

## CHAPTER IX.

### Causes.

1. At Amritsar on 10th April 1919 the immediate cause for the assembling of the crowds which subsequently broke into acts of disorder and violence was the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal.

**Specific causes and general unrest.**

On the same evening unruly crowds gathered at Lahore on news reaching that town of the occurrences at Amritsar and of Mr. Gandhi's arrest. In other places, *e.g.*, Kasur and Gujranwala, it is more difficult to trace the reason for the first exhibition of excitement among the people. They were influenced no doubt by what they heard of the occurrences in other places. They were advised, in some cases encouraged, to emulate the example there set. An adequate explanation, however, of the general and widespread outbreak in the Punjab against constituted authority, of the attack on Europeans, on Government property and on the railway and telegraph system must be sought in the causes of a general state of unrest and discontent among the people, particularly the inhabitants of the larger towns.

2. We have already noted in our narrative of events the increased interest shown in certain parts of the Punjab in political agitation. This is largely due no doubt to the Home Rule movement started several years ago. For the purposes of this report it is unnecessary to trace the history of this movement either in its more violent or more moderate manifestation. A succinct reference thereto is to be found in the memorandum \* presented to us by the Government of India. The desire for a larger say in the government of the country was greatly fostered by the dissemination in the press and otherwise of the doctrine of self-determination which formed so prominent a subject of discussion at the peace conference in Paris. The principle, involved in the new Government of India Act, even before it could be carried into effect, and indeed from the moment that it was solemnly acknowledged, also acted necessarily as a stimulus to political activity and gave height to the interest in public affairs.

3. The circumstances under which India had to develop these principles were exceptionally difficult. Restrictions, which under normal conditions were unnecessary, were becoming more and more essential—not in India only—as

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\* *Vide Evidence, Volume VII.*

the war drew slowly towards its climax, and the strain and risk increased. These restrictions affected the daily life of the ordinary citizen much more lightly in India than in Europe: *e.g.*, though recruiting was intensive in the Punjab and elsewhere, conscription was nowhere in force. But the Defence of India Act, 1915, and the rules made thereunder did trench upon the ordinary measure of liberty. Important examples of this interference with individual liberty were the power to order "deportation" of individuals from a given locality and to confine or intern them in a particular place: the power to create and authorise the creation of new offences: the power to set up special tribunals: and the power to exclude newspapers from special provinces or control the press. It is not our desire, nor is it within our duty, to throw doubt upon, or even to canvass, the necessity or wisdom of this Act. What we desire to point out is that the exercise from time to time of powers such as these was taking place, though as a war necessity, at a time when the political future of India was being re-cast. It may be that restrictions upon political agitation, whether on the press or on the platform, were all the more necessary but they were all the more galling. To the educated classes, who in India are composed largely of the various lawyer classes, they naturally appeared as diametrically opposed to their conception of constitutional doctrine.

4. The Punjab owes part of the troubles which we have had to investigate to its own merits. The martial classes of this province make the finest soldiers, and as call after call was sent to India for men, and for men of the right kind, the response from the Punjab was unailing. That Sir Michael O'Dwyer as Lieutenant-Governor did his utmost to encourage recruiting and that the Punjab made enormous efforts under his leadership to shoulder the Empire's burden according to the utmost limits of its ability, are facts which may be stated without instituting comparisons or inviting contradiction. Other aspects of this question will be discussed later, but it is important to remember that in 1918 the need for more men was not lessening but increasing. Already in February 1918 the strain began to be severely felt and the pace was slackened. The appeal of the Prime Minister to India in consequence of the altered military situation resulting from the German offensive was answered by an endeavour to produce half a million combatants in the year commencing on 1st June 1918. The Central Recruiting Board fixed the Punjab quota of combatants at 180,000 and a Punjab Provincial Conference held on the 4th May resolved to answer this demand and to find 20,000 non-combatants as well. When the armistice was signed in November the Punjab was found to have made good more than a proportionate part of the demand made upon it.

