to be held at Amritsar had brought into prominence the local Congress Committee (founded in 1917), and the account of events‡ in Multan district will show the interest which the Committee‡ took in extending the sphere of its political activities. There was particular anxiety to bring the Punjab peasant into the Congress movement, and early in the day the Committee decided to remit all delegates' fees in the case of agriculturalists. The Committee was not in itself an "extreme" body. When Amritsar was faced with the prospect of actual disorder, many members of the Committee interested themselves in deprecating agitation; but there were extremist members, such as Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal, to whom counsels of moderation did not appeal. As early as August 1918, Dr. Kitchlew had made himself conspicuous as the advocate of a policy which should ensure, that, to use his own words, "even the English would not be allowed to land

* Martial Law Commission case, decided 5th July 1919.

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

‡ See p. 36.

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

It was, after this, doubtful if there would be another hartal on April 6th. The local Congress Committee, alarmed apparently by the events at Delhi, declared against it, and the District Magistrate was assured by a meeting of the chief citizens on April 5th that it would not take place. It was not until the evening of the same day that certain of the leaders decided that it should be held. The rapidity with which a demonstration of this nature can be organised—given the previous existence of a suitable atmosphere—is proved by the fact that when the hartal was duly held next day, the 6th April, it was as complete as that of the 30th March. There was, however, again no disorder or collision with the police, the only disturbing feature being the exhibition of a poster on the Clock Tower, calling on the people of Amritsar to "die and kill." Though no disorder occurred, a state of tension undoubtedly existed and a private meeting was held on the 7th to consider the continuation of the hartal.* The previous course of the agitation had been pronounced, and the Lahore press was interesting itself in keeping the excitement alive by all means in its power. The district authorities took no steps to interfere with the celebration of the annual Ram Naumi festival of April 9th. Though it is a purely Hindu festival, it was on this occasion here (as elsewhere) celebrated by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. There was much public fraternisation, Hindus drinking out of vessels held by Muhammadans; for the usual cries in honour of Hindu deities, the crowd substituted shouts for Hindu Muhammadan unity and for Gandhi. At the same time there was no hostility or even discourtesy exhibited to Europeans, who moved freely among the crowd, as they had done in the hartal of the previous Sunday.

It was at this juncture that the Local Government, which had been considering the effect of the speeches of Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal, decided on their internment under the Defence of India Rules, and conveyed orders to this effect to the District Magistrate. The justification for their action is the subsequent judgment of the Martial Law Commission that they were among the prime movers in a "conspiracy† having as its object the dissemination of sedition." It has been argued that such action, taken at such a time, was directly provocative. It is difficult to accept this charge. In the great majority of towns in the Punjab there had been a hartal on the 6th, and no disorder‡ had followed. The Lahore papers, while interested

* Martial Law case, decided 5th July 1919.

† Martial Law case, decided 5th May 1919.

‡ See pp. 44–46.

in maintaining the general excitement, had quoted the general course of the demonstration on the 6th as reflecting credit both on the character of the crowds and of Government. There was admittedly a state of tension; there was also a reasonable certainty that such tension would lead to further agitation; and the continuance of agitation was likely to have very undesirable consequences—given the character of the people in the central Punjab—on the rural areas. This was the danger which the Local Government had to consider. The disabling orders passed on Kitchlew and Satyapal had not prevented them (as the proceedings of the Commission afterwards showed) from continuing to direct the movement for agitation; and a fair estimate of the probabilities seems to indicate that their removal was far more likely to disorganise an agitation rapidly growing dangerous, than to lead to open disorder. The case was almost exactly parallel with that of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh in 1907.

The District Magistrate when informed of these orders on the evening of the 9th, did not anticipate any local disturbance other than a possible demonstration in the Civil Lines. His estimate of the situation was based on the fact that during the hartal of the 6th, and even during the excitement of the Ram Naumi on the 9th, there had been no tendency to violence, and no demonstration of open hostility to authority. In order to prevent crowds demonstrating in the civil station, it was decided to prevent them crossing the railway line: three European Magistrates were sent to the main crossings, which were picketed by mounted troops and police; there had for some days been a piquet at the Railway Station. A force of British infantry was kept in reserve in the Rambagh Gardens. Arrangements were also made for collecting the residents in the Civil Station if real danger threatened; but since it was anticipated that the trouble, if it occurred, would be only in the direction of the Civil Lines, it was not thought necessary to issue any special warning to bankers and others whose business took them to the city.* It was thought that the peace of the city would be sufficiently safeguarded by a force of 75 armed police under an Indian Deputy Superintendent in the Central Police Station. Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal were brought to the District Magistrate's house at 10 A.M., on the morning of the 10th without any disturbance being created, and at 10-30 were sent off to Dharamsala in motor cars. About noon crowds began to collect in the city and a telephonic message was received that they were moving towards the Civil Lines. Up to this point therefore the anticipations of the local authorities were correct; and it may further be noted that the crowd passed several Europeans on the way but did not molest them. At 12-30 the District Magistrate found that the crowd, finding itself checked at the Hall Gate Bridge, was angrily opposing the small piquet stationed there; the piquet was stoned, but the arrival of mounted supports held the crowd temporarily. The District Magistrate rode off to summon military assistance; in his absence the mounted troops were again pressed back and heavily stoned, and the first class Magistrate, who had written instructions to deal with any crowd attempting to pass this point as an unlawful assembly, called on the troops to open fire. A small number of rioters were killed and wounded. A body of police soon after arrived, together with reinforcements of troops, and the crowd was driven back on the railway line, but not before the infantry had been again obliged to fire. Up to this point the casualties in the crowd had been small.

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

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

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

† Guard Robinson Murder case, dated 7th June 1919.

‡ Martial Law Commission Order, dated 2nd June 1919.

Manager, who had attempted to defend himself with a revolver, was murdered. The Commission describes the murder as follows:—

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

The finding of the Commission that this murder followed that at the National Bank disposes of the allegation that the violence of the mob was due to the action of the Manager of the Alliance Bank in firing his revolver.† It should be noted here that the Commissioners commented, unfavourably on the inactivity of the force of 75 armed police who, as shown above, were stationed in the Central Police Station. It was not, they noticed, till the mob had been at its work of destruction for over half an hour that a body of 25 constables under a Sub-Inspector was sent across to save the Alliance Bank. The Religious Book Society's Depôt and hall were burnt down, but the inmates, who were native Christians, escaped. The Town Hall and the Sub Post Office attached to it were fired, and the Sub-Post Offices at the Golden Temple, Majith Mandi and Dhab Basti Ram were looted. The Commission notes that the mob, when looting these offices,‡ did so with shouts of "*Gandhi ki jai*" and "*maro luto*." The Zenana Hospital was entered and every effort was made to find Mrs. Easton, the lady doctor in charge, who, however, escaped. The evidence given before the Commission shows that the search for her was deliberate, and the intention of the crowd obvious. They broke open rooms and cupboards, and after leaving the building once, returned, on information given by a disloyal servant, to search for her again. They only left to assist in looting the National Bank godown. Mrs. Easton was finally helped to the house of a Sub-Inspector of Police, by a chaprassi, who had remained loyal throughout and now provided her with an Indian woman's clothing. Miss Sherwood,§ a lady doctor who, as the Commission noted, "had for many years been working in the city and was greatly respected" was brutally assaulted. It is worth giving the details, since at a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and All-India Home Rule League** this occurrence was described as "a petty assault on a woman."

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

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

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

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

In the course of the afternoon the mob also burnt the Indian Christian Church, and attempted to fire the Church Missionary Society Girls Normal School,†† fortunately, as the Commission remarks, without discovering the four lady missionaries, who were hidden by the staff. A European Police Inspector, who had a piquet close by, hastened up with half his piquet and dispersed the mob. Finally the Electrician to the Military Works, Sergeant Rowlands, was caught near the Rigo Bridge, and murdered. According to the evidence before the Commission,‡‡ he was endeavouring to make his way back to the fort when he was met by a crowd, and his skull battered in. The culprits were subsequently found boasting of their offence.

The crowd subsequently made a further attempt to break into the Civil Lines, and shortly after 2 P.M. they were fired on again at the Hall Gate Bridge, after repeated warnings from the District Magistrate. There were probably about 20 to 30 casualties on this occasion.‡‡‡ But the determination to violence which had now seized the mob is shown by the fact that, before nightfall, they had made attempts to isolate Amritsar from all outside communication. Tele-

* Martial Law Commission Order, dated 4th June 1919.

† *Independent*, Allahabad, dated 1st May 1919. *Times*, etc., Calcutta, 19th April, quoting *Vijaya*, Delhi.

‡ Martial Law Commission Order, dated 5th June 1919.

§ Martial Law Commission Order, dated 29th May 1919.

¶ Martial Law Commission Order, dated 2nd June 1919.

• Martial Law Commission Order, dated 31st May 1919.

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

†† Martial Law Commission Order, dated 16th June 1919.

‡‡ Martial Law Commission Order, dated 27th May 1919.

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

graph wires were cut, and a party set out to injure the line towards Lahore; this was defeated by fire from the Railway Police guard on the down Calcutta Mail. Bhagtanwala Railway Station,* about a mile from the Golden Temple, was set on fire and the godown looted. Later at night the Chheharta Railway Station† was attacked by a mob of villagers, but these only broke the lamps on the station itself and proceeded to break open and loot a goods train standing in the yard. At about 10 p.m. some 400 reinforcements arrived from Lahore; the city was entered and at midnight the Central Police Station was visited in order to remove from it certain Europeans who had taken refuge there. The Commissioner of the Division, who had arrived in the afternoon, in view of the serious nature of the disorder, told the Officer Commanding the Troops that he was "to consider himself in charge of the military situation and take whatever steps he thought necessary to re-establish civil control."

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

Though the city was now to some extent under military control, it must not be assumed that normal conditions had been restored. The civil authorities state that when out of the sight of the military, the crowd boasted that Government control was limited to the outside of the city, and the Martial Law Commission|| of 5th July 1919, recorded that "the city was in the hands of the insurgents till the 13th April." Villagers were now pouring into the city, and rumours freely circulated in the countryside that the bazars were to be looted. There is little doubt that the peasants of the district, who are not of a type which will keep the law unless its guardians show themselves able to enforce it, were not so far persuaded that order had been re-established in Amritsar. This fact gives particular importance to the incident which occurred on the afternoon of the 13th. In the forenoon the Officer Commanding the troops, Brigadier-General Dyer, had marched round the city, accompanied by the District Magistrate, with the object of giving a clear warning that no meetings were to held; and at every important point the column stopped while this was announced by beat of drum. (It may be here noted that the Seditious Meetings Act had actually been declared in force at 4 a.m. on the 13th.) As it has been alleged that insufficient warning was given against the holding of meetings, it is well to state that the District Magistrate has categorically stated that every possible precaution was taken in this respect and every quarter visited where it was desirable that the announcement should be made. Nor can anyone who knows the speed with which information of this kind is transmitted in Indian cities, have any doubt that all those chiefly concerned were perfectly well acquainted with the fact that meetings had been prohibited. It is stated, though there is no direct proof of this, that as soon as the troops had passed, a counter-proclamation was issued declaring that the British rule was at an end, and that the troops would not dare to fire. In spite of the precautions taken, information was received about 4 p.m., that a meeting of about 1,000 persons was assembling in the Jallewalian Bagh. This area is not, as its name might denote, a garden, but is a sunken space, oblong in shape, and rather over 200 yards in length. There are houses on all four sides which project in some places into the oblong. There are three or four passages leading into it, and in certain places the boundary walls are low enough for a man to climb over without difficulty. This open space had regularly been used for public meetings. Large assemblies had been addressed here by the heads of the agitation on 29th and 30th March, and on the 2nd April: a dense mass meeting had assembled here during the hartal of the 6th, and had listened to speeches which the Martial Law Commission pronounced to be intended to bring Government

* Martial Law Commission Order, dated 29th May 1919.

‡ For Jallewalian Bagh, see page 6.

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

† Martial Law Commission Order, dated 13th June 1919.

§ Martial Law Commission Order, dated 10th May 1919.

into hatred and contempt; and after the outrages of the 10th, attempts had been made to bury or burn there the bodies of those who had been killed in the rioting. It was not a place of interment, but as one witness stated, it was intended that this action should "sanctify" it. The Martial Law Commission* noted that the meeting was organised by Dr. Muhammad Bashir, who had throughout been conspicuous for his inflammatory language, and was sentenced to death as a member of a criminal conspiracy. It was addressed† by Dr. Gurbakhsh Rai and Abdul Aziz who were convicted as members of the same conspiracy, and by Brij Gopi Nath, who was sentenced to transportation for life by a Tribunal under the Defence of India Act. It has been alleged that the meeting was a fortuitous one, largely attended by villagers who had come in for the Baisakhi fair. It is clear that a considerable number of them did attend as spectators; but the meeting was clearly not fortuitous, nor was its object anything but seditious. It has also been suggested that the villagers were attracted‡ by a rumour that the Chief Khalsa Diwan intended to hold a meeting there. The Chief Khalsa Diwan had issued no such notice, and had never held a meeting in the Bagh.

The District Magistrate had, when the news was received that the meeting was assembling, already left for the Fort; the column had returned, and the greater part of the force had been disposed in piquets with their necessary reserves. The General Officer Commanding had received definite authority from the Commissioner "to take whatever steps were necessary to re-establish civil control," and in pursuance of those orders he considered it his duty to disperse a prohibited and unlawful meeting. Without disturbing his arrangements regarding piquets and guards, he was not able immediately to provide for the purpose a larger force than 50 Indian troops, namely, 25 men of the 9th Gurkha Rifles and 25 men of the 54th Sikhs and 59th Rifles, together with 40 Gurkhas armed only with *kukris* or knives and accompanied by the European Superintendent of Police he took these to the Jallewalian Bagh. He had with him two armoured cars in reserve, but the lane through which he entered was too narrow to admit them and they were left in the street outside; he took no machine gun with him. When he arrived, at about 5 o'clock, he found that the crowd had swollen to several thousands, and it was being addressed by a speaker on a raised platform. His troops deployed on either side of the entrance, the ground on which they stood being some feet higher than the general level of the enclosure. He did not order the crowd to disperse, but proceeded to take action to disperse it at once by fire. 1,650 rounds were fired, fire being directed on crowds not on individuals, and redirected from time to time where the crowds were thickest. The ammunition used was the ordinary 303 army cartridge. On the conclusion of the firing the troops retired; the number of casualties were not counted.

