CHAPTER – III
THE SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT

In August 1914, England declared war against Germany and there began the epic of First World War in the human history. During and after the war some incidents happened and a few movements emerged that influenced the circumstances of India. Consequently these reasons caused the Satyagraha movement. During the early years of War, the Gadar movement was looked upon by the British as the first serious attempt for an armed revolution against the British Government in India. The Gadar Party was originally founded at San Francisco in the United States of America in April 1913 and its full name was “Hindu Association of the Pacific Coast”. However, it got prominence as a Gadar party due to a weekly paper Gadar which was published by the party since 1st November 1913. The Gadar movement was secular in character and militant in its operations. The main object of the Gadar party was to get India free from England by violent means. During the World War Gadrities returned to India in order to fulfill their objects. But their plans got collapsed. By August 1915, the Gadar party in the Punjab had been virtually smashed by a Punjab Government armed with extensive powers under the Defense of India Act and the Ingress Ordinance of 15th September
1914.\textsuperscript{247} The Defense of India Act was passed on March 19, 1915 and it had authorized the Governor General to frame the rule “to improve any civil or military authority to prohibit the entry or residence in any area of a person suspected to be acting in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or to direct the residence of such person in any specified area”.\textsuperscript{248} Although the Gadar party had not achieved some of its objectives but the Gadrities were almost weak forces from 1915 onwards. True that their brief period of militancy had impressed upon people the fact that the authority of the Government could be challenged also, there was another factor. The Muslims had agitated over Turkey’s entry into the World war against the British. For it, they had also a lunched Pan-Islamic movement with it’s headquarter at Madina. Their main object was to unite all the powers grounded in Islam. The Turks, the Arabs under the Sheriff of Macca, the Afghans and the Muslims of India united themselves against the forces of British imperialism. End of British rule in India was therefore their major target.\textsuperscript{249} Third factor was the Home Rule League that was started by Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak. It was on the 25\textsuperscript{th} September 1915 that Annie Besant had declared the establishment of the Home Rule League. Her object was to get India free from humiliation of dependency and to carry an

\textsuperscript{249} V.N. Datta, \textit{Jallianwala Bagh}, p. 6.
agitation into every village and every street.\textsuperscript{250} After some time Tilak started India Home Rule League on 28\textsuperscript{th} April 1916.\textsuperscript{251} Tilak’s India Home Rule League’s aims were akin to that of Annie Besant. These movements stirred the Indian people to a new type of activity which was more suited to the Indian masses of those days. They gave a radical turn to Indian politics during 1916-17. Mrs. Besant published daily newspaper named as ‘New India’ and a weekly newspaper called ‘The Commonweal’.\textsuperscript{252} These newspapers published articles which were against the British Government. Both the Home Rule Leagues progressed very well day by day and a great number of persons became the followers of the movements. The Government decided to crush the movement and ordered a ban on the entry of Annie Besant in the central provinces and Berar, Bombay and Punjab. Tilak had been extorted from Bombay. Annie Besant was arrested on June 1916.\textsuperscript{253} That infuriated the whole country. According to Jawaharlal Nehru this arrest stirred even the older generation, and his father also became her follower.\textsuperscript{254} The Home rulers had virtually destroyed the influence of the moderates and the stage was set for a nationwide agitation. As a result the national movement had taken a new turn.

\textsuperscript{250} Proceedings Home Political, (Deposit) April, 1917, No. 17 (N.A.I.).
\textsuperscript{251} V.N. Datta, Jallianwala Bagh, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{252} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{253} Ibid, p. 9.
Another factor of resentment among Indians was the army recruitment and the methods adopted in recruiting campaigns by the British military authorities during the war period, particularly in the Punjab. Sir Michael O’ Dwyer, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, had described the Punjab as the ‘Shield the Spearhead’ and the ‘Sword Band of India’.255 From the beginning of 1917, recruitment came to be done with the help of civil authorities. The war situation had turned serious for British in the middle of the year 1917. This led to the formation of the Central and Provincial Recruiting Boards and district officers were encouraged to outbid each other in recruiting men and raising money. The Central Recruitment Board introduced quota system at divisional, district, tehsil and village levels. Villagers and urbanites were threatened alike and they were told that failure to complete the quota voluntarily within specified period would be followed by the use of force.256 On 29th June 1917 a demand was made for the Punjab to provide a monthly total of 14,290 fighting men, 1790 muleteers and 860 non-combatants throughout the year from 1st July 1917.257 Consequently, recruiting Darbars were held in various districts. Liberal rewards were offered to local recruiters and

256 Proceedings Home Political, (B) February, 1920, No. 373. (N.A.I.).
257 Ibid.
depots were established for drafting the newly enlisted recruits and a fifty rupees bonus was payable to every recruit.\textsuperscript{258} Besides Government officials there would be Khan Bhadurs and Rai Sahibs and all those who wanted to seek favors of one kind or the other from the Government. In fact they began coercing people for enlistment. The failed were deprived from of irrigation rights, because they could not fulfill the quota owing to non-availability of young men.\textsuperscript{259} These events enforced the recruitment; and inhuman behavior spread the resentment and discontent among the people of Punjab against the British Government. Unable to bear the humiliation, some villagers actually rose in revolt and murdered officials who came to their village asking for recruits.

Further, the exceptionally unstable political condition of India during the war increased the severe economic strains from which the country was suffering as a result of the contribution it was required to make in the war efforts. The Government of India had undertaken to raise a war loan of £100 millions in India. A vigorous door to door publicity campaign was organized by provincial and district war loan committees to achieve the target\textsuperscript{260}

\textsuperscript{258} Proceedings Home Political, (B), February, 1920, No.373 (N.A.I.).
\textsuperscript{260} Rushbrook Williams, India in the Years 1917-18, Government of India, Calcutta 1919, pp. 81-82.
and when that failed, income-tax-payers were forced to invest from one forth to one half of their annual income in the war loans. Income tax law was amended so as to make it possible for income-tax authorities to over assess the income of an assesses and then coerce them to give more subscriptions.\textsuperscript{261} The closing months of the World War saw in India an unusual rise in the price level. The lower middle classes because of their fixed income and labour classes were hit extraordinarily hard by the unprecedented rise in the cost of living. Above all due to failure of monsoon during 1918 acute famine conditions developed in many parts of the country and food riots broke out in Calicut, Madras, Mysore, Lyallpur, Karnal and Pathankot. The fury of the mob was so intense in Calicut that it seized 3500 bags of rice.\textsuperscript{262} In the second half of January 1919 local recrudescence of \textit{Plague} took a high toll of human life.\textsuperscript{263} It was officially given out that one hundred and twenty five million people were affected by the epidemic, and between twelve to thirteen million died of it.\textsuperscript{264} During these circumstances when the people needed to be secure and safe the Government rubbed salt into their wounds.

\textsuperscript{261} \textit{Proceedings Home Political, (B)}, February, 1920, No. 373. (N.A.I.).
\textsuperscript{262} \textit{Proceedings Home Political, (Deposit)}, July, 1919 No. 37 (N.A.I.).
\textsuperscript{263} \textit{Proceedings Home Political, (Deposit)}, March, 1919, No. 17 (N.A.I.).
The people of India particularly Punjab had given so many services to the British Government during the World War. But people got only medals and certificates that had little economic worth. The Defense of India Act which was made only during of the war and it was to end when the war would have come to an end. But the situation being explosive, the Government was not ready to reduce the special powers vested by the Act. The Government of India wanted to replace the Defense of India Rule by a more adequate legislation. In addition to that the English Government adopted a repressive policy. During the war, the Government of India received the alarming news that seditious societies in India are in league with German agents for the overthrow of the British power. Consequently, they arrested persons suspected to such anti-Government activities and interned them for an indefinite period. To the official views the removal of the Defense of India Act was bound to create a critical situation for the Government of India and there was hope of a new ‘outburst of anarchical activity’. For suggesting steps in this direction, “on 10 December 1917, a sedition committee was appointed by the Government of India with Mr. Justice S.A.T.