5. These times of stress were therefore specially difficult among the high-spirited and martial people of the country districts. The towns had their own problems, but political activity by and among the educated classes there had

possibilities of immediate danger if it infected the rural population with antipathy to Government or with disbelief in its power. To do irreparable damage to the Empire a temporary alienation was enough. Whether the use made in the Punjab of the special powers under the Defence of India Act and other legislation was or was not greater than can be justified by the necessities of the place and time is a question which involves a critique of several years administration and upon which we feel no special competence or duty to pronounce. Sir Michael O'Dwyer explained to us in detail his reasons for regarding the situation in the province as critical and the necessity for his dealing promptly with any manifestations of hostility to Government. It seems clear that the cumulative effect of taking action under special powers would be in any case to make the contrast broader and more evident between the new notions of liberty for India and the practice of the moment.

6. After the conclusion of the armistice in November 1918 the powers under the Defence of India Act continued, though limited to a period of six months after the conclusion of the war. We have seen that

**Period subsequent to armistice.**

the necessities and incidents of a war régime were clashing with principles of government which had been grasped with a new vigour and were colouring political expectations, when the actual period of hostilities with Germany was seen to have come definitely to an end and a powerful reconciling force began to weaken. Apart altogether from special problems connected with the terms of peace—of which the *Khilafat* question is the greatest—one of the two forces was strengthening rapidly. The representatives of India were taking a share in settling the destinies of Europe. Definite shape was being given to the new constitution: every project, hung up by the war, could now come back into the field of reasonable discussion. If the Defence of India Act was necessary before to make certain that the Empire in her supreme struggle for existence would not break down in India, India was now expectant of special recognition—not because she had not failed the Empire—but because she confidently considered that she had played her part to maintain it. The politically minded classes were bound to re-act to such stimuli as these and there were many others. The war had brought high prices and new problems as to export of foodstuffs the war and the peace alike meant dislocation of existing conditions.

7. On the other hand, the war was not over till it was done with.

**Post-war questions.**

The anxiety of Muhammadans over the fate of Turkey was a direct consequence of the war and seemed full of possibilities of trouble. The return of troops would produce acute problems in many parts. Forces of mischief had been pent up by emergency legislation, to which it seemed hardly reasonable that the flood-gates should be thrown open all at once, though it was certain that the continued exercise of special powers by the Executive would now be looked upon with redoubled suspicion, and as the degeneration of a war measure into an abuse.

8. In a country which was only at the stage of looking forward to representative institutions not much is to be gained by elaborating upon the exciteableness and credulity of the masses or upon their comparative helplessness in choosing whom to follow and believe. It is, however, important to observe that the position of affairs in India early in 1919 was such, that political interests were bound to affect the masses before long—at least in the towns. Much therefore depended upon the educated classes and more upon the power of those who were minded to be reasonable to compete in influence with others, whose only contribution to any difficulty would be complaint of Government and hostility—veiled at best—to the British *Raj*.

9. The agitation against the action of the Government in pressing forward and passing the Rowlatt Bill must be particularly noticed as it was in our opinion largely, if not mainly, responsible for creating the feeling against Government which promoted such serious disorder in the Punjab.

**Rowlatt Bills.**

The opposition to the Rowlatt Bills was very widespread throughout India among both moderate and extreme politicians. It was represented that, on the eve of the grant of a large measure of self-government to India and after the splendid contribution made by her to the winning of the European war, there was no necessity for passing an Act of the character proposed. It was objected that the Act conferred considerable power on the Executive uncontrolled by the Judiciary. It was maintained that the Defence of India Act clothed the Government with all the authority they would get under the new legislation and that there was, therefore, every reason for delay and for conceding an adjournment asked by the Indian members of the Legislative Council. The agitation against Government action took an acute form in the months of February and March both in the press and on public platforms.

10. The criticism of Government in newspapers voicing extreme nationalist sentiment was particularly bitter and determined.

**Press criticism.**

In one paper, it was said :—“ It is monstrous to say the least of it that legislation of that type should be introduced in India where British statesmen are so profuse in their talk of liberty and self-determination.”

Another paper described the Bills as :—“ a bare-faced attempt on the part of a bureaucracy which has been demoralised by the exercise of unrestrained power to interfere with liberty.” In a third paper appeared a statement that “ the new law would make honourable existence as uncertain as life in a plague infected area.”

