

Sita Ram Kohli Memorial Lectures—1965

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**PUNJAB IN FERMENT
IN THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY**

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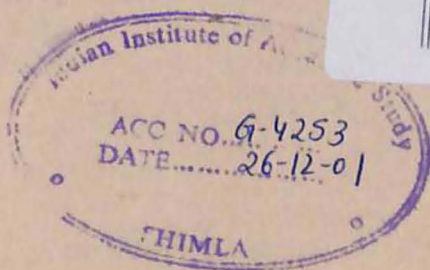
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PUNJAB IN FERMENT

In the Beginning of the 20th Century

When the twentieth century opened, the Punjab was a very big province. Besides the Punjab now in Pakistan, it included the settled districts of the North-Western Frontier Province and Delhi. The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab functioned also as an Agent to the Governor-General for the tribal areas beyond the settled districts. Through the Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and ex-officio Superintendent of Simla Hill States, the Lieutenant Governor represented the political department of the Government of India in all the Punjab States except Patiala and Nabha. His was a very big charge indeed.

All the administrative power in this area was concentrated in the Lieutenant Governor forming the local government and representing the Government of India in all matters, whether of local concern or all-India importance. Legally all the governmental powers resided in the Governor-General-in-Council, but some subjects had been, in a way, placed in the immediate care of the local governments. Even here the Government of India laid down general policy, received reports, called for fuller details and controlled the purse strings. In all subjects of administration, the local government stood for the Governor-General-in-Council in the entire area under its control.

The Punjab was a non-Regulation province. The Lieutenant Governor had no (executive) councillors whom he must consult as the Governors of Bombay, Madras and Bengal had to do and whom he must outargue if he had to override them. He certainly was a despot so far as the people were concerned. The Financial Commissioner and the Chief Secretary were the two civil servants whose views he had to consider and who in certain matters could exercise some powers on their own. With the means of communication and transport being what they were, the Divisional Commissioners exercised much more power than their successors do today. The Deputy Commissioner was the government so far as the vast bulk of the people in his district were concerned. These officers exercised much

more untrammelled authority than the Collectors did in the three Presidencies, all the more so because many of them were drawn from the army. The 'Punjab Commission'—as the higher civil servants in the Punjab were collectively called—was still recruiting officers in the army for civilian work in the province. This was not only because the Punjab had been acquired as late as 1849, it was also because it was felt that it needed a government of men much more than a government of laws. British historians pointed out with pride to their achievements in the Punjab where the administration was not bound—as it was in other parts of British India—even by Rules, Regulations and Acts of their own. This tendency was well illustrated in the twenties by the submission of the Government Advocate to the High Court that it was usual for the Deputy Commissioner—District Magistrate in the Punjab—to discuss the cases pending in their courts with magistrates in the district before they pronounced judgement?

Punjab had a Chief Court as the highest court in the province. Its judges were appointed by the Governor-General; members of the Indian Civil Services predominated on the bench. A judgeship in the Chief Court was a plum of the Service, it was coveted and competed for among the civil servants. Naturally 'justice' for those on the bench was almost another name for administrative convenience. Howsoever impartial between litigants the Chief Court might be, in cases between the citizens and the state, its members could not easily forget that they were passing judgement on fellow administrators and that must not let the prestige of the government suffer.

People of the province were associated with the work of the administration in municipalities and district boards. *Lumbardars* and *Zaildars* assisted local officials and the police. But this did not represent any attempt at 'local self-government'. Much more than elsewhere municipalities and District Boards formed a machinery by which 'the government' could get things done, rather than a machinery for training Indians in governing themselves as Lord Ripon had intended them to be. The Deputy Commissioners kept as tight a rein on them as on the rest of the government. This tradition was so firmly rooted that even in 1937 some District Boards in the Punjab still functioned under Deputy Commissioners as their presidents

Lumbardars and *Zaildars* held hereditary offices and were a part of the British policy to keep little big men attached to themselves.

A 'legislative council' had been set up in the Punjab in 1898, only three years before the century came to an end. Of its 25 members, only eight were non-officials, nominated by the Lieutenant Governor, in some cases after receiving 'recommendations' from certain corporate bodies. As elsewhere the head of the local government presided; the 'council' formed as much a 'department' of administration as any other work. Its functions were very limited. The Imperial Legislative Council could still make laws in all matters for the Punjab and it did. The Punjab Alienation of Land Act was passed by the Imperial Legislative Council in 1900.

Land still formed the most visible symbol of status in the Punjab. Settlement and collection of land revenue was still the main preoccupation of the government. The head of the district was 'Collector' of land revenue and, therefore, also a 'district magistrate.' The two functions were inseparably connected. The village *Patwari* though not recognized as a public servant yet, performed many functions. He recorded the daily weather, the condition of crops, the visits of officials to the village, fairs and festivities, outbreak of epidemics in his daily diary, which also mentioned even visit of outsider to the village. He was not only the keeper of land records, he was gatherer of intelligence for the government.

When the century opened, of the ten Divisions of the Indian Army, four were stationed in the Punjab, two of them stationed in what soon came to be known the North-Western Frontier Province. Rawalpindi was the headquarters of the 'Punjabis' from 'the martial races'—Baluch, Muslims, Mughals, Sikhs, Dogras, Brahmans and Rajputs formed 40% of the entire Indian element in the army. The Punjab Army had not only not joined the rebels at Delhi, it had formed the main bulk of the army that had besieged and taken Delhi. The Punjabis served the British elsewhere as well; in Burma, in Singapore and in Hongkong they were to be seen in the police, in the Public Works Department and occasionally in the Medical Department. Sikhs and Muslims were more than adequately represented in the lower ranks of the Punjab Police.

In the Punjab as elsewhere literacy was very low; 6.4% of the males and 3% of the females were found literate in the census in 1901.

The Punjab University had been established in 1882, it was the first University to be established outside the Presidency towns. There was a Government College at Lahore and a Government High School at every district headquarter. The primary and middle schools were maintained by the municipalities and district boards under the supervision and control of government inspectors. The Christian missionaries were the first non-official agency in the field of education. But beginning with the establishment of the D.A.V. High School in Lahore in 1886, during the last 15 years some educational institutions had come to be established by Indians themselves. Of these the D.A.V. College at Lahore founded in 1889 occupied the foremost position as an independent attempt at providing 'higher education' to the community. In its wake a Khalsa College had followed at Amritsar, and an Islamia College at Lahore. The Missionaries had four Colleges, the F.C. College, Lahore, the Murray College, Sialkot, the Edwards College, Peshawar, and Gordon College at Rawalpindi.