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

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

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

Another resident, of over thirty years' standing, and equally in a position to gauge the feelings of the people wrote that "I have no hesitation in saying that, from the evidence I

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

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

‡ Martial Law Commission Order, dated 9th June 1919.

received from many parts of the Amritsar district, that particular punitive incident averted other serious trouble. But for the news that reached the villages of the military action in Amritsar, Government would have had to face a serious uprising throughout the district during that week." It may, finally, be noted that it is from the date of this occurrence that the Martial Law Commissioners state that the city was released from the possession of the mob.

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

The operation of Martial Law was in many respects less intensive at Amritsar than at Lahore, and fewer regulations were issued. Those relating to the Curfew, to the holding of meetings and the prohibition of hartal, and the carrying of cudgels, were essential to the early restoration of order. The prohibition of the issue of third class tickets naturally caused inconvenience to the travelling public, but was held to be essential in order to prevent communication between agitators in the city and outlying areas: and to this extent must also be viewed as a precautionary measure undertaken in the interests of restoring order. It is, however, a restriction of somewhat too extensive a nature for general use. The regulations for fixing prices cannot, on the whole, be regarded as entirely successful. Prices were laid down at a time when there was every expectation that prices of food grains would fall, as they generally do at harvest time; but the general tendency of prices was to rise, and the fixed prices prevented grain coming in. It was necessary to raise prices week by week, and also to publish notices that carts coming into the city would not be commandeered, and it was finally found necessary to discontinue fixed prices altogether. They rose but very little on the removal of restrictions. Charges involving breaches of the Regulations were all tried by the General Officer Commanding at Amritsar, or by the area officer (Provost-Marshal), sitting as Summary Courts. The cases involved were not numerous. Sixty persons were charged in all, of whom 50 were convicted. Twenty-three were convicted under the general head "disobedience of orders††† and obstruction of officers" twelve under the head "omission and commission of acts in contravention of Martial Law orders,"†††† six for having in their

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

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

§ Martial Law Order No. 4.

|| Martial Law Order No. 5.

‡ Martial Law Order No. 3.

** Martial Law Order No. 7.

†† Martial Law Order No. 8.

¶ Martial Law Order No. 6.

‡‡ Martial Law Order No. 9.

§§ Martial Law Order No. 12.

|||| Martial Law Order No. 13.

*** Martial Law Order No. 16.

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

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

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

possession* a motor without permit, four of disseminating false intelligence.† Nine were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for two years, one to one year, three for 6 months, 16 for less than six months. In 6 cases fines of small amount were inflicted, and 26 persons were sentenced to whipping.

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

A second incident also calls for notice. A rumour was widely circulated that a number of Sikh girls and women had been assaulted by soldiers at the Amritsar Railway Station. The actual facts were that the attention of the authorities was drawn to the fact that a party of Sikh girls, travelling under the escort of three men, had with them a number of Sikh daggers or *kirpans*. The existence of the *kirpans* was pointed out by the girls' escort. There was some doubt whether these should be taken away, but the party was not searched; such enquiries as were made in the matter were made by a Sikh Gazetted Police Officer§ who happened to be at the station, and it was settled subsequently by the Commissioner in the course of a visit to the station. The girls were allowed to retain possession of the *kirpans*, and were sent on by the next train, and made no complaint of molestation. Men were from the first forbidden to search carriages containing women.

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

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

The major charges arising out of the disorder were tried by the Martial Law Commissions, 62 cases in all being put before them, involving 298 accused. Of these 218 were convicted. Fifty-one were sentenced to death; 46 to transportation for life, 2 to imprisonment

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

† General proclamation dated 19th April, section 12.

‡ See Deputy Commissioner's letter No. 284, dated 4th August.

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

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

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

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

FEROZEPORE DISTRICT.

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

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

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

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

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

The disorder at Gujranwala was of a serious type; it led to a widespread destruction of Government property; and had there been a scattered European community such as that at Amritsar, it might have led to outrages such as those which occurred in that city on the

10th April. The prompt arrival of troops limited the field of disorder to the towns, in which it had originated; but for this, it is clear from what occurred in the Sheikhpura Sub-division that disorder might have extended, and with disastrous results, to the neighbouring rural areas. As it was, the peasantry at large remained unaffected. The district, for many years a noticeably poor recruiting area, had been the scene of an intensive campaign from November 1917 to November 1918; and were it true that such campaigns were in any direct sense a predisposing cause of unrest, the district is certainly one in which disorder might have been expected to occur in the rural area.

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

Gujranwala did not partake in the preliminary hartal of 30th March, but on April 5th the local pleaders made arrangements for a meeting of protest against the Act. It was fairly well attended by all classes but with a strong predominance of Hindus. The Act was denounced as a shameful recompense for India's loyalty during the War; its provisions were not explained; but it was tersely summed up as allowing "Na Dalil, na appeal, na Vakil." A speaker who asserted that he had been an eye-witness of the events at Delhi, described the official account of the rioting there as grossly inaccurate. The meeting decided on the holding of a hartal on the following day, the 6th. The hartal was duly observed, but passed off without incident or open excitement, the open exhibitions of lamentation and fasting manifested elsewhere being absent. It seemed at first as if the agitation had spent itself with the conclusion of the hartal, and though there was still some evidence of excitement in the city, it took no outward form; not even the news of the occurrences at Amritsar on the 10th produced any manifestation. On the 12th the District Magistrate left the district on transfer, and on the same day, a number of magistrates and local notables left for Lahore to attend a Divisional Durbar. It appears that the local leaders held a meeting on the evening of the 12th to decide as to the future action to be taken; but arrived at no conclusion. At a private meeting held on the 13th, however, more definite counsels prevailed; it was subsequently judicially established (Commission order dated 17th June 1919) that at this meeting it was decided "to follow the example of Amritsar and arrange for the burning of bridges and cutting of telegraph wires." Additional proof of this is afforded by the fact that in the evening the American Missionaries received a hint from some of their converts that it would be wise for them to leave the town. They did so, on the assurance that the Indian Christians would be safe without them. Early next morning (the 14th) began what appears to have been a concerted—even if hastily planned—attempt to promote disorder. Crowds went round the bazar, enforcing the closure of shops. A calf was killed and hung up by the neck to the railway bridge near the station, and rumours circulated that this was the work of the police. Part of the crowd invaded the railway station, and stoned the passenger train proceeding to Wazirabad. Some evidence of pre-concerted action is also found in the fact that leaders of the crowd dissuaded passengers from Gujranwala from starting for the Baisakhi Fair at Wazirabad. Part of the mob then set on fire a small railway bridge opposite the Gurukul. At this point the Assistant Superintendent of Police, despatched by his superior officer with a small guard, arrived on the scene, and dispersed the crowd without difficulty. It was found that the telegraph wire had been cut on both sides of the station, but the telephone was intact and a message was sent to Lahore asking for assistance.

The train was now (9 A.M.) despatched to Wazirabad, but shortly afterwards part of the crowd returned, and set fire to the Katchi Bridge near the station; all communications both with Lahore and Wazirabad were now for a time cut off. The crowd had now (10 A.M.) greatly increased in numbers, and one or two black flags made their appearance. Parts of the crowd appear to have been taken off to the city by their leaders, where more inflammatory speeches were delivered. Meanwhile sporadic attacks continued on the railway premises; in one place the crowd began to demolish the permanent way near the distant signal, but were chased off by

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

the police; at another, they gained access to the Post Office from the rear and set on fire the inner rooms of the Telegraph Office. This could not be extinguished as the pumps had been previously damaged. Finally, an attempt was made to seize the Superintendent of Police, who had to use his revolver; the police also fired a few rounds of buckshot, and this section of the crowd dispersed. Two men who had been wounded with buckshot were carried off into the city, and their arrival greatly increased the excitement of the crowds.

Meanwhile two other sections of the crowd had crossed the lines some distance from the station, one going towards the Tahsil and Jail, the other towards the District Court and Civil Bungalows. The Superintendent of Police and his Assistant followed them with the forces available—and it may be remarked here that the force of police maintained at Gujranwala was clearly inadequate for protective purposes—but by the time they arrived the crowd had already set fire to the Tahsil, Dāk Bungalow and District Court. They were driven off from the Jail, but a guard placed on the Church had failed to prevent them setting fire to it. The police fired on the crowd whenever it got within reach, but it scattered on their approach, and apparently few were wounded. While the Police were dealing with these scattered elements of disorder, a further section of the crowd found its way to the now unprotected railway station and set the building on fire; another party set fire to the goods shed and what property was not burnt was pillaged by the bad characters who had collected on the spot. The Casson Industrial School was also gutted. At this juncture three aeroplanes, despatched from Lahore, arrived. The aeroplanes had been sent off as the speediest method of meeting the demand for assistance conveyed in an urgent telephone message received about 1 P.M. It was 3:10 P.M. when the first machine arrived, and at the time of its arrival the Railway Station, Church and goods yard were seen to be on fire. It is clear that at the time the police were still engaged in different directions in the attempt to prevent further damage; as the previous narrative shows, as soon as their backs were turned, the crowd again came on and recommenced its work of destruction. Only one of the aeroplanes dropped bombs, the first discharge being at 3:20 P.M. after the officer had circled round several times for the purpose of observation. Two bombs were first dropped, being aimed at a large party of people at a village (Dhulla) outside Gujranwala, the officer no doubt believing them to be rioters going or coming from the city. One bomb fell through the roof of a house and failed to explode; one fell among the party, killing one woman and one boy and slightly wounding two men. 50 rounds from the machine gun were also fired into the party. Shortly after another bomb was dropped at about a mile south of this place, another crowd being observed. The bomb dropped into a dry pond and did not explode; twenty-five rounds were fired from the machine gun, but as far as is known without damage. At 3:35 the officer attacked a crowd of some size near the Khalsa High School and Boarding House on the outskirts of the town; one bomb was dropped, and thirty rounds fired from the machine gun. As far as is known, on this occasion, one man was hit by a bullet, one student by a splinter, and one small boy stunned. At 3:40 P.M., two bombs were dropped near a mosque, in the town: these failed to explode. The aeroplane was now directly over the scene of the worst of the disorder. A hundred and fifty rounds were fired from the machine gun at crowds in the street; one bomb was dropped on the crowd near the burning goods shed, killing four and wounding five men; one bomb was dropped on the crowd in front of the station, killing two men and wounding six. This makes a total of eight in all. The rumour that a large number more were dropped is probably due to confusion between the dropping of bombs and the firing of the machine gun. The aeroplane left at 3:50 P.M. A second aeroplane, which arrived at 3:25 P.M., fired in all 700 rounds, but dropped no bomb. The third aeroplane neither dropped bombs nor fired its machine gun. As far as has been ascertained up to the present, the total number of persons killed by the police was three, and by the aeroplanes nine; 27 in all were wounded by police and aeroplane. There can be no sort of truth* in the assertion that the aeroplanes appeared when the crowds were already moving off, and that consequently their bombing and firing on the crowd was unjustifiable. The charge appears to be founded on a mistaken newspaper report† published soon after the event. The buildings were still burning when the aeroplanes appeared; and crowds were still moving in the neighbourhood of the goods yard and station. Troops did not become available till much later.

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

* *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, dated 4th June 1919. *Searchlight*, Patna, dated 8th June 1919.

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

following day, the 16th, Martial Law was proclaimed, and the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to the district was also notified.*

The occurrences at Wazirabad may be noticed separately. The agitation here appears to have been led mainly by local men, shopkeepers with some Muhammadans. There were here a number of Muhammadans of extreme views who during recent years had been under the influence of a Wahabi, Fazal Ilahi, and also of the well-known pan-Islamist, Zafar Ali. The Arya Samaj element was again prominent in the disturbances. As will be seen, the disorder also extended to the agriculturists of some of the villages close to the town. On the 6th April the Hindus attempted to hold a hartal, but this was frustrated by the action of prominent Muhammadans. No further incident occurred till the 12th when at a meeting held at the house of a Municipal Commissioner, it was decided to hold a hartal on the 13th; at the request of the sweetmeat sellers (who feared interference with their Baisakhi earnings) it was decided to postpone it till the 15th. On the fourteenth arrived the news of the riot at Gujranwala, and the local agitators used the opportunity to reinforce their demands for a hartal. A meeting was held in the Juma Masjid at which Hindus as well as Muhammadans attended, and a Hindu presided; after dark groups marched through the streets singing inflammatory ballads. The hartal arranged for was duly observed on the 15th. Mobs went round the city, closing shops by force; they also visited the schools and closed them, thus adding to the ranks of the crowd. The order of the Commission† which tried the persons subsequently arrested for riot at Wazirabad shows that at this stage fiery speeches were delivered "undoubtedly stirring the mob to violent action." In spite of the attempts of the local Revenue Officer (the Tahsildar) to restrain them, one portion of the crowd went to the engine shed and attempted to induce the employees to strike; a second portion damaged the Telegraph wires near the Dak Bungalow. A party of Cavalry had been sent from Sialkot to protect the railway station; these dispersed the mob by a charge, but the mob returned and stoned them; the officer in command did not consider that he had authority to fire on the mob, and ordered his men to fire into the air. Though the crowd ceased to stone the cavalry, they were not deterred from further acts of violence: part moved on to the Palku railway bridge, which it set on fire, and cut the railway telegraph wires.‡ This part of the mob was dispersed by a police charge and the fire extinguished. Another portion went to Nizamabad village—where the village headman had proclaimed a hartal—set fire to a gang hut and did what damage it could to the railway bridges and level crossing gates. What followed may best be described in the words of the Commission§ which tried the rioters in this case—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One other isolated incident remains to be recorded. In the large Jat village of Aulakh it appears that two of the headmen and some of the landowners of the village were persuaded that the power of the administration had broken down, and that as the village records kept at the headquarters at Gujranwala had been burnt, they would gain some advantage by destroying the copy kept in the village. They accordingly attacked and burnt the "Patwarkhana"§. The Commission which dealt with the accused in this case state that they "violently prevented an attempt to put out the fire, gave vent to treasonable cries announcing that Lahore, Amritsar and Chuharkana had been burnt, that the British Raj was extinct, and that by burning the records they would get their land back; they also threatened that any supporters of Government would be thrown into the fire." The sentences imposed were severe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Curfew was put in force only in towns where there were troops, and was eased off at an early date, as it interfered with the movements of carts and hack animals to market. The order restricting travel was common to all districts in which Martial Law was proclaimed; its primary intention was to prevent communication between affected areas. It undoubtedly caused much general inconvenience, but was justified in the early stages of Martial Law administration as the only measure by which agents from the towns could be prevented from exciting unrest in the rural areas. As regards the order requiring schoolboys to parade the previous narrative will show that schoolboys and students had taken a considerable share in rioting in this district, and there was evidence of great lack of discipline in the schools. A rumour has been circulated that owing to this order several schoolboys at Wazirabad died of sunstroke; the actual fact is that on one occasion at Wazirabad four of the smaller boys fainted from the heat, but suffered no serious effects. The mid-day roll-call was then abandoned.¶¶ Offences against the Martial Law Regulations were tried by the Area Officers as Summary Courts; in all 89 cases were tried involving 92 persons of whom 58 were convicted. Two persons were sentenced to imprisonment for two years, one to one year, one to 6 months, and six to less than six months. In 40 cases fines were inflicted. Whipping was inflicted in 20 cases; all whipping was carried out in private, except in one instance which occurred before instructions in this connection had been issued. The majority of persons sentenced to whipping were youths or persons found disobeying the Curfew regulation.

