

Cow Slaughter in Punjab and the Kuka Martyrs

(In the Light of Archival Documents)

Edited by:

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Publisher

Namdhari Sikh Sangat
Gurdwara Sri Bhaini Sahib

ISBN: 978-81-954954-1-2

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Table of Contents

Preface	7
Introduction	11
Prologue	20
Editorial note	28
Document 1	29
Document 2	33
Document 3	36
Document 4	39
Document 5	40
Document 6	43
Document 7	44
Document 8	44
Document 9	45
Document 10	48
Document 11	55
Document 12	55
Document 13	57
Document 14	58
Document 15	60
Document 16	61
Document 17	61
Document 18	67
Document 19	68
Document 20	71
Document 21	71
Document 22	72
Document 23	73
Document 24	75
Document 25	75
Document 26	78
Document 27	82

Document 28.....	83
Document 29.....	83
Document 30.....	84
Document 31.....	86
Document 32.....	87
Document 33.....	98
Document 34.....	100
Document 35.....	101
Document 36.....	102
Document 37.....	103
Document 38.....	104
Document 39.....	105
Document 40.....	105
Document 41.....	108
Document 42.....	112
Document 43.....	113
Document 44.....	115
Document 45.....	116
Document 46.....	200
Document 47.....	205
Document 48.....	208
Document 49.....	209
Document 50.....	209
Document 51.....	212
Document 52.....	213
Document 53.....	219
Document 54.....	224
Document 55.....	224
Document 56.....	228
Document 57.....	229
Document 58.....	229
Document 59.....	231
Document 60.....	232

Document 61 232

Index 290

Preface

When Satguru Ram Singh Ji was born, the sun of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Sikh Kingdom was at its zenith. The kingdom established by Maharaja Ranjit Singh was, in many respects, a collective political order of Punjab in which Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims participated and held positions of responsibility. It was a society in which different communities, while retaining their distinct religious identities, shared a common land, economy and social life.

The cow held a particularly important place in the life of Punjab. It was a source of milk and nourishment, an essential part of agriculture and the rural economy, and deeply connected with the cultural traditions of India. During Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign, cow slaughter was prohibited, and this prohibition was respected by the different communities of Punjab.

After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Sikh Kingdom rapidly declined and, within little less than a decade, Punjab came under the rule of the East India Company. With the change of political authority came significant changes in public and social life. Slaughterhouses were established in Punjab, including in Amritsar, where the slaughter of cows and the sale of beef became a matter of deep religious and social sensitivity.

The issue acquired an especially serious dimension in the sacred city of Amritsar. A beef shop was opened near the newly constructed clock tower and in the vicinity of Harmandir Sahib. Accounts of the period describe birds carrying pieces of meat and bones from the shop and dropping them around the sacred precincts and the Sarovar. For the Sikh community, the presence and sale of beef in such proximity to Harmandir Sahib was regarded as a profound affront to the sanctity of the holiest shrine of the Sikhs.

It was in this charged atmosphere that followers of Satguru Ram Singh Ji took action against those involved in cow slaughter. The killing of the butchers was followed by a severe response from the colonial authorities. Innocent Hindus and Sikhs were among those arrested and, according to the accounts of the period, were subjected to harsh treatment and pressure to accept responsibility for the killings. Satguru Ram Singh Ji, unwilling to allow innocent people to suffer, encouraged his followers to come forward and accept responsibility for the acts committed by their fellow Namdharis.

The colonial authorities initially refused to accept their confessions. When the Namdharis produced the weapons associated with the killings, they were arrested, tried and sentenced to death. Five Namdhari Sikhs sacrificed their lives at Amritsar, while others subsequently made the supreme sacrifice at Raikot and Ludhiana. In all, ten Namdhari Sikhs gave their lives in these events, defending their religious convictions, the sanctity of their holy places and the protection of the cow.

These sacrifices gave a new dimension to the Namdhari movement. What had emerged as a movement of religious and social reform increasingly became a direct challenge to colonial authority. After the Revolt of 1857, in which Punjab itself had not participated on a comparable mass scale, the Namdhari or Kuka movement became the first major public movement in Punjab to attract widespread popular support against British colonial rule. Under the leadership of Satguru Ram Singh Ji, the movement is understood to have attracted the support and sympathy of an extraordinarily large number of Punjabis, with estimates in some accounts reaching more than half a million.

The significance of the Namdhari movement therefore extends far beyond the individual incidents of the period. It represented a

powerful assertion of religious identity, social discipline, indigenous values and political freedom. It also profoundly influenced the political, religious and social landscape of nineteenth-century Punjab.

The history of this movement has been preserved not only through oral tradition and later historical writings, but also through the records of the very colonial administration against which the movement arose. These British archival documents provide an invaluable opportunity to examine the Namdhari movement through the eyes of contemporary officials and to understand how the colonial state perceived, investigated and responded to it.

The importance of preserving these records was recognised by earlier scholars and members of the Namdhari community. Sardar Nahar Singh Ji made an important pioneering contribution by collecting and publishing British archival documents relating to the movement. This work was further advanced by Sardar Jaswinder Singh Ji, under the auspices of Satguru Partap Singh Ji and Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji. The contribution of Sardar Malvinder Singh waraich Ji also deserves particular acknowledgement in the continuing effort to preserve and bring to light the documentary history of the Namdhari movement.

The present volume takes this important work further. Dr. Gurdev Singh Sidhu has located and brought together a significant body of archival material that adds new dimensions to our understanding of the Namdhari movement. These documents reveal several aspects of the events, sacrifices and activities of the Namdharis that had not previously come fully to light. They enable us to look again at this important chapter of Punjab's history through contemporary documentary evidence.

Dr. Sidhu's work will, therefore, be of lasting value to historians, researchers and all those interested in understanding the history of Punjab under colonial rule. These records can help future generations examine more closely how the Namdhari movement emerged, how it challenged the colonial order, and how it contributed to the transformation of the political, religious and social consciousness of Punjab.

On behalf of the Namdhari community, we express our sincere gratitude to Dr. Gurdev Singh Sidhu for undertaking this important work and for bringing these valuable documents into the public domain. We hope that this collection will inspire further research and enable future generations to understand the Namdhari movement not merely through inherited narratives, but through the original records of the period itself.

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Introduction

A Punjabi proverb says that when only two parties are involved in any affair, matters generally proceed smoothly; however, when a third party enters the scene, "the hut collapses." Before the advent of British rule, Punjab was an independent political and administrative entity, enjoying full sovereign authority. Within Punjab, Hindus and Sikhs regarded themselves as followers of the Sikh Guru, Guru Nanak, and were viewed as two branches of the same Gurmat tradition—the *Sahajdharis* and the *Kesdharis*. The second major community consisted of the Muslims, who had been residing in Punjab for nearly a thousand years. These two communities lived together in relative harmony. Although successive governments occasionally exploited religious differences to strengthen their political authority, ordinary people did not experience significant communal tension based on religion. According to the national poet, Shah Muhammad, it was the arrival of the British that introduced this disruptive "third party" into Punjab and disturbed the long-standing communal harmony. Having first established themselves as traders through the East India Company, the British gradually expanded their military power, acquired modern weaponry, and employed diplomatic intrigue to conquer first the rest of Hindustan and, nearly a century later, Punjab itself on 29 March 1849. The poet describes their arrival as a calamity:

*"Muslims and Hindus had long lived peacefully;
then a great calamity befell them both.*

*O Shah Muhammad! Never before had a third community
entered Punjab."*

The British did not conquer Punjab solely through military strength; they succeeded largely through political deception and because of the weakening of the national character. After enjoying political power for nearly three-quarters of a century many Sikh chiefs, jagirdars, and princely rulers had drifted away from the lofty moral ideals of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh and had become immersed in worldly luxury. The British disarmed the

Sikh army and exiled from Punjab those whom they considered dangerous to their rule, including Bhai Maharaj Singh, Diwan Mul Raj, and many other patriots. Loyal supporters were rewarded with lands, jagirs, and positions of influence. The new administrative and economic policies introduced after the annexation adversely affected peasants, labourers, artisans, former soldiers, and traders alike. Public discontent steadily increased, and people began searching for a leader capable of directing this growing resentment against the foreign government. That search was soon fulfilled.

On the festival of Baisakhi, 12 April 1857, Satguru Ram Singh established the Namdhari Sant Khalsa at Sri Bhaini Sahib with the objective of initiating a Sikh renaissance and a movement for national liberation. Sikh aristocracy, which had declared its loyalty to the British Government, had, in the eyes of Satguru Ram Singh, become a *Malechh Khalsa* (a Khalsa corrupted through association with the alien rulers). According to him, only those who embodied the teachings of the Gurmat, lived by the Guru's word and discipline, earned an honest livelihood through the labour of their own hands, meditated upon the Divine Name, and shared their earnings with others could truly be called the Sant Khalsa. Because of their constant devotion to the Divine Name (*Naam*) and their practice of uninterrupted congregational worship, they came to be known as Namdharis. Their habit of loudly reciting devotional hymns and patriotic songs, accompanied by the *dhholki* and *chhainas*, while mobilising the people against foreign rule, earned them the popular designation Kukas ("those who cry aloud"). Through the extensive preaching carried out by Satguru Ram Singh and by the provincial leaders (*Subas*) whom he appointed to organise the movement in different districts, the number of Kukas increased steadily. Official records estimated their strength at about 300,000, whereas Giani Gian Singh, in *Panth Prakash*, placed the figure at approximately 700,000. According to Giani Gian Singh, the sphere of Satguru Ram Singh's activities extended over the entire region lying between Attock and the Yamuna River.

During the Sikh Kingdom, which, although ruled by the Sikhs, was regarded as the common state of all Punjabis, the slaughter of cows

was strictly prohibited. Respecting the religious sentiments of their Hindu and Sikh neighbours, the Muslim community, for nearly three-quarters of a century, had voluntarily excluded beef from their diet. After the First Anglo-Sikh War, Henry Lawrence, the British Resident, caused an inscription engraved on a copper plate in English on 24 March 1847, declaring that no cow slaughter would be permitted in Amritsar and that no one would be allowed to enter Darbar Sahib or its *parikrama* wearing shoes. However, immediately after the complete annexation of Punjab, the British administration authorised the opening of slaughterhouses in Amritsar and other towns in May 1849, where cattle slaughter commenced openly. When questioned about this apparent reversal of policy, British officials replied that in 1847 Punjab had still been under the sovereignty of Maharaja Duleep Singh, and the concession was granted merely as a privilege to the Sikh ruler. Now that the country belonged to the British Government, they argued, no single religious community could be allowed to interfere with the dietary customs of another. In reality, this policy cleverly ensured a regular supply of beef for British officers and European troops by permitting Muslim butchers to operate slaughterhouses on the plea that the Muslim community required them. To project an appearance of sensitivity towards Hindu and Sikh sentiments, the authorities stipulated that slaughterhouses should be located outside the city limits, and beef should be carried wrapped in cloth, and that hawkers should not publicly advertise or sell beef within the city. These restrictions, however, gradually fell into disuse and were eventually ignored.

In 1862, several *bungas* (traditional residential establishments attached to Darbar Sahib) were demolished to make way for the construction of the 164-foot-high Clock Tower, designed in the style of contemporary European architecture. Muslim labourers living in the surrounding neighbourhoods were employed on the construction work. During this period, hawkers began openly selling beef in these neighbourhoods, bringing it directly to the homes of the labourers. The situation deteriorated further when pieces of beef and cattle bones began to be thrown into the sacred sarovar and the *parikrama* of Darbar Sahib.

Hawkers also started openly selling beef in baskets within the city. In one instance, a hawker was fined by a subordinate court for selling beef in this manner. However, on appeal, the Commissioner set aside the conviction, observing that he had found no official regulation prohibiting the sale of beef within the city. This decision greatly emboldened those engaged in the beef trade.

One day, Bhai Deva Singh of Naurangabad noticed a cow's bone lying in the *parikrama* of Darbar Sahib. Deeply distressed, he placed the bone in front of the sanctum to draw the attention of the Sikh community to what had happened. Instead of investigating the desecration, the Government ordered Sarbrah Mangal Singh Ramgarhia to have Deva Singh arrested. He was prosecuted on the charge of inciting communal passions and sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment.

Relations between Hindus and Muslims became increasingly strained. Occasional incidents of assault took place, and at one stage, commercial boycotts were organised by members of both communities. In an attempt to restore peace, Mr. Birch, the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, convened a meeting of the Municipal Committee, which resolved that the contract for the municipal slaughterhouse should not be renewed the following year. When Mr. Davies, the Commissioner, learnt of this decision, he immediately travelled from Gurdaspur to Amritsar towards the end of May 1871. Reconvening the committee, he categorically declared that the slaughterhouse would continue to function under all circumstances. During the same month, a police outpost was established outside the slaughterhouse to protect the butchers.

At that time the population of Amritsar consisted of approximately 60,000 Muslims, 35,000 Hindus, 10,000 Sikhs, and members of a few other communities. Among them were about twenty-five Namdhari households. Some earned their livelihood as shopkeepers or independent traders, while others were Ramgarhia Sikh artisans and masons who had migrated from nearby villages for construction work. Every month, particularly on the occasions of the *Sangrand*, the *Massya*, and major *Gurpurabs*, Namdharis

from surrounding villages visited Harimandar Sahib for pilgrimage and ritual bathing. On one such *Sangrand*, Bhai Jhanda Singh of Thatta and Bhai Mehar Singh of Lopoke met Namdhari devotees from neighbouring villages. They found the entire congregation deeply agitated over the continuing insults to Sikh religious sentiments. Reports were also circulating that another beef shop, or perhaps an additional slaughterhouse, was soon to be opened adjacent to the newly constructed Clock Tower. This rumour further inflamed public opinion. The two Sikhs proceeded to Sri Bhaini Sahib to seek Satguru Ram Singh's permission to take action against the slaughterhouse. The Satguru, however, instructed them to remain patient for the time being. Present at Bhaini Sahib on that occasion was Gulab Singh of Chuhar Chak (now in Moga district). On the following day, he too sought the Satguru's permission to undertake the proposed action but received the same instruction—to wait. Nevertheless, Gulab Singh travelled to Amritsar, where he searched for Jhanda Singh and Mehar Singh. He eventually found them, together with several other Sikhs of the city, at the shop of Bhai Fateh Singh Bhatia (or Bhatra), situated opposite the Kotwali. There he informed them that the Satguru had now granted permission. Preparations for an attack upon the slaughterhouse immediately commenced. After two or three earlier opportunities had been missed, the attack was finally carried out shortly after midnight on 14-15 June 1871, killing four butchers and three others seriously wounded. Those who participated in the action were Jhanda Singh of Thatta Rawal, Mehar Singh of Lopoke, Lehna Singh Aulakh of Lopoke, Lehna Singh Pannwan, son of Masadda Singh, Fateh Singh, the shopkeeper, Bihla Singh Sandhu of Narli, Hakam Singh (a Brahmin), Patwari of village Maure, Lachhman Singh Chahal, Bhagwan Singh *Arvangi* of Marhana, and Gulab Singh of Chuhar Chak. After completing the operation, the participants dispersed and went into hiding.

