

Meanwhile Mr. Irving had asked the Officer Commanding "to get ready the internal defence scheme," and troops were in readiness, although no riots had broken out and police or military intervention does not appear to have been called for. On the 6th April the situation struck Mr. Irving as if some "mischief" was brewing. It has not transpired whether the troops who were in readiness from the 30th were getting impatient of inaction, as no action had become necessary till at least the 10th. When another *hartal* took place on the Ram Nanami day (9th April), Mr. Irving began to think seriously—"Cars went in procession shouting out 'Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai,' 'Hindu-Moslem ki Jai,' and Mr. Irving was feeling uncomfortable while watching the crowd from the verandah of the Allahabad Bank, notwithstanding that "when each crowd met him they were very civil and stopped the procession and their bands played God Save the King." What with the protest meetings, the *hartal*, the crowd, the shouts, and the readiness of the troops to be civil to him, Mr. Irving must have been in a distracted state of mind, and must have been relieved to receive, on return home that evening, orders for the "quiet" removal of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal to Dharamsala,—a task that was accomplished the next morning at 10 o'clock. The fire was thus kindled at the tenth hour of the tenth day of the fourth month of 1919, for as soon as the leaders had been spirited away the crowd got excited and the troops who were so long in readiness found employment at last. Why, however, the crowd had to be fired upon does not appear, nor why Mr. Irving ordered the crowd not to be allowed to cross the railway lines. On the crowd insisting on crossing the railway lines they were fired on by the non-commissioned officer, under Mr. Irving's instruction, and riot broke out in every part of the city, giving plenty of work to the troops who had been all the time in readiness. The casualties had not been thus far very high, but General Dyer arrived on the scene on the 11th evening and made things hum on the 13th day after a third *hartal*, when a meeting was in progress at Jallianwalla Bagh. Lala Hans Raj was speaking, and General Dyer issued orders to open fire upon the people as soon as he arrived there, as many as 4 to 500 men being killed, according to Mr. Irving's statement. Mr. Irving was not present. He had been nursing, since the 12th, the impression that a local soviet was ruling the city, and has been able to opine that "the result of the firing was the whole rebellion collapsed."

"Rebellion" conquered, retribution commenced. Martial Law was proclaimed, without Mr. Irving having had to apply for that measure, restrictions on travelling were imposed, conveyances were commandeered, large numbers of arrests were made, whippings carried out publicly and privately, special constables enrolled, "crawling" orders issued, etc., etc. Darkness settled upon the land, and elation upon the soul of General Dyer.

Mr. Irving does not appear to have done anything, except keeping troops in readiness and giving orders to them to take action. He did not apply for orders, for the muzzling or deportation of the leaders, for Martial Law, or any 'pivotal' action. Mysterious agents were circulating the orders, and Mr. Irving was carrying them out—and thinking a good deal, sometimes of mischief at other times of Soviets, and occasionally of shouts of crowds. The responsibility for the 'pivotal' orders, as we may describe them, has been denied by Mr. Irving. Since, however, the "mob" was not in training with a view to rioting but in connection with Satyagraha, as admitted by Mr. Irving, to Mr. Justice Rankin, and there had been no disturbance before the arrest of the leaders, why were the people ordered off the railway line and fired upon at all? How will this action be explained and justified? Clearly the sequel cannot be allowed to confuse the cause, and it should be carefully examined whether the people were not provoked into committing such excesses as are alleged against them.

Extract from A. B. Patrika, dated Calcutta, the 19th November 1919.

HOW THEY MANAGED THINGS AT AMRITSAR.

Mr. Miles Irving, Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, at the time of the disturbance in that town, as the reader is aware, was the first witness examined before the Hunter Committee at Lahore. His statement throws a lurid light on the way the horrid incidents were brought about at Amritsar. He was directed by the Government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer to deport Drs. Kichlew and Satyapal. He knew that such an act would lead to a popular outburst. He also knew that none of these popular leaders favoured violence. All the same he agreed to carry out the order by adopting a plan which, to say the least, was un-British in its character. He invited the two gentlemen at his house on the morning of the 10th April and they unsuspectingly responded to the call no doubt relying on his honour as an Englishman. But after they had been under his roof for half an hour as his guests, they were caught hold of, and removed towards Dharmasala under police escort! Mr. Irving told this story without showing any sign of having done an act which very few Englishmen would care to do; and what is still more surprising is that it elicited no comment either from the President of the Committee or any of its members, European or Indian! We shall now tell a story. It was during the Sepoy Mutiny that Mr. Taylor held the post of the Commissioner of Patna. He suspected certain influential Mussalmans of that city of having helped the rebels. He, however, did not venture to arrest them openly. So he adopted the method of Mr. Miles