For professional education there were the University Law, College, the Central Training College, and the Medical College, all at Lahore. There were some 'Normal Schools' for the training of primary teachers.

In the year 1901-1902, 1500 students had taken their B. A. and B.Sc. degrees from all the Indian Universities. It is amusing to record that the feeling in some official quarters was that with this annual output, supply was greater than the demand. Government service was the main career open to educated Indians but here they did not hope to rise higher than a Deputy Superintendent of Police or a Deputy Collector. A Punjabi or two had reached what then was supposed to be the dizzy eminence occupied by the District and Session Judge or an Executive Engineer. But Punjabis filled, as did other Indians in most other parts of India, various posts in the subordinate ranks of the administration. Law was another field open to educated Indians, and it included in the Punjab some brilliant exponents of the legal lore. Medicine was 'a profession' no doubt, so was engineering but neither had any independent votaries of its own. The Government absorbed all medical and engineering talent in the province.

The Punjab, like the Presidencies, had an 'Anglo-Indian' exponent and defender of the British policy in English, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore. *The Tribune* had come to be established in 1881 as an English weekly by Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia who took the precaution of turning it over to a trust. It represented the liberal thought in the Punjab. There were several 'vernacular' weekly newspapers, most of them being published from Lahore, Ludhiana and Delhi. Some of them were organs of religious propaganda of Muslims, Christians, or Arya Samajists. One thousand, one hundred and fifty three books were published in the Punjab in 1901-1902 including text books and works written as religious propaganda. Before the end of the century Punjab had produced some notable works in 'the vernacular', Urdu, including a string of biographies by Lala Lajpat Rai ; Muzzine, Garibaldi, Dayanand, Shivaji and Krishnan.

Though Punjab had not yet modernized its business organization, the Punjab National Bank established in 1895 was the first purely Indian bank to be established in India. When Har Krishan Lal who had taken a leading part in its foundation, found his fellow directors orthodox and cautious for him, he launched his People's Bank of Northern India. This was followed by the Bharat Bima Company, one of the first Indian insurance companies in India. The Hindu Mutual Relief Fund followed soon after.

Peshawar, Amritsar and Delhi were three thriving centres of business in the Punjab when the century opened. At Peshawar and Amritsar exports to and imports from Kabul were in the hands of Punjabi merchants. Elsewhere the bulk of the work was carried on by British firms.

'At the most critical moment in the history of British India'—the siege of Delhi—the Sikhs had served the British by defeating the Bengal army. They had been steadfastly loyal—except a section of them during the Kuka rebellion in 1872—since then and when the century opened, 'there seemed to be no reasons whatsoever for questioning the loyalty of the Sikhs. Many of them believed that the British *raj* was the fulfilment of the prophecy of one of their martyred Gurus. The Sikh regiments were regarded the flower of the native army'.

Punjab at the opening of the century formed one of the two Indian provinces in India where the Muslims formed a majority of the population. Elsewhere, after the Mutiny Muslims were considered a disloyal section of the Indian population which had organized a rebellion round the Mughal emperor in Delhi. The Muslims in the Punjab were however not tarred with the same brush. They had usually been loyal. But when Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi raised the banner of *Jehad* against the non-believer Christians in India and Lord Elgin was assassinated by a Muslim fanatic at Dharmasala, the British Government had started conciliating the Muslims, particularly when educated Indians started making a demand for a share in the Government of their own country. They were wooed. The Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh—with a Britisher as its Principal—became not only a centre of Muslim culture, it also became the nursery for loyal Muslims looking to the government for whatever patronage it had to distribute. Hindu-Muslim relations in the Punjab had become more than a little strained by the assassination in 1897 of Pandit Lekh Ram by a Muslim who had been staying in his house prior to his conversion to Hinduism.

There were the Hindus then. During the Mughal period they had studied Persian and thus occupied most of the subordinate positions in the administration. They had been the first of the Indian communities to study English when it offered entry to public office in howsoever subordinate capacity. Here again they had come to occupy more than their share of the minor jobs in civil administration as both the Sikhs and the Muslims preferred the army and the police where naturally these communities were over-represented. But whereas feeling of inherited loyalty and a more or less conscious realization of their 'lower' status in the army and the police, bred loyal servants amongst the Sikhs and the Muslims in these departments, some of those serving in a civil capacity, when they rose beyond the lowest rank, some times came to feel that they were actually doing the work for which their British bosses were being paid fabulous salaries. Brilliant graduates entering the Punjab Civil Service could not always be expected to remain thankful for their having been selected for the service when they found wave after wave of British youngsters form the I. C. S. or the Army passing over to senior jobs.

Liberal thought in the Punjab had come to be organized in the Indian Association at Lahore. The Indian National Congress had been invited twice within a decade to hold its session at Lahore. The first session in 1893 had been used by the conservative element among the well-to-do for marshalling their strength and labelling the participants in it as disloyal. The second had been more fruitful. It had given Lahore the Bradlagh Hall where the session was held and which provided office accommodation and an auditorium for the progressive elements in Punjab.

‘But the main objective of these who had high position in society was to get in good books of the authorities’. ‘The favour of those in authorities could bestow a title, make a grant of land, confer an honorary rank in the army, give a coveted job to young men of the loyalist traditions, fix the status of a citizen as a provincial or district ‘Darbari’, or make him merely a Kursi Nashin, Honorary magistrates and civil judge.

Though the Punjab had no Zimindars and Taulaqadars in the Bengal or Oudh tradition, possession of land was here, as elsewhere in India, the main symbol of rank. The ‘Punjab Chiefs’ included ruling families as well as big jagirdars. The Punjab Descent of Jagirs Act, 1900 had codified the usually prevailing custom by laying down that title to a jagir would pass from father to the eldest son. The Punjab Alienation of Land Act, 1900 was ostensibly passed to prevent land from passing into, the hands of non-agriculturists. A visible sign of the government’s interest in agriculture could be seen in the Canals in the Punjab. The first canal had been taken off the Ravi in 1859. The Satluj was laid under contribution in 1882 when the Sarhand Canal was opened. Both these canals had increased water supply in the areas already under cultivation. The waters of the Chenab were diverted towards the end of the century to open up wasteland which had never yet been cultivated. Here cultivators from congested areas from the Punjab were encouraged to come and settle, particularly the retired members of the Indian army.