265 Proceeding Home Political, (B), July, 1919, No. 69-70 (N.A.I.).
Rowlatt as a president to report on what were termed as criminal conspiracies connected with revolutionary movements in India”266 and advise about legislation to deal with them. Other members of Committee were Sir Basil Scoot, the chief justice of Bombay, Dewan Bahadur C.V. Kumarswami Sastri, judge of the high court in Madras, Sir Verney Lovett member of the Board of Revenue of the United Province and Pravesh Chandra Mitter vakil of the High Court Calcutta.267 It was famous as the ‘Rowlatt Committee’ after the name of it president, Mr. Justice S.A.T. Rowlatt. The committee sat in Camera and submitted its report on 15 April 1918.268 Consequently, on the recommendation of sedition committee two bills were prepared. The first of the two bills that was actually passed into law was the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act 1919. It was passed on 21st March 1919.269 But this act was popularly known as Rowlatt Act. By this act, provisions were made for speedy trial of offences in a special court, consisting of three High Court Judges, with no right of appeal without juries. People could be tried by courts which were

267 V.N. Datta, Jallianwala Bagh, p. 31.
268 Raja Ram, Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, p. 34.
empowered to sit in Camera. The Bill gave power to the executive
to place restrictions upon the liberty of persons suspected of
complicity in ‘anarchical or revolutionary movements’.\textsuperscript{270} The
provincial Government was empowered to search a place and
arrest a suspected person without warrant and keep him in
confinement at any place in the country up to one year.\textsuperscript{271} The bill
provoked of fierce indignation and resentment throughout the
Sub-Continent. The act was criticized with a popular cry ‘\textit{no vakil,}
\textit{no dalil, no appeal}’. It was universally opposed by Indians of all
shades of political opinion. The people felt that the Rowlatt Bill
was a poor reward for their war services. The Bill was criticized in
numerous public meetings by the educated people of India.
Surendranath Bannerjea regarded the bill as a great menace to
public liberty.\textsuperscript{272} Mr. M.A. Jinnah warned that ‘by passing the bill
you will create in this country from one end to other, a discontent
and agitation the like of which you have not witnessed’.\textsuperscript{273}
According to Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, it was a legislative
measure of a ‘retrograde and repressive character’.\textsuperscript{274}

\textsuperscript{270} Proceedings Home Political, (B), July, 1919, No. 69-70. (N.A.I.); also see V.N Datta, \textit{Jallianwala
Bagh}, p. 32.

\textsuperscript{271} Proceedings Home Political, (B), July, 1919, No. 69-70. (N.A.I.).

\textsuperscript{272} Proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council, Vol. VII, April, 1918 - March, 1919, p. 456
(N.A.I.)

\textsuperscript{273} \textit{Ibid}, p. 463.

\textsuperscript{274} \textit{Ibid}, p. 481.
Indian newspapers leveled severe criticism against the bill. The Hindu wrote, ‘the Indian public would read the proposed provisions with shame, indignation and disgust.\textsuperscript{275} Amrita Bazar Patrika called it a ‘gigantic blunder which would be arose the worst passions of a peaceful law-abiding people.\textsuperscript{276} The Punjabee regarded it as ‘a barefaced attempt on the part of a bureaucracy which has been demoralized by the exercise of unrestrained power to interfere with liberty.\textsuperscript{277} Protesting against the Rowlatt Act, at this critical juncture Gandhi Ji came to the forefront, and he launched an all-India agitation which India had never seen before. This protest took the shape of Satyagraha Movement. The response to Gandhi’s call for Satyagraha was spontaneous and phenomenal. His message for the people of India reached the four corners of the country even though the Congress organization had not become so strong and widespread. On 24\textsuperscript{th} Feb. Gandhi was visited at Matheran by a deputation from Bombay including Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Vallabhbhai Patel, Shankar Lal Banker, Umer Subhani and Shrimati Anasuyabeh and the idea of Satyagraha was seriously discussed.\textsuperscript{278} At Bombay a Satyagraha Sabha was

\textsuperscript{275} The Hindu, 22 January, 1919.
\textsuperscript{276} Amrita Bazar Patrika 13 January, 1919.
\textsuperscript{277} The Punjabee 21 January, 1919.
established with Gandhi as its president. Mahatma Gandhi inaugurated the Satyagraha agitation on 1\textsuperscript{st} March 1919 and he warned that the fight against the Rowlatt Bill was probably the most momentous in the history of India.\footnote{Proceedings Home Political, (B,) February, 1920, No. 373 (N.A.I.)} The agitation started with a fast, a novel feature in a political struggle and this movement stimulated a chain of strikes and conferences throughout the country. The participation of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims to a great extent showed the success of their movement.

Initially, the date of the strike was fixed for the 30\textsuperscript{th} March 1919. But it was subsequently changed to 6 April. On 23 March, Mahatama Gandhi appealed to the People throughout the country to commemorate Sunday, 6 April as a day of ‘humiliation and prayer’ by observing a hartal, and by keeping a fast.\footnote{Ravinder Kumar, Essays on Gandian Politics, The Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919, p. 277.} The Hartal (Strike) was a unique programme of mass action. It meant that the people would suspend business on that day, observe it as a day of fasting and prayer and the holding of public meetings.\footnote{S.R. Bakshi, Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy, p.28.} There were some places where news of the change of date could not reach in due time and consequently the people observed the hartal on 30\textsuperscript{th} March. News about the change of hartal reached the Punjab and Delhi too late. A large number of protest meetings
were organized in various parts of the province. The social discontent got wider circulation in Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Bombay, United Provinces, Central Provinces and Calcutta. On the whole, the hartals were untainted by violence before the 10th April which was remarkable. Only in Delhi (on 30th March) did a Satyagraha demonstration become disorderly—the railway station was damaged, British police officers assaulted and a number of rioters were killed.282

The Satyagraha Movement was an all India movement in every sense of the word, but it found its height in the soil of Punjab. The brave Punjabis showed great enthusiasm towards the movement and topped the country in organizing protest meetings against the Rowlatt Act. Amritsar turned out to be an important centre of agitation. Needless to say that Amritsar was the second important city of Punjab just about 33 miles in the east of Lahore. Its population in 1919 was 1,60,000.283 Being the prominent sacred and commercial centre in the Punjab, it attracted travelers and visitors from all parts of the province and even from outside. Besides, it was one of the important centers of the Congress organization in the province. In those days Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew were most educated and prominent persons of the city.

283 *Census of India 1921, Vol. XV, part I*, Lahore 1923, p. 121, population of Amritsar in 1921 was 160,218.
They were participating actively in all political and social activities of the city. The news of the postponement of hartal, also reached the Punjab and Delhi too late. So against the Rowlatt Act, strike was observed at Amritsar on 30 March and 6 April.

Dr. Satyapal, a medical practitioner, and Dr. Safi-Ud-Din Kitchlew, Bar at law, two prominent leaders of Amritsar\textsuperscript{284} had attended the Delhi session of the Congress held in December 1918 and they requested the Congress to hold its next session at Amritsar. Their invitation was gladly accepted by the all-India Congress Committee.\textsuperscript{285} This greatly enhanced the prestige of the local Congress committee founded only two years earlier, and Satyapal and Kitchlew soon acquired great influence in the city.