For the Government, the murderous assault on a slaughterhouse functioning under official protection was a direct challenge to its authority. Yet, despite strenuous efforts, the police were unable to trace the perpetrators. Consequently, Mr. Christie,

the Superintendent of Police, Jalandhar, was specially summoned and entrusted with the investigation.

Meanwhile, with the assistance of Bhagwan Singh of Marhana, Gulab Singh of Chuhan Chak, and Jawahar Singh, Namdharis from the Malwa region carried out a similar attack on the night of 15 July 1871 upon the slaughterhouse situated near the *Suthras' Dharamshala* at Raikot. Two butchers were killed and others injured. At the same time, in order to save his reputation, Mr. Christie resorted to brutal methods. By mercilessly beating suspects, he induced three men to become approvers (state witnesses), and on the basis of their fabricated testimony extracted confessions from twelve innocent persons. Once the prosecution papers had been completed, the Magistrate ordered, on 25 July 1871, that the case be committed to the Court of Session for trial.

On 21-22 July 1871, Bhai Bihla Singh and Lehna Singh Pannwan visited Sri Bhaini Sahib to pay their respects to Satguru Ram Singh. When the Satguru enquired about the Amritsar incident, they replied, "The deed was indeed committed by us, but twelve other persons have now been arrested." Satguru Ram Singh responded that if innocent men were hanged, the resulting injustice would constitute a crime even greater than the slaughter of the cow itself. He therefore instructed them: "Go and confess your own guilt; save the innocent." Obeying this command, the two men immediately appeared before the court and voluntarily confessed their participation. On the following day, Bihla Singh and Fateh Singh also surrendered. The Government now found itself in an embarrassing predicament. Its entire case, built upon false evidence and coerced confessions, stood exposed, revealing the collapse of its claims to impartial justice. Yet, in an effort to conceal its misconduct, the authorities did not release the twelve innocent prisoners until 9 August 1871. Instead, they sought to extricate themselves by linking the Amritsar case with the Raikot affair through the testimony of the approver Gulab Singh. Ultimately, Sikhs at both places embraced martyrdom.

The voluntary surrender of the Namdhari Sikhs, undertaken at the command of Satguru Ram Singh in order to

remove the noose from the necks of innocent men, remains one of the most remarkable episodes in Indian legal and moral history. The contemporary historian Giani Gian Singh, in his *Panth Prakash*, commemorated this extraordinary act in one of his twenty-eight *kabits* devoted to the Kukas:

*When the gallows were made ready,
the Kukas themselves came forward;
They themselves became the evidence,
openly acknowledging their guilt.*

The verses quoted above are corroborated by the documents included in this book edited by Dr Gurdev Singh Sidhu, which also bears testimony to the fact that the accused voluntarily surrendered and confessed their involvement. In the Amritsar case, Lehna Singh, Bihla Singh, Hakam Singh, and Fateh Singh were executed by hanging from the banyan tree in Rambagh, Amritsar, on 15 September 1871, thereby attaining martyrdom. Lal Singh, the police constable who had supplied them with swords from the police lines, and Lehna Singh, son of Balaka Singh, Ramgarhia who headed the Namdhari congregation in Amritsar, were sentenced to transportation for life ("*Kala Pant*"). Jhanda Singh, Mehar Singh, and Lachhman Singh were declared absconders. These documents also furnish, for the first time, details of the arrest of Jhanda Singh and his execution by hanging in August 1873.

Among the twelve innocent persons who had suffered imprisonment, some later instituted legal proceedings against the false approvers. Hira Singh Bhatra, however, absconded and was never apprehended, while Ahiya was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. The documents also contain extensive proceedings concerning the proposal to prosecute Seth Jairam. These records throw fresh light upon several aspects of the case that have hitherto remained obscure.

The fabricated prosecution in the Amritsar case continued to haunt the British Government for many years. In the Raikot case, Bhai Mangal Singh, Gurmukh Singh, and Mastan Singh of village Pitho were executed at Raikot on 5 August 1871, thereby

embracing martyrdom. During the proceedings in this case, Satguru Ram Singh, at the summons of the Commissioner, visited the Government bungalow at Bassian on 28 July 1871 and met the three condemned Sikhs before their execution. Likewise, Suba Giani Rattan Singh of Mandi Kalan and *Naib Suba* Rattan Singh of Naiwala were also implicated in the Raikot affair and, although innocent, were hanged outside Ludhiana Jail on 26 November 1871. Martyrdom of these innocent men ultimately became the principal cause of the Malerkotla Tragedy of January 1872.

For historians, both the Amritsar and the Raikot cases have long presented numerous unresolved questions and contradictions. By following in the footsteps of distinguished archival historians such as Sardar Nahar Singh, M.A., and Professor Malvinderjit Singh Waraich, Dr Gurdev Singh Sidhu has rendered an invaluable service to scholarship. Through his painstaking collection and editing of the archival documents published under the title “Cow Slaughter in Punjab and the Kuka Martyrs”, he has greatly facilitated future research on the history of the Kuka (Namdhari) movement. The central thesis of this book is that the Kuka’s actions of 1871 cannot be understood merely as incidents arising from religious sentiment over cow slaughter; rather, they were an integral part of the broader Namdhari programme of anti-colonial resistance, and the archival documents demonstrate both the miscarriage of British justice and the extraordinary moral courage of the Namdharis who voluntarily confessed in order to save innocent persons.

The preservation of the deeds of the heroes of a nation's past is itself the work of a dedicated scholar. Dr Gurdev Singh Sidhu, an eminent educationist and the author of several biographies of Sikh martyrs, is one such historian. Over the years, he has enriched readers with numerous books dealing with the popular movements of Punjab and India's struggle for national liberation. He has previously authored another important work on Namdhari history entitled “*Kuka Itihas de Anchhohe Sunheri Patre*” (*Unexplored Golden Pages of Kuka History*), a work that has been warmly appreciated by the Namdhari community. It is our earnest prayer that he may continue to enjoy good health and

bring to light many more hidden chapters of our history. The present Namdhari spiritual head, Satguru Uday Singh Ji, has always encouraged scholars engaged in writing the history of the Namdhari movement. This volume, too, appears in print with his blessings.

Suwaran Singh Virk
15 July 2026
Sri Bhaini Sahib (Punjab)

Prologue

The Historical Background of the Kuka Movement Against Cow Slaughter in Punjab

The events that culminated in the Kuka actions of 1871–72 cannot be understood in isolation from the political and administrative changes that followed the British conquest of Punjab. They were the outcome of a gradual transformation in colonial policy concerning one of the most sensitive religious questions in nineteenth-century Punjab—the slaughter of cows. The archival documents reproduced in this volume reveal how official decisions, administrative interpretations, judicial rulings, and municipal practices, adopted over more than two decades, steadily eroded the safeguards that had previously protected the religious sentiments of the Sikh and Hindu population. Read together, these records enable the reader to reconstruct the historical background to the Kuka movement from contemporary official evidence rather than from later interpretations.

Under the Sikh kingdom established by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and continued by his successors, the slaughter of cows was prohibited throughout the State as a matter of public policy. The prohibition reflected not only the religious sentiments of the Sikh and Hindu population but also the broader administrative practice of respecting the sacred traditions of the communities living within the kingdom. Sikhs and Hindus held Amritsar, the home of Sri Harmandir Sahib, in equal esteem as an ancient place of pilgrimage, enjoyed particular sanctity. The prohibition on cow slaughter was, therefore, observed with exceptional strictness in the city and its surrounding areas.

The situation began to change after the First Anglo-Sikh War (1845–46). Under the Treaty of Lahore, concluded on 16 December 1846, the East India Company assumed extensive control over the administration of the Lahore Darbar during the minority of Maharaja Duleep Singh. Henry Lawrence was appointed the British Resident at Lahore, accompanied by a substantial military establishment. The presence of British troops, many of whom consumed beef as part of their regular diet, created administrative pressures that had not existed under Sikh rule.

Consequently, cows were occasionally slaughtered to meet the requirements of the British garrison, first at Lahore and, from time to time, at Amritsar.

These developments caused considerable anxiety among the inhabitants of Amritsar. The city's Sikh and Hindu communities regarded cow slaughter as a direct affront to the sanctity of their principal place of worship and repeatedly protested against the practice. Their representations eventually prompted Henry Lawrence to issue an order on 24 March 1847 prohibiting the slaughter of cows at Amritsar. Although this measure restored the earlier position, it proved to be only a temporary safeguard, for the political circumstances that had produced it were themselves undergoing rapid change.

The decisive turning point came in the aftermath of the Second Anglo-Sikh War. Following the annexation of Punjab on 29 March 1849, the East India Company assumed complete sovereignty over the province. The Proclamation issued on that occasion assured the people of Punjab that the British Government would protect the free exercise of every religion and would not permit interference with the religious practices of any community. At first sight, this declaration appeared to guarantee continuity with the earlier policy of religious neutrality. In practice, however, its interpretation led to a fundamental reconsideration of the restrictions that had existed under the Sikh Government, including the prohibition on cow slaughter.

Shortly responsibility for administering the newly annexed province was entrusted to the Board of Administration. While considering the implications of the Proclamation, the Board concluded that the prohibition on cow slaughter had been maintained primarily out of respect for the authority of the Sikh State and that, with the disappearance of that political authority, the restriction could no longer be justified as a matter of Government policy. At the same time, the Board recognised the depth of religious feeling attached to the issue and therefore recommended a number of precautionary measures designed to minimise public offence. These included locating slaughterhouses outside municipal limits, prohibiting the

public display or sale of beef within towns, avoiding sites near Hindu places of worship, and punishing any deliberate acts intended to offend the religious sentiments of Sikhs and Hindus. The Governor-General accepted these recommendations in April 1849, thereby establishing the principles that were intended to govern the new policy throughout Punjab.

Although the Board of Administration recommended the withdrawal of the earlier prohibition on cow slaughter, it was fully conscious of the religious sensitivities involved. The new policy was therefore conceived as a compromise. While the Government was unwilling to continue a restriction that it regarded as a legacy of the Sikh State, it nevertheless sought to ensure that the exercise of the newly recognised privilege did not provoke communal discord. Administrative officers were accordingly instructed to regulate the location of slaughterhouses, prevent the public display or sale of beef within towns, and discourage any conduct likely to offend the religious sentiments of the Sikh and Hindu population.

The Implementation of the New Policy

Yet the history documented in the following pages demonstrates that the safeguards envisaged by the Board were progressively weakened in practice. It was this widening gap between official assurances and administrative implementation that gradually transformed a sensitive religious question into a source of increasing public resentment.

The implementation of this policy in Amritsar was entrusted to the Deputy Commissioner, C. Saunders. Before establishing a slaughterhouse, Saunders consulted leading Hindu representatives of the city in an effort to minimise public opposition. A slaughterhouse was subsequently opened outside the municipal limits, and detailed regulations were issued governing its operation. Beef was not to be brought openly into the city for sale; purchasers were expected to carry it discreetly to their homes, and every precaution was to be taken to avoid giving unnecessary offence to the local population. Responsibility for enforcing these regulations rested with the municipal authorities.

For some years these arrangements appeared to achieve their intended purpose. Cow slaughter remained confined to the designated slaughterhouse, while restrictions on the public sale and display of beef reduced the possibility of open confrontation between different religious communities. Contemporary official records suggest that, during this initial period, no serious public agitation arose over the issue.

The apparent tranquillity, however, concealed an inherent weakness in the policy. Its success depended not upon the existence of legal safeguards alone but upon their vigilant and impartial enforcement by local officials. As administrative vigilance declined, practices that had originally been prohibited gradually gained acceptance. Hawking of beef, which had been expressly discouraged when the regulations were first introduced, slowly established itself within the city. What had begun as isolated and discreet violations eventually developed into a more open disregard of the original restrictions.

Official correspondence indicates that this change occurred gradually rather than abruptly. Local authorities appear either to have tolerated minor breaches of the regulations or to have considered them too insignificant to warrant strict enforcement. Over time, these departures from the original policy weakened public confidence in the Government's assurances that religious susceptibilities would be respected. The safeguards that had accompanied the withdrawal of the prohibition increasingly existed in theory rather than in practice.

A further turning point came in 1863, when a Muslim vendor was prosecuted for selling beef in violation of the existing regulations. The trial magistrates imposed a sentence of imprisonment and a fine, thereby affirming the validity of the restrictions. On appeal, however, the Judicial Commissioner set aside the conviction. Although the decision turned upon legal considerations, its wider consequences were significant. It was widely interpreted as weakening the authority of the earlier regulations, and it encouraged butchers to conduct their trade with increasing confidence and diminishing regard for the precautions originally prescribed by the Government.

From this point onwards, the distance between official policy and administrative practice became progressively wider. The protective measures envisaged in 1849 were no longer enforced with the same consistency, while public dissatisfaction among the Sikh and Hindu communities continued to grow. The controversy over cow slaughter thus ceased to be merely an administrative question and increasingly assumed the character of a wider religious and public issue, laying the foundations for the agitation that followed.

From Administrative Laxity to Public Agitation

The weakening of the original safeguards became even more evident during the closing years of the 1860s. In 1868, the Municipal Committee leased the Amritsar slaughterhouse for a period of three years as a means of augmenting its revenue. This administrative decision, though taken primarily for financial reasons, had important social consequences. The management of the slaughterhouse increasingly came to be guided by commercial considerations rather than by the spirit of caution that had characterised the original policy.

Meanwhile, changing economic conditions made the meat trade more profitable than before. Recognising the opportunities presented by a growing market, local butchers themselves secured the contract for the slaughterhouse in 1871. Their commercial interests naturally encouraged an expansion of the trade. Meat shops began to appear within the city, notwithstanding the earlier understanding that beef should neither be openly sold nor publicly displayed in urban areas. These developments represented a marked departure from the principles upon which the Government's policy had originally rested.

For the Sikh and Hindu inhabitants of Amritsar, the issue extended far beyond the existence of a slaughterhouse. Their principal grievance lay in the increasingly public character of the trade and in the visible disregard of the precautions that had been promised by the authorities. The open sale of beef, together with the careless disposal of animal remains, was regarded as a serious affront to the sanctity of a city revered by both communities. Repeated complaints failed to secure effective remedial action, and public confidence in

the administration steadily declined.

Relations between the communities became increasingly strained as incidents of provocation multiplied. Contemporary records indicate that the indiscriminate disposal of bones after the slaughter of cattle frequently gave rise to resentment. Carried by birds and scattered in residential neighbourhoods, these remains occasionally found their way into the houses and courtyards of Sikh and Hindu families. Such occurrences, whether deliberate or accidental, acquired symbolic significance in an atmosphere already charged with religious sensitivity. They reinforced the widespread belief that the authorities were either unwilling or unable to enforce the safeguards they had themselves prescribed.

The controversy reached a critical stage on 24 April 1871, when Deva Singh is reported to have collected bones from the *parkarma* of the sacred tank surrounding Sri Harmandir Sahib and shown them to fellow worshippers. The discovery caused widespread indignation among the devotees, who regarded it as an act of desecration demanding immediate attention. Instead of addressing the underlying grievance, however, the local administration responded by arresting Deva Singh after he had been handed over to the police by the *Sarbarah* of Sri Darbar Sahib. This official response further deepened public dissatisfaction and convinced many that legitimate grievances would receive neither sympathy nor redress through normal administrative channels.