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

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

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

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

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Part II.—Sheikupura Sub-Division.

It will be convenient to deal with this sub-division separately; it consists of two Tahsils (Khangah Dogran and Sharakpur) of Gujranwala District, but will, with effect from next

* Martial Law notices, p. 75.

† Martial Law notices, p. 77, No. 3.

‡ Martial Law notices, p. 77, No. 5.

§ Martial Law notices, p. 78, No. 7.

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

¶ Martial Law notices, p. 80, No. 11.

** Martial Law notices, p. 83, No. 16.

†† Martial Law notices, p. 15, No. 26.

‡‡ Martial Law notices, p. 87, Nos. 28, 29.

§§ Martial Law notices, p. 91, No. 36.

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

October, be constituted a separate district. The story here is one of damage and outrage done largely by agriculturists, excited by an agitation conducted in their market towns. The towns themselves are either entirely of new growth, or have increased rapidly in prosperity owing to the extension of canal irrigation; the peasant community had, till recently, a traditional reputation for crime and cattle stealing, and their recent accession of wealth has been too rapid to be accompanied by a relative increase in civilisation. They have few natural leaders, and the ordinary conditions of old-established village life do not apply to them. As already indicated, the area is unusually prosperous; recent economic conditions had been favourable rather than otherwise; and comparatively few of the villages affected by the disorder had contributed recruits to the Army. The trouble must be attributed entirely to the excitement of an undisciplined peasantry influenced by the example of their market towns.

The only town in the area which observed the usual hartal of the 6th April was Sheikhpura; this was followed by a mass meeting in the evening, but the language used was not inflammatory. The leaders here appear to have been a retired Inspector of Police and a number of pleaders. For some days no other town made any movement, but on the 11th a meeting was held at a soap seller's shop at Sangla, promoted by a strange Brahmachari (Gobind Pershad) who for some weeks had been lecturing in the town. The views of the meeting were undecided, and a second meeting of about 500 to 600 persons, largely of the trading class, was held later on in the day. It is known that the most inaccurate statements were made about the Act: indeed, one of the subsequent outrages (Moman) was directly due to the excitement caused in the minds of several agriculturalists present, after hearing the Brahmachari's description of the Act. A hartal followed at Sangla on the 12th, observed by the whole town except the ginning factories and a drug shop. There was public bathing in the morning, followed by a procession; excited speeches were made, and extracts of papers read out giving an account of events at Lahore and Amritsar. The crowd went to the railway station, but took no other action than to hoot a missionary who had arrived by the train. In the evening another meeting was held, at which even more excited language was used. Incidents of a similar, though less inflammatory, nature occurred at the market town of Chuharkana. A meeting of townspeople was held in the mosque on the 11th, attended by both Hindus and Muhammadans, and it was resolved to hold another meeting to which agriculturalists from the neighbouring villages should be invited. Here the leaders appear to have been the dismissed manager of a Khalsa School named Kartar Singh; an Updeshak, named Teja Singh, who had frequented seditious meetings at Lahore; a patwari from the United Provinces; and a sprinkling of Arya Samajists. A hartal took place on the following day, the 12th, and a meeting was held attended by a considerable number of agriculturalists from outside. The language used was strongly condemnatory of the Act, and contained the usual misstatements as to the increased powers which it would give the Police.

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

Disorder was renewed on the following day, the 15th. Some Sikh Kambohs of Nawan Pind village summoned a meeting, announced that the Golden Temple at Amritsar had been bombarded, and urged their hearers to cut the railway communications. A mob of agriculturalists marched down to the railway about a mile and a half from Dhabn Singh Station, tore up rails and cut the telegraph wires. Subsequently collecting more men from Mahnianwala village, the leaders of the mob attacked, looted and burnt the railway station itself in the early hours of the morning. The Commission which subsequently* tried those accused of the attack on the Dhaban Singh Railway Station considered that there was good evidence to show that the leaders had cut the line for the express purpose of preventing the passage of troops. In the morning, of the 15th again, a large party of men from the Chuharkana market went to the station and began to pull up the permanent way. Shortly after a special troop train arrived, and the

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

Officer Commanding detained a party of his men to protect the station; but on the departure of the train later in the day, the crowd reassembled and recommenced the work of destruction. A passenger train which arrived from Lahore was attacked, the break van looted, and the engine damaged; the station staff was assaulted, the safes rilled and the station set on fire; two bridges were damaged by fire and the telegraph wires cut. After dark a mob gathered with the intention of looting the grain market; but by this time fortunately assistance was on its way. An armoured train approaching the station from Lahore, and manned by British troops under an Indian Detence Force Officer, picked out the crowd with its searchlight, and dispersed it with machine gun fire. As far as is known two men were killed on this occasion.* The Commission which afterwards tried† those accused on account of this outrage characterized the action of the crowd as marked by great determination, and pointed to the cutting of the wires as proof of their desire to effect a complete rupture of rail and telegraphic communication with Lahore. Later on at night, the telegraph wire was cut by Sikhs between Sangla and Salarwala at a distance of about a mile from Sangla Station.

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

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

The administration of Martial Law in the sub-divisional area was nominal only. The provisions of the proclamation of the Divisional Commander were of course in force in the sub-division, but little use was made of them, and in only three cases were persons proceeded against for offences against them. Two were convicted by the Summary Court, which awarded in one case 12 and in the second six months' imprisonment, the offences being against Nos. 5 and 3 of the general Martial Law Proclamation of 19th April. A mobile section of machine guns attended by cavalry was sent through the area, but the military were not, except for the incident at Chuharkhana recorded on the 17th, used for punitive purposes.

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

As regards judicial measures, 7 cases, involving 82 persons were sent for trial by the Commissions: 24 persons were acquitted and 58 sentenced: 8 to death, 30 to transportation for life; 5 to three years' and 15 to two years' imprisonment. The Summary Court empowered under notification No. 12341-B, dated 5th May, tried 39 cases, involving 499 accused, of whom 323 were convicted, in nearly every case the conviction being under sections 147-148-149 of the Indian Penal Code and 25 of the Telegraph Act. The great majority of cases were tried by the Joint District Magistrate, the remainder being tried by the Additional District Magistrate :

* Deputy Commissioner's letter, 5th August 1919.

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

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

170 were sentenced to imprisonment for two years, 2 to eighteen months, 83 to one year, 10 to nine months, 8 to six months, and 4 to less than six months. Fines amounting to Rs. 23,160 in all were also inflicted and there were 40 sentences of whipping. In nearly every case these were juveniles, and the sentence was executed in the compound of the bungalow in which the Court sat, following in this respect the practice in vogue in the Punjab until a few years back. No sentences of whipping were given for any offence committed after April 19th.

GUJRAT DISTRICT.

It is clear that such agitation, and its accompanying disorder, as occurred in this district was primarily due to influence exerted from outside. The district itself has no "political" history. Its rural population, predominantly Muhammadan, though it is by no means confined to agricultural pursuits, since it has supplied considerable numbers of men to the army, and large numbers to the police forces in the Far East, and to the labouring and trading communities in Africa and elsewhere, has seldom shown any signs of interest in outside affairs. It is noticeable that the demand for a universal demonstration on April 6th met with absolutely no response in the district; there were no protest meetings held, and no demonstration of any kind was reported. Messages are said to have been received from Amritsar urging a hartal on that date, but if so, they were entirely without result. If Gujrat had not been situated on the main line, it would probably have escaped entirely the influence of the movement which took place in the central Punjab. As it was, it is clear that between the 6th and the 14th its inactivity attracted attention from outside, and in at least two cases prominent residents of the city were urged from Sialkot and Lahore to bring Gujrat into the field of agitation. But it was not until the 14th that any signs were noticed that Gujrat was likely to join in the movement. On that date two inflammatory notices were found posted in the city—possibly written by students returning from Lahore—stating that there would be a meeting on the following day in which Europeans and Christians would be massacred. Early on the same morning a band of Baisakhi revellers from Wazirabad had returned shouting "Gandhi ki jai" and similar cries but had immediately dispersed to their homes. At about 9 A.M. the shops closed without previous warning and—as far as can be seen—without the previous knowledge of a number even of those who had been instrumental in advising this action. A procession was formed in the city, which exhibited a black flag and a picture of Gandhi and "uttered cries of lamentation." In view of what had occurred at Amritsar, the local authorities took the precaution of asking for troops, and a small party arrived from Jhelum on the morning of the 15th. The shops remained closed, and during the morning a somewhat excitable crowd, mostly youths, marched about the city. About 10.30 A.M. they went to the Mission High School and compelled it to close, after breaking a number of windows and doors. They visited other schools, but they had already closed. In the afternoon the crowd reassembled, and was observed to be moving towards the Railway Station, which was unguarded either by police or troops, both of which had been detailed on duty in the town itself. After smashing a number of lamps on the way, it reached the station, and swarming into it began destroying the telegraph and telephone instruments and furniture and setting fire to records. It had been followed by a force of police with a senior Indian Magistrate; in view of the damage which was being done to the station the latter ordered the police to open fire on the crowd. A few shots were fired—as far as is known without effect—and the crowd dispersed, some arrests being made.* Additional troops were now sent for and arrived at midnight; but it was not found necessary to utilize these, or the small force already in the city, in quelling disturbances. On the following morning (the 16th) notices were issued prohibiting meetings and processions without license; practically all the shops were opened during the day and no further disturbance occurred.

At Jalalpur Jattan trouble—though not of a very serious nature—occurred on the same dates, *viz.* the 15th and 16th. In consequence of a meeting held on the 14th shops were closed on the 15th and a crowd paraded the small town with the usual shouts about Gandhi and the Rowlatt Act. It committed no violence, and was watched by two magistrates with a small force of police and sowars. In the morning, however, the telegraph wire was found to be cut in two places. On the following day the crowd gathered again and shops were closed. A number of Municipal Commissioners had assembled in the Town Hall to discuss measures to prevent disturbance; these were insulted by the crowd and turned out of the building and some damage was done to the furniture. Outside speeches were made against Government and the Rowlatt Act. Windows and doors were also broken at the Mission School; but shortly afterwards news arrived that firing had taken place at the Railway Station in Gujrat, and the crowd dispersed. The Commission†, which tried the case of those arrested for this disturbance did not regard the occurrences as very serious; the crowd was, they remark, mainly composed of Kashmiris and was not prepared to go to extremes. "The occasion seems rather to have been taken to emphasize the mob's antipathy to the Municipal Committee—yet the object of the

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

† Martial Law Commission case, decided 8th May, 1919.

leaders was to excite disaffection against Government." The shops were reopened on the following day, the 17th.

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

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

The preceding narrative indicates in the main the steps taken by the civil authorities up to the 17th to quell disorder. In addition to the steps taken, patrols by house-holders assisted by military pensioners from outside villages were instituted in Gujrat City, and the railway lines were from the 16th patrolled by villagers. There was by this time a considerable force of military in the district, and these were utilized not only to guard important points on the railway, but to send detachments to the scenes of local disturbance, such as Jalalpur Jattan. On the 17th the district was declared under the Police Act as disturbed. All active disturbance had ceased, when Martial Law was declared by Government on the evening of the 19th; it was actually brought into effect by a proclamation by the General Officer Commanding, Rawalpindi, on the 20th. The justification for the introduction of Martial Law lay mainly in the necessity for preventing recrudescence of the attempts to interfere with communications, which had already led to one very serious outrage and loss of life. The first Martial Law Regulation issued as applicable to the district was dated 24th April,† and provided for the civil patrol of the Railway line; the majority of the notices issued for Gujranwala‡ were subsequently made applicable, but it is clear that Martial Law, as generally understood, was not enforced with any stringency in this area. Some difficulties were caused by the order controlling prices, an order not perhaps of great necessity in a purely agricultural area, and it was necessary to restore confidence by consultation with the traders and an agreement as to prices. Offences against these proclamations were dealt with by Summary Courts-Martial, the total number of persons brought up being 14, of whom two were acquitted. The following sentences were inflicted on the remainder; rigorous imprisonment for two years, one, and for six months, two; simple imprisonment for six months, one. Seven were sentenced to fines varying from Rs. 20 to Rs. 200, and three to whipping. The latter sentences were inflicted on a charge of spreading false reports; the culprits were a shopkeeper and two goldsmiths. No whipping was inflicted in public.