On the 23\textsuperscript{rd} March a protest meeting against the Rowlatt Act and in support of Gandhi’s Satyagraha movement was held in the Bande Mataram Hall,\textsuperscript{286} in which a speaker said, “if your hands are cut, let them be cut, let fetters and handcuffs be your ornaments, let prisons be your mosque and temple, then indeed shall freedom kiss your feet.”\textsuperscript{287} On the 29\textsuperscript{th} March, another meeting took place which was presided by Girdhari Lal, where

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{284} S.C. Mittal, \textit{Freedom Movement in Punjab (1905-29)}, Concept Publishers, Delhi, 1977, p.117.
\textsuperscript{285} V.N. Datta, \textit{Jallianwala Bagh}, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{286} \textit{Proceedings Home political, (Deposit)}, April, 1919, No.49 (N.A.I.)
\end{footnotes}
Gandhi’s ideas were explained and hartal was decided on for 30th March. The Government took its first coercive step at 11 a.m. on 29th March and Dr. Satyapal was prohibited speaking from in public under the Defense of India Act.288

In the morning of Sunday, the 30th March 1919, Amritsar presented a wonderful scene of the spirit of unity. All the shops were closed voluntarily and the entire business came to a standstill. The hartal at Amritsar was complete and people took a fasting, at the instance of Gandhi, as a means of self-purification.289 In the afternoon, a big meeting of the inhabitants of Amritsar was held in Jallianwala Bagh, where according to official accounts; more than 40000 people were present including a number of women.290 The meeting began with Nur Hasan Arshi, Faiz and Abdul Wahid reciting moving poems to the repeated applause of the people. Dr. Kitchlew presided the meeting and the speakers like Pandit Kotumal, Swami Anubhavananda and Mr. Dina Nath addressed the audience and emphasized in unequivocal terms the peaceful character of movement. The meeting ended peacefully and people left the meeting place in a most orderly manner. Similarly the other districts of province like Hissar,

288 Proceedings Home political, (Deposit), April, 1919, No.49.(N.A.I.)
289 V.N. Datta, Jallianwala Bagh, p. 65.
290 Amritsar Police Diary and C.I.D. Reports, 1919, Civil Secretariat, Chandigarh, pp. 16-17.
Rohtak, Gurgaon, Karnal, Ambala observed the complete hartal on the 30th of March. In Lahore, one day before the hartal (i.e., 29th of March) the kitchens in most of the college hostels were closed and at night students were on fast for twenty four hours. Delhi also observed a big hartal on 30th March. But it did not remain as non-violent as Amritsar had been. Some volunteers had gone to Delhi railway station to pursue the contractor of the railway refreshment stall and vendors to join in the hartal. The latter refused and a fight followed. The railway police and staff intervened. As a result thereof, huge excitement spread in the mob at the station and elsewhere. The police opened fire two times, first at the queen’s Gardens and then at the Town Hall, killing eight persons and wounding double that number. Next day brought the news of the riots at Delhi. The Delhi incidents spread like wild fire in Punjab.

Swami Satya Dev, a follower of Gandhi ji was sent to Punjab by Gandhi on 3rd April and he delivered a special lecture on the superior power and effectiveness of ‘Soul-force’. On the 4 April Dr. Kitchlew, Pandit Kotu Mal, Pandit Dina Nath and Swami Anubhavanand were served with orders prohibiting them from

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291 Proceedings Home political, (B) February, 1920, No. 373 (N.A.I.)
292 Proceedings Home Political, (Deposit) April, 1919, No. 49 (N.A.I.).
293 Disorders Inquiry Committee Report, Delhi 1920, pp. 1-3; Raja Ram, Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, p.73.
294 The Tribune 4 April, 1919.
addressing at the public meetings similar to that against Dr. Satyapal.\textsuperscript{295} On the 5\textsuperscript{th} April Mr. Miles Irving Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, invited Honorary Magistrates and number of respectable citizens to his house and he was assured by some leading loyal to the Government that the hartal would not take place on the 6\textsuperscript{th} April.\textsuperscript{296} In fact, the Congress reception committee had actually passed a resolution to that effect. This news gave a big shock to the younger element in the leadership of Amritsar, to genuine nationalist and to the public at large. But the hartal was decided for the 6\textsuperscript{th} April at a private meeting which Kitchlew and Satyapal attended and near about 10 p.m., a small party started a round of the town proclaiming the hartal on the next day by beat of drum.\textsuperscript{297}

On the 6\textsuperscript{th} April, the hartal was ‘as great a success as that of the preceding Sunday (30\textsuperscript{th} March). Due to Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal’s efforts, unprecedented unity was showed by the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. Once again, the city of Amritsar saw Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims close their shops on the morning of the 6\textsuperscript{th} April. By 8 a.m. the entire business of the city had come to

\textsuperscript{295} Memorandum on the Disturbances in Punjab, p. 2, quoted in File No. 357, The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, by Bakshish Singh (Ganda Singh collection, Punjabi University Patiala.)

\textsuperscript{296} Disorders Inquiry Committee, Vol. VI p.89; V.N. Datta, Jallianwala Bagh, p.66.

\textsuperscript{297} Raja Ram, Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, p. 78.
a standstill at the call of a young man who had formed small parties to make a round of city and request people to close their shops and suspend all kinds of business and work and created a considerable amount of excitement among the people shouting the slogan ‘Mahatama Gandhi ki Jai’ they moved from Karmon Deori to reach Aitchison Park. The crowd made a round to the main markets with a black flag in front of them and with turbans and caps were taken off. The crowd actually stopped from going to railway station and went to Jallianwala Bagh to attend a public meeting which was fixed for 3:30 p.m. as to avoid unnecessary risk. Badrul Islam Khan presided a meeting which was attended by 50,000 people. In this meeting the prominent leaders of city delivered their speeches and passed three resolutions in the meeting. “First, the order against Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew be rescind, second, the Rowlatt Act be repealed and the last, eulogized the Satyagraha Movement and recommended the formation of Satyagraha Sabha”. After it the meeting ended and crowd dispersed peacefully.

The 9th April was Ram Naumi Day, a Hindu religious festival. The people of Amritsar decided to celebrate it as a national

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299 *The Tribune*, 9 April, 1919.
solidarity day. A large number of Muslims, Hindu and Sikhs participated in the festival. People of different communities vied with each other in drinking water out of the same cups publicly.\textsuperscript{300} Dr. Hafiz Muhammad Bashir, a medical-practitioner, was leading the procession through the town.\textsuperscript{301} People were shouting “Gandhi Ji Maharaj Ki Jai, Kitchlew Ji ki Jai, Satyapal Ji ki Jai and Hindu-Muslim ki Jai”. On the 9th April Ram Naumi was celebrated in Lahore also as political rather than a religious event, for which purpose leader of movement had invited the Muslims of the city to join hands with the Hindus in celebrations.\textsuperscript{302} The Hindu Muslim unity was headache for the authorities. By and large the crowd was under control and showed a degree of discipline hither to unknown on such occasions.