Means of communication and transport were not much developed. The North-Western Railway generally followed the grand trunk road. Its Karachi section made the export of Punjab’s cotton and wheat to England possible. But not even all the District

headquarters were served by the railway. All weather roads were scarce. Travelling on horse back, in a tonga or a cart formed a luxury which only the rich could afford. When officers went on tours of inspection, providing means of conveyance for their entourage and the luggage was a problem which had made 'Begar'—pressing of men and beasts in service of 'officials' a normal feature of life in the Punjab for certain classes. Camel drivers, owners of mules, horses and carts and men living by carrying luggage might find their services requisitioned at a moment's notice and for prolonged periods at rates which had been probably settled when the last settlement of land revenue was made, and which had been unreasonable after the recent ravages of plague and famine. There was no guarantee that they would be paid even these low wages. Lacking adequate road facilities and means of transport as Punjab did, making arrangements for the movement of officials on tour or on sport was a great preoccupation of the rural Punjab. Except the very highest, when the official went on tour they were supposed to live on the country—so declared their subordinates—who made arrangements for their stay.

Punjab was not permanently 'settled'. Here the land revenue after having been hastily fixed in the wake of its acquisition by the British, had come to be fixed by land—revenue settlements for a fairly long period of 30 years. Every settlement saw an increase in the state demand in money ; that was their only justification, to keep up the land revenue fairly fixed to a share of the average total produce as valued in cash. In the canal colonies irrigation dues were also charged which were liable to be increased any time so as to keep the provision of irrigation a profitable venture.

II

In such a placid Punjab material for ferment was not lacking. As events soon proved it was not difficult for strong feelings to arise even among the most loyalist section of the people.

The first rude shock was delivered by the administration itself, and primarily to a section of the administration. Howsoever justifiable the creation of a North-Western Frontier Province in 1901 might have been, Lord Curzon's manner of separating it from the Punjab shook the Punjab Government to its foundation. British ways of doing things had been considered immutable by the people and in this lay the strength of our rulers—but here were the British wrangling in public over the way they had carried their 'white man's burden' on the frontier. 'Never again' cried the Punjab officials 'would they allow themselves be caught napping by the Government of India.'

Nature followed suit. The death of Queen Victoria in 1902 seemed to the peasantry in the Punjab to herald the end of an old era. When the entire province remained in mourning for ten days—schools were closed, business was at a stand still, officials seemed to be enjoying a holiday—it was natural for the people to ask what would follow this much advertised loss. Personal rule was well understood in the Punjab, the 'mysteries' of representative government were not understood here when the ruler of the biggest princely state in the Punjab took pride in his title of 'Farzand-i-Inglishia'—son of the English. Change, seemed to be in the air, so people said aloud.

European politics added the unkindest cut of all. British policy in India, it was said, had very often been guided by Russophobia. But all India was electrified by the news that tiny Japan had defeated the Russian giant and that on the seas which were considered to be a peculiarly European property. The belief in the divinely appointed mission of England to rule India in order to 'elevate' her—to ensure material and moral progress in India—was shaken not a little. Japan had done so well on its own, men wondered.

Curzon had earned some little fame in the Punjab when he had shown his resentment by cancelling all leave of two British regiments at Sialkot who had baulked an enquiry into the death of an Indian from an assault by a British soldier in 1902. But his partition of Bengal roused popular resentment here in the Punjab as elsewhere.

Popular
Loyal though the Punjab was considered to be, signs of some popular awakening here had not been lacking. The Indian National Congress had honoured Lahore by holding two of its sessions at Lahore within less than a decade. The Arya Samaj, particularly its educational mission, has played a tremendous part in this awakening. Its educational institutions occupied a unique position in India as an Indian assertion of self-reliance and a belief in their ability to do things without outside help or direction. They had jumped into the arena of famine relief in Rajputana and Central India, though their work had been confined mostly to the rescue of orphan children. This had a curious result. So alien was this work supposed to be to the 'Indian tradition' that the president of the Arya Samaj, Simla, was prosecuted for giving shelter to a Hindu girl from Rajputana who had fled from a Christian boarding house where she had been placed by the missionaries. The Arya Samajists had espoused 'Swadeshi'—use of article made in India—long before the word had been coined. This had had a curious result, a strike by the students in the premier educational institution in the Punjab, the Government College, Lahore, when the Principal had ordered that his students should wear 'blazers' in College made up of English cloth only. They had returned to the classes only when the principal had withdrawn his orders.

Popular awakening in the Punjab took another visible form. Iqbal's 'Hindustan Hamara' had become a rallying cry for the expression of patriotic fervour. His 'Bulbul Ki Faryad' (the cry of the nightingale) had found its way into school text books; but it was possible to see in his imprisoned nightingale in chains and equate its prayer for freedom to Indian demand for freedom. 'Ram Chandraji Ka Darshan'—Return of the Rama—by Mulk Raj Bhalla, a poet whose entire poetic output was confined to three long poems, found ostensibly a call to active social and religious reform among the Hindus, but by innuendo it asserted that Indians should occupy the same place in their country as others did in theirs.

The blazer-strike in the Government College, Lahore, had led to a curious sequel, adding some more fermenting material. Some students of the Government College, Lahore, had addressed a letter of protest to the editor of *the Tribune*. This had been published without revealing the names of the writers. The British Principal of the College deputed an Indian member of the College staff to find out from the editor of *the Tribune* who the writers of the letter were. Against all journalistic etiquette the editor showed the original letter to the patient enquirer. The students concerned had never made a secret of their protest but this proved too much for some of them and their sympathizers. Enough funds were forth-coming for another English newspaper, the biweekly *Punjabee*. It soon replaced *the Tribune* as the exponent of the advanced views in the Punjab.

Among the educated classes in the Punjab, the Government Resolution of 24 May, 1904, about the restrictions on the employment of Indians, which Mr. Gokhale had brought to light in the Imperial Legislative Council, had some effect in adding to the dissatisfaction felt by them by their unsatisfactory status in the government service. Explain it as he would, Lord Curzon found it difficult to reconcile it with the Queen's Proclamation promising to do away with differences of colour and race in government employment in India.

The agitation against the partition of Bengal fed on all these factors. Though Bengali protest against it was not much understood in the Punjab, it was easy to see in it an insidious attempt to downgrade the Bengali agitators in their own province. Some of Punjabi intellectuals had been practising Swadeshi already. 'Boycot' of foreign-made goods was but another step towards popularising Swadeshi by going without articles made outside the country.