It was against this background of accumulated resentment that the first violent reaction occurred. The killing of butchers at Amritsar in 1871 was not an isolated or spontaneous act of religious fanaticism, as it has sometimes been portrayed. Rather, it marked the culmination of more than two decades of mounting frustration arising from the gradual erosion of administrative safeguards, repeated official indifference to public protests, and the growing conviction among sections of the Sikh community that their deeply held religious sentiments were being systematically disregarded.

The subsequent incident at Raikot formed part of the same sequence of events. Both actions reflected the conviction of the participants that they were defending religious principles which, in

their view, the colonial administration had failed to protect. Whether justified or otherwise, these actions can be properly understood only when examined within the broader context of British administrative policy and its consequences between 1849 and 1871.

The documents reproduced in this volume enable the reader to trace that process step by step through contemporary official correspondence, memoranda, judicial proceedings, and administrative reports. Read collectively, they reveal not merely the immediate circumstances surrounding the Kuka actions of 1871-72 but also the evolution of colonial policy that preceded them. They demonstrate how a series of administrative decisions, each seemingly limited in scope, gradually transformed a sensitive religious issue into a major political and social controversy.

This volume is therefore intended not as a conventional narrative history of the Kuka movement but as a documentary sourcebook. Its purpose is to present the surviving official records in chronological sequence so that readers may examine the evidence for themselves and arrive at their own conclusions. By allowing contemporary documents to speak in their own voice, the book seeks to contribute to a more balanced and historically grounded understanding of one of the most significant episodes in the religious and political history of nineteenth-century Punjab.

The documents presented in this volume have been selected from official records preserved in three major repositories: the National Archives of India, New Delhi; the Punjab State Archives, Chandigarh; and the Punjab Digital Library, Chandigarh. They have been arranged in chronological order to enable readers to follow, through contemporary administrative records, the evolution of British policy on cow slaughter in Punjab and the circumstances that culminated in the Kuka actions of 1871-72. It is hoped that this documentary collection will provide scholars, students, and general readers with a reliable foundation for a more informed and balanced understanding of this important episode in the history of colonial Punjab.

The compiler gratefully acknowledges the invaluable assistance

rendered by the staff of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, the Punjab State Archives, Chandigarh, and the Punjab Digital Library, Chandigarh, whose preservation of these archival records has made the present work possible. Their unfailing cooperation and professional assistance during the course of research are sincerely appreciated.

The editor expresses his profound gratitude to Satguru Uday Singh Ji, the spiritual head of the Namdhari sect, whose blessings made it possible to bring this work to completion. The editor is also deeply thankful to distinguished Namdhari scholars S. Suwarn Singh Virk and Sant Lal Singh, for their valuable suggestions in presenting this book in its present form.

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Editorial note

The documents reproduced in this book have been transcribed from contemporary archival records. Their original spelling, grammar, punctuation, official terminology and nomenclature have been retained as far as possible. Where a document refers to an earlier or subsequent communication reproduced elsewhere in this collection, brief cross-references have been added where necessary to assist the reader.

Editorial additions, in the beginning or at the end of documents are clearly distinguished from the archival text.

Document 1

Report on the Slaughter of Kine and the Sale of Beef in Amritsar

No. 344, dated the 8th May 1871

From - Major F. M. Birch, Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar
To - The Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent, Amritsar Division.

I have the honor to report for the information of Government, that considerable excitement has prevailed in the city amongst the Sikhs and Hindoos regarding the slaughter of Kine and the exposed sale of beef. This first showed itself shortly after the 1st April -- the date of induction of the new contractors, who are butchers, and have purchased from the Municipality the right to levy eight annas on the slaughter of every head of cattle. The contract has been sold for three years past but has never before been bought by the butchers themselves. As far as I can gather, the whole display of feelings and dissatisfaction is directed against the continuance of this contract. Extra activity seems to have been displayed by hawking about baskets of meat, and the establishment of a shop. As however, the population of Umritsar is more than half Mahomedan, whose interests have also to be considered, I beg leave to report the circumstances in full, and solicit the issue of instructions as to what orders are to be passed in the future.

2. I must hear mention that the contract and tax being a Municipal one, I consulted the members of the Municipal Committee, the larger portion of whom, including the Mahomedans, voted for the immediate confiscation of the contract, and the prohibition of the sale of the beef at all in the city. It appeared to me that this vote was rather the result of panic, and I accordingly fixed the matter for discussion at the next Committee meeting, which will take place on the 17th of this month. I warned the butchers, however, not to infringe the custom of the city, of taking in beef for sale with the cloth over it. As far as I can ascertain, there has been no infringement of the rule prohibiting the slaughter of kine within the city. Regarding the establishment of shops, I solicit the favor of definite orders whether they are to be allowed or not. They certainly constitute an

innovation, the practice having hitherto been for parties to make their purchases outside the city and to bring them in covered up.

3. The circumstances are as follow: - On the 3rd April, the Inspector of Meat Markets Mr. Macdonald reported that an Akalee had threatened the butchers, who were in a great commotion. I sent this for enquiry to the police, with the injunction to report quietly. The man could not be traced. In the middle of April, a native gentleman in visiting mentioned to me that a shop had been established. I sent the Tehseeldar, a Hindu, to inquire, and he said it was not true. Nothing further occurred until the 24th April, when Sirdar Mangal Singh, who is the manager of the Sikh Temple, sent a man called Deva Singh to the Police Station, charged with having brought a beef bone into the temple with a view to cause disturbances. The man was supposed to be mad, and was sent for inspection to the Civil Surgeon. This case I purposely transferred to the Court of Extra Assistant Commissioner Aga Kulbabid, in order to ascertain whether there was any deeper design than appeared on the surface. On the 29th April, Nand Singh, an Akalee of Goordaspore, made a sensation in the temple by saying that, as the city was polluted by the cows' flesh, the slaughter must be stopped, or he would immolate himself. This man, it appears, then went down to the slaughterhouse, which is outside the city, and told the butchers the same. The matter was not reported to me until the 1st May, and with it came a report from Kirpa Ram, a Deputy Inspector of Police, that there had been a fracas between the Hindoos and Mahomedans of the Sunt Singh Bazar about the sale of beef, and one of the latter had got a mauling. This he gave evidence as a principal witness in the trial before me of certain Mahomedans for intentionally polluting a well, which charge entirely broke down. I much mistrust him in consequences. On the 1st May I sent for the Akalees, to see what they wanted. I could not get hold of them until the next day, when I discovered that their complaint consisted of—

- (1)—Cows being slaughtered,
- (2)—Mahomedans throwing bones down a well,
- (3)—Butchers selling beef openly,
- (4)—Sale of the slaughter-house contract.

I called on Sirdar Mangal Singh for a report, and summoned the contractors whose unguarded actions had given umbrage. This same day a petition of complaint against certain Mahomedans was filed by a numerous body of Hindoos, which I kept for investigation in my own Court. It concerned the polluting of a well. On Wednesday, the 3rd May, a large crowd of Hindoos assembled outside the Municipal Committee Room, and followed me down to the kutchery in the Rambagh.

I received a reply from Sirdar Mangal Singh and from Khan Mahomed Shah, to whom I had also referred. Both said that there was considerable ill-feeling between the rival religions.

Late that afternoon (3rd) an enormous crowd assembled before the Sikh temple. All good Hindoos were summoned, and subscriptions were promised for the prosecution of the case before me, and further if necessary. This was the most serious aspect the matter assumed, and I thought it time to take measures to prevent any more such assemblies. Early on the morning of the 4th May, I wrote to Rajah Sir Sahib Dyal, who immediately waited upon me. He said that the contractors were at the bottom of the whole disturbance. I deputed him, with Sirdar Ranjodh Singh and Bhai Hurree Singh, to use their influence to disperse the mobs, who were again collecting. This they cheerfully undertook, and succeeded in effecting. The decision of the case before me had likewise quickening effect. The accused, who were found guilty of insult calculated to provoke a breach of the peace, were sentenced under Section 504, Indian Penal Code, each to imprisonment for six months. The prosecution in the case of polluting a well broke down. Nothing of importance has occurred since the 4th instant, but I cannot conceal from the Government that there is a very uneasy feeling prevailing in the city.

On the 5th May, Rajah Sir Sahib Dyal with a deputation of respectable Hindoo inhabitants of the city, came to me with a written list of grievances. This I promised to forward to you, and I did so under my demi-official letter to you. I regret to have received no reply from you yet to this letter, not to the first demi-official notices of the matter which I sent. The position I have to hold here

is not without its difficulties, and I should be glad to have your presence, your counsel, or instructions. I have taken my stand strongly amidst conflicting interests on the following two points:--

1st.-That beef shall be slaughtered, and sold as before -- slaughtered outside the city and sold within but cloaked.

2nd.-That the innovations complained of, such as the establishment of shops, and the exposed sale of meat, shall be prohibited pending the orders of Government.

The respectable portion of the community were contended with my decision, and though no doubt, they will stir up the matter, and petition the Government. I do not anticipate any further commotion or organized opposition, such as prevailed at the assembly of the Sikh Temple. The bad character continue to give trouble and there were rumors of the banding of Akalees together, &c., which all came to nothing. On the 6th May, I thought it well to stop these fanatical Akalees for knocking about. Six *Nihungs* were desired to go to their homes, and two of them were escorted to the confines of the district. I also took the security of Rs. 500 from a Brahmin, Joallah Singh, of the "*Boungah Chouk Nihungan*" or *Nihung* Monastery. These Akalees, I strongly suspect are merely instruments in the hands of the Brahmins, heads of the Hindoo community. It was necessary to reassure the butchers who had not killed beef for three days. They are now at their usual employment, and I trust that confidence will be soon restored in Umritsar. The conduct of the Mahomedan part of the population has been good -- indeed, it appears to be quite cowed. I beg to report favorably of the conduct of Rajah Sahib Dyal, K.C.S.I., Sirdar Ranjodh Singh, Majitha, and Bhai Hurree Singh who were of much assistance to me. Mr. Turton Smith, District Superintendent of Police, has been most active and useful, and afforded me cordial support throughout the business.

This report is the first detailed official account of the growing tension in Amritsar over the slaughter of kine and the sale of beef. Major Birch traces the immediate disturbance to the beginning of the new slaughterhouse contract in April 1871, when the contractors themselves, being butchers, began to make more conspicuous use of the privilege.

Particularly significant is Birch's description of the practice that had hitherto prevailed: cattle were slaughtered outside the city and the meat was brought into Amritsar covered with cloth. The dispute therefore concerned not merely the slaughter of kine but also the manner in which beef was brought into and sold within the city.

Document 2

Government Instructions on the Slaughter of Kine and the Sale of Beef in Amritsar

No. 418, dated 15th May 1871

From - Major W. G. Davies, Commissioner and Superintendent, Amritsar Division.

To - The Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 344 of the 8th instant¹, reporting that considerable excitement had arisen in the city of Umritsar in connection with the slaughter of kine and the exposed sale of beef.

2. It appears from your report that the custom hitherto has been for the slaughter of kine to take place only outside the city, and for meat, when brought into the city for sale, to be decorously covered up.

3. And it further appears that excitement which has taken place is due to these rules having been infringed since the new contract was given out, by the establishment of a shop for the sale of beef in the city, and by meat of this kind being openly hawked about.

4. It is not clear from your report when these innovations commenced; but as the excitement seems to have commenced very early in April (3rd), it is probable that they began as soon as the new contractors were installed. It is unfortunate, I think, that you did not earlier ascertain by personal inquiry if there were any good grounds

¹ Refer to document no.1

for the ill-feeling which has arisen among the Hindoo and Sikh population of the city. If this had been done, and the exciting causes had been removed at that early stage, the excitement would not have assumed the dimensions which it afterwards did.

5. I am glad, however, to observe that from the moment when the fact of the existence of very serious excitement was forced upon your police, your proceedings have characterized by firmness and good judgment, and that, in consequence of the measures adopted by you, the dangerous religious feeling, which had arisen has in a great measure subsided.

6. I now proceed to reply to those portions of your letter in which you ask for specific instructions and to lay down certain general principles for your guidance in such matters, -- promising that I hope myself to be at Umritsar before long, when all questions arising out of this particular business can be personally discussed with you and set at rest.

7. As regards the general principle to be observed in dealing with matters of this kind, I cannot, I think, do better than quote the following passages from one of Mr. Thompson's dispatches (No. 1503 of 5th May 1848), addressed to the Commissioner of Meerut in connection with the slaughter of kine in certain villages in the neighborhood of Hurdwar. After setting forth that Hurdwar was a spot esteemed as sacred by Hindoos, and the slaughter of kine within its limits was highly offensive to the feelings of the Hindoos, and had long and justly been prohibited (all which equally applies to Umritsar, the capital of the Sikhs), but that the slaughter of kine, and sale of their flesh used to take place in Jowallapore, a neighboring village, till the Magistrate, declaring it a part of Hurdwar, had forbidden the practice, in consequence of which petitions complaining of this order from the Mahomedans had been received, -- the Lieutenant-Governor goes on to say that--

“Disputes of this kind regarding the slaughter of cattle and sale of meat, are very common and require very cautious treatment. On the one hand, the religious feelings of the Hindoos are much shocked by witnessing the slaughter of a kine or by seeing the flesh ostentatiously exposed for sale; whilst, on the other hand, the

Mahomedans are entitled to the free enjoyment of an article of food which in itself is unobjectionable and highly nutritious. The sole rule is to adhere to establish usage, and to prohibit the ostentatious slaughter or sale in a manner unnecessarily offensive to feelings which are entitled to respect.

8. You have only to apply these rules to the case in point, and you cannot go wrong. The slaughter of kine within the city has already been prohibited, and the prohibition contained in the Governor-General's proclamation of 20th May 1849 has, as you say, never been infringed. A slaughterhouse exists outside the city, and the custom hitherto has been, for meat when brought into the city for sale to be decently covered up. No shops for the open sale of beef have been allowed within the city. This same system should be continued. The Mahomedan population can have no good reason to complain of a rule supported by a prescription of upwards of twenty years, and the observance of which has not occasioned any marked degree of inconvenience to their class.

9. On receipt of this letter you should call before you the leading members of both religions. The custom which has hitherto prevailed should be described, and they should be told that without the sanction of Government no departure from the custom so described will be permitted. At the same time, you should explain to the Mahomedans that the ostentatious and offensive exposure or sale of the flesh of kine by butchers, or any act on their part leading to shock the religious prejudices of the Hindoos and Sikhs, will render them liable to prosecution under Section 298 of the Indian Penal Code. And to the Hindoos and Sikhs it should be explained that, so long as the butchers and Mahomedans generally keep within the line which customs and the order of the Government you from all prosecutions and violence.