Irving. He invited them to his place and caused them to be arrested! Now imagine the mental condition of Englishmen in those dark days. The arrest, imprisonment, nay, hanging of innocent men on mere suspicion by any officer was then justified. All the same the conduct of Mr. Taylor created a feeling of revulsion in every Anglo-Indian breast. The Government was so disgusted at this dishonourable behaviour on the part of the Patna Commissioner that it ordered his instant dismissal from the Civil Service. Mr. Taylor with the help of some friends, started an agitation, both in India and in England to get himself reinstated, with the result that he practically became an outcaste among his own countrymen. Subsequently he became a Mukteer of the Calcutta High Court to earn a living. It was this Mr. Taylor who made himself famous by libelling Mr. Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter in the "Englishman," and both he and the Editor of that paper had to save their skin by offering an abject apology before the High Court presided over by Sir Barnes Peacock.

Extract from the Independent, dated Allahabad, the 21st November 1919.

DYER AND O'DWYER.

"I fired and fired well. No other consideration weighed with me"—was the reply of the hero of Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre to a question of Lord Hunter's at Wednesday's sitting of the Disorders Enquiry Committee. This 20th century Napoleon "did not take long to decide as he had already made up his mind," and "thinking no warning was necessary, opened fire immediately." In fact, "before reaching Jallianwalla Bagh he had made up his mind to open fire immediately he got there," and "he continued to fire until ammunition ran short." This cold blooded slaughter was visited upon the hapless citizens of Amritsar, because the gallant General "acted under the belief that he was the arm of the law." It did not occur to him that he should warn, he merely found that orders were disobeyed and Martial Law defied,"—although Martial Law had not been proclaimed—"so he thought it is his duty to fire." Such was the homicidal maniac to whose tender mercies some thousands of his Majesty's loyal subjects, with their young children, were exposed,—with what results we know. And when General Dyer arose from his feast of blood he got a tribute, recalling the classic "Well done, thou good and faithful servant," from his august Chief in the following terms: "Your action correct; the Lieutenant-Governor approves." If the Hunter Committee does nothing else, it has justified its existence by eliciting the above ghastly admissions regarding one of the blackest episodes of British administration in this country. The moral of it we shall point on another occasion. Meanwhile, attention may be drawn to the fact that General Dyer is apparently yet at large, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer is being actually sent back to India by the Home Government!

Extract from A. B. Patrika, dated Calcutta, the 21st November 1919.

THE JALLIANWALLA BAGH MASSACRE.

The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya has been fully avenged! The Government of India was pleased to refuse to answer his civilization staggering questions regarding the alleged atrocities at Amritsar, specially regarding what happened at Jallianwalla. But Mr. Miles Irving and some other official witnesses before the Hunter Committee have done that duty quite fairly. Read the magnificent report of our special correspondent at Lahore and realise the horrors perpetuated at Amritsar which had been suggested in Pandit Malaviya's interpellations. It will be seen that the Panditji did not draw upon his imagination but stated only some salient facts which might well seem to be incredible. Mr. Miles Irving deposed that he had heard that the meeting held at Jallianwalla Bagh numbered about twenty thousand people. No steps were taken to warn the crowd that they would be shot if they did not disperse. A number of troops suddenly appeared and opened fire upon the assembled people. They could not run away to save themselves as the chief exit was occupied by the military. Sixteen hundred and fifty rounds of ammunitions were fired and the firing went on for 10 minutes. It was reported that a child of seven months had been shot, but Mr. Irving could give no information on the point. The military after having performed this valiant act, left the place without rendering any help to the killed and the wounded. No ambulance arrangement had been made and the appalling nature of the outrage can better be imagined than described. Mr. Andrews in his farewell address at the Lahore meeting on November 15, characterised this incident as "the cold and calculated massacre of Jallianwalla Bagh" with the following remarks:—

"The massacre of Glencoe in English history is no greater a blot on the fair name of my country than the massacre at Amritsar. I am not speaking from idle rumour. I have gone into every single detail with all care and thoroughness that personal investigation could command and it remains to me an unspeakable disgrace, indefensible, unpardonable, inexcusable."

Yes, every Englishman should hang down his head with shame over this un-English outrage.