In its issue of 4th February 1919, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published in Calcutta said :—“ the only parallel (to the Rowlatt Bills) in the civilised jurisprudence for such provision is to be found in the declaration of martial law in any area. And the parallel furnished by history is

that of a Nadir Shah on the pretext of some of his soldiers being killed in a bazaar affray making over the city of Delhi to the rapine, lust and blood-thirstiness of his brutal soldiery."

The *Bombay Chronicle* on 10th February had an article in which the following passage appeared:—"The Bills are dangerous to public safety, subversive of the rights of citizenship, improper for the subdual of revolution and a badge of crime and helotry on the people. India cannot and will not accept the mark of Cain on the forehead and be shamed among the nations of the earth."

The *Waqf* of Amritsar on the 22nd of March published a cartoon showing "the Secretary of State in the act of handing the order of liberty to India when a black cobra, released from a basket by Mr. Mr. Rowlatt, bites her." Some of the addresses delivered at the numerous meetings held throughout the province in protest against the Act were of a similarly extreme character.

11. Many false rumours as to the object and purpose of the Rowlatt

Act were extensively circulated in the Punjab. **False rumours.** As illustrations of these rumours the following may be noticed. It was said that people assembling to the number of 5 would be liable to be arrested by the police, that property would, to a substantial extent, be confiscated by the Government, that excessive fees would be levied on the occasion of marriages and that their personal liberty would be interfered with in other ways. A full list of the rumours so far as discovered by the authorities is contained in a document \* submitted to us. The author or authors of these rumours have not been discovered. It is not said that they originated in statements made by political leaders, against whom the only complaint is that they did not take pains to correct these false rumours and to explain the nature of the Rowlatt Act and its provisions. The uneducated people were in ignorance of these matters. They were not aware that the Act would only be put in operation in districts where anarchical and revolutionary crimes were being perpetrated and would only come into operation on the Government of India giving its sanction to an application for powers under the Act made by the Local Government. The people believed the rumours and their indignation against Government increased. To them the Rowlatt Act became known as the Black Act, an Act which would seriously curtail their personal and individual freedom.

12. In January the suggestion was made in the press that the leaders

should prepare themselves for passive resistance **Passive Resistance.** in the event of the Rowlatt Bill becoming law and that a passive resistance movement should be set on foot in every part of the country. This proposal met with an enthusiastic reception although it was gradually realised that opposition confined to passive resistance would, in the case of the Rowlatt legislation, be ineffective.

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\* Evidence, Volume VII.

As the *Servant of India* expressed it on 6th March :—“ If resistance is confined to the provisions of this particular legislation, there is little chance of a conflict arising with the authorities. One may passively resist the Rowlatt Acts for years without ever coming in the path of the police.”

13. Meantime Mr. Gandhi started his *Satyagraha* movement against the Rowlatt Act. The word “*Satyagraha*” “*Satyagraha*.” is according to Mr. Gandh of modern origin, having been invented by him, and means insistence on truth and force derivable from such insistence. He says “ the movement is intended to replace methods of violence. It is essentially a religious movement. It is a process of purification and penance. It seeks to secure reforms or redress of grievances by self-suffering.” The true *Satyagrahi* therefore invites pain and suffering upon himself with a view to inducing Government to alter a measure to which he is opposed. On the 24th February 1919, Mr. Gandhi at Ahmedabad started his *Satyagraha* campaign against Government in connection with the Rowlatt Bills. He devised a vow in the following terms. “ Being, conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. 1 of 1919 and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. 2 of 1919, are unjust, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community, as a whole, and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a committee to be hereafter appointed, may think fit, and we further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property.”

14. On the 1st March a meeting of the signatories to the *Satyagraha* pledge under the presidency of Mr. Gandhi was held at Bombay to form a *Sabha* and appoint an executive committee. The following day Mr. Gandhi issued a manifesto inaugurating *Satyagraha* and civil disobedience to laws. In dealing with this movement the *South Indian Mail* (Madras) said :—“ Mr. Gandhi has come to the conclusion that civil disobedience to law is the only remedy. This is passive resistance of a vigorous type.” As Mr. Gandhi himself admitted to us at Ahmedabad, civil disobedience to laws is active disobedience and is the anti-thesis of passive disobedience. On 7th March, Mr. Gandhi attended a meeting at Delhi to protest against the Rowlatt Bills. At this meeting the names of 15 men and women who had taken the *Satyagraha* vow were read out. Similar meetings were held in many other towns. A scheme was proposed to have branch committees of the central committee appointed in every province, district and *taluk* for deciding what other laws than the Rowlatt laws were to come within the purview of the civil disobedience movement.