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

The record of the disturbances in this district discloses no evidence of organisation. Such trouble as occurred was confined practically to two days, and with the exception of the deliberate derailment at Malakwal, reveals little concerted action to cause a serious breach of the peace. The early drafting of armed forces to various points in the district may have

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

† Martial Law notices, p. 80, No. 10.

‡ See Gujranwala district report, p. 14, there were minor differences; in the case of the parade of schoolboys, the father was ordered to attend in the absence of the boy (Martial Law notices, p. 86, No. 33), and there was a special regulation prohibiting Sadhus to leave the city (Martial Law notices, p. 88, No. 32).

been responsible for the fact that there was no recrudescence of the trouble which occurred on the 15th and 16th; but the nature of the course taken by the demonstration does not suggest that there was at any time ever any danger of outrages so grave as those which occurred at Amritsar and Gujranwala. The operation of Martial Law was withdrawn on 25th May.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

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

On the 3rd April, Committees were, at the suggestion of members of the Bar, organised at Gurdaspur and Batala,* for promoting a hartal on the 6th. The result was a complete closure of shops and cessation of labour on that date at Gurdaspur, Batala, Pathankot, Dinanagar, Dhariwal, Sujampur and in most of the smaller towns of the district; at Sohal, Kadian and Aliwal the closure was partial only. In the larger towns protest meetings were also held and were very largely attended. The celebration of the annual Hindu festival of Ram Naumi on the 9th was made the occasion for scenes of Hindu-Muhammadan fraternisation, and here as elsewhere, the cry of "Hindu-Musalman ki jai" carried a distinct connotation of anti-British feeling. The receipt on the 11th† of the news of the occurrences at Amritsar was received by the local authorities with not unnatural apprehension, and the members of the Bar who had promoted the hartal were asked to join in a declaration against acts of violence or disorder. The response was half-hearted, and in the evening a joint meeting of Hindus and Muhammadans was held at a mosque. As a result presumably of this meeting, the hartal was renewed at Gurdaspur, Batala, Kalanaur and several other places on the following day, the 12th. Considerable excitement was manifested, and the district authorities thought it advisable to ask for the assistance of troops. A small detachment arrived before nightfall. There was a further mass meeting at Gurdaspur on the evening of this day, at which inflammatory language was used, and there is some evidence of a suggestion being made for raiding the civil station. On the same date an Indian Magistrate, who had been sent to Batala, was warned by a small mob there that the arrest of their leaders would lead to rioting. The arrival of troops at Gurdaspur appears to have exercised a quieting influence at the district headquarters, and no further demonstrations took place there; but on the following day commenced a series of determined attempts to interrupt communications. Railway, Postal and Canal wires were cut eight times between the 13th and 25th April, in some cases long lengths of wire being removed. There were on the 13th strong rumours of an impending attack on the Dhariwal Mills near Gurdaspur, and a small armed force was sent there. In spite of this, the reports of impending attack continued for some days later. It appears, indeed, that though the despatch of troops to the district had prevented any actual violence, it did not suffice to prevent attacks on the communications (on the night of the 14th an attempt was made to obstruct the railway by burning sleepers on the line near Pathankot), nor did it materially affect the attitude of those interested in the agitation. Thus when the District Magistrate interviewed a number of pleaders on the 15th they were still in the position of desiring to bargain rather than to offer assistance. Several of the local officials had begun to show signs of sympathy with the agitation, and on the 15th the Deputy Commissioner found it necessary to take action against the Tahsildar at Batala. The state of excitement still prevailing is shown by the fact that on the 16th a lighted torch was thrown into a motor car, containing an English lady, which was passing through Pathankot. On the 17th a canal road was found to be blocked by a temporary barricade. It was not until the 19th that a number of local leaders, who before the agitation had been known as strong supporters of Government, found sufficient resolution to unite in putting forth a manifesto condemning disorder and agitation; the members of the Bar did not signify a change of attitude until the 21st when a movable column arrived from Amritsar, under the command of the General Officer Commanding. Martial Law had not been proclaimed in this district, and no punitive

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

† A private telegram had been received by the Station Master on the 10th, but the news had been kept back by him.

measures were undertaken by the column. Five persons who were said to have been concerned in the hartal, and one person who behaved in an obstructive manner were however arrested by the General's orders and removed to Amritsar (22nd April). They then presented a loyal address. The General Officer Commanding visited Dhariwal and Batala, and the general situation in these places and at Gurdaspur itself soon afterwards began to assume a normal condition.

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

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

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

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

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

LAHORE DISTRICT.

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

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

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

Consider awhile.

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

The following poster is also quoted:—

- (1) That which we apprehend has happened. The future of India in falling has assumed the form of the Rowlatt Bill.
- (2) There is confusion in every town, province and throughout the Empire. Is this the law or the tremor of an earthquake?
- (3) To practise tyranny and to give it the name of love, what a fine trick is this of the civilization of the West.
- (4) This pitcher of the East was full of the honey of loyalty, and now its sweetness has become bitter to the British.

* Martial Law Commission case, decided 7th June 1919.

† *Andrapatrika*, dated 11th April 1919. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated 12th April 1919.

- (5) Muhammadans and Hindus raised a thousand cries and lamentations, but could not cure Government of its obduracy.
- (6) Their arguments had no effect on Vincent though Jinnah much beat his face and Sapru struck his head a great deal.
- (7) In vain have we rubbed our foreheads for years in the Council Chamber. Now we are going to search for Gandhi's threshold.

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

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

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

News of the detention of Gandhi, and of the rebellion at Amritsar reached Lahore on the afternoon of the 10th April. Telegrams giving some details of what had happened at Amritsar were received between 3 and 4 p.m.,

* *Tribune* Lahore, 6th April 1919. † *Aftab* Lahore, 9th April 1919. *Paisa Akhbar* Lahore, 8th April 1919.

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

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

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

¶ Celebration in Lahore of Ram Chander's birthday.

** Case decided, 5th June 1919.

†† Case decided, 5th June 1919. ‡‡ Case decided, 28th May 1919.

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

||| Case decided, 5th June 1919.

¶¶ Lahore Upper Mall case.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ Lahore Leaders case

§ Lohari Gate case.

Three men were wounded and died later; it is estimated that twelve others were wounded. It has been stated* that the leader of the crowd at this point, Pandit Rambhaji Datt, asked the District Magistrate to allow him time to disperse them and was allowed ten minutes for the purpose; that the crowd then sat down and was addressed by their leader; that on the conclusion of the ten minutes, he asked for a further interval, and was given only two minutes more; that the crowd was then in the act of dispersing when the police fired, using bullets as well as buckshot. The real course of events is, however, clearly shown by the evidence taken by the Commission. It may be added that the police are usually armed with buckshot, but some rounds of ball cartridge had been given out: one round of ball was fired on the Upper Mall and two at Hira Mandi subsequently (page 25). These were the only occasions on which ball cartridges were used by the police. A statement* subsequently circulated that the wounded were purposely neglected in hospital and that some died because the staff refused to extract the bullets. Enquiry shows that the Professor of Surgery was himself on duty at the Mayo Hospital (regarding which the allegation was made), and that he attended to the wounded himself, and only refrained from operating when the patient was in a dying condition.† A number of the more slightly wounded were removed by their friends and were not taken to the hospital.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Lahore Leaders case, decided 5th June 1919.

‡ *Danda Fauj* case, decided 29th April 1919.

† Letter dated 3rd September 1919.

§ Crown *versus* Balwant Singh.

¶ Crown *versus* Moti Ram, decided 3rd May 1919.

the police from their duty and induce them to join the mob against the Government. In the circumstances the invitation to armed police to become "martyrs" was an offence of the greatest gravity; and but for the staunchness which the police displayed, might well have led to a very serious catastrophe.

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

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

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

It was shortly after this incident that a mixed force of police and military, accompanied by civil officers, which had marched into the city at 9:30 A.M., approached the Badshahi Mosque. At the risk of interrupting the narrative, it may be well to note§ here a charge which has been made that the sending of this force into the city was a breach of an agreement made with the leaders of the hartal movement. The allegation is that the District Magistrate had promised those gentlemen on the previous day (the 11th) that if they undertook that crowds should not go into the Mall, no military or police should be sent into the city, and there should be no firing. That such an undertaking was ever given was categorically denied by the District Magistrate: and the story was not believed by the Commission. Their conclusion was that it was "quite possible that Mr. Fyson had said something which Rambhaji Datt either misunderstood or chose to misunderstand."

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

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

The officer in charge of the troops states that the reason for firing was that a portion of the cavalry had become separated and were being heavily stoned. His account states that nearly 20 rounds were fired, and this is probably the more correct as one student was killed, and 28 men** wounded of whom one died subsequently, but no arrests were made. The crowd then dispersed but very large crowds attended the burning of the body of the student who was

* Issued 25th April 1919.

† Badshahi Mosque case decided 28th April 1919.

‡ Lahore Leaders case, decided 5th June 1919.

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

¶ *Independent*, 1st May 1919.

** Hira Mandi case, decided 15th July 1919.

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

killed, Muhammadans joining with Hindus in carrying the bier. It was subsequently asserted that the firing had been commenced by an Honorary Magistrate and that the police had fired no less than nine shots* into the boy who was killed. The first part of this allegation is disproved by the order of the Commission; the latter is proved by medical evidence to have been without foundation. He was wounded by buckshot but actually died of shock. Later in the day it was necessary to send a military detachment to the Railway Workshops to keep order; most of the men had returned to the carriage shops, but there were very few working in the locomotive sheds.

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

The meeting duly came off on the 13th but without result. The popular leaders reiterated their demand; the Deputy Commissioner insisted that as a first proof of good faith the shops should be opened. The Deputy Commissioner subsequently summoned a number of leaders, and read to them portions of Bengal Regulation X of 1804, warning them that Martial Law would be introduced unless the hartal was stopped. The Martial Law Commission† subsequently expressed its opinion that there was no evidence that this warning was conveyed to the people: at all events the hartal continued, and the popular leaders brought into effect the scheme, inaugurated on the 11th and then liberally subscribed to, for instituting *langars* (or free messes), and for cheap food shops. The city continued to provide a striking spectacle of unrest: peace was kept by the presence of a considerable body of troops, but there was much excitement. The Commission‡ quotes a poster, the *Danda Akhbar*, published at this time, as illustrating the prevalent temper of the mob

Danda Akhbar.

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

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

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

The district was now proclaimed under the Seditious Meetings Act, and notice given forbidding all assemblies of more than ten persons; all wholesale and retail liquor shops were also ordered to be closed throughout the city. Before the day ended a serious outrage occurred at Wagah on the Amritsar line. "At the Baisakhi fair held at Maniala village in the Lahore district" says the order of the Commission§ which subsequently tried the case, "an impromptu meeting was held: speeches were made attacking Government, and a rising was advocated. That night in consequence of this conspiracy, the Wagah Railway Station was sacked and burnt, telegraph wires were cut, a length of line taken up and an armoured train was consequently derailed: but there was fortunately no loss of life." The principal mover was a havildar in a Sikh regiment, a man hitherto of exemplary character. The outrage was not apparently organized from Lahore, but was directly due to excitement arising from the Lahore agitation. Next morning, the 14th, three of the leaders, Pandit Rambhaji Dutt, Lala Har Kishen Lal and Lala Duni Chand were deported from Lahore,

* *Independent*, Lahore. 1st May.

‡ Lahore Leaders case, decided 5th June 1919.

† Lahore Leaders case, decided 5th June 1919.

§ Wagah Station case, decided 7th June 1919.

action being taken under the Defence of India Act. The hartal still continued—it did not indeed terminate till the 18th when it was ended under the operation of Martial Law—but no public meetings were allowed. At Kot Radha Kishen stones were thrown at the train, and telegraph wires cut at Wagah, Jallo and Attari. Cuttings of wire on the railway had now become so persistent that Lahore was practically isolated except by wireless. There is no doubt that unrest was steadily extending to the villages on the Amritsar line, and there was a suspicious assembly, convened by beat of drum, held at Padhana. The attempts to prevent railway workmen getting to the railway shops also continued, and were only frustrated by employing police with fixed bayonets to disperse the crowd.

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

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

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

The close of the hartal on the 17th marks an important stage in the restoration of order. The order of the Commission, dated 5th July 1919, demonstrates the importance which the leaders of the crowd attached to its continuance, and the extent to which it was responsible for the disorder in the areas outside the city. "It was obvious that unless the hartal ended at once further discontent, tumult and outrage must necessarily result, and it was the plain duty of every loyal subject to do all that lay in his power to quell the excitement, and to get the people back as soon as possible to peaceful employment." The steps taken by the Officer Commanding and the civil authorities for the next fortnight were partly subordinate to the main purpose of ending conditions created by the hartal in the city, partly directed to restoring normal conditions in the rural areas. On the 18th a Regulation¶¶ was issued dealing with the spreading of "false, inaccurate, and exaggerated reports in connection with the Military or Political situation," and on the same day the students of the Dyal Singh College, who were alleged to have been engaged in spreading such rumours, were ordered to report themselves four times a day to the military authorities.*** On this date the flying column visited Narwar and Jallo. Local

* Martial Law notice No. 1.

† Martial Law notices Nos. 2 and 3.

‡ Martial Law notice No. 4.

§ Martial Law notice No. 5.

¶ Martial Law notice No. 6.

¶ Martial Law notice No. 7.

** Martial Law notices Nos. 8 and 9.

†† Martial Law notice No. 12.

‡‡ Martial Law notice No. 14.

§§ Martial Law notice No. 10.

¶¶ Martial Law notice No. 13.

*** Martial Law notice No. 15.

*** Martial Law notice No. 16.

information asserted that the persons who had burnt Wagah Station came mainly from the former village, and as the village headman and others refused to produce any evidence as to the persons culpable, the officer in charge of the column ordered three headmen and four others to be beaten by a cavalry sowar. The zaildar, two headmen and five others were subsequently arrested. The column then returned to Lahore.