10. I look to your tact in setting all this before the representatives of the rival religions in a manner which, while tending to allay any bitterness of feeling which may still exist on this subject, will convince them that you are determined to enforce the rules which have been thus laid down for your guidance; and I request that you will tell these native gentlemen that I count on their using their

influence to second your efforts in allaying the excitement which has unhappily arisen. I trust it will not be long before I am able to add my own voice and influence towards bringing about this result.

11. In conclusion, I requested you will convey to Rajah Sahib Dyal, Sirdar Ranjodh Singh and Bhai Hurree Singh my acknowledgements for the assistance they have rendered in this delicate matter, that I'm guessing and by addressing my acknowledgments are these systems they have rendered do you in this delicate matter and inform them that their names will be brought to the notice of Government for recommendation.

The above document is the Commissioner's reply to Major Birch's report of 8 May. It is important because it sets out, in considerable detail, the administrative principles that the British authorities intended to apply to the Amritsar situation. Davies emphasizes the distinction between the established practice of slaughtering cattle outside the city and the newer practice of openly selling or hawking beef within it.

The Commissioner's instructions are especially significant for understanding the Government's position. Rather than prohibiting cow slaughter altogether, the administration decided to preserve the established local practice: slaughter outside the city, with beef brought into the city discreetly covered. Davies also invokes earlier Government policy concerning the protection of religious sentiments while maintaining what the administration regarded as the lawful rights of different communities.

* * *

Document 3

Further Disturbances in Amritsar Following the May Settlement

No. 353, dated the 15th May 1871

From - Major F. M. Birch, Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar.

To - The Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent, Amritsar Division.

In continuation of my letter No. 344 of the 8th instant, I

have the honor to report for the information of Government, that late at night on the 8th of May, a slight pretext again led to the collection of a crowd of Hindoos, who maltreated three *Kushumeeree* Mahomedans. The District Superintendent of Police, Mr. Turton Smith, reached the spot in time to prevent further disturbance, but was ill-received and some individuals threw *kunkur* at him. No single native of rank, or influence, was present to assist him. This appears to me to betoken a want of proper spirit amongst the native magistracy, whom I accordingly summoned to my house, as well as all the native members of the Municipal Committee. As I had received no instructions from you up to that date - the 9th May, - I sought the assistance of the Additional Commissioner, who at once consented to walk over with me and be present at the meeting which was held at 9 A.M. on the same date, the 9th.

Sirdar Soorut Singh, Majeetha, called upon me that morning, and remained with me. I pointed out that riots such as that of the night before were disgraceful and would not occur if the Raeses did their duty. I told them that I held them responsible for the quiet of the city. They promised all I required; and it was arranged that the Police should keep them informed of any disturbance. Mr. Elsmie then proposed that the full bench of the Honorary Magistrates should try the riot case; and this was agreed to. Twenty-two Hindoo rioters were sent up by the Police, and the case has not yet been decided. There has been no breach of the peace since Sirdar Mungul Singh Ramghurria, had, as I mentioned in my last letter, has sent the man who had taken the beef bone into the Sikh temple with a view to cause disturbance. This man I have kept still under enquiry and trial. He turns out not to be an Akalee, nor yet lunatic, but a religious fanatic, and follower of Bhai veer Singh, who was killed in battle (vide Griffen's Punjab Chiefs, pages 25 and 49). So far as I can gather, however, there is no reason to believe that any cause of dissatisfaction exists, except that which has been duly reported in my former letter. It is probably, however, that the antagonistic feeling between Hindoos and Mahomedans has spread from the Lower Provinces. During the past week, one native gentleman mentioned to me that the same thing had happened at Lucknow. I

fancy he meant Rohilcund. It is perhaps fortunate, under the circumstances that the Mahomedan portion of the population continues so quite. It is not for want of provocation, for there is a dead set made against them by the Hindoos. The “*Kaseras*” or brass and coppersmiths, have banded together to refuse to sell their manufactures to Mahomedans and especially to refuse to buy from them the second-hand vessels which their necessities lead them to dispense of, on the plea that they have been used for cooking beef. All this, I trust, will right itself in the course of trade without interference. But it is doubtless to the impoverished state of the *Kashmeerees* that much of the quiet is attributable. The feeling of dislike is felt more towards them than towards the Punjabi Mahomedans. I have taken some pains to go over the whole of the correspondence and orders which have passed since annexation on the subject of the slaughter of kine and sale of beef. I find that there have been four previous occasions on which the subject came up for disposal before the Amritsar authorities, - viz. 20th May 1849, before Mr. C Saunders; 7th May 1856, before Mr. F. Cooper; 28th May 1863, before Major Mereer; and November 1864, before Mr. D. MacNabb. The matter in 1863 was reported by Major Mereer to higher authority, and the Judicial Commissioner’s judgment, on revision side, No. 128, dated 29th June 1863, if correctly copied, goes much further in giving liberty to the Mahomedans than is sanctioned by the custom at Amritsar. I communicated to Raja Sir Sahib Dyal your desire, received on 12th instant, in reply to the vernacular paper of demand from the Hindoos, that they should be more explicit. They agreed to wait until your arrival, which, I told him, I daily expected. I think the Hindoos are too pretentious in asking for the sale of beef in the city to be stopped. Their disorderly conduct, in marked contrast to that of the Mahomedans, does not entitle them to any extra consideration. In conclusion, I think, I may report that the tendency to riot has been in great measure suppressed. Today’s fair held close by the slaughterhouse, has passed off without an accident, though extra police arrangements were made.

This report is valuable because it shows that the controversy had by this stage widened beyond the immediate question of the

slaughterhouse. Social and commercial relations between Hindus and Muslims were also beginning to be affected. Birch records, for example, the refusal of certain Hindu traders to sell goods to Muslims and the growing hostility towards Kashmiri Muslims. At the same time, he records the earlier administrative precedents concerning kine slaughter in Amritsar, dating from 1849, 1856, 1863 and 1864.

* * *

Document 4

Commissioner Davies' Report on the Amritsar Disturbances and Instructions to the Deputy Commissioner

No. 124, dated the 16th May 1871

From - Major W. G. Davies, Commissioner and Superintendent, Amritsar Division.

To - The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I have the honor to forward herewith copy of a letter number 344 of the 8th instant, from Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar, reporting that considered excitement had arisen among the Sikhs and Hindoos of Amritsar in consequence of certain irregular proceedings on the part of the slaughter-house contractors, and of this office reply, No. 418 of the 15th instant.

2. The excitement, I am happy to say, has in consequence of the measures adopted by the Deputy Commissioner, been allayed. It is unfortunate that so little attention was paid to the first signs of it, which showed themselves early in the month of April. As I have remarked to the Deputy Commissioner, if the matter had then been taken up, and the exciting causes had been promptly removed, the feeling would probably have died out without assuming the huge and dangerous proportions which it afterwards did.

3. The Government will, I trust, approve of the instructions I have issued to the Deputy Commissioner. I am about to leave for Amritsar, and will report further after I have had an opportunity of

inquiring into all the circumstances of this affair on the spot. Ill-health and the positive prohibition of the Doctor against my leaving this (Dalhousie) alone prevented my proceeding to Amritsar when the news of the disturbance first reached me, on the 5th instant;

P. S. - The Deputy Commissioner's official letters were replied to, and instructions similar to those contained in my official letter were sent to him immediately the letters were received.

Having replied to Major Birch and issued detailed instructions concerning the immediate situation, Commissioner Davies now reports the matter to the Punjab Government. His account confirms that the disturbances had arisen from the alteration of an established practice following the award of the slaughterhouse contract to the butchers.

Document 5

Address of Commissioner Davies to the Leading Citizens of Amritsar on Government Policy Regarding Cow Slaughter

After arriving in Amritsar, Commissioner W. G. Davies convened a gathering of the leading citizens of the city. He addressed them in Hindustani and subsequently caused an English translation of his address to be circulated. The speech provides an unusually clear statement of the Government's understanding of the rules governing cow slaughter and the sale of beef in Amritsar after the annexation of Punjab.

For some time past there has been, as you are aware, a bad feeling between the Hindoos and Mahomedans of this city on the subject of the slaughter of kine and sale of its flesh, and some slight disturbances have taken place. Those who have infringed the orders of Government in this respect, as also those who have taken the law into their own hands with the design of altogether putting an end to the slaughter of kine have been punished, and the feeling of excitement referred to is, I am happy to say, rapidly disappearing; and I trust soon to be able to report to the Government that all matters of difference between the members of these two creeds in

this great city have been completely adjusted.

But as there is no doubt that these disputes and discussions would never have reached this stage at which they did arrive had the people generally been aware what the orders of Government on the subject are, I have thought it right to call together the leading men of the city in order that I may explain fully to them myself the purport of those orders.

Be it known, then, to you, that, in the year 1847 during the reign of Maharaja Duleep Singh, when the government was being carried on through a Council of native gentlemen, called Sikh Darbar, the Governor-General issued orders altogether prohibiting the slaughter of kine in the city of Amritsar. But as soon as the Punjab passed by conquest into the hands of the British Government, the Governor-General, in his Secretary's letter No. 175, dated 25th April 1849, approving of the instructions issued by the Board of Administration, modified the former orders, and declared that for the future "no one should be allowed to interfere with the practice by his neighbour of customs which that neighbour's religion permits." The Board of Administration, through its secretary, had written that the prohibition, which had formerly been maintained solely out of deference to a Sikh sovereign, must now be removed, and added that in every large town a spot for the shambles and butcher's shops should be appointed, but that particular care should be taken not to select the neighbourhood of any Hindoo religious building; that on no account should beef be exposed for sale in shops within the towns, although slaughtered outside, and Mussulmans should be severely punished for ostentatiously parading what they know would offend to the Hindoo neighbours.

These orders were carried out here by Mr. C. Saunders in 1849, and, in consultation with Rai Tukht Mull and other Hindoo Panches of the city, he selected a shop at a distance from the city, and caused an enclosure to be erected there, and, in order not to offend the prejudices of the Hindoos forbade the sale of the flesh of kine in the city in shops, and in an open manner. From that day to this the same system has continued. On one or two occasions slight disturbances have taken place, but they have invariably been

disposed of in accordance with the rules originally promulgated.

The same system will continue for the future, but under proper control and supervision - that is to say, the flesh of kine will not be allowed to be sold openly in the public places like other commodities. But if anyone brings it into the city decorously covered up in large or small quantities, he is at liberty so to do. Recognizances have been taken from the butchers that these regulations shall in no way be infringed.

And now, Sirdars, Raieeses, Panches, *Meer Mohullahs*, &c., I call upon you to exert your influence to induce the people generally to abandon all vain imaginings, useless discussions, and designs at variance with the settled policy of Government, which is to leave to all the unrestricted exercise of their own religion, and not to permit any man to interfere with others in the observance of such forms and customs as their respective religions either enjoin or permit. Neither will the Mahomedan be allowed, to interfere with the Hindoo, nor the Hindoo with the Mahomedan; for the future all should live together, as they have hitherto done, as one brotherhood (*bhyachara*).

The city of Amritsar is celebrated as the religious capital of the Punjab, and its fame as a centre spot of trade has reached to the four corners of the world. Its inhabitants have always borne a good name, and the services rendered by its citizens have been repeatedly acknowledged by Government; at annexation, and again in 1857, the Panches and Raieeses of the town, for their services to the state, obtained rewards in the shape of khiluts and honorary titles. They have thus, year by year, rising higher and higher in the estimation of the Government, and have been more honored by it. More lately the leading men of the city have been selected to fill the responsible post of Honorary Magistrate, and others that of members of the Municipal Committee; and the management of the affairs of the city has been carried on with their counsel and assistance. It would indeed be matter for regret if, notwithstanding all this, the city should lose its good name owing to the designs of a few thoughtless and short-sighted persons, -- and all for a matter which has really nothing in it; for I feel sure that what has happened has been due to

the designs of such men alone, and that the inhabitants of the city, as a whole, have no part in it. I trust, therefore, that you, the leading men of the city, will admonish all with whom you have any influence to be very careful for the future to avoid anything that may injuriously affect the fair fame of your city. I give this advice to you as your friend, and not as your hakim; for it is needless to tell you what the laws are, and what punishment those will receive who infringe them.

In conclusion, I address myself specially to you, Native Members of the Municipal Committee as the guardians of the city, to each of whom a portion of the city has been divided off, and I ask you to look well after your charges, and not to allow anything like disturbance to arise within them. Should anything of the kind unfortunately occur, it will be your business to discover those who are exciting disaffection, and report the offenders for the orders of Deputy Commissioner.

The address is particularly important because Davies traces the administrative history from the prohibition imposed during the reign of Maharaja Duleep Singh to the policy adopted after the annexation of Punjab in 1849. He explains that while the British Government removed the absolute prohibition on cow slaughter, it nevertheless retained restrictions intended to prevent public offence to Hindu and Sikh religious sentiments, especially by prohibiting the open sale of beef within the city.

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Document 6

Telegram from Dputy Commissioer, Amritsar to Punjab Government Reporting the Murder of Four Butchers at the Amritsar Slaughterhouse

Telegram dated 15th June 1871

From - Major F.M. Birch, Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar.

To - The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Four butchers were murdered last night by Nihangs. Measures for apprehension taken.

* * *

Document 7

Police Telegram to Punajb Government Reporting the Murder and Wounding of Butchers at Amritsar

Public Telegram dated 15th June 1871

From - Lieutenant-Colonel G. Hutchinson, CSI, Inspector-General of Police, Punjab

To - The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Four Mahomedans murdered, and three wounded, at Amritsar slaughterhouse during the night. Wounded men accuse Nihangs. Garments found on spot. I have offered a reward of Rs. 1000, and ordered Colonel Baillie to inquire.

* * *

Document 8

Report from Punjab Government to the Government of India on the Murder of Butchers at Amritsar

No. 228-1/2-835A, -38 S., dated 15th June 1871

From - Lepel H. Griffen, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To - The Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department.

I am desired by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, copies of two telegrams* (FOOTNOTE

*Refers to documents No. 7 and 8) reporting the murder of four

Mahomedans, and the wounding of three more in the slaughterhouse at Amritsar.

* * *

Document 9

Detailed Report on the Murderous Attack at the Amritsar Slaughterhouse

No.39S, dated 15th June, 1871

From - Major F.M. Birch, Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar.

To - The Offg. Superintendent, Amritsar Division.

It is now exactly a month since I last had the honor to address you on the subject of the disturbed feeling between Hindoos and Mahomedans of this place. Your presence on the 20th ultimo rendered unnecessary any further written reports, and up to the fourth instant - the date of your departure, affairs were conducted under your immediate supervision. The events of the fifteen days from 20th May to 4th June may be briefly recapitulated as follows:

On the 22nd May the Municipal Committee decided to maintain the slaughterhouse contract intact. The Board of Honorary Magistrates fulfilled the expectations formed of them, and convicted seven Hindoos of being concerned in the disturbance, which occurred between the night of the 8th and morning of the 9th May. On appeal before me, their decision was upheld, except in one instance in which I was obliged to quit. The case of The Crown versus Deva Singh, the Sikh, who had taken a beef bone into the temple, to which the reference was made in my first letter, dated 8th May, resulted in conviction and a sentence of three years imprisonment. The good service rendered by Sardar Mungul Singh came out conspicuously in this matter, as it was by his orders that the fanatic was at once arrested and made over to the police. My decision in the case of the butchers who were imprisoned on the 4th May, which was also reported in my letter of the 8th idem, was as you will remember, not upheld by you in appeal, and both were released. The difference

between the Hindoos and the Mahomedan potters was ably adjusted by Sardar Hurchan Dass on the 31st May; and the fortnight closed with the Darbar on the 3rd June, at which you presided and spoke, and your speech was printed and widely distributed.