15. In furtherance of his *Satyagraha* movement against the Rowlatt legislation, Mr. Gandhi resolved to have a *hartal* throughout India. A day was to be set apart as a day of general mourning when no business was to be done. The day so fixed by him was to be the second Sunday after the publication of the Viceregal assent was given to the passing of the Rowlatt Bill. For those who came to know immediately after this assent was given the day would be the 30th March, for others the 6th of April. On discovering that the *hartal* might in this way be held on different dates, Mr. Gandhi sent out telegrams fixing the 6th April. As we have already described a *hartal* took place in several places on the 30th March, among others at Delhi where serious rioting occurred.

The observance of the *hartal* on 6th April was very general and extended over a great many provinces. Large mass meetings of people were held in different towns and though no actual conflict between the police and the crowds occurred there were many signs of growing excitement and unrest among the people. It seems, however, to have been hoped by the Government that, with the successful conclusion of the *hartal* and the day of fasting on the 6th, agitation had achieved its objects and that no further demonstration would occur.

16. On the 8th of April, however, the Government of India received news from the Government of Bombay that **Defence of law commenced. 8th April.** Mr. Gandhi had announced to the Commissioner of Police that he had issued an unregistered newspaper and that a committee was sitting to decide what further laws were to be disobeyed. Instructions were sent to the Government of Bombay that if Mr. Gandhi and other leaders were guilty of a clear breach of law they should be arrested and prosecuted. On the 9th April similar instructions were sent to other Local Governments and a suggestion made that, if the passive resistance movement showed dangerous symptoms in any province, the Local Government might issue a manifesto regarding the necessity, object and scope of the Rowlatt Act, condemning those who seek notoriety by embarrassing Government, pointing to the moral of the Delhi incident, calling upon all sober-minded people to discourage the policy of embarrassing the Government, whatever their views might be on the Act, and making it clear that Government was determined to carry out the duty of maintaining the laws of the country and dealing rigorously with all movements that endanger the peace and prosperity of the great body of citizens.

17. Mr. Gandhi left Bombay for Delhi on 8th April with the object of furthering his *Satyagraha* movement there and in the Punjab. The Government of India on learning of this journey by Mr. Gandhi communicated with the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi. Both these gentlemen agreed that it would be extremely imprudent, not to say dangerous, to allow Mr. Gandhi to enter the territories under their jurisdiction. He had announced

that part of his programme consisted in breaking the law and they had no knowledge what laws he might choose to break. If he did break laws the authorities would have no option but to have him arrested. His arrest and trial would in all probability lead to rioting and violence. However opposed he might personally be to the use of force in the prosecution of his policy there was no reason for supposing that the uneducated people of the Punjab would be equally prepared to refrain from violent methods. As had already been pointed out by some of the prominent leaders of moderate opinion in India the promotion of the *Satyagraha* movement was likely to promote disorder and breach of the peace. In these circumstances, the Government of India authorised the Local Governments of the United Provinces, the Punjab and Delhi to issue orders under Rule 3 (b) of the Defence of India Rules (which requires the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council) directing Gandhi to remain in the Bombay Presidency. As explained to us in the Government's memorandum "this sanction was communicated to the three Local Governments concerned and to Bombay by a 'clear the line' telegram of the 9th April, which contained a direction that all reasonable means to enforce the order should be used, but that Gandhi should be treated with every possible consideration and force should be used only if he refused to obey the order. He was to be informed that although at present his entering the Punjab or Delhi would be likely to promote disturbance and therefore could not be allowed, the Government of India would be willing to re-consider the position later, should he give an explicit undertaking to refrain from inaugurating a campaign to break the law and undertake not to promote such violation."

As already indicated Mr. Gandhi, who had disregarded a warning not to proceed in consequence of the above order, was arrested at Palwal and escorted back to Bombay Presidency. On his own admission he was treated with every possible consideration. At Bombay he enjoyed complete liberty except that he was not allowed to leave the Presidency.