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

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

* Martial Law notice No. 17. † Martial Law notice No. 18. ‡ Martial Law notice No. 20.
 § Martial Law notices Nos. 21 and 22. || Martial Law notice No. 24. ¶ Martial Law notice No. 27.
 ** Martial Law notices Nos. 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 47, 48, 52, 58, 60, 61 and 62.
 †† Martial Law notice No. 33, dated 2nd May. ††† Martial Law notices Nos. 42 and 43, dated 10th May.
 §§ Martial Law notice No. 36. ¶¶ Martial Law notice No. 44. ¶¶¶ Martial Law notice No. 46.
 *** Martial Law notices Nos. 45, 49, 50, 57, 59. †††† Martial Law notice No. 53.

The authority to punish breaches of the Martial Law Regulations was vested in the area officers and other officers nominated in accordance with the General Officer Commanding's proclamation of 19th April 1919, such officers sitting for the purpose as Summary Courts. Until the formal nomination of such officers, breaches were punished under the orders of the Officer Commanding Civil Area, Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson: these officers were subsequently nominated as area officers, and as shown in a previous section, a certain number of civil officers were also given powers under the Divisional General's proclamation. As the administration of Martial Law Regulations was more intensive here than elsewhere, it may be well to analyse in some detail the nature both of the offences against the Regulations, and the punishments awarded. In all, charges were laid against 277 persons, of whom 69 were acquitted and 208 convicted; of these 140 cases were dealt with by Lieutenant-Colonel F. Johnson and Major Barnes, and 137 by the Civil Magistrates specially empowered in this behalf. There were 66 convictions for breach of the Curfew order;* four persons were imprisoned for an average period of one month, 32 persons were flogged, 30 were fined, the average fine being about Rs. 13. Thirty-one persons were convicted† of taking part in a procession or illegal assembly: 10 were flogged, and 21 fines were inflicted, the average being about the same. Five persons were convicted‡ of tearing down Martial Law notices, two were sentenced to imprisonment for six months each, four were flogged and one fined Rs. 250. Nine persons in all were convicted of refusing to carry on work or business;§ one was imprisoned for a month, two were flogged and 5 fines were inflicted. Fifty-one persons were convicted of refusing to sell,|| adulterating or over charging for milk: three were imprisoned for an average of 6 weeks, three were flogged, and 48 fines (of an average of Rs. 55) were inflicted. Eight persons were convicted of breaches of the order¶ regarding bribes or extortion: seven were flogged, and one fined. Eight were convicted of a breach of the order requiring registration of stocks of wheat,** fines only were inflicted, the average being Rs. 57. The number of convictions for breaches of other regulations were unimportant, the only other case calling for mention being perhaps that of a person convicted of referring to British subjects†† in words of contempt, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment and ten stripes. In all twenty persons were imprisoned, with an average of about 3½ months each; 66 persons were flogged, the average number of stripes being 12, and 136 persons fined, the average being Rs. 50. The figures of flogging are of interest in view of the allegations made that whipping was "promiscuous"‡‡ and so severe that some persons died of it. Only young and able-bodied men were whipped and as far as possible efforts were made to avoid whipping men of any social standing: 55 persons were flogged in the Jail, and 11 persons were flogged in the compounds of the Telegraph Office, the old Kotwali or the Reservoir chowks. These places were sufficiently open to be described as semi-public. The flogging was with a rattan or cane. An order§§ of the Officer Commanding in regard to the discrimination to be exercised by his officers is worth reprinting:—

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

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

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

There were some suggestions that the existence of Martial Law conditions led to much bribe-taking on the part of subordinate officials. The matter is always one difficult of complete

* No. 1 (1).

† No. 1 (4).

‡ No. 8.

§ Nos. 10 and 14.

|| No. 31.

¶ No. 33.

** No. 34.

†† No. 30.

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

§§ Instruction 2, dated 18th April 1919.

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

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

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

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Part II.—Kasur Sub-Division.

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

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

Three trains had been drawn up at the distant signals, and to one of these (the Ferozepore train) the crowd, now in a thoroughly violent mood, made its way. The train contained several Europeans, Mr. and Mrs. Sherbourne and their three small children: Captain Limby, R.E., and Lieutenant Munro, XVII Loyal Regiment; two warrant officers, Master Gunner Mallet and Conductor Selby; and Corporals Battson and Gringham of the Queen's Regiment. There were also a number of Indian gentlemen, including Mr. Khair Din, Inspector of Railway Accounts. Seeing the crowd approach, the latter advised the Sherbournes to seek refuge in the gateman's hut, and he and the two corporals helped them inside it. Here the party was attacked by the

* Case decided 30th April 1919.

† Excludes figures for Kasur and Khem Karan.

crowd, the two corporals—they were unarmed—were dragged out and knocked down, but though injured they managed to escape, Gringham reaching the Ferozepore Road and Battson ultimately, with the aid of a Sikh villager, mounting one of the other trains (the Lahore train) which was standing nearly a mile off. Mr. Khair Din was hustled and pulled out of the hut, and in spite of his help and that of one Ram Chand or Khem Karan, the Sherbournes would probably have fared badly but for the persistent efforts of Mr. Ghulam Muhyuddin, pleader. He had been one of the promoters of the meeting on the previous day and was clearly recognised by the crowd as a leader; but he now showed undoubted courage in dissuading the mob from violence. Ultimately he and Mr. Khair Din took the Sherbournes off to the hamlet of Kot Halim Khan on the other side of the line, whence they were ultimately rescued by the police.

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

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

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

The events at Khem Karan and Patti were of less importance and may be disposed of more briefly. Khem Karan is a small station about six miles from Kasur, and on the 12th April some damage was done here by a gang of about twenty men, mainly sweepers from the neighbouring village of Patti. They seem to have been instigated by two men who had come from Kasur, immediately after the outrage at the station. They were driven off with the help of some Khem Karan peasants. The Commission which subsequently tried the persons charged with the attack on the station† were of opinion that had timely assistance not been available, it was the obvious intention of the rioters to set fire to the furniture and possibly to the building. Patti is 28 miles from Kasur. The townspeople here had been excited by the

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

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

lectures of one Durga Das of Amritsar at meetings convened by the local Arya Samaj, and by Amritsar people on the passing trains. On the 12th April a crowd composed of the riff raff of the bazar did some damage at the station, but were restrained from doing any great harm by a few of the officials and leading inhabitants, aided by the Police.

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

As already stated Martial Law was declared on the 16th. After the restoration of order in the town, a moveable column proceeded along the railway line *viâ* Patti to Amritsar and returned the same way. Accompanied by a European Magistrate, it made a certain number of arrests, and in some cases took "hostages" from villages which were known to contain bad characters; no floggings were inflicted. The Martial Law orders issued in the first instance were the same as those for the Lahore (Civil) Area, but these were subsequently varied to meet the special circumstances of Kasur. A Special Martial Law Administration Officer was appointed for Kasur on the 21st April. The regulations issued as applying in particular to Kasur were first proclaimed on that date. The first (No. 1)* laid down a Curfew between 8 P.M. and 5 A.M., prohibited processions and gatherings of more than 10 persons, requisitioned all tongas tum tums, and bicycles, (Nos. 2 and 3) prohibited all pleaders' agents from leaving Kasur without a permit, (No. 4) and declared a hartal illegal (No. 6). In order to facilitate the process of identification of those who had taken part in the rioting, a regulation† (No. 9) was issued on April 25th forbidding any person to leave Kasur and announcing that measures would be taken against the property of all persons not returning by a certain date. In view of the belief at first held that religious mendicants had largely been concerned in fomenting disorder, a regulation was also issued (No. 10) for the registration of all religious mendicants and for a daily roll-call of them. The fixation of prices (No. 13) was not on the whole successful, as agriculturists took their supplies to Ferozepore and other neighbouring towns, and the regulation‡ which was introduced on May the 7th, was withdrawn on May the 17th having on the whole failed to effect its object. The Curfew Order was somewhat relaxed by regulation No. 14, dated the 7th May, but the orders placing restrictions on travelling, which had been introduced by the General Martial Law Proclamations, remained in force for Kasur after that date though relaxed elsewhere (No. 15). This was the last order issued. Offences against Martial Law orders were tried by Summary Courts; the Courts sentenced 49 persons; the total imprisonment inflicted was 228 months, 605 stripes were also inflicted and fines amounting to Rs. 1,165. To the punishments thus awarded must be added the infliction of a caning of six schoolboys by the Officer Commanding before the proclamation of Martial Law. This was done at the suggestion of the Headmaster of the Municipal Board School. This was the only whipping carried out in public; the rest were all carried out on a portion of the railway platform to which the public had no access. The cases in which whipping was inflicted were usually serious; four persons were whipped for rioting at a station; two for attempts to escape from custody; five for trespass on a woman's apartments when drunk; three for cheating by impersonating an official. The only case of whipping of a person not of the lower classes was that of a Ticket Collector at Kasur. Except in the case of the schoolboys the regulation "Cat" and not the cane was used for whipping. On the whole the administration of Martial Law seems to have caused more general inconvenience at Kasur than at Lahore; the town is small and the military administration was more of an intensive nature. It also unfortunately happened that on two occasions, once at Kasur Railway Station, and once in a neighbouring village, men were shot by sentries; one while running away from a challenging sentry, and one while resisting. It is further stated that on several occasions military subordinates were detected in theft. Nevertheless, it is clear that the administration of Martial Law had a useful disciplinary effect in an area in which the lower elements of the population had temporarily gained the upper hand, and was a powerful element in the restoration of normal conditions. It was withdrawn on the 9th June.

The major cases of rioting were tried by Commission. There were in all 67 accused, of whom 26 were sentenced to death, 17 to transportation for life and 24 were acquitted; 2 on account of their youth, were sent for trial to the Summary Court at Kasur. In the case of Khem Karan there were 16 accused of whom seven were convicted, two being sentenced to transportation for life and others to varying terms of imprisonment. The Patti cases were all disposed of by Summary Court. The usual procedure elsewhere in the proclaimed

* Martial Law notices, p. 53.

† Martial Law notices, p. 55.

‡ Martial Law notices, p. 57.

districts was for such cases to come before a Civil Officer (District Magistrate or Magistrate of the First Class), who had been given powers to deal with them as a Summary Court under the notification No. 12341 A, dated 5th May; here, as the cases were not numerous, they were all tried by the Summary Court originally appointed under the Divisional Proclamation to try cases connected with breaches of the regulations. Of 85 persons charged 55 were convicted, thirty-six for rioting, twelve for mischief and the rest for minor offences. These were all, of course, convictions registered as offences against the ordinary law. Three persons were sentenced to imprisonment for two years, twenty-five for one, ten for six months. Seven persons were sentenced to whipping.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

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

The excitement at the district headquarters was not apparently due in the first instance, as was the case in some districts, to the effect of the disturbances in Amritsar and Gujranwala, but had an earlier origin. The District Congress Committee (of which 18 out of the 33 members are pleaders) held a meeting of protest against the Rowlatt Act on the 5th April and as a result a general hartal was observed at Lyallpur on the 6th. At a further meeting held by the Congress Committee during the course of the day, there was a very general misrepresentation of the purpose of the Act; but the behaviour of the crowds was orderly. An attempt was made on the 6th to promote a hartal at Jaranwala by some Arya Samaj employees of the Japan Cotton Trading Company, and subscriptions were collected for the Delhi "martyrs," who were represented as innocent victims of the British soldiery. A pleader from Lyallpur and a number of local Arya Samajists, also attempted to organize a hartal at Gojra, agents of the same class were also partially successful at Taudlianwala and Toba Tek Singh. The demonstrations do not up to this point seem to have been other than of a purely political nature; there was no exhibition of anti-British feeling, and a competent observer thinks that at this stage the only intention of the movement was to assist "in forcing Government to a defeat over the Rowlatt Act and then to wring concessions from a discredited bureaucracy which would be much in advance of anything included in the Reform Scheme issuing under Government approval." By the end of the week, however, the receipt of the news from Lahore and Amritsar induced a markedly anti-British atmosphere. There was general excitement on the 11th when information was received of Mr. Gandhi's exclusion from the Punjab, and the Congress Committee showed great activity on the 12th. On the 13th it became clear from the demeanour of the crowds in the streets at Lyallpur that the city was in the grip of very dangerous excitement. All the shops were closed, and the bazar was full of restless and unruly crowds. That no open disorder occurred was probably due to the personal intervention of the District Magistrate, who had for many years held charge of the colony, but the attitude of the

crowd was hostile and threatening, and he was on more than one occasion openly abused. Posters of a violent character were put up in different parts of the city; one of these reminded the crowd that there were European women in the Civil Lines who should be ravished. The excitement was not confined to Lyallpur; at Jaranwala a petition-writer, returning from Delhi, interested himself in getting together a band to promote a coercive hartal, disseminating a strongly anti-British propaganda; at Gojra the local C.M.S. Missionary was obliged to flee from the town by threats of murder and incendiarism. The local authorities considered it advisable to collect under protection in the civil station the families of the considerable number of Canal and other Government officers scattered through the district, and in the absence of troops, a number of horsemen were obtained from the regimental Cavalry Runs in the district. Sixty drivers of the Grantee Camel Corps about to entrain for Nushki were stopped and utilised to assist the police (by now inadequate for the greatly increased duties thrust on them), and volunteers were called for from the "jangli" colonists—the representatives of the old semi-nomadic tribes who inhabited the Chenab upland previous to colonisation. They responded freely to the call, and for some time furnished patrols on the railway and elsewhere. By another fortunate inspiration, the District Magistrate arranged to relieve railway gangmen of any tools which could be used in injuring the permanent way; and also enlisted the services of respectable military pensioners and gun licence holders as additional guards on the rural police stations.