As things stood, Government had given some other cause of dissatisfaction to the Hindus in the Punjab. The Punjab Alienation of Land Act had originally been passed ostensibly to prevent land in the hands of the agriculturists passing to non-agriculturists. Rationally applied it might have served a very useful purpose in preserving the community organization in villages. But just as the Punjab had martial races—religious communities from among whom alone recruitment to the army was made—the Punjab Land Alienation

Act laid down the 'tribes'—again mostly religious and caste groups—whose interest alone were to be safeguarded. Rather strangely almost all the Muslims got included among the agriculturist tribes. So did the Sikhs except the Aroras. Only a very small portion of the Hindus was included among the agriculturist communities so designated for the purposes of the Act. A Hindu not included among the 'agricultural tribes', might own the land, may even be cultivating it himself. Even so he could not buy land from a member of an—'agriculturist community' though another member of such a community who may be an absentee landlord' living a life of ease, away from his lands or who may not own any land at all, could do so. One result of it was to create a closed market in land, thus decreasing its value and thereby influencing the credit of the agriculturists. The interest of those engaged in agriculture were not protected. They could lease their lands to other members of the agricultural tribes. What the Act achieved was the concentration of land in the hands of 'agricultural tribes.' The original Indian Act had safeguarded the interests of 'agriculturists' in the villages who or whose ancestors in the male line had held land in the village as far back as the British records of settlement of land revenue went. But the Punjab Amendment to the Land Alienation Act introduced in the Council in September, 1906, took away this protection as well and made such old landlords strangers, in their own villages.

The village community in the Punjab had adopted a Muslim custom for preserving its entity. No one in the village could sell land to a stranger if another villager was willing to buy it at the same price. The law of preemption was also now changed radically excluding villagers, not members of one of the agricultural tribes, from 'preempting' land of a member of an agricultural tribe when he decided to sell it. This again lowered the value of land and injured the credit of the agriculturists. It made Hindus owning land in a village strangers so far as the buying of land from agricultural tribes was concerned.

Together there two measures attempted to perpetuate caste distinctions and created, like the Zimindars in Bengal, a class of people owing their favoured status to the British rulers and who would, it was expected, be loyal to the British interest in India, particularly in the Punjab.

The British rulers of the Punjab, however, soon discovered that they could not count on the loyalty of these classes, once they were convinced their own interests were at stake. A new settlement of land revenue was coming to a close in Rawalpindi. Naturally the Settlement Officer felt that, in the tradition of the Service, he could justify all the labour and money spent on the settlement operations by proposing some increase in land revenue in the district. But the increase suggested (25%) was much more than the normal increase. When this leaked out, there was resentment among the landed interests. It was claimed that the proposed increase was more than they could bear.

Stricter or more careful making of accounts on the irrigation works seemed to have persuaded the government that some increase in water rates in the Bari Doab Canal Colony was due. The Government was also anxious to claim a share in the money yield of the commercial crops, mainly sugar and cotton, in the area. Again the 'colonists' and old settlers living in canal colonies objected. They seemed to have argued that they had been persuaded to use canal water at rates which they thought were permanent. Any increase, howsoever small, seemed unjustified to them. The increased rates applied particularly to cultivation of sugar and cotton, the two commercial crops of the Punjab. It was easy to suggest that the increase was intended to make both these commodities dearer so that the cotton and sugar industries in India may not prosper.

The British in India, much less in the Punjab were not accustomed to arguing matters with their Indian 'subjects'. Whatever they thought was in the interests of their subjects was in their interest. 'The mutiny' had long been forgotten and along with it the warning that it was not always wise to introduce 'reforms' which the people had not been educated upto. The fragmentation of land holdings certainly called for investigation but when the Punjab Government proposed that in the new Chenab Canal Colonies land would pass from father to the eldest son, even the Government of India was shocked little at first. But the Punjab Government stuck to its guns, pointed out to the Descent of Jagir Act, 1900, which had introduced the law of primogeniture in the Jagirs. The Government of Lord Minto allowed it to be persuaded and gave the Punjab Government permission to introduce the measure

in the Punjab Legislative Council towards the end of the year 1906. The Punjab Government seemed to have argued that the modification proposed were 'directed not to the benefit of the Government but to uniformity of tenure and better administration of the Colony where the colonists had suddenly risen from poverty to opulence'. The colonists were 'picked cultivators transferred from holdings insufficient to support them to new virgin soil, in majority of cases given them free, but in a very few cases on payment far below the market rate. The Government seems to have supposed they would remain grateful for the benefits conferred on them and would not mind the changes, introduced, it was said, mainly to bring about 'uniformity of tenure'. But this struck at immemorial custom which the Government had tacitly accepted when settling them in the Colony. The Government seems to have known that the Punjabi is 'credulous to a degree which it is difficult for us (the British) to understand, traditionally disposed to believe evil of his government, and difficult to rouse but emotional and inflammable when once roused'. It had, however, held that the colonists would swallow the proposals, lock, stock and barrel, and would accept the social revolution the measure was intended to bring about. They were soon to find themselves sadly mistaken.

In its issue for April 4, 1906, *the Punjabee* brought to light the shocking sequel to the system of *Begar* as it then prevailed in the Punjab. 'The Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi was on tour. Two woe begone human beings were impressed to carry some of the impediments belonging to the officer. At the next village no men could be procured to relieve the impressed pair, the unfortunate fellows were dragged to a further distance to the next halting place. The two forlorn men were overpowered by the inclemency of the night and fell down in a dead faint in the middle of the road. The next morning the officers and men went out to look for the missing *Begaris*, they only found their dead bodies. The Officers squared the relatives of the deceased by a munificent gift of Rs. 50 for each dead *Begari*.'

The next week *The Punjabee* brought to alight the death by shooting of a Muslim orderly who refused to carry on his saddle the dead carcass of a pig shot by a Sahib out for sport. It was

forbidden in Islam to do so; he dared to assert. The same issue of 11 April, 1906, also contained a comment on two notices taken by its contemporaries, *Amrit Bazar Patrika* and *Telegraph* on its disclosure of 4 April and brushed aside the suggestion for official enquiry in the incident by asking, 'How many poor Indians have been mercilessly launched into eternity in the past, for being mistaken for bears and monkeys, or for having enlarged spleens. More than five months after the appearance of the two articles in print, the editor and the proprietor of the *Punjabee* were prosecuted for spreading hatred among various races, in this case between the British and the Muslims. The case was launched in the court of the District Magistrate, Lahore, on 26 October, 1906, curiously a day after the Punjab Land Alienation Amendment Bill was introduced in the Punjab legislature.