On the evening of 9th April, Gandhi was stopped at Palwal, a small station in the southern Punjab. An order under rule 3 (B) of the Defence of India Act banning his entry into the Punjab was served on him and he was escorted back to the Bombay presidency.\textsuperscript{303} Micheal O’ Dwyer immediately wanted to take action against Dr. Satyapal and Dr.Kitchlew. For this O’ Dwyer

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{300} File No. 1217, The Disorders of 1919 (political events) (Ganda Singh collection, Punjabi University, Patiala), p.11.
\item \textsuperscript{301} Report of the Disorders Inquiry Committee, Vol. III, p.179.
\item \textsuperscript{302} Ravinder Kumar, Essays on Gandhian Politics, The Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919, p. 281.
\end{itemize}
sent an order to Irving (the Deputy Commission Amritser) to arrest Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal and sent them under escort to Dharmsala.\textsuperscript{304}

Subsequently, on April 10, Dr. Satyapal and Kitchlew were called upon to report themselves at the Deputy Commissioner's residence, and they were shown the order of deportation received from the provincial Government and the two were bundled off to Dharmsala in motor cars at 10:30 am with an escort, in charge of Mr. Rehill, Superintendent of police.\textsuperscript{305} When people became aware of it, complete hartal was observed in the city. The people had already incensed by the news of Gandhi's arrest. After some time ardent followers of the deportees urged people to close their shops and by 11:00 a.m. almost all business of transactions' in the city were suspended and assembled in the Aitchison Park, with the intention of proceeding to the Deputy Commissioner's house and demanding their release\textsuperscript{306}. After some time near about 12 p.m. the crowed started their journey to the Deputy Commissioner's residence in order to demand the release of their

\textsuperscript{304} Proceedings Home Political (Deposit), June, 1919, No.23. (N.A.I.)

\textsuperscript{305} Proceedings Home Political (Deposit), June, 1919, No. 23 (N.A.I.) The Tribune 11 April, 1919, File No. 357, Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, p.6, (Ganda Singh collection, Punjabi University Patiala); Bakhshish Singh Nijjer, Punjab under the British Rule, 1902-32,Vol.II, K.B. Publications, New Delhi, 1974, p.69.

\textsuperscript{306} Proceedings Home Political, (Deposit), June, 1919 No.23 (N.A.I.); S.R. Bakshi, Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy, pp. 34-35.
respective leaders. The mobs were being led by Ratto and Bugga, Kitchlew's Lieutenant. They were unarmed. The mob passed by the National Bank, the Town Hall and Christian mission Hall. They came across some Europeans, but did not show any sign of violence against them. When they were at the railway level crossing, the police stopped them and fired at them and half a dozen of them were killed and others wounded over 30.\footnote{The figure of Causalities in congress Punjab Inquiry Report was 20 dead and many wounded p.48, quoted in Khushwant Singh, History of the Sikhs, Vol. II, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1966, p. 163.}

This tragedy greatly incensed the mob. By 1 p.m. The crowd had armed itself with sticks and lathis. This position becomes extremely tense. The angry crowd rushed to the city and perpetrated a 'series of brutal acts of violence'. The National Bank of India was attacked and its Manager, Mr. Stewart and his assistant Scott were brutally beaten to death.\footnote{Proceedings Home Political (Deposit) June, 1919, No. 23 (N.A.I.)} The office furniture was heaped on the bodies and set on fire and the building was set on fire too and the store godowns were burst open and their contents looted. The Alliance Bank, close to the Queen Victoria statue was attacked next. G.M. Thompson, the manager, fired through a crevice in the door and killed one of the attackers. He then ran up the steps to the top of the roof, but he
was caught, beaten and murdered\textsuperscript{309} and his body burnt. The Chartered Bank in the neighbored of the National Bank was also attacked. But its manager, J.W. Thompson, and his assistant, Ross, who were hiding at the top of a staircase but the two were saved by a party of police from the kotwali.\textsuperscript{310} The dead bodies and the wounded were carried through the bazaars. Sergent Rowlands, the electrician to the Military works, had gone into the city. Hearing that disturbances had broken out, he endeavored to make his way back to the fort. But he was attacked near the Rego Bridge and murdered.\textsuperscript{311} Several buildings including banks, telephone exchange, Town Hall, Religious Book’s Society Depot and the Indian Christian Church were attacked and set on fire.\textsuperscript{312} The Sub-post office at the Golden Temple, Majitha Mandi and Dhab Basti Ram were ransacked and looted.\textsuperscript{313} By 2 p.m. all railway telegraph wires were cut off and the railway line was also damaged. The station buildings of Bhagatan Wala and Chharta were burnt down and the goods shed and a wagon were looted.\textsuperscript{314} Besides Miss Sherwood, a lady missionary was pursued by an angry crowd when she was going on her way to one of her schools.

\textsuperscript{309} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{310} Proceedings Home Political (Deposit) June, 1919, No. 23 (N.A.I.).
\textsuperscript{311} Raja Ram, Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, p. 100.
\textsuperscript{312} Proceedings Home Political, (Deposit), June, 1919, No. 23 (N.A.I.).
\textsuperscript{313} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{314} V.N. Datta, Jallianwala Bagh, p. 80.
She was intercepted and beaten with shoes and Sticks till she fell unconscious and was taken to be dead. Later she was picked up by some Hindus who revived her and gave her first aid.\textsuperscript{315} The \textit{Zenana} hospital was attacked and every effort was made by the mob to find the lady doctor, Mrs. Easdon, who was hiding up stairs. Had she been found she would have most certainly lost her life\textsuperscript{316}. The looting, although it soon became sporadic, was to continue late into the night and property worth million of rupees were stolen from the \textit{godowans}.

In view of the events of the day of 10\textsuperscript{th} April the deportation of Dr. Kitchlew and Satyapal, appears to have been a disastrous measure. If Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew had not been arrested, there would have led the masses on the correct path. Before the 10\textsuperscript{th} April demonstrations in Amritsar were peaceful and there was no any conflict between the police and people. It was only from the 10\textsuperscript{th} April that events set to take sinister character. The crowd had not any intention of getting violent with the Deputy Commissioner or with any other European. According to the officials report of the 10\textsuperscript{th} April, the number of those killed was twelve and number of wounded between twenty to thirty\textsuperscript{317} but Maqbool Mahmood

\textsuperscript{315} \textit{Proceedings Home political, (Deposit), June, 1919, No. 23 (N.A.I.)}
\textsuperscript{316} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{317} \textit{Disorders Inquiry Committee, Vol. III, p.19; V.N. Datta, Jallianwala Bagh, p. 83}
believed that the number of the killed to be between twenty and thirty.\textsuperscript{318} On this day five Europeans were killed.

At 4:15 the Deputy Commissioner sent a wireless massage managed to the Lieutenant Governor to launch expiate for crushing the protest by enforcing immediate reinforcements-infantry, gunners and plane. He described the situation very serious. At about 3:00 p.m. a train conveying 270 Gurkhas to Peshawar was detained and 100 of them were armed with weapons from the fort and deployed to reinforce the existing pickets on the railway station and the civil lines.\textsuperscript{319} Later after 10 p.m. 300 troops from Lahore came down to Amritsar under the command of Major Macdonald. He took over the command of the army at Amritsar from Captain Massey, an officer of junior rank.\textsuperscript{320} At 5:00 a.m. in the morning of 11\textsuperscript{th}, approximately 350 men arrived from Jullundur. Two aero plans flew over Amritsar at 7 p.m. An armored train with two British Officers and 34 men arrived from Lahore at 9:00 p.m. and a party of one British officer and 20 gunners reached the city at 10:30 the following morning.\textsuperscript{321}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{318} V.N.Datta, \textit{Jallianwala Bagh}, p. 69.
\item \textsuperscript{319} V.N. Datta, \textit{Jallianwala Bagh}, p.84.
\item \textsuperscript{320} \textit{Proceedings Home Political, (B)}, February, 1920, No. 373 (N.A.I.)
\item \textsuperscript{321} V.N. Datta, \textit{Jallianwala Bagh}, p.85.
\end{itemize}
Shortly after noon on 10th April the citizens of Lahore also learnt that Mahatama Gandhi had been arrested at Paliwal and learnt about the unfortunate happening in Amritsar. After it, within an hour of the dissemination of the News of arrest the people and merchants of Lahore declared the hartal, and closed the shops. Inside the walled city groups of individuals poured out from the *Mohallas* into the bazaars, their indignation of Gandhi's arrest, and at the outrages perpetrated in Amritsar.322