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

On the following day, the 15th, the hartal was resumed at Lyallpur, and the city was again placarded with seditious posters. It became necessary to open shops, under special protection, in order to feed the Police and other Government officials; and the advent of more horsemen from the cavalry farms made it possible to watch communications between the town and villages to which it was believed that emissaries had been sent. Special precautions were also adopted to supervise the students returning from the Lahore colleges, which had been closed down; these had been conspicuous among the crowds on the 13th and 14th. At Gojra the coercive hartal for which arrangements had been made on the previous day, came into action. There were violent demonstrations and the crowd, after mobbing the refreshment vendor on the railway platform, attempted to prevent the driver of a train from starting. The leaders of the crowd informed him that Multan Cantonment had been burnt and the British soldiers there murdered. There was a funeral procession of the Rowlatt Act accompanied by a black flag. A hartal began also at Dijkot. A fresh cause for anxiety now came into evidence. News of outrages in the rural areas of the neighbouring Gujranwala District had become widely disseminated, and caused a serious apprehension that the agitation, hitherto more prominent in the towns, might lead to disorder in the Lyallpur villages. It was known that emissaries had been sent out from the towns, and though the rural population (now engaged in cutting the harvest) for the most part remained unaffected, certain villages had begun to manifest signs of unrest. Instructions were issued to prominent landholders on the Gujranwala border not to allow undesirable visitors from Gujranwala into their areas. On the 14th a small party of Indian Infantry had arrived from Multan, but the news from the Gujranwala border was so alarming that the major portion had to be sent up to protect the railway station at Sangla, reported to be threatened by the crowd which had burnt the Chuharkana, Moman and Dhaban Singhwala Stations on the previous night. The remainder were barely sufficient to take over the piquetting of the civil station from the Police. On the arrival of the troops at Lyallpur the hartal had been temporarily suspended, but on the 16th there was a fresh issue of seditious notices. The hartal was resumed at Gojra, but the shops were opened towards nightfall. That the apprehensions regarding the spread of unrest to the villages were not without justification was proved by the receipt of news of the cutting of the telegraph wire nine miles from Lyallpur, and the holding of a seditious meeting at the village of Khiala Kalan.

On the following day, the 17th, a second detachment of Indian Infantry arrived. The hartal was resumed in the city, and representatives of the townspeople visited Khiala Kalan, at which a seditious meeting was held. It is known that plans were discussed for looting and

* See Amritsar District report, p. 8.

burning Government property. A party from Lyallpur also went out to Chak Jhumra; and though they failed to gain adherents there, they broke a number of telegraph insulators and cut wires on their way back to Lyallpur. In the evening a serious act of suspected incendiarism occurred at Lyallpur, Government *bhusa* stacked near the railway station being burnt to the value of Rs. 50,000.

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

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

A special order dated 30th* April provided for the issue of passes for persons connected with the grain trade; the orders† regarding "salaaming" and roll-call of schoolboys were specifically applied. An order‡ dated April 26th, confined a number of persons, mentioned by name, to their villages, and there was also a special order§ regarding the reservation of grazing on public land for military purposes. No Regulations were issued for the control of prices. A considerable number of the restrictions were removed by an order¶ dated May 15th.

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

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

As regards judicial measures one case, that relating to the cutting of the telegraph wire between Toba Tek Singh and Janiwala by 18 young men of Chak No. 150, Gugera Branch, was sent for trial by the Commission. They were convicted under section 25 of Act XIII of 1885, and section 149, Indian Penal Code. In their order, dated 6th June, 1919, the Judges stated that it had been shown that a relative of the leading men had actually received a bullet wound in the course of the riots of Amritsar. In view of the fact that the damage

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

† Martial Law Orders, p. 84, No. 19, p. 86, No. 26, and p. 93, No. 41. The last order required the parade to salute the Union Jack.

‡ Martial Law Orders, p. 84, No. 21.

¶ Martial Law was withdrawn on 9th June.

§ Martial Law Orders, p. 94, No. 42.

** Deputy Commissioner's letter No. 7064, dated 5th July.

done was slight, and that the offenders had surrendered themselves to the police, the Judges were inclined to lenience. One offender was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for 3 years, 7 for 15 months and 10 for 1 year; fines were also inflicted to the amount of Rs. 2,700. In addition to this, thirty-four cases were tried by the Magistrate, 1st class (sitting as a Summary Court under the special powers conferred by notification No. 12341-B., dated 5th May) relating to offences committed after the 30th March, but before the date of proclamation of Martial Law. These cases involved 247 persons of whom 212 were convicted. Of these 46 were convicted of unlawful assembly, 47 of rioting, 51 of criminal intimidation, 20 of mischief, 12 of injuring telegraph instruments, the rest of minor offences. The sentences inflicted were, imprisonment for 2 years, 15; imprisonment 1 year, 34; imprisonment 6 months, 100; imprisonment for less than 6 months, 33. In addition 35 fines of Rs. 200 and over were inflicted, 4 of Rs. 100 and over, 5 of Rs. 50 and over, one of Rs. 20. There was no sentence of whipping.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

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

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

On the 11th April, however, when news was received of the occurrences on the previous day at Amritsar, there seemed some reason to suppose that trouble might occur in a more

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

active form. The shops, which had been opened on the 9th and 10th, again closed; and the Deputy Commissioner deemed it advisable to move a small force of troops and armed police down to the Haram Gate of the City, to call up and warn anew the principal supporters of the hartal, and to forbid processions and meetings in public places under section 30 of the Police Act. On the following day (the 12th) a meeting of the more influential inhabitants was addressed by the Deputy Commissioner, and a number of pleaders who expressed a desire that an opportunity should be given them to advocate the maintenance of order, were allowed to hold a meeting in the afternoon. A somewhat disorderly procession was reported to be moving through the city soon after midday, but by the time that the police sent to control it arrived on the scene, it had already joined the meeting convened under the permission above referred to. The speakers, while expressing sympathy with the opposition to the Act, observed the pledge given by them to urge abstinence from disorder or violence. The hartal, however, was not raised, and actually continued until the 14th though it was partially raised on the 13th for the sake of the Baisakhi celebration. From this date the excitement in the city began to subside; shops were reopened, and though small meetings continued to be held, affairs took a more normal course. As a result of the reports which had been received from the district the Local Government had applied on the 16th for sanction to the extension of the Seditious Meetings Act to it; and sanction was received on the same day. It was not proclaimed in the district till the 18th. The district was proclaimed as a disturbed area under the Police Act on April 21st. On the 25th there was a case of incendiarism in the lines of the 2/72nd Punjabis, the origin of which has not been traced. A body of troops was as a precaution retained in the Government High School, but on the 1st May a deputation, consisting of the Municipal Committee and other influential inhabitants, waited on the Commissioner, expressed regret at the excitement which had prevailed, and asked that, in view of the restoration of quiet, the troops should be withdrawn. This was done the same evening. There had not, during this period, been any indication that the agitation was otherwise than of a purely political nature. At two of the meetings indeed, a poem of seditious tendencies had been read; but there appeared to be no organization for disorder, and there were no demonstrations either against Europeans or Christians. The outstanding feature of the agitation was the extent to which its promoters were able to engage the support of the trading classes; the hartal continued longer, and was more complete, than in any of the Punjab cities outside the area of active disturbance.

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

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

CHRONOLOGICAL STATEMENT.

The 2nd February 1919.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore.—Meeting of the Indian Association to condemn the Rowlatt Bill.**The 4th February 1919.**

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore.—Meeting in Bradlaugh Hall to oppose the Rowlatt Bill.**The 5th February 1919.**

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Meeting on the Rowlatt Bill.**The 9th February 1919.**

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Dr. Gokal Chand Naurang came from Lahore and spoke on the Rowlatt Bill.**The 11th February 1919.**

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Public meeting over subject of platform tickets.**The 13th February 1919.**

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Dr. Kitchlew addressed a National meeting of Muhammadans.**The 16th February 1919.**

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Meeting of Local Congress Committee to protest against Rowlatt Bill.**The 19th February 1919.**

FEROZEPURE DISTRICT.

Ferozepore.—Sewa Samiti branch started.**The 21st February 1919.**

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Another Muhammadan meeting regarding the Holy Places and Muhammadan internees, at which Dr. Satyapal spoke.**The 22nd February 1919.**

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

The 22nd-23rd February 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

The 23rd February 1919.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

The 24th February 1919.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

The 26th February 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

The 28th February 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

LAHORE DISTRICT.

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

The 1st March 1919.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Sewa Samiti branch organised.

The 9th March 1919.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

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

The 15th March 1919.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

The 16th March 1919.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

The 18th March 1919.

Rowlatt Act passed.

The 20th March 1919.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

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

The 21st March 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

The 23rd March 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

The 29th March 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

FEROZEPURE DISTRICT.

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

JHANG DISTRICT.

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

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

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

The 30th March 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

FEROZEPURE DISTRICT.

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

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

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

JHANG DISTRICT.

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

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Karnal.—An Urdu manuscript notice with headline "30th March—day of hartal—sign of mourning" found stuck up in the bazar. This notice advocated mourning and prayers for

passive resistance, and declared that two methods of opposing the Rowlatt Act suggested themselves, *i.e.*, Revolution and Passive Resistance, but as arms were wanting for the former, the latter course should be pursued.

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

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

MUZAFFARGARH DISTRICT.

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

The 31st March 1919.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

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

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

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

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

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

The 2nd April 1919.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

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

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

HOSHARPUR DISTRICT.

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

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

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

LAHORE DISTRICT.

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

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

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

The 3rd April 1919.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

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

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

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

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

GURGAON DISTRICT.

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

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

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

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

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

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

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

The 4th April 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

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

LAHORE DISTRICT.

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

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

KARNAL DISTRICT.

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

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

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

The 5th April 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

DERA GHAZI KHAN DISTRICT.

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

FEROZEPUR DISTRICT.

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

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

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

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

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

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

JHELM DISTRICT.

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

LAHORE DISTRICT.

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

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

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

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

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

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

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

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Karnal.—Mass meeting to arrange hartal.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—The Deputy Commissioner called up 15 of the most prominent members of the Hindu-Muhammadan Panchayat, and warned them that violence in enforcing a hartal would be treated as criminal. The warning was received in silence. The proposed visit of the 2,300 Punjabis to the city was postponed.

MUZAFFARGARH DISTRICT.

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

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

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

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

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

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

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

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

The 6th April 1919.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

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

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

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

DERA GHAZI KHAN.

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

FEROZEPURE DISTRICT.

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

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

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

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

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

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

Ramnagar.—Hartal observed.

Sheikhpura.—Hartal and a protest meeting of Hindus and Muhammadans.

Wazirabad.—Efforts of Hindus to force a hartal frustrated by prominent Muhammadans.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

<i>Batala</i>	} A complete hartal observed.
<i>Dharawal</i>	...	...	...	...
<i>Dinanagar</i>	...	...	...	...
<i>Gurdaspur</i>	...	...	...	...
<i>Pathankot</i>	...	...	...	...
<i>Sujampur</i>	...	...	...	...
<i>Aliwal</i>	} A partial hartal observed.
<i>Kulian</i>	...	...	...	...
<i>Sohal</i>	...	...	...	...

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Bullabgarh.—Under pressure from Delhi a hartal was started, abandoned after about two hours.

Faridabad.—Hartal was observed for two days.

Painai.—Hartal observed. Meeting was held and collection raised for defence of those who might be prosecuted in this connection.

Rewari.—Hartal observed. The people were restless and moved about in crowds. The Station was visited and refreshment rooms forced to close.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Bhiwani City.—Complete hartal and a mass meeting. Some persons went about in mourning garb, carrying black flags.

Hissar City.—Complete hartal. A meeting was held in the morning to protest against the Rowlatt Act. Another meeting was held in the evening to offer prayers for the withdrawal of the Act, and speeches were also delivered.

Hansi City.—Attempts made to promote a hartal but no result was reached.

HOSHARPUR DISTRICT.

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

JHANG DISTRICT.

Chiniot.—An abortive attempt at hartal.

Shorkot.—Another attempt at hartal stopped.

JHELUM DISTRICT.

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

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

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

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Karnal.—Hartal observed.

Panipat.—Unsuccessful attempt to observe hartal.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

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

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

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

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

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

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

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

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

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

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

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

Kamalia.—Hartal and a protest meeting.

Montgomery city.—A complete hartal observed.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

MUZAFFARGARH DISTRICT.

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

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

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

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

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

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

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

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

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

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

SIMLA DISTRICT.

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

The 7th April 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

HISSAR DISTRICT.

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

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

Satgarha.—Hartal observed.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

The 8th April 1919.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

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

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

JHANG DISTRICT.

Chiniot.—An endeavour to arrange another hartal failed.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

The 9th April 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

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

KARNAL DISTRICT.

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

LAHORE DISTRICT.

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

GURGAON DISTRICT.

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

The 10th April 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

Amritsar.—Deportation of Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew, at 10.30 a.m. A little later crowds began to collect in the City and Aitchison Park; the Military warned. An angry crowd drove back a small mounted piquet at Hall Gate Bridge to get to Civil lines and the troops were eventually ordered to fire; a few rioters were killed and wounded. This was about 1 p.m. The forces being further augmented by a British Infantry piquet, the crowds were driven back over the railway line after being fired upon again. The crowd then divided, one part attacking and destroying the telephone exchange. Another part turned to the goods yards which they set on fire and cut telegraph wires killed Guard Robinson and chased the Station Superintendent, but were turned back by the railway station piquet. Chance arrival of a detachment of Gurkhas finally secured the Railway station.

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

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

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

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

GURGAON DISTRICT.

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

Palwal.—Hartal renewed.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

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

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

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

LAHORE DISTRICT.

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

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

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

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

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

The 11th April 1919.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

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

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Chuharkana.—Protest meeting in Mandi Mosque attended by Hindus and Mussulmans. Hartal urged.

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

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

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

GURGAON DISTRICT.

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

Hasanpur.—Hartal for one day was observed.

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

Palwal.—Hartal continued.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

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

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

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

KARNAL DISTRICT.

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

LAHORE DISTRICT.

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

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

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

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

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

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

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

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Bahadurgarh } Hartal held.
Jhajjar }

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

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

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

The 12th April 1919.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

Cheharta.—Telegraph wires cut between this and Amritsar.

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

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

Khasa } Telegraph wires cut between these places.
Gurusar }
Khasa }
C'heharta } Telegraph wires cut between these places.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

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

FEROZEPORE DISTRICT.

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

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

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

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

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Chuharkana.—Hartal and protest meeting.

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

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

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

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Palwal.—Hartal continued.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

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

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

Sirsa.—Hartal and a protest meeting against the arrest of Gandhi in the Jama Masjid. Hindu speakers were admitted.

Hartal was observed in most towns and larger villages near towns.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

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

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Karnal.—General Railway, Post and Telegraph strike threatened.