Not a whisper had reached me of any continued dissatisfaction from the date of your departure up to this date. It is true that, suffering from an affection in the eyes, I was for one week unable to attend Cutcherry, though I worked at home, but I was in daily communication with the District Superintendent, Police, and trusted to his information.

Late last night - or rather at 2 A.M. this morning - the information came that a murderous assault had been made on the butchers in the slaughter-house by *Nihungs*. Four were killed outright, being cruelly cut to pieces, and three others dangerously wounded - two of them are hardly likely to survive. From the nature of the wounds, it would appear that three or four men had hacked at each of them. The survivors state that they were attacked in their sleep by a large party. Accompanied by Mr. Turton Smith and the Extra Assistant Rai Agha Kulubabid, to whose sagacity and energetic resistance I am much beholden, I reached the spot shortly before daybreak, but thinking it of more importance to take the depositions of the survivors, who had been removed to the dispensary, I left the local enquiry to the Police, A tracker was employed, and the *Boongahs* were searched. I also sent for Sardar Bhagwan Singh, Dewa Singh, Commandant, and Mungul Singh. The latter has been two or three times to me during the day and gives me hopes of a successful issue. The ferries have been watched, neighbouring districts communicated with, and all possible precautions taken. Up to the present nothing has resulted from the labours of the Police; but I hope to be able to report more probably soon. It is of course imperative that the perpetrators of this daring outrage should be apprehended and brought to justice, and no endeavour shall be wanting on my part to secure this desirable termination

Description of the bodies and wounded men brought into the Hospital on the 15th of June 1871.

Body No. 1.- Name Peera; caste Mahomedan; sex male; age about

45; No. of body 28; case No. 99. External appearance - a well nourished man. Cut across top of the head down into the brain; left wrist severed; two cuts across the lower part of the chest - all caused by a sharp instrument such as a sword.

Body No. 2.- Name Jeown; caste Mahomedan; sex male; age 50 years; This man is a stranger. Oldest, well nourished man. External appearance: wound at the back of the neck, severing the spinal cord; a slight cut at the right corner of mouth; two cuts through the muscles and ribs of the back .

Body No. 3.- Name Sadee; caste Mahomedan; sex male; age 20 years; Young man, several cuts above the left side of the head and neck; the brain wounded; jugular vein severed; bone cut above the left elbow; a wound on the left side of the thorax.

Body No. 4.- Name Emee; caste Mahomedan; sex male; age about 15. Right arm severed from the upper arm; cuts on fingers; cuts on right shoulder; the head nearly severed from the body by repeated blows on the back of the neck.

Wounded man No.1.- Name Elahie Bux; caste Mahomedan; sex male; age 40 years. Incised wound of the left shoulder through acromion into shoulder joint; slight wound on left upper arm; slight wound on front of chest; superficial wound on right shoulder; deep wound on right wrist, inside between carpal bone and radius. Dressed before I saw him.

Wounded man No.2- Name Keema, caste Mahomedan, sex male, age 30 years. Two severe and deep wounds about the right scapula, which was cut through in both places.

Adam Taylor,

Civil Surgeon, Umritsar.

Wounded man No. 3. - Name Kurum Deen, caste Mahomedan, sex male, age about 30 years. This man was brought in afterwards, and examined by the undersigned. A slight cut on the left shoulder and palm of the hand.

Sahib Ditta

Sub Assistant Surgeon.

No. 236A-854A, -44 S., dated Lahore, 19th June 1871

From - Lepel H. Griffen, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To - The Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department.

In continuation of my letter No.38-S, dated 16th June, I am desired by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor to forward for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, copy of letter No. 39S, dated 15th June, from the Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar* (FOOTNOTE *Refers to documeny No. 8), giving further information regarding the late murderous assault on the butchers at Amritsar, together with copy of the doctor's report on the murdered and wounded men.

The report is especially valuable because Birch records the immediate police response, the search of the Nihung establishments, the questioning of Sikh leaders and the measures taken to prevent the perpetrators from escaping.

* * *

Document 10

Commissioner Davies' Further Report on the Religious Excitement and the Amritsar Slaughterhouse Murders

No. 150, dated Amritsar, the 21st June 1871

From - Major W. G. Davies, Commissioner and Superintendent, Amritsar Division.

To - The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I have the honor in continuation of my No. 124, of the 16th ultimo, to report further on the religious excitement in Amritsar on the subject of kine killing.

2. I may premise by saying that, having demi-officially reported the

measures adopted by me to quiet the minds of the people on the subject, and the approval of Government to these having been conveyed to me by telegraph, I put off sending in what I hoped would be the final official report till sufficient time had passed without disturbance to enable me to state with confidence that every spark of ill-feeling between the Hindoos and Mahomedans of the city had died out. I was just about to write the report referred to when the news reached me of the tragedy which was enacted at the slaughterhouse on the morning of the 15th instant. The particulars of the murder have been already communicated to you, and the result of the inquiry being made by the police to discover the murderers will be reported for the information of Government as soon as the inquiry is completed. In the meantime, I beg to furnish this and intermediate report.

3. The signs by which the religious excitement on the subject of the slaughter of kine showed itself in Amritsar, and the measures taken by the Deputy Commissioner to put an end to it, are fully described by him in his letter No. 344 of 8th, and No. 353 of the 15th May 1871. A copy of the former and my reply to it (No. 418, of 15th idem) furnishing the Deputy Commissioner with instructions on certain points on which he had asked for, was forwarded to you with my No. 124, of the 16th idem; of the latter a copy is herewith annexed.

4. The contents of the Deputy Commissioner's reports may be summarized as follows:- the first signs of the excitement showed themselves as early 3rd April last, but nothing serious occurred till the 24th of that month, when a man of the name of Dewa Singh took a beef bone into the temple and placed it in front of the Grunth. This had the effect of at once setting in a blaze the feelings which had for some time been quietly smouldering, and from that time crowds of Sikhs and Hindoos began to assemble. An agitation was set on foot, having for its object the complete suppression of kine-killing in or about the holy city; and several affrays took place, on the slightest pretexts, between the Hindoos and Mahomedans of this city.

5. The measures taken by the Deputy Commissioner to quiet the minds of the people and suppress disturbances before my arrival

are described in his letters, and need not be repeated here. They were decidedly successful; and when I arrived here, on the 20th, I found the Hindoos inclined to listen to reason although determined to leave no stone unturned to put an end, if possible, to the slaughter of kine at Amritsar.

6. I arrived here, as before stated, on Saturday, the 20th, and found that the 22nd May had been fixed by the Deputy Commissioner for the discussion by the Municipal Committee of the question whether the slaughter-house contract, which this year had been taken by the butchers, should be allowed to continue, or be cancelled, as in a moment of panic, had been voted by the native members of the Municipal Committee. I employed the entire interval in receiving the leading native gentlemen of both creeds, hearing what they had to say, and obtaining from the district and divisional offices all papers relating to this subject, and the records of previously decided cases.

7. I thus discovered that the Hindus generally were not acquainted with the orders which had been issued by the Board of Administration, after annexation, with the approval of Government (as contained in the Board's Circular No. 83 of the 5th May 1849, and its enclosures), and they based a claim for exemption from the general rules on the subject of kine-killing on an order dated 24th March 1847, signed by Sir Henry Lawrence as Resident, and which is engraved on a copper plate at the entrance to the holy temple, called the Darbar Sahib, a copy of this order is annexed hereto.

8. It was very necessary that the Hindoos should be undeceived on this point and it seemed to me that the meeting of the Municipal Committee, at which I was to be present, would afford an excellent opportunity of doing this, and at the same time explaining to the representatives of both religions the general principles by which our Government is guided in dealing with such matters. Accordingly, before the question whether the slaughter-house contract should be allowed to run out was put, I addressed the meeting. I explained to them that, as long as the government was carried on in the name of Maharaja Duleep Singh, our Government out of deference to the Sikh sovereign, maintained the prohibition against the slaughter of

kine, which had always existed under the Sikhs; but that as soon as the Punjab was annexed to the British dominions, this prohibition was removed, on the principle set forth in the Governor-Generals' proclamation of the 20th May 1849, that "no one should be allowed to interfere with the practice by his neighbors of customs which that neighbor's religion either enjoins or permits;" and the Board of Administration therefore directed that a spot should be set apart outside every large town for the slaughter of kine, but at the same time issued strict injunctions against the open sale of the beef in shops within the towns. I reminded them that, in pursuance of these orders, Mr. Saunders, in consultation with the Rai Tukht Mull and other Hindoo punches of the place, had selected a spot for a slaughter-house at a distance from the city walls, and that from that day to this, the system then inaugurated had continued without an interruption and without cavil. I added that the same system must continue for the future; but that the authorities would be always ready to protect the Hindoos from anything approaching to intentional insult on the part of the Mahomedans in regard to this matter; and I ended with telling them that I looked to them, as the representatives of each sect and class in the city, to explain all this to the people, and assist the authorities in restoring order and the good feeling which had always subsisted between the two sections of the population. I have omitted, I find, to say that I fully explained to the Hindoos and Sikhs their present, that if they had any reasonable ground of complaint as regards the manner in which the slaughter of kine and the sale of the flesh, had been recently carried on, the authorities would be ready at all times to listen to representations put forward in a respectful manner; but that the Government would not permit anything like rioting, even to attain a reasonable object, much less if their demands were unreasonable. My address had a marked effect; and the meeting ended in passing a vote that the existing slaughter-house contract should not be interfered with. Some of the Hindoos voted against the continuance of it; others refrained from voting at all.

9. The result of the meeting was felt by us to be very satisfactory, as we knew that any interference with the contact then, following so soon after the disturbances which had taken place in the city, slight

though they were, would have been looked on by the Hindoos as an exhibition of weakness on the part of the authorities, and the evil-disposed among them might have been encouraged thereby to continue the agitation which the measures taken by the Deputy Commander had nipped in the bud.

10. During the following week I went through the city several times with the Deputy Commissioner, and daily received visits from the native officials and leading gentry of the place, Mussulman and Hindoo; and all assured me that the feeling of excitement was rapidly dying out. But on the 30th of May it became known to me by certain signs that the remnants of the feeling of antagonism which had been excited by the recent disturbances between the Hindoos and Mahomedans of the city still lingered in the breasts of certain classes of the former. The festival of *Nimanee Madushee* came round on that date, when it is customary for Hindoos to make offerings of sweet meats, sherbet, &c., to their priests and brahmins; and as these are always given in newly-made certain vessels (*ghurahs*), very extensive purchases are made on this day from men of the Potter class, who are nearly all Mahomedans. The potters had as usual made preparations for supplying the wants of their Hindoo customers on this occasion, but not a Hindoo would buy of them. On hearing this, and also that the "*kaseras*" - another class of Hindoo traders - refused to buy old copper vessels from Mahomedans as they had always been in the habit of doing. I sent for Sirdar Hurcharan Dass, Bhai Purdhoomun Singh, Khan Mahomed Shah and other leading men of the city, and called on them to use their influence at once to remove this remnant of ill-feeling and distrust from the minds of all, and, if possible, completely to restore the harmony which had before prevailed. They left me promising to do their best and the next morning returned, reporting that they had been entirely successful, and that sales were once more going on as usual. They at the same time handed in the mutual engagements entered into by the potters and Hindoos on the one hand, and the *Kaseras* and Mahomedans on the other.

11. Enquiry subsequently made by me and the Deputy Commissioner confirmed what these gentlemen had said, and it was

generally believed that all causes of dissatisfaction and distrust had been removed, especially as I had instructed the Deputy Commissioner to take recognizances from the butchers, and others employed in the slaughter of kine, that nothing should be done in any way calculated to offend the prejudices of the Hindoos and Sikhs.

12. Two weeks had been now passed by without anything approaching to disturbances, thoroughly convinced, in common with all on the spot whom I had consulted, that there was no cause to apprehend anything of the kind again, and having several Sessions cases to try at Goordaspore, I thought I might now safely leave Amritsar; and I accordingly fixed the 5th, 6th and 7th June for the trial of the cases referred to, and left for Goordaspore on the night of the 4th. But, before doing so, I thought it advisable to hold a Durbar to which every man of any note in the city, down to the headmen of each *mohulla*, should be invited, and hear from me with their own ears what the orders of Government were and what it expected from them as loyal citizens and the leaders of the people. Accordingly it was held on the 3rd of June at the Town Hall. It was well attended, - all the European officers of this station being present, in addition to the large native assembly described above; and I there delivered in Oordoo an address which I had carefully prepared beforehand, and of which an English translation is attached hereto. I think I may say that it had a most excellent effect, - many Hindoo and Mahomedan gentlemen, when the meeting broke up, embracing each other in their anxiety to show that no traces of the evil-feeling engendered by the late disturbances remained in their minds.

13. From that date (3rd) till the murderous attack was made by a large party of persons, unknown, on the butchers at the slaughter-house, on the morning of the 15th instant, not a whisper had reached the authorities on the spot of any feeling of dissatisfaction; and I may add my conviction, after enquiry here, that the feeling which led to this attack in confined to a small section of evil-disposed persons and that part of the town which is nearest to the slaughter-house.

14. I will, in conclusion, describe what appears to have been the

cause of the late excitement on the subject of kine-killing. It was, I believe, due entirely to two causes:- First, the very rapid increase which during the last three or four years has taken place and the consumption of this kind of food; and secondly, the want of care on the part of the butchers and others engaged in the trade and the sale and distribution of it. The increased consumption is due to a variety of concurring causes. First may be mentioned the high price of grain during the period referred to; secondly, the war between France and Prussia, which has thrown thousands of *Cashmeeries* out of employ. These two causes have driven the poorer classes of the Mahomedan population of the town to look for a cheap and at the same time satisfying description of food; and they have found it in beef, which is even now selling for a third of the price of mutton and goat flesh. The cheapness of beef, as compared with other kinds of flesh, is also due, in a great measure, to the drought from which the land has been suffering for so many years and the difficulty of obtaining fodder during this period has compelled to the owners of horned cattle to part with these animals for a mere trifle. Consumption of beef has been further stimulated by the slaughter-house contractors for their own profit; and doubtless the knowledge that they hold a Government monopoly has emboldened them and rendered them careless of the manner in which the flesh was brought into the town; and thus the prejudices of Hindoos has often been offended. There has, however, never been any open infringement of the rules originally laid down for the slaughter of kine and the sale of the flesh; and on this ground the Hindoos had no cause of complaint.