On the 11th morning, the Deputy Commissioner sent for Mr. Yasin and Mr. Maqbool Mohmood at the railways station, and gave them an order to be conveyed to the people that the city was under the military control; and that not more than four persons would be allowed to go with a corpse.323 Mr. Moqbool then returned to the city and read out the order of Mr. Irving to a big crowd inside the Hall Gate; “The troops have orders to restore order in Amritsar, and to use all the force necessary. No gathering of persons, no procession of any sort will be allowed. All the gatherings will be fired on. Any person leaving the city, or persons gathering in groups of more than four, will be fired on.

Respectable persons should keep indoors until order is restored.”

The people were not satisfied with the order. During these days, Amritsar looked like an army camp. Because on 11th April, many troops of the British army had arrived at Amritsar from other cities.

Against the Gandhi’s arrest, and later due to the outbreak at Amritsar, shops were immediately closed in Lahore on April 10th. Crowd moved within the city in excitement. The army pickets at the Government buildings and European Hotels. A huge procession with a black flag, shouting Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai and proceeded through Anarkali Bazar to the Mall. Mr. Fyson, the District Magistrate, ordered the police to fire for the dispersal of crowd. As a result of firing one man was killed and about seven were wounded. After it, Lahori gate came under fire in which 18 persons were wounded. From 11 to 18 April a complete hartal was observed in Lahore. On April 11 and 12 meetings were held in Badshahi Mosque. In Kasur, against the deportation of Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew and Gandhi’s arrest strikes were called

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325 Proceedings Home Political, February, 1920, No. 421-31 (N.A.I.)
on April 11 and 12. Nadir Ali Shah, a leader of crowd delivered a fiery speech. As a result, the telegraph office was destroyed, the furniture set was to fire, booking office ransacked and disordered, an oil shed burnt, the telegraph wires cut off and all the goods inside the station building were looted or destroyed by the mob. Another place was Gujranwala, where the news of the events of 10th April at Amritsar inspired the people of Gujranwala to hold a hartal.

To improve the fast deteriorating situation at Amritsar, in the evening, of 11th April Reginold Edward Harry (R.E.H.) Dyer, the commander of Jullundur Brigade, received a message from Lahore to proceed at Amritsar and take charge there. After it Dyer left Jullundur by a car on the 11th April at 6:00 p.m. accompanied by Captain F.C. Briggs, Brigade Major of the 45 Infantry Brigade. He arrived at Amritsar 9:00 p.m. and took over the charge from Macdonald. Soon after his arrival at Amritsar, he halted at the railway station where he called a meeting of the District Magistrate and superintendent of police. He was apprised of the earlier events in the city. After it, Dyer shifted his headquarters from railway station to Ram Bagh.

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326 File No. 1166, Disorder inquiry Committee Report, 1920, p. 27, (Ganda Singh Collection, Punjabi University Patiala)
Next day i.e., on the 12th of April, at about 10 a.m. Dyer, along with an escort force of 125 British and 310 Indian troops marched through the city. During the day, some important person’s arrest was made by the police, which included Bugga and Dina Nath. Dyer issued a prohibitory order stating that if the inhabitants of Amritsar made any kind of mischief tantamount to the breach of law and caused damage to the Government property, the offenders will be punished according to military law and all meetings are hereby prohibited. In the afternoon of 12th April by 4 p.m. a meeting was arranged in the campus of the Hindu Sabha School at Amritsar with the initiative of Hans Raj. According to Raja Ram, Hans Raj was an active in Amritsar. According to Pearay Mohan in his comprehensive work on An Imaginary Republic opined that Hans Raj was a secret agent of the local police and that he was instrumental in collecting people at one place so that it might have been easy for General Dyer to deal them. He announced that a meeting would be convened the next day in Jallianwala Bagh under the president ship of Lala Kanheya Lal, an esteemed resident of the town. The resolution

327 V.N. Datta, Jallianwala Bagh, p. 93.
330 Raja Ram, Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, p. 107.
331 Pearay Mohan, An Imaginary Rebellion and How it was Suppressed, Khosla Brothers, Lahore, 1920, pp. 17
was passed that a statement from Dr. Kitchlew would be read by his wife before the assembly of the people.332 This decision received a wide publicity in the whole city. In those days, Government buildings as railways station itself looked like a military post. There was neither porter nor conveyance of any kind. At every step outside the city one could see nothing but military or police at short distances with rifles and bayonets.

On the 13th April was Sunday and the day of Baisakhi festival. In the Punjab, the harvest of Baisakhi is celebrated with great enthusiasm. It was the New Year Day of Hindus. For the Sikhs it is the day on which they founded the Khalsa, an organization of the ‘Pure and Faithful’ decided to the service of humanity by the great Guru Gobind Singh Ji. Peasants from all parts of state assemble in towns and cities. From time immemorial, Baisakhi had been celebrated at Amritsar the city was a sacred place for Sikhs and Hindus alike. From all over the district, thousands of people used to came to Amritsar for taking a dip in the holy tank on this day. The public meeting at Jallianwala Bagh had been arranged hastily and the Bagh being so near to Golden Temple so it was expected a meeting place that people in very large numbers would attend the meeting.

According to V.N. Datta, Jallianwala Bagh was the property of Bhai Hamit Singh Jallawalia, a courtier of Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha, who had been a vakil in the service of Ranjit Singh. Jalla was his Sur name and Bagh means garden.\textsuperscript{333} According to Raja Ram its original owner was ‘Pandit Jalla, after whose name the garden came to be famous known as Jallianwala Bagh.\textsuperscript{334} The Bagh was situated in the middle of the town and surrounded by narrow, mazy lanes. Long before 1919, houses had been built all around the Bagh with their back walls towards it. There was a small stretch of low boundary wall, about five feet high. The Bagh contained one small (tomb) Smadh towards the southern side and open well of quite a big circumference towards its eastern boundary. The main entrance gate was hardly three or four feet wide.

On the morning of 13\textsuperscript{th} April at 9:00 a.m., General Dyer again marched through the streets of Amritsar and issued another proclamation and decided to see the imposition proclamation on personally in the city. Dyer went along with city Inspector Ashraf Khan and Sub-Inspector Obeidulla. They led the way on horse back. Behind them came Malik Fateh Khan, the

\textsuperscript{333} V.N. Datta, \textit{Jallianwala Bagh}, p. 96.  
\textsuperscript{334} Raja Ram, \textit{Jallianwala Bagh Massacre}, p.115.
Naib Tehsildar seated in a bamboo cart (Motorcycle) with a man beside him beating a drum. The order, in Urdu and Panjabi, was read out by the town crier at various places and whole process took two or three hours. Starting from the Ram Bagh headquarters, the procession crossed the railway line at Hall Bridge, passed through Hall gate and came down to Hall Bazar. The procession passed through various streets and chowks and halted at 18 or 19 places.