Shahabad.—Meeting held to arrange for observance of hartal the next day. In the evening Hindus and Sikhs congregated in the *imambara* and fraternized with Muhammadans.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Kasur.—A meeting of the local leaders was held at the house of a pleader, to discuss the institution of Hindu-Muhammadan mess houses. Hartal was again observed. Crowds paraded the city, closing shops and schools, schoolboys taking a conspicuous part, a large crowd following a *charpai* covered with a black flag as an emblem of the death of liberty, moved towards the railway station. When about to leave, after doing considerable damage to the station, the leaders again urged them to more violence. They then returned, and after burning a small oil-shed, damaging signal and telegraph wires, smashing furniture and looting property, they made for the Ferozepore train which carried several Europeans, *i.e.*, the Sherbourne family (consisting of Mr. Sherbourne, his wife and three children), Captain Limby and Lieutenant Munro, Corporal Battsen and Lance-Corporal Gringham all of whom narrowly escaped being killed, while two others, Conductor Selby and Sergeant Mallett were beaten to death by *lathis*.

Telegraph wires were destroyed for half a mile and posts uprooted, the Wheat Mandi Post Office looted and gutted, the main Post Office burned, the Munsif's Court set on fire, and an attempt made to burn the Tahsil which was saved by the police firing on the crowd, one being killed and several wounded of whom three afterwards died. Eight persons were arrested. Troops arrived in the afternoon.

Khem Karan Railway Station.—Damage done by about 20 men mainly sweepers from Patta village, who were driven off by some local zamindars.

Lahore.—In the morning a military force composed of British and Indian troops, machine guns, and cavalry, accompanied by police and civil authorities marched through the city. The demeanour of the crowd was hostile. Cavalry cleared off crowd that had gathered in front of the Fort and Badshahi Mosque. A Criminal Investigation Department Inspector in plain clothes was severely assaulted by large crowd in the Mosque. On crowd being dispersed, the entrances to Mosque were picketed by cavalry. The crowd, carrying sticks, formed a Muharram procession, and on reaching the bazar, began stoning the cavalry there, whereupon an armed police force was brought up and four constables were ordered to fire as the stoning and excitement had increased. One student killed and twenty-eight men wounded of whom one afterwards died. The crowd then dispersed.

About noon a meeting to discuss matters commenced in the Town Hall and lasted for some 3 hours. The Deputy Commissioner was told that shops would remain closed unless the military and police were removed. Free food shops were opened by the leaders, several persons making large money contributions. Offensive notices were found posted, and Government clerks and railway men were deterred from working. All shops remained closed and restless crowds paraded the streets all day and several days following. In the evening the Deputy Commissioner warned the leaders that Martial Law would be introduced unless the hartal ceased.

Patti.—Rioting from about 8 to 11 p.m., some damage done to the station. Telegraph wires cut.

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

HOSHARPUR DISTRICT.

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

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

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

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

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

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

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

MUZAFFARGARH DISTRICT.

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

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

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

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

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

SIMLA DISTRICT.

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

The 13th April 1919.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

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

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

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

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

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

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

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

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

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Pathankot.—Hartal.

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

GURGAON DISTRICT.

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

Palwal.—Hartal discontinued during the day.

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

HISSAR DISTRICT.

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

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

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

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

Bhiwani.—Hartal announced, but fell through.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Jullundur Cantonments.—Fire in a military office.

JHANG DISTRICT.

Jhang-Maghiana.—Loyal meeting of Muhammadans.

KANGRA DISTRICT.

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

KARNAL DISTRICT.

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

Shahabad.—A complete hartal was observed.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

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

Khem Karan Railway Station.—Telegraph insulators stolen.

Kasur ... } Wires cut between.

Khem Karan ... }

Khem Karan ... } Wires cut between.

Ghariaala ... }

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

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

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

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

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

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

The 14th April 1919.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

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

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

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

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

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

Mananwala.—Telegraph wires cut between this and Amritsar.

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

Kuror ... }

BAHAWALPUR STATE.

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

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT

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

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

Gujranwala.—Early in the morning a calf was killed and hung up on the Katchi Railway Bridge, rumours being circulated that this was done by the police. Crowds moved about the bazars raising various cries and closing shops. They surrounded and stoned a train, attempting to damage the engine; burnt a small railway bridge opposite the Gurukul and cut the telegraph wires for several miles on both sides of the station and smashed 450 insulators. An hour later the Katchi Bridge on the Lahore side was set on fire. The mob next had to be driven off from

the distant signal on the Lahore side, where they had set about destroying the line. The Superintendent of Police with his force were stoned and had to use firearms; this part of the mob cleared off after setting fire to the Telegraph Office and Post Office, all water and fire-pumps having been previously removed. Later on two other mobs crossed the railway line and set fire to the Tahsil Dāk Bungalow and Kucheri and the Church, but were beaten off from the police lines and jail. Meanwhile in the absence of the police, the first section of the mob returned and burnt the railway station, Casson Industrial School and the railway goods shed, in the latter what property escaped fire was looted, the total loss of goods being valued at eight lakhs of rupees. On arrival of three aeroplanes from Lahore, which dropped bombs on the rioters, the latter dispersed. Later in the evening troops arrived from Sialkot.

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

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

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

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

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

GUJRAT DISTRICT.

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

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

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

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

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

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

Sohal.—Telegraph wires cut.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Nuh.—Hartal continued but ceased the next day.

KARNAL DISTRICT.

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

HISSAR DISTRICT.

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

JHANG DISTRICT.

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

JHELUM DISTRICT.

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

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

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

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

LAHORE DISTRICT.

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

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

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

<i>Wagah</i>	...	...	...	...	} Telegraph wires at these stations cut.
<i>Attari</i>	...	..	...	...
<i>Ghariaala</i>	...	...	...	...	} Wires cut between.
<i>Patti</i>	...	...	...	...

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

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

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

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

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

MIANWALI DISTRICT.

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

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

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

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

MULTAN DISTRICT.

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

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

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

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

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

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

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

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

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

The 15th April 1919.**AMRITSAR DISTRICT.**

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.
Amritsar.—Martial Law proclaimed.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.
Application of Seditious Meetings Act to district.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

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

GUJRAT DISTRICT.

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

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

Kunjab.—An attempt at hartal failed.

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

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

HISSAR DISTRICT.

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

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

Garhdiwala.—Hartal observed and meeting held.

Hoshiarpur.—A military detachment arrived from Jullundur.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

<i>Nakodar</i>	} Hartal observed.
<i>Shahkot</i>	...	...	...	...
<i>Mahtpur</i>	...	...	...	...

JHELM DISTRICT.

<i>Dhndial</i>	} Attempts to promote hartal broke down because Muhammadans refused to join.
<i>Chakwal</i>	

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

LAHORE DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

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

Kot Radha Kishan.—A train stoned.

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

Baughali and Padri.—Two grass farm stacks burned.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

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

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

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

<i>Sangla</i>	} Wires cut and pulled down between.
<i>Salurwala</i>	

Toba Tek Singh.—Threatened hartal did not materialise.

MIANWALI DISTRICT.

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

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

Village patrols introduced for protection of railway lines in the district

MULTAN DISTRICT.

The Railway Defence Scheme was brought into operation and troops posted at the main railway stations, Multan, Multan City, Lodhran, Samasatta, Sher Shah and Khanewal.

Khanewal.—The railway staff struck in the forenoon but resumed work in the evening before troops arrived.

Samasatta.—Staff refused invitation from Khanewal to resume strike.

Arrangements for protection of railway lines by village guards were introduced.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Telegraphic wires cut between Rawalpindi and Murree.

ROHTAK DISTRICT

<i>Rohtak</i>	} Canal and postal wires cut between these places.
<i>Samargopalpur</i>	

Gumaur.—Meeting of butchers, held under threat of injury from Hindus to stop cow-killing.

Gohana.—Postal telegraph wires and post damaged.

Rohtak.—Seditious notice found posted on Delhi Gate. Railway telegraph wires cut at mile 357. Arrival of troops.

Sonepat.—Mass meeting held at Imambara.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Begowala Ghartal.—Telegraph wires cut in two places.

Sialkot.—An attempt was made to set fire to a railway carriage standing in the siding. This was done under the leadership of Sundar, a local bad character, since arrested.

AMRITSAR DISTRICT.

<i>Jandiala</i> ...	...	...	...	} Telegraph wires cut between these places.
<i>Butari</i> ...	...	...	...
<i>Sangrani</i> ...	...	...	...	} Telegraph insulators broken.
<i>Bhogtanwala</i> ...	...	...	...

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

<i>Malakwal</i>	} Partial strike of North Western Railway signallers and great excitement at stations.
<i>Pakhowal</i> ...	...	...	...
<i>Mithalak</i> ...	...	...	...

Bhulwal.—Attempt to hold unity meeting fell through.

The 16th April 1919.

FEROZEPUR DISTRICT.

Harbhawan Memorial Arya High School.—A number of students went out on strike.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Anlakh.—The patwari's records burnt by two lambardars and some local zamindars.

Dhuban Singh Railway Station.—Early in the morning, the station attacked by a mob which burned the office and looted the safes, after having, during the night previous, burned a railway bridge, damaged the permanent way, and cut the telegraph wires in several places.

Gujranwala.—Martial law proclaimed over the district and Seditious Meetings Act applied.

Hafizabad.—Shops opened as usual and no further disturbance occurred.

<i>Machhike</i>	} Wire cut.
<i>Muridke</i>	

Moman.—Railway Station looted and burnt and all telegraph wires cut.

Sangla.—A military deserter rescued from custody and the military escort assaulted. Murderous attack by Harnam Singh on Mr. Wale, Telegraph Inspector. At night the Baroha villagers cut the telegraph wire on the Lahore line.

Wazirabad.—Arrests of certain leaders were effected.

GUJRAT DISTRICT.

Gujrat.—Shops opened. Public meetings and processions prohibited under the Police Act.

Jalalpur Jattan.—Hartal continued. While members of the municipal committee and other leading men were discussing measures to stop trouble, the crowd insisted on them joining in the mourning and slightly damaged the furniture of the Municipal Hall where the discussion was held. Crowd then proceeded to damage the Mission School and made some police constables remove their *pagris*.

Malakwal.—Meeting at the mosque attended by Hindus. At night the telegraph wires were cut, the distant signal lamps were removed. Rails were removed which caused the derailment of a train the next morning, resulting in the loss of two lives.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Pathankot.—A lighted torch was thrown at an English lady riding in a motor car.

JHANG DISTRICT.

Jhanga-Maghiana.—The Railway telegraph communication between Jhang and Subhaga temporarily interrupted but wires were not cut.

JHELUM DISTRICT.

Kala.—A passenger train derailed near this station as the result of the removal of a rail by some railway men whose apparent intention was to wreck a troop train expected from Pindi.

Chakwal.—Meeting took place to arrange hartal and protest meeting.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Jullundur.—A number of wires cut and insulators broken just outside Cantonments.

Nakodar and Jhahalki.—Between these places, wire cut in two places.

Seditious Meetings Act extended to Jullundur.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Kusur.—Martial Law proclaimed, a Darbar being held for the purpose. Twenty-two arrests made during the day and *langars* were closed by order.

Kot Radha Kishan.—A train was stoned, and several people including a European lady injured.

Patti.—Gatekeeper's hut broken open.

Parki Thana villages.—Flying column from Lahore visited these villages taking prisoners in four of them.

Valtoha ... } Wires between cut.

Ghariala ... }

Changa Manga and Pattoki.—Telegraph wires interrupted for one mile between these places.

Premnagar.—Wires cut.

Lahore.—Third and Inter. class bookings stopped. Registration begun of agents, touts, etc., of pleaders, who were forbidden to leave Lahore without permit. Roll-calls of D.A.-V. College were begun four times a day at the Bradlaugh Hall. Owners of property made responsible for the preservation of notices posted thereon. Carrying of *lathis* in Lahore Civil Area forbidden.

BAHAWALPUR.

Bahawalnagar.—The disaffected railway strikers were turned out of railway precincts by military and traffic was resumed.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Gojra.—The hartal was resumed and disloyal demonstrations repeated after which the shops were opened.

Lyallpur District.—Disaffection began to spread to villages. The canal telegraph wire was cut in Mauza 253-R. B., nine miles from Lyallpur. There was a seditious meeting in Mauza Khiala Kalan, some nine miles from Lyallpur.

Lyallpur.—Some troops arrived at Lyallpur but a portion of them had to be sent off at once to save Sangla Station from the mob which burnt Chuharkana, Moman and Dhaban Singhwala Stations the night before. The news of the outrages on the Sangla-Shahdara line caused considerable excitement. The hartal was temporarily suspended at Lyallpur, but there was a new crop of seditious notices.

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

Ludhiana.—Another hartal, though not complete as most of the shops in Wakefield Ganj, a new quarter of the town, remained open. The meeting held at the Budha Nala Ghat passed resolutions protesting against the exclusion of Gandhi from the Punjab.

MIANWALI DISTRICT.

Kundián.—Railway station staff strike ended on arrival of a small detachment of troops.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Rawalpindi City.—Seditious pamphlets posted.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Sialkot.—Secret meeting held at the house of a pleader. Anonymous notices inciting to violence and extolling the Gujranwala rioters, were posted up. Two fish-plates removed from a railway line.

The 17th April 1919.

FEROZEPUR DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15, Police Act.

Ferozapore.—Some seditious posters were found posted in the city and being circulated in the neighbourhood.

GUJRAT DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

Jalalpur Jattan.—Shops began to reopen.

Malakwal.—Troops arrived.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Gujranwala.—Seditious Meetings Act proclaimed.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of Police Act.

Gurdaspur.—Telegraph wires between Chhina and Dhariwal cut; canal telegraph wires between Kalar Kalan and Konjur cut; 1,200 feet of wire removed. Canal wire at Gharjikut cut, 200 feet of wire removed.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Gurgaon.—District proclaimed under section 15, Police Act.

JHELUM DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

Chakwal.—Proposed hartal and protest meeting abandoned owing to intervention of the authorities.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Bir Pind and Litran near Nakodar.—Telegraph wires cut at these two places.