18. Following upon his arrest a *hartal* took place in many different towns, and the violent outbreaks to which we have referred occurred. A serious outbreak also occurred at Ahmedabad with which we deal in a separate part of our report. On hearing of the events at that place, Mr. Gandhi was greatly shocked and declared for the time being a suspension of his civil disobedience movement and expressed his readiness to obey all Government orders. With the permission of the Commissioner of Police he issued handbills inviting the public and the mill-hands of Ahmedabad to return to work. This advice was taken and order was rapidly restored there. In the Punjab, however, as we have seen, *hartals* continued to be held and outrages and acts of violence to be committed. In an open letter to Mr. Gandhi from Swami Shradhdhanand, a follower or colleague of his at Delhi, occurs the significant passage:—"I am therefore convinced that under the present conditions in India, the civil breaking of laws without producing an

upheaval among the masses (for which neither you nor any *Satyagrahi* is morally responsible) is impossible.”

In Mr. Gandhi's own manifesto\* of the 18th April advising the temporary suspension of civil disobedience, he states :—“ I am sorry that when I embarked upon a mass movement I under-rated the forces of evil and I must now pause and consider how best to meet the situation.” Another passage is “ we have found by bitter experience that whilst in an atmosphere of lawlessness, civil disobedience found ready acceptance, *Satya* (truth) and *Ahinsa* (non-violence) from which alone civil disobedience can worthily spring, have commanded little or no respect.”

We have no hesitation in saying that both in the Punjab and elsewhere, a familiarity and sympathy with disobedience to laws was engendered among large numbers of the people by Mr. Gandhi's movement and the law-abiding instincts which stand between society and outbreaks of violence were undermined at a time when their full strength was required.

19. Other causes of unrest besides the Rowlatt Act agitation among the population of the Punjab cannot be left entirely out of view. Many Muhammadan Indians have felt great uneasiness about the possible fate of Turkey in consequence of her having espoused the cause of Germany in the Great War. The Turkish peace terms involving such questions as the integrity of the holy places of Islam and the *Khilafat* have roused keen interest among the Muhammadan population. At the meeting of the All-India Moslem League in Delhi at Christmas 1918, Dr. Ansari, a physician and one of the leaders of public opinion in Delhi, made a violent speech upon the subject of the *Khilafat* and the threatened dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. The character of this speech was such that the newspapers and pamphlet reports thereon were proscribed under the Press Act by certain Local Governments. On the 30th August 1918 at a Muhammadan meeting held at Amritsar Dr. Kitchlew made a violent pro-Turkish speech and one Maulvi declared that the time had come for a *Jihad*. He was, however, checked by the presiding Maulvi who said that the time was not yet. Sir Michael O'Dwyer who referred to this meeting explained that he received information from the Government of India that on 25th April 1919 a great Muhammadan meeting was to be held at Bombay at which it was said a *Jihad* was likely to be proclaimed. Feelings still prevail upon these questions and it is not necessary for us to go into the subject in greater detail.

20. India, like many other countries throughout the world, has been affected by a feeling of unrest consequent on the termination of hostilities in the Great War. The continued high prices of the necessaries of life has been a cause of great discontent in the more densely populated towns. It was expected that when fighting ceased prices would return to the

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\* Evidence, Volume VI.

normal figures prevailing before the war. In their disappointment at finding prices tending to rise, rather than fall, after the armistice, people blamed the Government. The situation was aggravated by the bad harvest of 1919 caused by a failure of the monsoon. It was not possible for us to make an exhaustive or satisfactory inquiry into economic causes of unrest. We may note that in such a district as Gujranwala, Colonel O'Brien, the Deputy Commissioner, did not consider that unrest was to be attributed in any degree to economic conditions.