The original version of proclamation read as follows:

“It is hereby proclaimed to all whom it may concern that no person residing in the city is permitted or allowed to leave the city in his own or hired conveyance or on foot without a pass. No person residing in Amritsar city is permitted to leave his house after 8:00 p.m. Any persons found in the streets after 8:00 p.m. are liable to be shot. No procession of any kind is permitted to parade the streets in the city or any part of the city or outside of it any time. Any such processions or any gathering of four men would be looked upon and treated as an unlawful assembly and dispersed by force of arms, if necessary.”

Dyer returned to Ram Bagh at 1:30 p.m. According to Dyer, people were laughing while the proclamation was being read out.

335 V.N. Datta, *Jallianwala Bagh*, p.95.
People were saying ‘this is all bluff’. Soon after this proclamation a counter-proclamation was made by the leaders of the mass that a meeting would be held at Jallianwala Bagh at 4:30 p.m. Guru Ditta, a Bania and Balo Halwai were announcing in the city by beating an empty oil container, that a meeting would be held at Jallianwala Bagh which Kanhya Lal (a respectable citizen of Amritsar) would preside and give valuable advice to the people. In fact no instructions had, however, been issued about the meeting by a Congress Committee and Lala Kanhya Lal knew nothing about it.

At about 12:45 p.m. General Dyer received the news that a huge meeting was to be held at Jallianwala Bagh at 4:30 p.m. on the same day. People had started pouring into the Bagh after 2 p.m. At 4 p.m. he received definite information from Rehill (Superintendent of Police) that a crowd of 1,000 had assembled at Bagh. Thereafter, the news was confirmed by Mr. Leiws, Manager of Crown Cinema. Dyer thought it as a challenge to his authority. Dyer at once gave orders to his striking force to fall in. He took two armored cars arrayed with machine guns along with him.

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339 *The Tribune*, 13 April, 1966.
with the company of his favorite officers Briggs and Anderson, fifty rifle men, forty Gurkhas armed with their traditional weapons, the Kukris, marched towards the Jallianwala Bagh. His force consisted of 25 rifles from the 1-9th Gurkhas, 25 rifles from the 54th Sikhs, the F.F. and 59th Sikhs, the 40 Gurkhas and two armored cars and a police car with Rehill and Polmer. After entering the Bazar, they found that a very narrow passage led from there into the Bagh. Because the entrance of the Bagh was narrow, therefore, the armored cars were parked outside of the Bagh. At about 4:00 p.m. an aero plane displaying a flag circled low over the Bagh. The people panicked and began to move away but Hans Raj announced in the audience not to be afraid.

Dyer entered in Bagh between 5 and 5:15 p.m. He saw a vast crowd gathered there. The meeting was, at that time, being addressed by a man standing on a platform. Before the arrival of Dyer seven speakers had already addressed the gathering, including Hans Raj, Abdul Aziz, Gurbaksh Rai, Ram Singh, Dhan Singh, Abdul Majid and Brij Gopinath. A picture of Kitchlew had been displayed and it was symbolized the president ship of

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341 V.N. Datta, Jallianwala Bagh, p. 97.
the meeting. The meeting was running on in a perfectly peaceful and orderly manner. The meeting had passed two resolutions, the first calling for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and the second in connection with the firing of the 10th April.343

General Dyer had nothing to wait for. He had gone to the Bagh with a fixed mind and an iron determination. According to Briggs “it was very hard to estimate the size of the crowd. The General asked me what I thought the numbers were and I said about 5,000 or so but I believe it has been estimated at more like 25,000”344 Dyer, standing on a raised platform inside the entrance, was struck by the diverse nature of the crowd. Dyer did not think it necessary to give any warning to the people. Dyer deployed his troops, 25 the Gurkhas riflemen on the left and 25 the Baluchis on the right. All this happened within thirty seconds. The ground on which the soldiers stood was at a higher level than the rest of the area. The General then instantly ordered them to open fire.345 Immediately, the crowd shouted but authority uttered no need to worry; the troops were firing blanks. But they quickly lost their illusions, however, as people began to crumple and fall.

343 S.R. Bakshi, Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy, p.39.
345 V.N. Datta, Jallianwala Bagh, p.99.
The firing continued for ten minutes and in that time 1650 rounds of 303 marks, VI ammunition were fired i.e. 33 rounds per rifle per man. The firing ceased only after the ammunition ran out.

When the firing ceased, nothing expected dead bodies was visible in each and every corner of the Bagh. The Bagh was full of dead bodies. Hundred persons were badly wounded and they were crying for help. Some dead bodies were lying outside the Bagh. It so happened that the wounded persons who tried to run, could not survive and fell dead after a vain attempt to save themselves. According to Dyer’s statement on 25th August 1919 to the General staff, he stated, “I fired and continued to fire until the crowd dispersed” there was nobody to give them water. No medical aid was available for the people. Even those residents of Amritsar whose relatives had come to Bagh did not dare to enter the Bagh for quite some time to search for them. The Bagh thus looked like a mini battle-field which was full of numerous corpses and wounded persons. General Dyer left the Bagh, along with his force, at about 5:30 p.m. leaving behind a scene which was like a hell on earth. According to Girdhari Lal, who saw the scene closely:

“I saw hundreds of persons killed on the spot. The worst part of the whole thing was that firing was

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directed towards the gates through which people were running out. There were small outlets, four or five in all, and bullets actually rained over the people at all these gates....and many got trampled under the feet of rushing crowds and thus lost their lives....blood was pouring in profusion.....even those who lay flat on the ground were shot.....some had their heads cut open, other had eyes shot and nose, chest, arms and legs shattered”.348

Everyone was in hurry because they knew about the order of Dyer that after 8:00 pm. nobody was to remain out of his house. So after 8:00 pm. there was no body in search of their near and dear ones. All searching parties had left the Bagh and the remaining lay wounded on the mercy of Dyer and God.

Different versions are given about the number of people assembled in the Bagh. In his statement to the Army Council, Dyer thought the crowd between 15,000 and 20,000. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya gave out the figure that varies among 16,000 to 20,000. According to Dr. Gurbax Rai, who is living at present, the crowd was not less then 15,000.349

There had been no agreement and it is rather difficult to know the exact number of those killed in Jallianwala Bagh. Dyer’s

estimate between 200 and 300 persons were killed, which he sent to the Lieutenant Governor. This estimate was based on the experience in France, where one man had been killed for every six shots fires.\textsuperscript{350} To Dyer, the battle fields of France and Amritsar were the same. On the basis of J.B. Thompson’s calculation, who was the chief Secretary, Punjab Government, it was estimated that not more than 291 people died in the Bagh.\textsuperscript{351} According to the Government official Figures, 379 were killed and over 1200 were wounded.\textsuperscript{352} However, the official figures seem to be very much on the lower side and the numbers of casualties were much higher. According to V.N. Tivraj, Honorary Secretary of Sewa Smati, the total number about 530 lost their lives.\textsuperscript{353} Its figures based on a house to house Survey. In a letter to Gandhi, Swami Shradhanand wrote that, ‘on the 13\textsuperscript{th} in Amritsar not less than, 1500 persons must have been killed.\textsuperscript{354} At the meeting of Imperial Legislative Council held on September 12, 1919, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya said that the figure of 1,000 killed was near to truth by the official assertion.\textsuperscript{355}