15. I cannot conclude this report without bringing to the notice of the Government the determined bearing of the Deputy Commissioner Major Birch, throughout the early and most dangerous days of this excitement, and expressing my conviction that this had no small share in preventing the occurrences of anything like a serious outbreak of popular feeling. The District Superintendent of police, Mr. Turton Smith, has throughout been most active and useful. I have myself to acknowledge the assistance received from the native gentlemen of the city especially from Sirdar Hurchaurn Dass and Khan Mahomad Shah, I may hereafter ask that their conduct shall receive the special acknowledgement of

Government; but I refrain from doing so until the result of the enquiry which is now going on into the circumstances of the murder of the butchers is known.

The Commissioner had intended this report to record the successful subsidence of the religious excitement in Amritsar. The murders of 15 June, however, compelled him to reopen the question.

* * *

Document 11

Government of Punjab's Communication to Government of India on the Continuing Investigation into the Amritsar Murders

No. 538-914-1/2, dated Lahore, 30th June 1871

From - Lepel H. Griffen, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To - The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

In continuation of letter No.38-S., dated 16th June, to the Foreign Department, I am desired by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor, to forward for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, copy of a letter No. 150, dated 21st June* (**FOOTNOTE *Refers to document No. 10**) from the Commissioner of Amritsar and of its enclosures reporting further on the late excitement in Amritsar.

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Document 12

Report on the Progress of the Investigation into the Amritsar Slaughterhouse Murders

No.423, dated 1st July 1871

From - Major F.M. Birch, Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar.

To - The Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent, Amritsar Division.

I regret to report that up to the date the efforts of the Police, notwithstanding added and efficient aid from without, have not been successful in discovering the murderers of the butchers and other Mahomedans at the slaughter-house on the 15th of June. Your arrival on the 17th took the main conduct of the case out of my hands; and, at your instance, the arrest and release of all persons who could possibly be suspected have been left entirely to the Police, in order to strengthen Mr. Christie's hands. The result of the investigation, as far as it goes, all tends to the belief that the plot was hatched within the city of Amritsar. A most important step has been taken by you in giving the Hindoo chief men a period of ten days within which to bring to light the perpetrators of the crime, under penalty of being adversely reported to Government. The plot must have been deeply laid to have resisted so successfully and so long the continued endeavors made to unravel it; nor can it any longer be a matter of surprise that nothing transpired to lead to a suspicion of the existence.

2. Bad as the outrage is (and I have by no means given up any feelings of indignation at the occurrence, or my hopes of avenging it,) it is still a matter for congratulations that it has not been followed up here or elsewhere by repeated assaults of Hindoos on Mahomedans. This makes the occurrence of far less serious import than it otherwise would have been. It stands at present as an isolated outrage which may be attributed to special, but local feeling, in the city of Amritsar; it has not extended to the district; it has not reached the juts. Even the *Nihungs* who are believed to be the actual perpetrators, were not alone (it is summarized) in the commission of the crime. Those that were employed were most probably, as I have before reported, in the hands of designing Hindoos.

3. To enable the Government to deal quickly with this case, should the failure to discover the murderers necessitate punitive measures of a more comprehensive character, I think it my duty to record certain circumstances which have a direct bearing on the

crime as it has occurred.

1st -- At the outset the slaughterhouse was threatened by Nihungs. This was reported in my letter of the 8th of May. A police guard was placed there on the 6th May, but withdrawn on the 31st. This, I fear, was a mistake.

2ndly -- On the 2nd June the order was passed in appeal for the release of the butchers who had originally, as I thought, given the Hindoos some just ground of offense. Possibly this gave umbrage, as it precluded the hope of the law giving redress.

3rdly -- Owing to various causes, kine killing has been of late years very much on the increase. This doubtless hurt many respectable Hindoos, and their feelings were entirely disregarded by the parties interested in the sale of beef. I took this view at first, and it led me to punish the individual butchers.

4thly --The general result of the measures taken was adverse to Hindoo interests. It could scarcely have been otherwise. The Hindoo population felt itself foiled, and its members have presumed to satisfy their feelings of revenge. So glaring a defiance of authority cannot, of course, be overlooked.

Major Birch's report reveals the difficulties encountered in the investigation. Despite additional assistance, the perpetrators had not yet been identified.

* * *

Document 13

Government Inquiry into the Grounds for Awarding the Slaughterhouse Contract to the Butchers

No. 925., dated Lahore, 3rd July 1871

From - Lepel H. Griffen, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To - The Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent, Amritsar

Division.

With reference to previous correspondence *, I am desired to request that you will call upon the Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar to explain the grounds and reasons inconformity with which the contract for the slaughter of kine was for the first time, given this year to the butchers.

*No. 124, dated 16th May 1871, from Commissioner, Amritsar with enclosures.

No. 150, dated 21st June 1871, from Commissioner, Amritsar.

* * *

Document 14

Progress of the Police Investigation into the Amritsar Slaughterhouse Murders

When the Amritsar police failed to identify the culprits of butcher murder case, the investigation was handed over to Mr. Christie, Superintendent Police Jalundhar who obtained what was considered a promising clue to the perpetrators.

No. 74., dated Amritsar, 6th July 1871

From - Major W. G. Davies, Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent, Amritsar Division.

To - The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I beg to forward, in continuation of this office No.151, of 22nd ultimo, copy of a letter No. 423, of the 1st instant*, **(FOOTNOTE *Refers to document No. 12)** from Deputy Commissioner, reporting on the progress of the enquiry into the massacre of the butchers on the 15th of last month.

2. I am glad to be able to state that, since the Deputy Commissioner's letter was written, the Police, represented by Mr.

Christie, have obtained a good clue to the perpetrators of that foul deed. Of this you have been informed demi-officially. It is not advisable to report particulars officially yet.

3. The Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar appears correctly to describe the state of feeling on the subject by saying that it is confined to a portion only of the city. Enquiries made by myself and Colonel Baillie, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, tend to show that little interest is felt in this matter in any of the surrounding villages, much less among the agricultural population generally.

4. The removal of the Police guard from the slaughter-house, referred to by the Deputy Commissioner, was a great mistake, and the Deputy Commissioner should have been consulted before this was done. The Superintendent of Police believed that the excitement on the subject had completely died out, and the plot for the massacre of the butchers was kept so secret that not a Mahomedan in the city appears to have had even a suspicion of it; and such being the case, it is scarcely to be wondered at that the Police knew nothing of it.

5. If we succeed in tracing out the offenders and bringing them to justice, this will probably meet all the requirements of the case, and effectually prevent recurrence of such an outrage; if not, other special measures must be adopted with this object.

At this stage, however, the details were withheld from the formal report. Davies also reiterates that the agitation appeared to be confined largely to a section of the city and had not spread into the surrounding countryside.

* * *

Document 15

Government of Punjab's Report to the Government of India on the Investigation into the Amritsar Murders

No. 1004-1/2-82S, dated Lahore, 15th July 1871

From – Lepel H. Griffen, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To – The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

In continuation of my letter No. 58S, dated 30th June, I am desirous to forward copy of letter No. 74, dated the 6th July, from the Commissioner of Amritsar, and of its enclosure, reporting further on the late events at Amritsar.

* * *

*An Honourary Magistrate Khan Muhammad Shah produced some information regarding the involvement of Kukas in this crime but Mr. Christie did not consider it worthwhile *. (Foot note * Mr. Reynell G. Taylor, Sessions Judge and Commissioner Amritsar Division, in his memorandum on this episode written in 1873, commenting on the attitude of Mr. Christie, writes, “Unfortunately, Mr. Christie had fallen into the hands of men who were interested in misleading him, and he gave up, as we now know, the only valuable clue obtained.” (Para 13))*

*Because of Mr. Christie’s enquiry, 12 persons were named as accused of murder of butchers *. (Foot note ** “But the Court, after examining them, records its opinion that the whole story told might very easily have been arranged by collusion. There is no tangible fact by which the narrations might receive solidity” (Para 12 of Memorandum)) However on 25 July Magistrate sent the 12 accused to Session Court for trial.*

* * *

MURDER OF BUTCHERS AT RAIKOT

Major F. M. Birch, Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar in his letter No.423, dated 1st July 1871, addressed to the Commissioner,

Anritsar Division, had expressed satisfaction that "It has not been followed up here or elsewhere by repeated assaults of Hindoos on Mahomedans." For him, it was still a matter for congratulations. Divisional Commissioner while writing to Punjab Government endorsed Deputy Commissioner's views+. (Foot notr + But the happenings at Raikot on the night of 15th July, exactly after one month of the murder of butchers at Anritsar, was a rebuff to this statement.)

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Document 16

Telegram Reporting the Murderous Attack on the Butchers at Raikot to Patiala.

Service Telegram

17th July 1871

From - Simla To Rajpura

From - Secretary to Government, Punjab

To - His Highness Maharaja, Patiala

A cruel and cowardly murder has been perpetrated at Raikot, two persons being killed and seven wounded, mostly women and children. The murderers have been traced to Cheeneewala, in Patiala territory. The Lieutenant-Governor calls upon your Highness to take the most energetic measures for the arrest of these cowardly assassins.

* * *

Document 17

Detailed Report on the Murderous Attack at the Butchers' Quarter, Raikot

No. 177, dated 18th July 1871

From- L. Cowan, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana
To - The Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent Ambala
Division.

My telegram and demi-official notes of the past two days will have informed you of the outrage perpetrated at Raikot, in the district, on the night of 15th instant, I now proceed to give you connected account of all the circumstances of the most lamentable affair which have as yet come to my knowledge, and of the steps taken for the discovery and apprehension of the offenders.

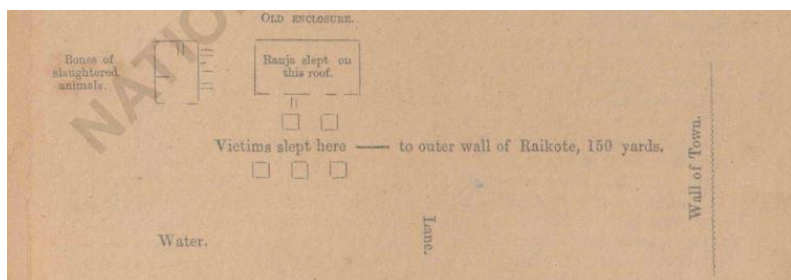
2. Between 9 and 10 AM on the 16th instant I received a Police report to the effect that on the previous night about 11 o'clock, a body of men, estimated at from 15 to 20 in number, armed with swords and "*gundassas*" (a sort of chopper for cutting fodder) had made a sudden attack on the butchers' quarter at Raikot (a town about 38 miles from Ludhiana by road), and had killed two persons, a man and a woman, and wounded severely seven others, chiefly women and children.

3. I telegraphed this information to you, and desired the Civil Surgeon to proceed as soon as possible to attend to the wounded, whose injuries were too severe to permit of their being moved. I also requested the District Superintendent of Police to give instructions to his Deputy Inspectors throughout the district to have the butchers' quarters in their respective towns watched during the night till further orders, and before 12 noon accompanied by Mr. Hatchell, District Superintendent, I left Ludhiana for Raikot.

4. There was some delay at Jugraon, where we left the metalled road, in procuring carriage for the remaining 15 miles of *Cutch* road. It was nearly 5 P.M. when we left Jugraon, and we arrived too late at night to do much more than make general enquiries.

5. At daylight on the 17th, I visited the butchers' *mohulla*. There is a small ragged hamlet containing in all three habitable flat-roofed houses, with the remains of courtyards, all of which have been allowed to decay, till the place is quite exposed and unprotected. These huts are about 10 paces from what at this season is a large pool of water, and at the edge of this water on one side are thrown the bones of the animals slaughtered. A sort of lane, flooded for a

distance 50 yards, lies in front of the houses. The following gives the rough idea of the place:--



There are no other habitations near. Two butchers, named Ranja and Boota, with their families, live and follow their calling in this place. On the night of the 15th instant Boota was absent, having gone to Ludhiana to appeal against the recent order of the Tahsildar of Jugraon, fining him Rs. 10 on the complaint of the Municipal Committee and the Mahomedan *Lumberdars* of Raikot that he defiled the water lying near the dwelling by throwing into it the bones of the slaughtered animals. Ranja was at his home on the 15th, and, in addition to the families of these two owners of the *mohullah*, there were sleeping there on the night in question a Goojar named Dusoundhi, with his wife and three children (the youngest 20 days old), and Akhoo, a Mahomedan Rajpoot. Dusoundhi had gone with his family to visit Ranja, and was detained for a day by the weakness of his wife, occasioned by recent childbirth. Akhoo was passing through Raikot, and put up with Ranja.

6. On the night of the 15th Raja and Mussamat Noorie were sleeping on the roof of the house. Boota's wife and his visitors were scattered about on charpoys on the bit of ground between the house and the water. About 11P.M. they were all asleep except Mussamat Noorie, who rose to smoke a *hooka* on the roof, when the gang of men armed with swords (an examination of the wounds shows that they were all inflicted with swords) appeared in front of the house and commenced to hack at the sleepers down below. Ranja and his two companions on the roof made their escape by jumping off the

rear wall of the house, Noorie hurting herself in the fall, and ran calling for help towards the town. A Daffadar of Chowkeedars was going his rounds outside the wall of the town, and returned at once to the butchers' house, but by the time the murderers had made their escape. They were heard to go through the water in the lane facing the house.

7. The following is a list of killed and wounded: --

- Dussoundhi, Goojar, -- dead.
- Bussan, Dussoundhi's wife, -- dead.
- Ranja (child of Dussoundhi), 4 years - dying, hacked all over.
- A child of Dussoundhi (20 days old), dying, left arm cut off.
- Mussumat Rohantie, daughter of Dussoundhi, (20 years), dying, head cut open, and three other wounds.
- Mussuma Kownie, Buta's wife, (Kassab), dying.
- Dito Bija, daughter of Kownie, (8 years), four fingers cut off.
- Ghana, Kownie's daughter (10 years), foot nearly cut off.
- Akoo, Rajpoot, - 13 sword wounds; in a dangerous position.

From this list it will be seen that the two butchers whose murder was evidently intended have escaped, -- the victims being strangers temporarily residing in their house and a part of the family of one of the butchers (Boota). The cries of the people attacked were distinctly heard at the Police Station, about 500 yards distant. The Deputy Inspector (a Mahomedan) was absent in the interior, the second officer in charge (also a Mahomedan) was suffering from fever. The remaining Police, however, turned out and went to the spot; but no clue was to be found, excepting a piece of yellow rag, which had apparently formed part of the covering of a sword scabbard. A strong wind is said to have been blowing, and it was not possible to light torches and to follow at once on the track; moreover, there was no tracker at the Police Station. Some valuable hours were thus lost. It was not till daylight, or around 5 hours afterwards, that the tracks of eight men were taken up and followed,

with difficulty (owing to the obliteration of the footprints by the drift sand), to the village of Jullaldeewal, 3 coss from Raikot. At this spot the tracks of two men were lost. They diverged from the other tracks, and efforts are still being made to recover them. The tracks of the remaining six men were then followed up past two villages, in the Patiala territory, whose Lamberdars turned and carried the tracks beyond their borders to the villager Cheeneewalla, in the Patiala territory, where they were lost, apparently close to the village. Search is being made in Cheeneewalla and I have sent out the Vakeel of His Highness the Maharajah of Patiala stationed at this court to give assistance.