'The Punjabi is no doubt less hysterical and difficult to rouse', but other besides the Lieutenant-Governor knew that 'once roused, he is emotional and inflammable'. Agha Haidar, Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Prashad, roused by the political agitation following in the wake of the Partition of Bengal and taking a lesson from the activities of extremist and the revolutionary group in Bengal, organized the *Anjuman-i-Muhibban-i-Watan* (Association of lovers of the country) and *Bharat Mata*. The Canal Colonies Bill offered them an admirable opportunity to 'rouse not only the agriculturists in the colony but in the areas from which they had come. The proposed increase in land revenue in Rawalpindi settlement and in water rates in Bari Doab Canal Colony played into their hands. 'The Bharat Mata' with its officers in the Bharat Buildings began to plan a gigantic mass agitation against the government. The prosecution of the editor and the proprietor of the *Punjabee* for championing the cause of a Muslim orderly shot down by a *Sahib* when the orderly refused to go against the injunctions of his religion further played into their hands.

But the cause of the Chenab Canal Colonists was a cause of the agriculturists and land-owners at large. A Zimindara League was organized of which prominent members were big Muslim and Sikh landlords whose loyalty had never been in doubt. Prominent Muslim lawyers Mian Shihab-ud-Din (to become

Sir Shihab-ud-Din and the Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly in later years) Mian Muhammad Shafi (later to become Sir Muhammad Shafi and a member of the Governor-Generals Executive Council), among others, were now taking a leading part in the agitation, not only sending memorial to the Governor General but also organizing public meetings to protest against the measures.

Taking advantage of the *Begar* incidents unearthed by the *Punjabee*, Lala Lajpat Rai, then undoubtedly the political leader of the Punjab, sent circular letters to the Bar-Association and eminent lawyers in the province suggesting that they should protest against the *Begar* system and organize, if possible, protest meetings as well.

Gopal Krishan Gokhale, then at the height of his fame as an able politician, decided to visit various cities in northern India, to put the moderate point of view before the public. His 'moderation' however only stopped short of advocating violence. In his denunciation of British policy he lagged behind none, though he was never intemperate. He was invited to include Lahore in his programme. He did so and reached Lahore on 15 February, 1907.

It so happened that the case against the proprietor and editor of the *Punjabee* had just been decided by the District Magistrate. Lala Jaswant Rai had assumed full responsibility for the publication of the article, he was sentenced to two years imprisonment. The editor was let off with a mere six month in prison. *The Punjabee* had become the champion of the down-trodden masses particularly when the proprietor and the editor were being prosecuted for spreading racial hatred against Englishmen. It seemed that spreading racial hatred against Indians was not reprehensible in the eyes of the Punjab Government. Letters had appeared in the *Civil* and *Military Gazette*, Lahore, 'disgracefully low in tone, just the sort of writing to stir up racial hatred.' No action had, however, been taken against this Anglo-Indian journal and even the permission to launch private prosecution of the paper was refused even though Minto declared on 2 May, 1907 that it makes one's blood to boil to know that a leading English newspaper could publish such production. The crowd that had collected to hear judgement got out of hand and

after hearing the sentence became agitated. A violent demonstration was made in front of the house of the District Magistrate. It showed, its violent displeasure against all Englishmen it happened to encounter in the civil Station. Another crowd waiting outside the jail for the release of the prisoners on bail, became similarly agitated and tried to stage a demonstration outside the Government House and indulged in similar rowdyism elsewhere.

Gokhale was received at the railway station by a huge mass of people. The horses of the carriage in which he sat were unharnessed and youngmen drew it through the streets of Lahore. Gokhale's stirring speeches did not deal with any of the local problems but he put new heart into the liberal thought in Lahore when he declared in one of these meetings that he set no limits to the ambitions of his countrymen; they must occupy in their own country the place which others did in theirs.

Meanwhile meetings had been held and were being held in different parts of the province, at Lahore, Amritsar, Ferozepur, Lyallpur, Sialkot, Multan and Rawalpindi. One of the Lahore meetings was attended by some 500 to 600 headmen of various villages. Another meeting at Lyallpur had a military pensioner in the chair. A meeting at Ferozepur is said to have been attended by some 300 soldiers from the cantonment. The same thing is said to have happened at Multan.

The meeting held at Lyallpur on 21 March, 1907 made history when Banke Dayal, Editor, *Jhang Sayal*, recited some verses in Punjabi asking the Jats to be up and doing. His *Pagri Sambhal o Jatta* soon became popular song at public-meetings in the Punjab. A memorial originally drafted by Chaudhri Shihab-ud-Din was adopted at the meeting. Before the meeting came to an end, Ajit Singh started addressing the meeting and delivered a fiery denunciation of the rulers and their ways.

Jaswant Rai and Athavale appealed against the decision of the District Magistrate to the Session Judge who upheld the conviction but reduced the sentences. On April 16 the Chief Court rejected the appeal of the editor and the proprietor of the *Punjabee* against the judgement of the Session Judge. While Jaswant Rai and Athavale were being conveyed to the jail in a police van, it was stopped and the accused were garlanded.

III

Ajit Singh had been moving from place to place and addressing gatherings everywhere. As at Lyallpur he never appeared as the sole speaker at any of these meetings. He participated in the meetings that seemed to be spontaneously being organized in different places. He always managed to be available. One of these meetings had rather a curious, and in the end, a tragic sequel. A protest meeting was organized at Rawalpindi by leaders of the local bar. Among others it was addressed by Ajit Singh whose fiery eloquence made him the star performer. In panic the District Magistrate wrongly assumed powers which he did not possess and rather than prosecute Ajit Singh on 30th April he issued notice to five prominent lawyers whose names had appeared among the organisers or who had spoken at the meetings to show cause on May 2 in his court why their licences to practise should not be cancelled or action taken against them for organizing the meeting. Lala Hans Raj Sahwney and Lala Amolak Ram, who were among those to whom this notice had been given, were not only the leaders of the Rawalpindi Bar, but were well known popular leaders of the province as well.

Rawalpindi did not take this highhandedness quietly. A complete cessation of business in the city on May 2 when the show cause notice was to come up for hearing in the District Magistrate's court followed. The notice was to be heard at 10 A. M. By that time, the entire compound of the District Court was thronged with people who had come to lend their moral support to their beloved leaders. Their number was swelled on account of the fact that the labourers in the Railway Workshop and the arsenal had gone on strike. The District Magistrate on arrival sent for the pleaders and their counsel ; he announced that under instructions from the local government the proceedings had been 'stayed'. He had in fact been overruled, the local government had advised him that he had no such powers as he had claimed.