Jullundur.—District declared under section 15 of the Police Act. Village guards posted on railway lines and Zaildars and other leading men made special constables for patrolling.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Jallo } An attempt made to derail trains between these two stations.
Harbanspura }

Changa Manga and Pattoki.—Railway telegraph wire cut between.

Ghariaia } Wires cut between.
Patti }

Kasur.—Arrests continued.

Lahore.—Martial Law Orders issued for shops to open but they had begun to open before the orders were distributed. Unrest began to subside. Badshahi Mosque closed to public.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan City.—Subscriptions being collected to finance agitation. District declared under Seditious Meetings Act.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur City.—Seditious Meeting Act proclaimed. More troops arrived in Lyallpur. The hartal was resumed in the city. A stack of 24,000 maunds *bhusa* belonging to Government, worth Rs. 50,000 was burnt.

Lyallpur District.—A seditious meeting was held in Khiala Kalan to which emissaries from neighbouring villages colonized by Manjha Jat Sikhs from Amritsar were called. The meeting was also attended by representatives from Lyallpur City. Plans for looting and burning of Government buildings, etc., at Lyallpur were discussed.

Gatti.—A party from Lyallpur proceeded to Jhumra, and though they failed to gain adherents in the town, they returned to Lyallpur by road, breaking telegraph insulators and cutting telegraph wires near *Gatti en route*.

Abbaspur.—Telegraph wires cut and posts uprooted near Abbaspur Station.

MIANWALI DISTRICT.

Daud Khel Railway Station.—Telegraph wires cut on the line towards Massan. A strike-leader arrested.

LUDHIANA DISTRICT.

Ludhiana.—District proclaimed under section 15, Police Act.

Samrala.—Hartal observed.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Rawalpindi.—District proclaimed under section 15 of Police Act, 1861.

Gujar Khan.—Telegraphic lines interrupted.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Rohtak.—District proclaimed under section 15, Police Act. Leaders of Hindu-Muhammadan Committee warned by Deputy Commissioner.

SHAHPUR DISTRICT.

Bhera.—Attempts made by students to hold unity meeting in mosque. Prominent Muhammadans refused to allow it.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

Sialkot.—A feeble and abortive attempt to fire the City Post Office was made by some bad characters and boys.

The 18th April 1919.

(Mr. Gandhi advises the suspension of civil disobedience.)

FEROZEPUR DISTRICT.

An iron gradient post was placed on the line between Makhu and Butewala Railway Stations.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Aulakh.—The Assistant Superintendent of Police with a party of British soldiers and police arrested all those concerned in the burning of the Patwari's records two days previously.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Chuhan.—Canal wire cut.

Chhina } Wires cut between these places.
Dhariwal }

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

Una.—An unsuccessful attempt was made to hold hartal here.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Husainabad (near Nakodar).—Wire cut.

Sidhwan Flag Station (near Nakodar).—Burned down, but doubtful if this due to outside agency.

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Panipat.—Considerable excitement prevailed owing to Delhi intrigues.

Fatehpur (near Pundri).—A meeting was held at which a speaker addressed the people, advising them to follow Gandhi's footsteps.

Kaithal.—Observance of hartal, during which a mob of about 100, mostly Hindu and Muhammadan boys, visited the railway station and, after failing to induce the staff to strike, smashed a few lamps and window panes.

Karnal.—A body of cavalry arrived from Meerut, followed the next day by a detachment of infantry. The cavalry after marching through *Kaithal* and *Panipat* returned to Ambala.

Ladwa.—Visited by an unknown Muhammadan, bare-footed and bare-headed, who convened a meeting of Hindus and Muhammadans, whom he informed that the people of Delhi had given up cow-killing, and urged them to follow Delhi's example and promote Hindu-Muslim unity. He also told his audience that the Delhi people had vowed to remain bare-headed and bare-footed till Gandhi was set at liberty.

Pundri.—An unsuccessful attempt at hartal.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore City.—Majority of shops opened by Martial Law order. Students of Sanatan Dharma College arrested for tearing down Martial Law notices. Martial Law tribunals appointed.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—On the receipt of report of danger at Moman Kanjan Station it was visited by an armoured train. The hartal finally collapsed at Lyallpur. A gang of villagers from Chak 150, Gugera Branch, a village colonized by Manjha Jat Sikh colonists, came out at night and tried to wreck the line between Toba Tek Singh and Janiwala, overturning telegraph poles and cutting wires. Most of these were traced by the police next morning, and induced to surrender.

Gatti } Insulator broken between.
Chak Jhumra }

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—The application of the Seditious Meetings Act to the district was proclaimed.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Sonepat.—Mass meeting fixed for this date was abandoned owing to the action taken to warn leaders.

PATIALA STATE.

Ronau.—Wires cut between this and Shalgarh.

SHAHNUR DISTRICT.

Sargodha.—A fire which did some damage occurred on the Railway platform, but was probably not due to incendiarism.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Begowala.—Telegraph wires cut.

The 19th April 1919.

AMBALA DISTRICT.

Ambala Cantonments.—Store burnt in the regimental lines Depôt, 1/34th Sikh Pioneers.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT.

Muridke.—Wire cut.

GUJRAT DISTRICT.

Gujrat.—Martial Law proclaimed in the district.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Dalhousie Road.—13 miles from Pathankot wires cut and post broken.

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

Hoshiarpur.—Meeting held to promote Hindu-Muhammadan unity.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Kasur.—40 more arrests made.

Valtoha } Canal wire cut and 300 feet wire stolen between.
Manihala.... }

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—The movable column arrived in Lyallpur.

Janiwala } All wires cut at three separate spots between these places; insulator
Toba Tek Singh.... } broken; posts uprooted.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Rawalpindi Cantonments.—Notices posted and fire occurred in goods shed but origin of this doubtful.

SHAHNUR DISTRICT.

Sargodha.—A fire at Railway Station, origin doubtful.

SIALKOT DISTRICT.

Sialkot.—Wires cut between Sialkot and Wazirabad.

The 20th April 1919.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Biwan.—Visited by Surendra Nath, from Delhi, subsequently convicted under the Defence of India Act.

KANGRA DISTRICT.

Chakki Bridge.—Telegraph wires cut on the Pathankot-Nurpur road.

LAHORE DISTRICT.

Lahore.—Several prominent rioters were arrested and Martial Law orders for surrender of arms issued.

Kasur.—Arrests continued.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Punitive measures and arrests were begun by the Deputy Commissioner with the help of the movable column, and the situation began to improve rapidly.

SHAHPUR DISTRICT.

Sargodha.—Seditious notices posted in bazaars and anonymous letters were received threatening loyal Indians.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Rohtak.—Canal wire cut near Jat High School.

The 21st April 1919.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

Gurdaspur.—General Officer Commanding, Amritsar, and his movable column arrived in the forenoon, and in the afternoon General Dyer addressed a meeting of pleaders and local notables in the Town Hall.

Sujanpur } Wires cut and insulators broken between these places.
Madhopur }

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Sirsa.—Two inflammatory manuscript notices were discovered posted at Sirsa. They were possibly the work of an outsider.

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

Dasuya.—The railway telegraph wire was cut near this place (authorship untraced).

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

Phillaur.—A Bengali Sadhu was arrested preaching sedition.

Jullundur } Railway lines cut.
Bilga

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Paniput.—Alleged pressure from Delhi on merchants to liquidate all debt in cash.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

District proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

Lyallpur.—Deputy Commissioner with part of movable column paid a disciplinary visit to Gojra and made arrests.

Seditious Meetings Act proclaimed.

The Districts of Attock, Gurgaon, Jullundur, Karnal, Ludhiana, Mianwali, Montgomery, Multan, Rawalpindi, Rohtak and Shahpur proclaimed under section 15 of the Police Act.

The 22nd April 1919.

AMBALLA DISTRICT.

Ambala Cantonment.—Office of Depot 1/34th Sikh Pioneers burnt.

ATTOCK DISTRICT.

Campbellpur.—Seditious handbills posted up.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Batala.—Visited by the movable column under General Dyer, who addressed two meetings (town and country separately).

Dhariwal.—Visited by the movable column under General Dyer, who addressed a meeting of pleaders and local notables.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Hissar.—A meeting of Muhammadans to denounce Satyagraha.

JULLUNDUR DISTRICT.

<i>Shankar</i>	} A small flying column visited these places.
<i>Nakodar</i>	
<i>Bilga</i>	
<i>Jandiala</i>	
<i>Bundala</i>	
<i>Phillaur</i>	

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—The movable column moved through Lyallpur City. Ten arrests were made including that of a well-known agitator and three pleaders.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

<i>Rohtak</i>	} Were visited by aeroplane as a demonstration.
<i>Sampla</i>	
<i>Bahadurgarh</i>	
<i>Sonepat</i>	
<i>Ganaur</i>	

PATIALA STATE.

Bhatinda.—Attempt to cut telegraph wire near Bhatinda.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Khanewal.—Telegraph line interrupted between Khanewal and Multan.

SIMLA DISTRICT.

Simla City.—Reported efforts by people from Delhi to cause butcher strike.

The 23rd April 1919.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Ferozpur-Jhirka.—Surendra Nath of Delhi delivered a lecture, for which he was subsequently convicted under the Defence of India Act.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Deputy Commissioner with part of the movable column visited Khiala Kalan, where meetings had been held, and a conspiracy to loot Lyallpur treasury had been formed. Thirteen arrests were made in this and five other neighbouring Manjha Jat Sikh colonist villages.

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT.

Montgomery.—Assistant station master arrested for trying to persuade gangmen to damage line.

The 24th April 1919.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Hissar.—A mass meeting of Muhammadans in the Juma mosque to affirm loyalty and to denounce Satyagraha.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Martial Law was proclaimed in the district at 10 A.M., a parade being held for this purpose at headquarters. Movable column visited Jehangir, a village where canal telegraph wires had been cut, and made 5 arrests.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Rohtak.—Signs of resistance to regulations regarding patrolling shown by Arya villages.

The 25th April 1919.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Aliwal.—Canal wire cut, 900 feet of wire removed.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Hissar.—A joint Hindu-Muhammadan manifesto issued, expressing loyalty and indignation at violence used by mobs elsewhere.

KANGRA DISTRICT.

Kangra.—Appearance of anti-kine killing snowball letters.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Movable column visited Toba Tek Singh and Chak 150, Gugera Branch. The missing members of a gang which had cut telegraph wires and tried to wreck the railway line between Janiwala and Toba Tek Singh, were arrested.

The 26th April 1919.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Hissar.—General meeting of rural notables of the Hissar District, presided over by the Deputy Commissioner to consider measures to deal with the situation.

The 27th April 1919.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Hansi.—A loyal Muhammadan meeting.

Sirsa.—Loyal Muhammadan meeting in the Juma Masjid. Manifestos issued and committees formed for oral propaganda work in the villages.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Movable column with Deputy Commissioner, visited Sohul village and made some arrests.

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Bahadurgarh.—Mass meeting fixed for this date abandoned owing to warning issued to leaders.

KARNAL DISTRICT.

Panipat.—Meeting to prevent disorder and mischief as result of Rowlatt Act agitation.

The 28th April 1919.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Hodal.—A loyal meeting was held.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan Cantonments.—Case of incendiarism in office of 2nd/72nd Punjabis (origin doubtful).

ROHTAK DISTRICT.

Rohtak.—Arrest under the Defence of India Rules of Tek Ram, Jat, a man of violent character and a likely leader of a Jat mob.

The 29th April 1919.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Hansi.—Loyal Hindu-Muhammadan meeting, and also meeting of the local Hindu Pattidars.

Mangala.—Muhammadan meeting to refute false rumours and issue loyal manifesto.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Rawalpindi City.—Anonymous seditious poster placed on the gates of the municipal gardens.

Rawalpindi Cantonments.—Anonymous seditious poster placed in the Gwal Mandi.

The 30th April 1919.

GURGAON DISTRICT.

Palwal.—A resolution of loyalty was passed by the municipality, many of whose members had taken part in Satyagraha meetings.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Sirsa.—Hindus passed resolution of loyalty and issued manifesto.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan City.—The municipal committee waited on the Commissioner, and in the presence of civil and military officers, Honorary Magistrates and Raises, expressed regret at the excitement which had prevailed, reported that there was no ground for apprehending further disturbance, and asked that the troops should be withdrawn from the Government High School, where they had been posted since the 11th. Troops were accordingly withdrawn from the city.

The 1st May 1919.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT.

Lyallpur.—Movable column departed for the Gujranwala District.

JHELUM DISTRICT.

Jhelum.—Seditious poster found.

The 2nd May 1919.

BAHAWALPUR STATE.

Telegraph wire cut between Minchinabab and Macleodganj.

GURDASPUR DISTRICT.

Gurdaspur.—Nine persons arrested under the Defence of India Act for attempting to create disaffection towards the Government.

The 3rd May 1919.

HISSAR DISTRICT.

Bhiwani.—Loyal manifesto issued by members of extreme party.

MULTAN DISTRICT.

Multan.—Village guards (introduced to protect the railway permanent way) were discontinued.

The 4th May 1919.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Sihala.—Shot said to have been fired at a train; found to be a case of stone throwing.

The 6th May 1919.

News published of outbreak of war with Afghanistan.

The 9th May 1919.

ATTOCK DISTRICT.

Campbellpur.—An attempt (origin unknown) was made to burn the local High School.

The 22nd May 1919.

HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT.

Pandori.—Ganda Singh, a revolutionary returned emigrant, arrested.

The 28th May 1919.

Martial Law withdrawn from rural areas of Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala and from whole of Gujrat, excepting all railway lands.

The 9th June 1919.

Martial Law withdrawn with effect from midnight from Lyallpur District, the remaining areas of Amritsar and Gujranwala, and from Kasur Municipality, excepting railway lands in each case.

The 11th June 1919.

Martial Law withdrawn with effect from midnight from Lahore Civil Area and Cantonnments, excepting railway lands.

The 25th August 1919.

Martial Law withdrawn with effect from this date from all railway lands in the districts of Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala, Lyallpur and Gujrat.

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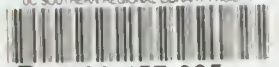
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