8. The wounded persons and those who escaped state that they could not identify any of the assailants. They noticed that they were naked, with the exception of a lion-cloth, and there was nothing to denote to what religion or tribe they belonged. I have had search made in the pool of water for any weapons which may have been thrown away, but hitherto without success.

9. The greater portion of the 17th instant was passed in taking depositions and making enquiries from the influential men of the neighborhood, as Rai Ahmud Ally, of Tulwundie, Shureef Hussain, of Jugraon and others; but excepting, that the tracks were being followed up in the Patiala state by two Deputy Inspectors of Police, accompanied by numerous trackers (the District Superintendent remained at Raikot to receive reports), we were completely failed. One clue was obtained, which may yet prove of value. A man named Ghodaya came forward to say that on the 13th, as he was going to Ludhiana, he met two men, apparently Sikhs, near Hulwara, and that the same two men came to his well near Raikot to drink on the evening of the 15th instant, just before the murders took place. Mussumat Noorie says that on the 15th two men whose description answers to the description given by Ghodaya of the two men he met, accosted her close to her house, asking her where the road led to, and how much water there was in the pond. The statement of Ghodaya and Noorie with regard to these two men appear to be trustworthy, and there is apparently some corroboration of them in the fact that the track of two men left the tracks of the others after going short distance with them; but unfortunately this man Ghodaya

could not resist the opportunity of serving out an enemy, and he makes these two suspicious characters enquire for a leading Hindu who had obtained a decree against Ghodaya on the 14th instant, and he pretends to have heard this Hindu's brother urge his brother to go and "finish this work at once" - meaning, Ghodaya has no doubt, the massacre of the butchers. A careful enquiry is being made after these two men in Hulwara and its neighborhood. I have offered a reward of Rs. 1000 for such information as will lead to the apprehension and conviction of the offenders, and a free pardon to one member of the gang who will confess and prove the guilt of the others.

10. The general belief is that this crime has been committed by the same gang who committed the murders at Amritsar. The sympathies of even the respectable Hindoos are with the victims of this outrage, and I really believe they will join the Mahomedan gentlemen who are interesting themselves in the case to discover the culprits. There is not the slightest cause for supposing that this affair was planned in the Raikot or in its neighborhood. On the contrary, the probabilities are all against this supposition. I hope today to hear the result of the search at Cheeneewalla, and will report to you at once whatever may come to my knowledge bearing on the case; at present I feel but small hope of the speedy capture of the assassins, but no efforts shall be wanting to follow up the clue I have.

11. I may mention that before the arrival of the Civil Surgeon at Raikot the wounded had been carefully and skillfully attended by one Ullia, a native hakeem; the wounds had been neatly sewn up and dressing applied, and Dr. Ince's attendance was not required, he therefore returned immediately.

As an appendix to my No. 177, of this day's date, a note as follows:-

There has been no ill-feeling between the Mahomedans and Hindoos at Raikot. It is true that for some time past the Municipal Committee have offered to give the butchers other land to build on, as the cattle of the entire town drink of the water into which the bones of the slaughtered animals are thrown, and one of the butchers, Boota was fined very recently for defiling this water; but the complaint was preferred by Mahomedans and Hindoos both,

and the site of the present slaughterhouse at Raikot is decidedly objectionable.

* * *

Document 18

Telegram from Patiala State to Punjab Government.

Service Telegram, Patiala the 19th July 1871

From - Rajpura To - Simla

From - Maharaja of Patiala

To - Secretary to Government, Punjab

Despatched 20th July 1871

Previous to the receipt of your telegram, strict instructions were issued upon the Nazims to take energetic measures for the arrest of the murderers on the information given by my Vakil at Ludhiana. All the measures taken by me are fully telegraphed to my Vakil there, for the information of the Government.

The evidence collected immediately after the attack did not initially establish the religious identity of the assailants. The survivors stated that they could not identify them and that the men were apparently naked except for a loincloth. The police, however, followed tracks from the scene towards Cheeneewala in Patiala territory.

One of the earliest clues came from Ghodaya and Mussamat Noorie, who described two suspicious men seen near the scene shortly before the murders. Cowan considered portions of their evidence credible, but also recorded that Ghodaya appeared to have used the occasion to implicate a personal enemy. This is an early indication of the difficulty faced by the investigators in distinguishing genuine evidence from information supplied out of personal hostility.

* * *

Document 19

Further Progress Report on the Investigation into the Raikot Murders

No. 180, dated the 20th July 1871.

From - L. CowAN, Esq., Offg. Depy. Commr., Ludiana.

To - The Officiating Commissioner, Umballa Division.

1. CONTINUE the narrative of the action taken in the Raikote case. I regret to say that no important clue to the discovery of the murderers has yet been found. The pool or tank through which they took flight has been carefully searched for arms and without success. A well, distant one kos from the scene of the murder, at which the murderers left and resumed their clothing, has been searched and a coarse koorta, bearing some dark stains, found therein. Endeavors are being made to have this recognised.

2. As at Umritsur, the opportunity has been embraced by dishonest men to give false information against those to whom they bear enmity. One Ghazi, a Goojur of Noorpoor, states that, 12 days before the Raikote murders, Nanuk, a Khutree of Raikote, came to him and offered Rs. 200 or Rs. 250 if he would get up a gang and slaughter the butchers in Raikote. He, Ghazi, consulted his chokydar, Gandhi (also a Mahomedan), who advised him to have nothing to do with it. This information bears the impress of falsehood on the face of it. It is incredible that, after what has occurred at Umritsur, a Hindoo would ask a Mahomedan (not a man of the budmash class either) to slaughter his co-religionists. It appears, too, that the accused Nanuk recently obtained a decree in the Civil Court against the informer Ghazi.

Another informer, a Nai, says that, on the day of the murder, he saw two men answering to the description of the two men given by Ghodaya and Nooree very like" coming from the butchers' quarter, and that one of these men was a Kooka Tuhseel chupprasee of Jugraon. The chupprasee has been sent for.

3. The Kookas of Jelaldewal and Cheeniewala, in the Puttialla State (where the tracks terminated, have been summoned, and their foot-prints compared with the tracks. They did not correspond. The vakeels and officials of the Puttiala and Nabha States are actively assisting our police over the border.

4. As I have said in another letter, attempts are being made to fix this crime on the Kooka sect. Colonel Baillie, Deputy Inspector General of Police, had determined that Kookas were the perpetrators before he arrived in the District, and he has been followed to Raikote by that intriguing Nahung, Lena Singh, of Anundpore, whose deposition I took and forwarded to you some days ago. I may be singular in opposing the opinion expressed by the Umritsur Police authorities that the Raikote murderers are Kookas, and that the gang which perpetrated the murders at Raikote is not the Umritsur gang; but I am still of opinion that there is not a particle of reliable evidence against Ram Sing, Kooka, and his followers. If we examine the information already given against Ram Sing, what does it amount to ?

There is-

1st, the story of Lena Singh, Nahung, that a Kooka Grunthee told him that Ram Sing had preached the murder of the butchers, and that his followers had promised to obey him. The Grunthee (Dull Singh) denies this, and the story is a lame one.

2nd, the seceded Kooka, Hurnam Dass, that he heard Ram Sing in durbar request his followers to kill the Umritsur butchers, assuring them that they would for each butcher killed receive a reward of 100 cows. This man made this statement when on his trial for the murder of a chokidar in the Umballa District.

3rd, a somewhat similar statement made at Umballa by one Soondur Singh. I don't know anything about this man, unless he is one of the three Kookas whom Lena Singh, Nahung, arrested at Dyalgurh, in which case he has probably been taught what to say. And Captain Horsford, District Superintendent, Police, Umballa, informs me that Soondur Singh made his statement "in precisely the same words," as were used by Hurnam Dass. The Umritsur murders occurred some days after Ram Singh is said to have given the order

to his disciples. Now if there is any truth in the above statements, it follows that at the bidding of their spiritual teacher, and with a view to the acquisition of other promised rewards, certain members of the Kooka sect murdered the butchers at Umritsur and at Raikote. The information was given before the occurrence of the outrage at Raikote, and it distinctly said that Ram Singh consulted the murder of the Umritsur butchers to his followers, and that the murder of the butches at Umritsur was the result of this counsel. If this be true the persons arrested at Umritsur and about to be committed to take their trial for the murder of the butchers must be the wrong men, for there are no Kookas among them. It is idle to say that the advice given by Ram Singh, Kooka, to his own followers at places distant from Umritsur was obeyed in Umritsur by persons of other castes, and at Raikote a month afterwards by Kookas.

5. I do not venture to assert that these murders were not committed by Kookas; all I say is that at present we are quite in the dark as to who did commit them, and without better information than has yet been obtained the probability is, that the same gang committed the outrages in the two places - Umritsur and Raikote.

6. There is good reason to believe that the Raikote murderers came from a distance, and that the outrage was not planned or connived at by any resident of Raikote or its neighbourhood. Had the latter been the case, the slightest enquiry would have made it known to the murderers that, of the two butchers whom they intended to kill, one (Buta) had been absent from his home for several days, and that the other (Ranja) was in the habit of sleeping on the roof of his house, on to which they made no attempt to ascend; they would have known too that the butchers' houses were that day filled with guests, mostly women and children, whom they had no object in slaughtering. The murderers, as I have said, most probably came from a distance, and after reconnoitring the ground, rushed in and attacked indiscriminately all whom they found there.

7. I have drawn Rs. 200 from the Treasury and have placed it at the disposal of the police, for bestowal in small rewards to trackers, diet of witnesses whose detention may be necessary, &c., &c. A separate application will be made for sanction to this disbursement. I would

also solicit your sanction to the payment of Rs. 50 to the Native Hukeem Alia, who has so skilfully and carefully attended to the unfortunate people who were wounded. I have the authority of the Civil Surgeon for saying that the wounds were, in the first instance, so well treated that little remained for the Civil Surgeon to do.

No. 547.

Copy of the above forwarded to the Home Secretary with the Viceroy, Simla.

* * *

Document 20

Government of Punjab's Report on the Investigation and Arrest of Suspected Perpetrators at Raikot

No. 1058-1/4, dated Lahore 21st July 1871

From - Lepel H. Griffen, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To - The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

I am desired to forward for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, copy of a telegram addressed to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, and of his reply,² in regard to the arrest of parties concerned in the recent murder of butchers at Raikot.

* * *

Document 21

Telegram Reporting the Arrest of Seven Kukas in Patiala Territory

Telegram dated 22nd July 1871.

² Refers to document No. 16 and 18

From - Loodhiana. To - Simla.

From - Deputy Commissioner. To - Home Secretary.

SEVEN Kookas traced from the scene of murder have been arrested by the Puttiala officials and our police at Pittatra. Puttiala State, swords found.

* * *

Document 22

Government Report on the Casualties at Raikot and the Arrest of Seven Suspected Kukas

No. 1058-1/4 -91S, dated Lahore 22nd July 1871

From - Lepel H. Griffen, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To - The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

The number of persons killed and wounded at Raikot, in the Ludhiana district, in the attack made on the residences of butchers, is nine:--

1. Dussandi, Gujar, -- dead.
2. Bassi, wife of above,-- dead.
3. Ranja, child of above, -- dying.
4. Rukna, ditto, 20 days old, - dying.
5. Rahanti, sister-in-law of No. 1, -- dying.
6. Kowra, wife of Buta, Kisab, -- dying.
7. Bija, daughter of Buta, -- may recover.
8. Ghana, daughter of Bija, 10 years, -- may recover
9. Akhu, Rajput, -- may recover.

1. There are only two families of butchers in the butcher's hamlet, which is about 150 yards from the town. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 9 were visitors for a day. Buta and Ranja, two butchers were saved, the former being absent at Ludhiana, and the latter being on the top of

his house. This ignorance of the absence of Buta and of the custom of Ranja to sleep on the roof indicates that the assassins were not residents of Raikot or its neighborhood.

2. I have today heard, by telegraph, of the arrest of seven Kukas in Patiala territory whither they had been traced from Raikot; their swords were also found. Further particulars will be sent when they are received by His Honor the Lieutenant Governor. The Sikhs naturally would wish to fix the crime on the obnoxious sect of Kukas, and there is as yet no certainty that the right persons have been arrested. His Highness, the Maharaja of Patiala has given every assistance in following up the case.

3. I am to add that although these murders have excited a very painful sensation among the people, yet it is reported that there is no feeling against the Government with reference to the kin-slaughter question.

* * *

Document 23

Progress Report of Inquiry No. III. dated 22nd July 1871

This day, the Nazim of Patiala, with Police officials of Government and of the Patiala state, arrived with the following prisoners -- all Kookahs:--

1. Khazan Singh,
2. Dull Singh,
3. Mungul Singh,
4. Goormukh Singh,
5. Mustan Singh,

and several other Kookahs against whom more or less suspicion exists.

From the statement of No.1, Khazan Singh (aged Faqueer Kookah, not capable of taking part himself in the attack) it appears that the four above mentioned, with one Ruttun Singh, Nae, of

Naeewalla (Patiala), spent the day of the 15th at his (Khazan Singh's) Tukiya in Cheeneewalla; that they left towards evening and were joined by four others at a spot on the road to Raikot; that Ruttun Singh remained behind (he being lame, and obliged to ride a camel), while the rest of the party (eight in number) proceeded to the butchers' houses at Raikot and perpetrated the outrage thereon. They afterwards dispersed, -- the four above mentioned, with Ruttun Singh returning to Khazan Singh's house at Cheeneewalla a little before daybreak, making over to him three swords (produced by witness) for concealment, and stating that they had "done for the butchers." They subsequently went off to their homes, situated in the villages of the Patiala State, whence they were hunted up and brought in. The statement of Khazan Singh is confirmed by that of Ram Kour, wife of accused No.2 (Dull Singh) who prepared food for the party, and who knew them all individually, also by a full confession on the part of Dull Singh himself.

Ruttun Singh, Nae, is a notorious character and has been for some time proclaimed for offenses in the Patiala State; he is a Deputy Soobah of Ram Singh, Kookah, acting as the subordinate of Gyanee Singh, the real Soobah of Kookahs in this part of the country. Gyanee Singh is also a most turbulent character, ever inciting the followers of the sect to violent demonstrations, encouraging them to abandon house and home, and to devote themselves entirely to Ram Singh's service.

It is generally known, and talked of in the villages bordering Patiala, Ludhiana and Ferozpoore that Ram Singh, in the course of his recent tours, has spoken of the extermination of butchers as a meritorious work, and one which was incumbent on the Kookahs sooner or later to perform, enjoining, however, that they should act with discretion and await the fitting time, which he said had not then come.

23rd July

It is today reported that many Kookahs from the surrounding country have been noticed to be proceeding in small parties towards Bhainie (Ram Singh's headquarters). Arrangements have been made for obtaining early information of what may be

going on there.

This document marks an important change in the evidentiary position. The earlier reports contained only circumstantial clues and suspicions; this report introduces statements attributed to persons who were themselves connected with the arrested group.

* * *

Document 24

Forwarding of the Deputy Commissioner's Report on the Raikot Murders

No. 237, dated 24th July 1871

From - J.W. MacNabb, Esq., Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent

Ambala Division.