21. It has been suggested that the methods of recruiting for the army sanctioned by the Punjab Government

**Recruiting.**

were largely responsible for the unrest in the province previous to the outbreaks. In our opinion this proposition is not established or well-founded. The Punjab during the war made very fine recruiting efforts. Recruits were, however, mainly obtained from country districts. Comparatively few joined the army from the towns where the disturbances broke out. Large numbers of demobilised men were returning to their homes in April and they do not seem to have shown any sympathy with the agitation. As regards methods of recruiting, it would appear that an intensive campaign was conducted in many districts by the district officers, and there were instances of reprehensible means of securing recruits having been adopted by over-zealous individuals. In the cases that were referred to us it was shown that such methods when brought to the notice of the higher officials were discountenanced. Dealing with this subject, Sir Michael O'Dwyer says:—"Naturally we did everything good to promote recruiting and to popularise it, both by working on every legitimate feeling which could rouse the martial spirit in the people by appealing to their race, their traditions, to the benefits of the army, to their past deeds and so on. And on the whole, it was very successful. No doubt some had exceeded the limits and may have used pressure. Of course anything of that kind brought discredit in this connection. I may say that in regard to recruiting we associated with and invoked the assistance of the leaders of the great martial races in the Punjab—Sikhs, Muhammadans and Hindus, and these were largely successful in obtaining a strong local recruiting unit composed mainly (of course officials were also on it) of non-official and leading men in the district." The recruiting details were largely left to the local authorities. The system by which a quota was fixed for each village and the methods employed in some cases to secure the requisite number were entirely a local, not a Government, arrangement. Sir Michael says:—"I think over and over again in various places I deprecated any coercion being used and any improper methods being used. I deprecated the buying of recruits. But I can say this, that the policy of the Government in the matter of recruiting was generally fixed by the Recruiting Board, which included a very large percentage of Indian gentlemen, and it was invariably impressed, I think, on the members of that Board, and I think you will find it in the proceedings, that these improper methods were to be discredited, for instance, the purchasing of recruits and any other

improper methods." To the suggestion that unnecessary prosecutions were brought under certain sections of the Code of Criminal Procedure so as to give men so summoned the option of joining the army as an alternative to punishment, Sir Michael says: "As far as I know no prosecutions under sections 107 and 110 were authorised either by Government or by any officer of Government with the object of obtaining men for the army; that is as definite a statement as I can give. But I think it would be a very interesting analysis, if the Committee had time to make it, to take the figures of the fighting men supplied by the Punjab during the war by classes and take the figures of the men convicted in these disturbances and see how very few of the people convicted in these disturbances belong even to the classes which supplied our fighting men."

22. There is even less ground for attributing unrest in the province to any action taken by the Government in connection with the War Loan. As in the case of recruiting there may have been over-zealous officials who resorted to objectionable methods of persuasion, but there is no ground for imputing blame therefor to the Local Government. In one case an official disposing of an objection to the imposition of income-tax said "the man has supplied no recruits, he has not given any subscription to war loan or relief funds and the application is rejected." The officer in question was apparently severely reprimanded, but he appears to have dealt with the case on its merits, and only to have put in the fact as a sort of additional fact. There is no ground for alleging, as appears to have been done, that, with Government sanction, instructions were issued to assessors of income-tax that they should get increased income-tax from persons who were supposed not to have made satisfactory contributions to the war loan.

23. On the evidence before us there is nothing to show that the outbreak in the Punjab was part of a pre-arranged conspiracy to overthrow the British Government in India by force. On the other hand, the Punjab Government had been advised by their legal advisers that the *Satyagraha* movement amounted to an illegal conspiracy against Government. We believe that Mr. Gandhi is honestly opposed to the employment of force or violence in the prosecution of his aims. But the general teaching of the doctrine of civil disobedience to laws to masses of uneducated men must inevitably lead to breach of the peace and disorder. Apart from the use of force, civil disobedience to laws if extensively preached and practised would mean the paralysis of Government. As was said in the *Waqf* "If the entire country resorts to passive resistance where is the Government that will withstand it? There can be no need for wielding the sword, because the *Satyagrahi* does not offer physical resistance."

In the situation as it presented itself day by day to the Punjab Government, there were grounds for the gravest anxiety. Within

recent years there had been two revolutionary movements, *i.e.*, the *Ghadr* movement and the Silk Letter Conspiracy of 1916. It was difficult, probably unsafe, for the authorities not to assume that the outbreak was the result of a definite organisation. Apart from the existence of any deeply laid scheme to overthrow the British, a movement which had started in rioting and become a rebellion might have rapidly developed into a revolution.