\textsuperscript{350} Proceedings Home Political, (Deposit), September, 1919, No.23 and (A) February 1920, No. 347-58 and K.W. (N.A.I.)
\textsuperscript{351} Proceedings Home Political, (Deposit), September, 1919, No. 23.(N.A.I.)
\textsuperscript{352} V.N. Datta, Jallianwala Bagh, p. 104.
\textsuperscript{353} Proceedings Home Political, (Deposit), October, 1919, No. 31.(N.A.I.)
\textsuperscript{354} Proceedings Home Political, (Deposit), September, 1919, No. 23, (N.A.I.); The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 7th August 1919, Calcutta.
\textsuperscript{355} Imperial Legislative Council Proceedings, April, 1919 – March 1920, Vol. LVIII, p. 148.
Hasan Imam, a Bihar leader stated that he had collected details of 941 corpses left on the ground at Amritsar.\footnote{Proceedings Home Political, (Deposit), August, 1919, No. 51.(N.A.I.)} Lala Girdhari Lal who visited the Bagh after the firing, said ‘I think it must have been above one thousand dead bodies in the garden.’\footnote{Report of the Congress Inquiry Sub-Committee Evidence, p.1; S.C. Mittal, Freedom movement in Punjab (1905-1929), p. 128.}

At 10:00 p.m. Dyer, accompanied by a small force, visited his pickets and marched through the city in order to make sure that his orders were being obeyed. He found that it was absolutely quiet and not a soul was to be seen. A number of people who were present at meeting on that day or who visited the Bagh after firing was over to search their relatives, later narrated the tale of horror before the Congress Enquiry Committee. The statement of one of them is reproduced below and draw up a picture of the ghastly scene.

Shrimati Attar Kaur, hearing that firing had taken place in the Bagh, went there in search of her husband, Bagh Mal, she entered by the side of Darbar Sahib and found the dead body of her husband lying with hundreds of others with the help of a few relatives, she managed with great difficulty to remove the dead body on a cot to her house at about 9:00.\footnote{The Tribune, 13 April, 1961.} According to Dyer
there were no children and women in the Bagh. But in his evidence Lala Girdhari Lal referred to the dead bodies of groups of people and young boys also. He did it to the Congress Committee and M.R. Jayakar noted that a number of children had died in the Bagh.\footnote{V.N. Datta, \textit{Jallianwala Bagh}, pp. 105-06.}

After the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, the Punjab Government proclaimed Martial Law at Amritsar and later on extended it to other districts like Lahore, Gujranwla, Lyallpur and Gujrat. Though the idea of Martial Law was advocated by Lord Kitchner as early as in 1909, it had not given a concrete form.\footnote{Proceedings Home Political (B), May, 1919, No. 551-605 (N.A.I.).} But on 13\textsuperscript{th} April 1919, in consultation with the general officer commanding of the 16\textsuperscript{th} division and the chief justice, of the High Court, O’ Dwyer requested the Government of India to direct him to suspend the functioning of ordinary criminal courts in Amritsar and Lahore districts, to impose Martial Law therein and to direct trials of offenders, under the regulation of 1804, by Court Martial.\footnote{Proceedings Home Political (B), May, 1919, No. 551-605 (N.A.I.); Report of the Disorders Inquiry Committee, p.104.} After discussion Government proclaimed a Martial Law in Lahore and Amritsar on April 15, and it was extended to Gujranwala, on the 16\textsuperscript{th}, to Gujrat on 19\textsuperscript{th} and Lyallpur on the 24\textsuperscript{th}.\footnote{S.C. Mittal, \textit{Freedom Movement in Punjab (1905-1929)}, p. 129.}
Later O’ Dwyer offered several reasons in Defence of the continuance of Martial Law in Punjab. The main reasons given by him were limited number of European troops in Punjab, reduced military efficiency of Indian troops, presence of demobilized men, attempts to undermine the loyalty of Indian troops, signs of revolutionary movement, Turkish problem, railway strikes and deplorable economic condition of Punjab.\textsuperscript{363} Indian Government seemed more inclined to relax the restrictions imposed by the Martial Law in province. On May 3\textsuperscript{rd} 1919 the Government of India enquired the Punjab Government about the early abrogation of Martial Law. But in reply, the Punjab Government argued that the relaxation of the restrictions should be gradual. Finally Martial Law was maintained for a considerably longer period on railway lines. On June 7 at Amritsar, Sir Edward Douglas Maclagan, the Lieutenant Governor, announced that except on the railway, Martial Law would be discontinued at midnight on the 9\textsuperscript{th} in the districts of Amritsar, Gujranwala and Lyallpur and at midnight of the 11\textsuperscript{th} at Lahore. It was finally withdrawn from railway lines on August 25.\textsuperscript{364}

\textsuperscript{363} Proceedings Home Political (B), May, 1919, No. 551-605 (N.A.I.).
During the period of Martial Law General Dwyer’s actions were atrocious. In Amritsar, he had cut off the city’s water and electric supply, lawyers were compulsorily recruited as special constables and made to patrol the streets and carry furniture like collies. All the residents were ordered to Salaam every Englishman whom they saw and those who refused were brought to this lane for creeping with their bellies. Whosoever disobeyed was arrested and kept in the lock-up. Some were ordered to stand up in the sun. One of the most astounding inventions of Dyer’s fertile brain was the ‘crawling order’. He issued order on April 19 that the lane in which Miss Sherwood had been assaulted was set apart for flogging people and for making those who passed through it to crawl on their bellies. Pickets were placed at certain points in the street to force obedience to this order.365 “298 persons were tried before the Martial Law commissioners on Major charges. Of these 218 were convicted; 51 were sentenced to death, 46 to transportation of life, 2 to imprisonment for ten years, 79 for seven years, 10 for five years, 13 for three years and 11 for lesser periods.366

The administration of Martial Law was harsher at Lahore than any city in the province. The curfew was imposed and the people who went out after 8:00 p.m. were likely to be shot, flogged, fined or imprisoned. The army administration ordered shopkeepers to open their shops on pain of being shot and having their stores distributed free to the public. The educated classes especially students were the main victims of Martial Law. It was ordered that the students of D.A.V. college, Dyal Singh college and of King Edward Medical college should attend roll call four time a day for a period of nearly three weeks from the 16th and 19th April onwards. In order to present themselves for roll-call, a large number of students were compelled to cover 16 miles every day in the hot May sun of Lahore. Motor cars and motor cycles belonging to the Indians were commandeered for the use of authorities. Public conveyances were ordered to report themselves daily at appointed places. 300 tonga drivers were commandeered. Under the Martial Law administration, important newspapers were prosecuted.

Four commissions were set-up in Lahore. These commissions were set up for the purpose of trying offences under the Regulation of 1804. These four commissions tried 114 cases

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involving 852 accused. Out of these 581 were convicted, 108 persons were sentenced to death, 265 were given transportation for life, and 5 were awarded imprisonment for 10 years, 85 for seven years and 104 for shorter periods. Substantial changes were made by the local Government in these sentences.\textsuperscript{368} In Lahore also the whipping posts were set up. According to the Minority Report of the Disorders Inquiry Committee there were 80 ordinary cases of flogging and whipping.\textsuperscript{369}

In Gujranwala district, the administration of Martial Law was carried on in a 'most brutal and inhuman form'. Gujranwala was selected to bombing and machine-gunning from the air. Major Carbiery dropped bombs on the Khalsa High School and on people in two villages Chukharkhana and Mahnianwala without knowing reason of their gathering.\textsuperscript{370} Travelling was also banned for some time. In order to compel people to open their shops, an order was passed that those shop-keepers, who would be found disobeying the order of the police, would be liable to be punished by flogging and the people were ordered to \textit{salaam} all British men. Similarly other places like Kasur, Wazirabad, Nizamabad, Akalgarh, Ram


\textsuperscript{370} S.C. Mittal, \textit{Freedom Movement in Punjab (1905-1929)}, p. 33.
Nagar, Hafizabad, Sheikhpura, Sangla, Moman, Nawanpind, Jalapur Jattan (a Sikh village) Malakwal, Lyallpur, Gojra and Chak No. 149 (colonized by Sikh Jats) and Gujrat also suffered indignities due to the Martial Law. In the period of Martial Law nearly 1,200 persons were killed and at least 3,600 wounded.