The mob received the news with cheers. So far so good, but then it got out of hand and followed the Lahore pattern of violence against European officials, Europeans in general and against some

Indians as well who were reputed to be pro-government. The Deputy Commissioner had learnt of the intended *Hartal* earlier. The presence of the huge mob in his Court must have been reported to him, before he came to the Court. The army was called out but not before the mob had inflicted considerable damage.

A public meeting had been arranged for the evening. But when the organisers and the speakers were on their way to the meeting, a message was brought to them from the District Magistrate asking them to call on him at the Police Station. They were told there that the meeting has been prohibited, that the police had been given orders to fire if an attempt was made to hold the meeting and that the five lawyers and Lala Lajpat Rai would be held responsible if the meeting was held. The organizers and the speakers then came back.

This was not however, the end of the matter. The next day Lala Hans Raj Sawhney, Lala Gurdas Ram, Lala Amolak Ram, Pandit Janki Nath and Malik Khazan Singh were arrested for sedition, arson, incitement to violence and abetment of these offences. The extent of panic among the officials can well be gauged by the fact that British Cavalry was used for executing the warrants and escorting the prisoners to the jail. The application for bail were refused though no evidence was forthcoming to connect the accused with acts of violence or arson. It was however assessed on behalf of the Government that if the accused were let off on a bail, there would be more arson and rioting.

Lala Lajpat Rai hastened to Lahore to present an application for bail to the Chief Court. This was done on May 4. Contrary to the usual practice, the application was placed before a bench of two judges, the Chief Justice being one of them. The Government again opposed the bail but could not satisfy the bench that there was any connection between arson, mob violence and the alleged seditious speeches delivered at the meeting. Strangely however, rather than pass orders on the application, the Government was given further time to state its case against the grant of bail. When the case came up for hearing again, the District Magistrate who had ordered the arrest appeared personally and handed confidential letter to the judges from the Officer Commanding, Rawalpindi, probably

reinforcing the District Magistrates estimate of the danger to law and order if the accused were let on bail, and adding that their release might result in the open rebellion of troops. This was probably the first time in the history of British judiciary in India that the Army intervened in such a matter. The application was rejected by the Chief Court. The prisoners continued languishing in jail.

The use of the British cavalry for arresting lawyers in Rawalpindi and escorting them to the jail and the intervention of the Officer Commanding Rawalpindi Station in the hearing of the bail application indicated how panic stricken the British authorities in the Punjab had become. In fact the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab had in a Minute to the Governor-General-in Council written on 30 April, 1907 described the situation in the Punjab as threatening the security of British dominion (in India) from internal commotion, rendering judicial proceedings inadvisable and improper. The present political situation in the Punjab, he declared, is 'extremely serious and extremely dangerous', 'urgently demanding a remedy'. Ibbetson had been worried by the fact that 'Europeans had been insulted on the Mall' at Lahore, that a demonstration was made in front of the house of the Chief Magistrate the day he sentenced the editor and the proprietor of *the Punjabee* and another demonstration' was attempted in front of the Government House'. 'In the towns of Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Lyallpur, an active anti-English propaganda is being openly and sedulously preached'. 'A feeling of discontent undoubtedly exists throughout the central districts of the province and is more or less acute in Lahore, Lyallpur, Sialkot and Ferozepur. 'The general anti-English feeling among the villagers is growing in intensity'. 'Special efforts have been made to procure the attendance of the Sikhs at the meetings.' The immediate object of all (agitation) seems to be to make our government of the country impossible. 'The fact that in the face of agitation in the Chenab Canal Colony some of the provisions of the colonization Bill were removed and the fact that at Sialkot the proposed taxation remission are incessantly quoted to enforce the lesson that agitation is an effective weapon'. 'All this, he argued, proved 'how widespread the agitation has become'.

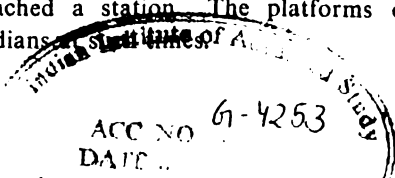
In the face of all this he asked for extensive powers which however he knew he could not immediately get. He asked for the

powers to use Regulation III of 1818 for deporting such malcontents as he might think necessary. So worried was he that he declared that 'the powers for which I ask may not in any case come too late to prevent very serious trouble and evil of enduring character. But without them, the peaceable government will before long become so difficult as to be almost impossible.

Further exchange of views between Punjab and Calcutta followed Rawalpindi riots. The Governor-General-in-Council considered Ibbetson's Memorandum of 30 April and the information supplied by him on May 7. Two members did not view the Punjab situation as the local government had done it and were not in favour of issuing the order for the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. But the majority supported the local government. Lord Minto backed the Punjab Government. Warrants for deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were issued by the Governor-General-in Council on May 7. On May 9 Lala Lajpat Rai was invited to meet Commissioner of Lahore Division, in the District Police offices. When he reached there, he was told that he had been deported under Regulation III of 1818. At 6 P.M, he was put in a special train and ultimately lodged in Mandalay in Burma.

Such was the appreciation of the situation by the Punjab Government that British forces were ordered into Lahore against apprehension of mob violence. Elsewhere, it is said, most of the Europeans sent their families to nearby cantonments for fear of disturbances which the authorities feared might break out as the news of Lala Lajpat Rai's deportation spread through the province wide protest against the last step taken by the Government was feared.

Another sign of the panic in official circle was the extreme secrecy and watchfulness with which Lajpat Rai was arrested and then conveyed to a cell in the Lahore cantonment till the train that was to carry him was ready. He did not board at the station, even though it was the cantonment station. It was brought to the military siding where Lajpat Rai was asked to board it. It was a special train but bearing a camouflaged name. He was accompanied by police guards who shut the windows of his compartment as soon as the train approached a station. The platforms on the way were cleared of all Indians.



Some of the Europeans believed that fifty years after 'the mutiny' the British were again likely to face a similar occurrence. They seemed inclined to interpret incidents, where they had not been shown the respect 'due' to them, as presaging hard times ahead.

The extent of panic in the Punjab can be further gauged by the fact that Europeans were 'arming every where, British soldiers were, sleeping with rifles by their side', and commanding Officers 'issuing' army rifles and ammunition to (British) civilians wherewith to defend themselves'. It seems to have been suggested by Ibbetson that loyalty of Indian troops had been tempered with and it was this that had caused the panic among the Europeans. It is true that serving soldiers 'had attended the meetings held to protest against the Colonization Bill at Ferozepur and Multan' but that did not imply that they had been got at by the agitators.

News of happenings in the Punjab were exaggerated in the British press. Lord Curzon, probably in a moment of pique against his successor rushed to *the Time* to bewail what was happening in India now that he was not there.

Local gossip had it that Lala Lajpat Rai had approached the Amir of Kabul during his recent visit to India seeking his help against the British and that the Amir had passed on the letter to the Government of India. The *Daily Express* of London suggested that as the reason for Lala Lajpat Rai's deportation. Punjab was certainly in ferment.

APPENDIX I

REFINED CRUELTY

An account of a horrible *Begar* tragedy comes to us from Rawalpindi. The following are the main incidents. The Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi was out on tour. In a particular village two woe-begone human beings were impressed to carry some of the impediments belonging to the officer. At the next village which they reached after sundown no men could be procured to relieve the impressed pair; and so, though tired and perishing with cold (they were stark naked from top to bottom except for a rag, a piece which barely covered their loins) the unfortunate fellows were dragged a further distance to the next halting place. It was a raw, chill night bitterly cold; and the two forlorn men carrying head loads and bravely trudging along, were overpowered by the inclemency of the night and fell down in a dead faint in the middle of the road. The next morning when the officer's men went out to look the missing *begaris*, they only found their dead bodies lying on the road, with the loads they carried untouched near them. The officer when he came to know of the mischance squared the relatives of the deceased (sic) by a munificent gift of Rs. 50 for each dead *begari*. One of the poor dead men leaves a widow and children behind him to shift for themselves as best as they can; but the Sahib's unexampled generosity has now made them rich for ever.

(*The Punjabee*, April 4, 1906.)

APPENDIX II

A DELIBERATE MURDER

As to deliberate murders, unpremeditated of course, of Indians by irate, irascible officers, instances though rare, are not wanting. Only the other day, two European officers, of a district not very far from Lahore, went out shooting on horseback, with a mounted orderly. Amongst other denizens of the forest which fell to their joint shots was a boar, a full-grown fat porker, which the pair of worthies laid much store by to furnish them with the *piece de resistance* of two or three 'heavenly' feasts. As soon as the animal was despatched, they asked their mounted orderly to carry the carcass secured to his saddle. The man, who was a follower of the Prophet, however, instead of complying with the orders of the *huzoors*, refused pointblank to do their bidding, or even to touch the unclean animal. For a second they stood aghast, petrified at his temerity, but for a second only. The next moment the Sahib, recovered his wits, and saw that it was insubordination, or even worse, downright mutiny. And what is the reward of mutiny? Why, a short shift and a swing into eternity. No sooner thought of, than this brilliant idea of the Imperial hunter was put into practice. He aimed at the poor Indian (who cared more for the faith that was in him, his *deen*, more than even the favour of his official chief) and shot him dead without compunction of remorse. If anybody was ever guilty of murder that identical Sahib surely was. The British Indian Penal Code might, perhaps, call it culpable homicide not amounting to murder. But it was nothing but murder in cold blood. That murderer is at large to-day, enjoying the privileges of the dominant race, and the sweets of life like any innocent man. And yet we have reason to believe that the matter had soon reached the ears of the higher authorities. The only thing done in the case, however, was to get the gentleman transferred from the district and a new man put in his place, with strict injunctions not to allow the skeleton in the official cupboard to see the light of day. And up to this time it has not seen the light of day.

(*The Punjabee*, April 11, 1906.)

APPENDIX III

HOW MISUNDERSTANDINGS OCCUR

With reference to the two cases of oppression in Rawalpindi, particulars of which appeared in our issue of 4th instant, the *A. B. Patrika* remarks: The "Punjabee" has unearthed the particulars of two shocking cases, which deserve the serious consideration of the Government. In one case, which hails from Rawalpindi, two men fell victims to the "begar" system of service. The story, as told by the Lahore paper, is this. Here, after quoting the paragraph, our contemporary makes the following observations: Is there much difference between slavery and the "beggar" system? And how cruel-hearted must be those men who, taking advantage of this system, would treat their poorer fellows in this fiendish fashion. Our contemporary may privately disclose the name of the offending officer to the authorities if he cannot publish it in his paper, and thereby get the matter thoroughly sifted. *The Patrika* has apparently overlooked the very first sentence with which the extract begins. Had it noticed it there would have been no necessity for the request to us to disclose the officer's name. If *the Patrika* would again take the trouble to refer to our issue of 4th April, the information sought for would be found clearly stated in the very sentence immediately preceding the passage quoted. We mentioned there that "the Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi was out on tour," and that gives the information our contemporary wants. *The Telegraph* commits no oversight or omission in regard to both the *Begar* and *Shikar* incidents mentioned by us, but wants Lord Minto to order an enquiry. Has *the Telegraph* then such a great confidence in the panacea of enquiry? And are instance of man-slaughter yea, even of deliberate murder, of Indians at the hands of European Officers so rare in India that our contemporary should be ready to pin his trust to the impartiality of an enquiry? How many poor Indians have been mercilessly launched into eternity in the past, for being mistaken for bears and monkeys, or for having so called enlarged spleens?

(*The Punjabee*, April 11, 1906.)

APPENDIX IV

If is quite clear that the 'Advanced Party' are far from being at one. They are jealous and suspicious of each other ; the orthodox and other Hindus are often at variance with the Arya Samaj and in the Arya Samaj itself there are at heart two divisions. The Aryas are possibly correct in stating themselves to have been in the inception a purely religious body, but that one section has been much mixed up with political agitation and has used its organization for its furtherance, hardly admits of doubt and this section has been in the van in its dislike for Europeans and English rule and administration, has been marked by a strange animus against Christianity.