When the news of the tragic incident percolated out of Punjab, India was convulsed and there was an outbreak of criticism and condemnation and a serious expression of sense of discontent and fury against the British rule for its failure to maintain perfect law and order without using illegal, vastly questionable, heartless, treacherous and horrible means. Dyer’s action was criticized in various meetings and conferences. Brutal and strong punishments were called for General Dyer and other administrators of Martial Law and the urgent release of political and other prisoners’ arrests and convicted before and during the Martial Law. But the press in England also supported Dyer’s action. Prominent Indians showed the great resentment against the British Government. Rabindranath Tagore renounced his knighthood and wrote to the Viceroy: “The time has come when badges of honor make our shame glaring in their incongruous

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context of humiliation and I for my part wish to stand shorn of all special distinctions by the side of my country’.\textsuperscript{372} C.F. Andrews called the Jallianwala Bagh massacre butchery, adding, ‘English honor has departed’.\textsuperscript{373} Mrs. Annie Besant visited Jallianwala Bagh in December 1919. She remained there for half an hour without saying a word, tears flowing from her eyes.\textsuperscript{374} Pandit Motilal Nehru had visited the Jallianwala Bagh and described it as a most gruesome sight, corpses still decomposing in the big well. Shooting practice on 25,000 natives from a raised platform, walls pierced with bullets.\textsuperscript{375} Mahatma Gandhi also visited Amritsar. According to Andrews C.F. “Gandhi’s visit to Amritsar on 4 November 1919, broke effectively the evil spell of terror in Amritsar. It was a day of universal rejoicing, women with children marched with devotion”\textsuperscript{376} and Gandhi called the Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy as an ‘unexampled act of barbarity’. According to M.A. Jinnah’s views the Jallianwala Bagh event as a ‘physical butchery’.\textsuperscript{377}

\textsuperscript{372} The Statesman, 5 June, 1919.
\textsuperscript{373} The Statesman, 18 June, 1919.
\textsuperscript{375} Note Book No.II (pencil notes), Motilal Nehru private paper (N.M.M.L).
\textsuperscript{376} The Tribune, 7 November, 1919.
The tragedy infuriated whole country and was criticized by whole country. When the Jallianwala Bagh massacre was being criticized in all country then for the inquiry of this event a Committee was established. The main impulse for initiating an enquiry into the recent disturbances came from Montagu, the Secretary of the State for India. In his telegram to the Viceroy on 18th June, 1919 he reiterated his stand: ‘you cannot have disturbances of this magnitude without an enquiry into their causes’. In the beginning the Government of India rejected Montagu’s proposal. Because the Government of India believed, such an enquiry, was bound to revive ‘old bitterness’ and result in a ‘regular indictment of the Government of India’. But in later, Government agreed for this. Government stated that the objective of enquiry ought to be to find out, ‘who organized the disorders and to inquiry into original occurrences’. The Governments of Bengal, Bombay, Delhi and Punjab were opposed to it. Finally, on 18th July Montagu informed the Viceroy that he is making a statement in parliament to the effect that you are going to appoint a committee and have asked me to select a chairman..... it would sooth the delegation here. The viceroy had no alternative but to

yield and his telegram to Montagu on 23rd July communicated his acceptance of enquiry. The Government of India opposed the committee of enquiry. Finally, on 14 October 1919 the Governor-General-in-Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State for India decided to appoint a committee to investigate the disturbances in Punjab, Delhi and Bombay and pin point their causes and measurers taken to cope with them. The Disorders Inquiry Committee famous as the Hunter Committee from the name of its chairman. Lord William Hunter was ex-Solicitor-General and the Senator of the college of Justice in Scotland. Other members of the Committee were G.C. Rankin Judge of High Court Calcutta; W.F. Rice, additional secretary to the Government of India, Home Department; Major General George Barrow, commander the Peshawar Division; Pandit Jagat Narayan, Thomas Smith, both members of the Legislative Council United Provinces; Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, advocate High Court Bombay; and Sardar Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed Khan, Muntazim-ud-Doula, member for appeals, Gwalior state. The Secretary of the committee was H.G. Stokes, Secretary to the Government of Madras. The budget estimate for the enquiry was Rs.212, 000. The Committee began its hearings on the 29th October and sat for

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382 Proceedings Home Political,(A), October, 1919, No. 187-197 (N.A.I.); S.R. Bakshi, Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy, p. 83.
a total of forty six days, eight of them in Delhi, twenty nine in Lahore, Six in Ahmadabad and three in Bombay.\textsuperscript{383} The majority report dealt with the occurrences in Delhi, Bombay presidency, Punjab, declaration of Martial Law and the Kind of administration in these provinces.\textsuperscript{384}

The Hunter Committee prepared a report which was drafted mainly in Agra. Minority of three Indian members dissented from the European Majority on some issues and produced separate report. In their final findings, the members of the committee were not unanimous in their opinions obviously the report, although published in one volume, had two phases-the first dealing with the majority report agreed upon by William Hunter, G.C. Rankin, W.F. Rice, George Barrow and Thomas Smith and the second dealing with the minority report signed by Jagat Narayan, C.H. Setalvad and Sultan Ahmed.\textsuperscript{385}

Both the European and Indian members of Committee discussed Dyer’s action and criticized him in two respects. First that he started firing without giving the people who had assembled a chance to disperse and second that the continued firing for a substantial period of time after the crowd had

\textsuperscript{383} Proceedings Home Political,(A) June, 1920, No. 235-79 (N.A.I.)  
\textsuperscript{384} Proceedings Home Political,(A) October, 1919, No. 187-197. (N.A.I.)  
\textsuperscript{385} Disorders Inquiry Committee Report, pp. 1-142 and 145-236.
commenced to disperse.\textsuperscript{386} Except of these criticism both Indian and the European members justified the firing resorted to by the police and the military\textsuperscript{387}. The Indian leaders, on their part, saw the Hunter Committee as a child of the ruling authority. The Congress boycotted the committee. As a consequence of the boycott it was decided to set up a parallel non-official Inquiry Committee of which Gandhi, C.R. Dass, Abbas S. Tayabji, M.R. Jayakar and K. Santanam would be members. Santanam acted as its secretary.\textsuperscript{388} In the Punjab, the Committee was assisted by C.F. Andrews, Sarla Devi and Dewan Nirjan Parshad in collecting evidence. The Congress published its report on 26 March 1929. The Government described it as a ‘monstrously mysterious exparte’\textsuperscript{389} document which took no account of the opposite view. But precisely the same charge had been made against the Hunter Report by its Indian critics.

\textsuperscript{386} Proceedings Home Political, (Deposit), April, 1920, No. 91 (N.A.I.) V.N Datta, Jallianwala Bagh, p.119.
\textsuperscript{387} Proceedings Home Political, (Deposit), April, 1920 No. 91 (N.A.I.)
\textsuperscript{388} V.N. Datta, Jallianwala Bagh, p.123.
\textsuperscript{389} Proceedings Home Political, (Deposit), October, 1919, No, 62SSS (N.A.I).