Taking for granted the effect upon half-educated minds of ill-digested ideas regarding the value of representative institutions and the views picked up and only superficially understood from advanced radical and socialistic sources at home, the more definite cause of dissatisfaction which led some into actual sedition, and many more to the verge of it, or into an attitude of carping criticism and dislike of the British and their rule are indicated to be mainly as follow :—

It is urged that the interest, wishes, and aspirations of the educated and moneyed Hindu classes have been deliberately ignored and treated as of no account, especially in legislation, for some years past. It is complained with considerable bitterness that the feelings and wishes of the class have not only been set aside but have been treated as of no consequence whatever, a condition of affairs which has caused much resentment. Indeed as far as I could gather, it was this feeling of neglect as of 'no account,' quite as much as any definite loss or injury caused by any specific legislation, which has caused the bitterness of spirit recently displayed. One of my interviewers put it thus; "It is said that, if a cultivator's finger aches the Sirkar weeps, but if our life blood flows it is no matter."—Little attempt was made in the past to put forward specific grievances because it was felt to be useless; the cultivator and cultivators only, was listened to."

Consequently, as was more than once frankly admitted, when the Canal Bill was found to involve a going back upon its words by

the Government to the zamindars, the opportunity was seized upon with avidity and was worked for all it was worth. It did not matter how small the retrocession was, it was a retrocession and that unfortunate circumstance was seized upon and magnified to the utmost. The people undoubtedly were extremely uneasy at the idea of the Sirkar breaking its words; Missionary friends of mine who were at work in the Colony fully corroborate the statements made on this point; the distress at the idea of a breach of faith was great.

As regards specific legislation, the attitude adopted toward the Land Alienation Act itself was not actively hostile. As the Act originally stood, it was of course, disapproved of and objected to, but it is said that it was the cultivator who was most affected, and that those of the moneyed classes who had already acquired land and invested their capital in it, and desired to attain the position and status of land-owners were not affected owing to the reservation in favour of the statutory agriculturists. Only new men were debarred from acquiring land. The recent amendment to the Land Alienation Act, abolishing the statutory agriculturist, is viewed, however, with the greater hostility, and is considered to be an act of great injustice and hardship. It is pointed out that members of the moneyed and educated classes, who had become or were becoming 'country gentlemen' zaildars, and so on, are now sent out of that class and subjected to what they feel to be a serious slur upon them. It was made clear to me that this is felt to be a very serious grievance indeed in conversations with me more stress was laid upon this than upon almost any other.'

The Pre-emption Act was also cited as an Act which not only prevents the moneyed commercial class from further acquisition of land, but prevents that class from retaining land when sold by any one of its members. This is a result which has only just begun to be realized.

Want of sympathetic treatment on the part of Europeans and of frank intercourse, were also noted as cause of estrangement. But in this part of the subject I was struck with the unanimity with which it was asserted that incidents which occur during Railway travel are the most fruitful source of friction of all. It is said that the 'intrusion' of a first or second class native gentleman passenger into a carriage

with Europeans is generally strongly resented and is constantly the cause of rudeness and incivility. It was strongly impressed upon me that separate first and second class accommodation even if expensive, would be worth even more than it would cost in obviating regrettable incidents which are constantly occurring under the present system. I was struck and indeed surprised at the great stress laid upon this point.

Asked as to the actual objects of those who had joined in the agitation, the answer amounted to this. There no doubt were disloyal Extremists who, without any idea as to consequences, were simply sowing sedition, but these were few. There were others who were simply discontented who very much over estimated their own value, who hate the Europeans, and without any definitely fixed intention of upsetting the British Raj to put something in its place, simply desired to cause all the annoyance and do all the mischief they could. There was also, it was reluctantly admitted, an anti-Christian feeling in some quarters, the result of the broader and more 'universal' Christianity now preached, which is felt to be far more dangerous to the old system than the narrow theology of fifty years ago.

Pressed as to the meaning and intentions of more intelligent of the agitators and their following, the view appears to have been this "The Mohammedans of late years have been getting far more than their fair share. The Government is afraid of the Mohammedans. Let us make the Government afraid of us, and they will give us, if not all our wants, much more than we get now, and much more than the Mohammendans are now usurping."

One of the most intelligent, best educated, and highly placed of my informants, a man for whom Government has done as much as for any one, said to me—"Nothing was done for the Mohammedans until one Mohammedan murdered Lord Mayo and another murdered the Chief Justice of Bengal". And then he caught himself up and said, "At least that is what the Extremists say."

I think that there was a good deal of truth in this. The Extremists did not believe that they could turn the British out, or put anything (in) their place, but they believed that they would

frighten the Government into practical surrender, as a result of which, protected by British bayonets, they would enjoy the loaves and fishes. This is why they seized upon the zamindars, grievances, and attempted to, or had a show of attempting to, tamper with the soldiery.

In answer to the plain question : "What do you loyal Native gentlemen, who consider yourselves to some extent aggrieved actually want ?" The reply was, in effect—"We want more sympathetic treatment and more recognition of the educated and commercial classes as of some account and worthy of some consideration. England was called a nation of shopkeepers, and in England the manufacturer, the banker, the commercial class, is of the greatest weight, but here we are all, as well as the educated professional class, treated as of no account at all. As regards definite grievances, we want a modification of the Amending Act to the Land Alienation Act, of the Pre-emption Act, and a great change in the management of the Canal Colony."

I have put these notes together as the result of from twenty to thirty interviews at least with various members of the educated and moneyed classes.

It is necessary in a confidential note to state frankly that most of the speakers said that a very large part of the dissatisfaction was caused by the policy of Lord Curzon's latter years, the Partition of Bengal, the interpretation given by Lord Curzon of the Queen's Proclamation and his University Speech and policy and general attitude towards natives of the country.

On more than one occasion I asked various persons, some of them members of the Arya Samaj, to tell me frankly what they thought of Lajpat Rai. One said he thought Lajpat Rai had gone off his head. Others thought he had been carried away by excitement and admitted that he had said and done many wild and injudicious things which might be construed into sedition, though most seemed to think that he was not really disloyal. Several Aryas said that when Lajpat Rai wanted Arya Samaj to take part in political agitation, there was much opposition and discussion and that there was very nearly a bad split. The final result was that Lajpat Rai, by his energy and

personal influence, succeeded in capturing a number of the Aryas in getting them to assist in his agitation, and in, to some extent, making use of their organization for the purpose. This they said was entirely Lajpat Rai's doing and was not really approved of except by a very few. It was he and his influence certainly which dragged the Arya Samaj into the area, in most cases against their will. When Lajpat Rai's influence was removed, they said, most even of the Extreme section were only too glad to drop the connection between the Arya Samaj and political agitation. Lajpat Rai, they all said, was the heart and soul of the political side of the Arya Samaj and so they said of the, creating of it.

(Robertson's Memorandum on the Advanced Party in the Punjab
15 July, 1907).

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