To - The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Begs to forward, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, copy of a letter from the Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana, No. 177, dated 18th instant*, (**Foot note*** Refers to document No. 17) reporting on the murder of butchers at Raikot, in the district.

Although brief, this document is useful in establishing the official chain of correspondence. It also provides the immediate documentary link between Cowan's initial report of the Raikot attack and the subsequent reports dealing with the arrest and interrogation of suspected perpetrators.

* * *

Document 25

Progress Report on the Raikot Investigation and the Alleged

Involvement of Kukas

Memo dated camp, Basssean, near Raikot, 24th July 1871

From - L. Cowan, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana.

To - The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Progress Report in the Raikot Case.

Four of the seven Kookas, arrested are undoubtedly the murderers. Their swords have all been found, four of them with the blood, hair and skin on them. One of their member, Dull Singh, has turned approver on an offer of pardon. He came out somewhat reluctantly with the details, but his wife, an intelligent woman, in order to save her husband, has given a clear account of the affair. It appears that the leader of the gang was one Ruttun Singh, Kooka, a man of loose character, formerly residing at Nai Walla, in the Puttialla State, but for the last two years a *khana-ba-dosh*. This man took a part in Umritsar murders. He afterwards, accompanied by four of his Umritsar accomplices, three Kookas of the Umritsar district, and one (Golab Singh), of Mogha, in the Ferozepore district, came to his former home and induced the four men of Chunniwal to join him in the attack on the Raikot butchers. The probability is that Ruttun Singh was not a leader in the Umritsar business, but that he offered himself or was chosen from the known turbulence and looseness of his character; and that he afterwards, in imitation of the deed at Umritsar, made himself head of a gang for the purpose of committing a similar atrocity near his own home. Golab Singh, the Mogha Kooka, has been arrested, but has not yet arrived. The information is that the Kookas at Umritsar disguised themselves as *Nahungs* when they committed the murders. Ruttun Singh is a kind of deputy to Gyane Singh, the Kooka Soobah of these parts, a man of bad character, who has been for two years in a Puttialla jail for creating a disturbance. Gyane Singh has been sent for.

The approver and the witnesses, by whom many of his statements are corroborated, state that when Ram Singh was at Raisar, a few

weeks before the Umritsar business, mention was made to him that one Kooka had murdered another, in the Ferozepore district, whereupon Ram Singh in a speech or sermon upbraided his followers for killing each other, and asked them if they knew of no enemies of their religion whom they could kill; and that he went on to allude to the defilement of the holy place at Umritsar by the presence there of slaughters of cows. Several of his followers cried out, --"if you order it, we will kill the butchers." Ram Singh replied, --"Don't do anything in a hurry; the time has not yet come." It is not improbable that some of the Soobah's men, selected for their zeal and fanaticism, and often men of very bad character, may have given out that it was Ram Singh's order to kill the butchers. Important disclosures will probably be made when the Manjha Kookas arrive, and there is every hope now that, not only will the Raikot murderers be brought to justice, but that the Umritsar mystery will be cleared up. A rumour of yesterday that small gangs of Kookas were proceeding towards Bhainee is of no importance. The fact is that when the arrest of these Kookas became known, one or more Kookas from several villages started off to give information at Bhainee. There is no reason whatever to anticipate a general rising of Kookas-- the Malwais are curs in open fight. These murders are merely the acts of a few of the more fanatical members of the tribe. I attach little importance to these stories told of the seditious language said to be preached by Soobahs. Their declamations, and the twaddle about the visions of Goroo Gobind, coming on a white horse with several crores of Kookas, is similar to what is occasionally heard in the pulpits of other denominations.

The Police working in this case has been admirable. Not a single person has been unnecessarily arrested. Much useless irritation to the people has thus been avoided. To the healthy co-operation of the Puttialla Ahullkars, and conjunction with our Police and trackers, the arrest of these murderers is due. It was a blunder to miss the butchers, and to mangle so many women and children. The murderers have lost the sympathies of many who might have rejoiced at the death of the butchers only. The demeanour of the people is good. Salaams to European officers are more frequent than before, and cutcherry work goes on with the same regularity.

There is positively nothing to lead to the supposition that there will be even a local disturbance; but there is all over the country a feeling of irritation among the Khutrees and Sahookars at the unnecessary arrest in Umritsar of many respectable persons.

This is an important stage in the investigation because the official narrative now extends beyond the identification of individual suspects to an alleged connection between the Raikot and Amritsar murders and, more significantly, to the wider Kuka organization..

* * *

Document 26

Special Report, by F. Christie dated Umritsar, the 26th July 1871.

KOOKAS.

I was in the city from 10 A. M. to 2 P. M. yesterday, and again last night, disguised as an oodasee sadh, from 10 P. M. to 2 A. M., making special enquiries regarding Namdharees alias Kookas and their movements. The following scraps of information were obtained:

1st. - Kookas, in contradistinction of other Sikh sects, frequently practice the ceremony commonly known amongst them as *bhugh* * (*bhugh* Grunth is read through continuously and on completion, sweetmeats distributed. Human or home., in recollection of appearance of Naina Devi to Gobind Singh, after his burning ghee is split on fire, and a flame created) and *human* or *home*. Both these ceremonies necessitate a collection of several of the sect on each occasion. The *bhugh* is innocent in itself, but affords favorable opportunity for talking and preaching sedition, and for organizing a system of brotherly combination. The *human* or *home* ceremony is not free from some common object, aim, and hope, and savours of an objectionable political feeling.

2. *Human* ceremonies appear to have been held immediately before * (*Day prior to murder this has been reported and fully enquired into. The names of parties present were ascertained) and

after the butcher murders, not since. A further report will be submitted on this subject.

3. *Bhugh* ceremonies are often celebrated. On the first of the Hindoo month it took place in the house of Kurm Singh, Cheemba and Ekha-driver at Bhai Saloo's Toba. Last Saturday at the house of Goclab Singh, carpenter in Buggean Kutra. On Monday, near Baba Uttul, at the desire of Bhai Baba (?) Singh's daughter. * (* Married to Goolab Singh, Kooks, Of Balaka Singh's three sons) Last night, on the steps of the durbār tank, immediately facing the Mulwai Boonga.

4. During the ceremonies, a blessing is asked in which all present join, in contradistinction of other Sikhs. Brahmins are excluded, and the blessing ends with-

"Gai I Sikh ka bhula ho

Doost ko hona nisht."

This asks for the welfare of the cow and their own sect, and for a curse on *Doost* which must have a special meaning, probably kine-killers and beef-eaters,

5. The Kookas are particularly marked for their continual preaching against the slaughter of kine. Ram Singh, their Gooroo, is very vehement in his addresses on the subject. The killing of cows was the principal subject of all religious cant during the late *Holee* fair at Ahmedpore.

6. Hurree Singh, Brahmin of Suraj, near Killa Soba Singh, in the Sealkote District, blind of the left eye, is the Granthee or priest in Umritsur. He has assumed the place of Sobha (He is also the distributor of alms, and holds the purse strings) since the arrest of Roor Singh and Lachna Singh. He lives in the Rumthult (Next to the Mulwal Boonga, and communisting with it.) Boonga, the property of Bhai Jusmeer Singh, of Urnaulee, near Puttialah, which is the great rendezvous of Kookas. They formerly had the use of the Chumbulwalian Boonga, but for the last year they occupy the Rumthul Boongs, with the consent of Goormookh Singh, Boongae. Hurree Singh is an ill-looking, and ill-disposed individual, he is constantly visited by Kookas from other parts of the country, who come to him on the pretence of attending the *bhugh*

ceremony. Yesterday there were several strangers with him.

7. The Kookas are said to have made a determination to oppose to their utmost the slaughter of kine. Subsequent to the Umritsur murders a body of Kookas, to the number of 100, are reported to have offered themselves as martyrs to Ram Singh, with whose blessing they have undertaken to scatter themselves in different Districts, and devote themselves to perpetrating nets of violence against dealers in kine for purposes of slaughter, and more particularly against beef-butchers in the vicinity of Hindoo cities, towns and temples.

CHRISTIE

KOOKAS.

THERE is unquestionable danger to (A gang of 125 cattle for Dalhousie were detained owing to fear of butchers. They left three or four days ago, and 1 yesterday ordered intended despatch of herds to be reported.) traders and butchers moving from one place to another with herds of cattle for sale for purposes of slaughter. Special measures should be adopted to warn them to move in large parties armed with heavy clubs and only by day; putting up in serais or close to police posts at night.

2. Maital Singh, Kulal, of Kumanee Durwaza, is said to have made the following remark to Surmookh Singh, wood-seller of Mahee Singh Khuttree, during conversation: "If Government will be fool-hardy and prosecute the Gooroo and Soobas of the Kookas, the Government will repent it. The Kookas have taken oaths to exert every nerve in exterminating "the curse of cow-killing in all places in the vicinity of Hindoo cities, towns, and Sikh temples. If Government give in to them on this point, a more loyal or devoted sect they could not possibly have among their subjects."

3. During conversation when coming from Bull to the city, a Kooka remarked to Gudawn, brother of Bull, "you will see in a few days, before the next Diwallie, cow killing must cease, or else all will be *akal akal*."

4. Radha Singh, Halwai of Koulser Tank, reports that, often during

conversation with Kookas, they have expressed themselves favorably inclined to the English; but that it is common talk with them that Ram Singh has ordered the extermination of beef-butchers from the precincts of cities and places of resort by Sikhs, but they are not to be interfered with in cantonments or European stations; that it has been planned to have a general onslaught. (This in confirmatory of statements of Mungal Singh and Nund Singh, Nihunges. I think Ruttun Singh and Lall Singh should be got rid of, but will consult D. I. G.) on the Mahomedans of the city for their having encouraged the sale of beef, and caused the prosecution of the Hindoos. This intention is proposed to be carried into effect during the coming Diwalee, when out-siders are to attend armed with gundasas, and by a sudden rush the guards of the city police are to be seized. He names Ruttan Singh and Lall Singh, the two Kooka Constables, to be spies and men who keep their brotherhood acquainted with all the orders passed and precautions taken.

5. Instructions have been circulated (Chutta Singh, disguised as a Kooka, returned yesterday. He had met greatest suspicion evidently in accordance with this warning) by Ram Singh to all Kooka communities to be very chary in mixing and conversing with men not of their own sect. Prohibitory orders have been sent to the several Soobas to discontinue proselytizing for the present, visits to Bhainee have also been put a stop to. Private communications are to be avoided with every one, without first testing the person to see if he is really one of their own brotherhood.

6. Kookas talk very large of their connections with Jummoo, and the multiplicity of their sect. (I was told, they say to-day we are a lakh, tomorrow we will be a lakh and a quarter.) Baba Kan Singh, a Nihung Sikh and a Sooba in the Hooshiarpore District, has just returned from Nepal. He carried with him several buffaloes, some horses, and other presents for the Rajah. Since his return, it is rumoured that he was favorably received by the Rajah, and has been engaged to supply the Rajah with Kookas for a regiment. Some go to the extent of saying that the Rajah himself has turn a convert to Kookaism, and is very anxious that Ram Singh should visit him.

F. CHRISTIE

This report should be read with particular care because much of its information is explicitly presented as intelligence obtained from various persons. The report also records a blessing associated with Kuka ceremonies concerning the welfare of the cow and the sect, followed by a curse upon the doosht, which Christie interpreted as possibly referring to cow-killers and beef-eaters.

* * *

Document 27

Forwarding of Further Proceedings in the Raikot Murder Investigation.

No. 1058-1/4 -91S, dated Lahore 27th July 1871

From - Lepel H. Griffen, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To - The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

In continuation of my letter No. 91S 1058-1/4, dated 22nd July, I am desired to forward for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, copy of memo dated 24th July 1871, from Mr. L Cowan, Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana*, (**Foot note** *Refers to document No. 25) reporting further proceedings in connection with the late murders at Raikot.

The document is brief, but it is useful in establishing the administrative route by which the investigation at Raikot was reported from the district level to the Government of India. It also marks the point at which the detailed allegations contained in Cowan's memorandum were formally placed before the higher Government.

* * *

Document 28

Forwarding of Further Reports on the Raikot Murders from Punjab Government to Government of India.

No. 99S,-1007-1/2, dated Lahore, 28th July 1871

From - Lepel H. Griffen, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To - The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

In continuation of my letter No. 98,S, dated 27th current, I am desired to forward copies of further reports on the murders at Raikot, received under docket No. 237, dated 24th July, from the Commissioner of Ambala.

This document brings the present sequence to a natural close. By this stage, the official investigation had moved from the initial uncertainty surrounding the identity of the Raikot assailants to a much more definite police theory involving a group of Kukas. At the same time, the evidence on which that theory rested included confessions, approver testimony, intelligence reports and statements attributed to others.

* * *

Document 29

Progress Report of Enquiry No.VI , dated Bussean, 28th July 1871

Trial of the case in Session's Court held at Bussean, near scene of outrage, before Mr. McNabb, Sessions Judge.

1. Prosecution nearly closed; case appears clear against the four accused Kookahs.

2. Ram Singh, (Kookah Gooroo) has been summoned as a witness for the defense. He arrived this morning with 36 followers (10

mounted) and is encamped near where the trial is proceeding.

3. Nothing of importance in the neighborhood to report. Precautions have been taken in all districts to prevent further attacks on butchers.

This brief progress report provides an important glimpse into the atmosphere surrounding the Raikot trial. It shows that the case was being treated not merely as an ordinary criminal proceeding but as an incident with wider implications because of the involvement of Kukas and the presence of Satguru Ram Singh at the trial.

* * *

Document 30

Investigation into the Amritsar Butcher Murders

While the trial of the accused in the Raikot murder case was proceeding, the authorities were also investigating the earlier murder of butchers at Amritsar. By this stage, twelve persons had been committed for trial in connection with the Amritsar murders. Significantly, however, the Deputy Commissioner reported that the investigation had so far produced no satisfactory evidence connecting the Kukas with the Amritsar murders.

. [Confidential.]

No. 102-S, dated Simla, the 31st July 1871.

From - L. H. GRIFFIN, ESQ., Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To - The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I AM desired to forward, for the information of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, copy of letter No. 1106, dated 26th

current, from the Deputy Commissioner of Umritsur, and of its enclosures, reporting on matters connected with the late murder of butchers at Umritsur. The marginal remarks on the police reports are by the Deputy Commissioner.

No. 1106, dated Umritsur, the 26th July 1871.

From - MAJOR F. M. Birch, Deputy Commissioner of Umritsur.

To - The Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

SINCE the receipt of the circular and Political No. A, I have caused enquiries to be made, and have the honor to transmit, in original, the result of Mr. Christie's investigations.

2. The ability, sagacity, and remarkable detective skill possessed by this officer, and the personal risk at which he does his work, must be well known to the Government, and have once more come conspicuously to notice in dealing with the Umritsur murder case.

3. I have the honor to report that I have committed twelve persons to take

their trial before the Sessions Court. Of these, three are Nihungs, residents of Umritsur; one, a Khuttree of influence, supposed to have instigated the crime, and the remainder, city budmashes. Two men turned approvers, - one a Khuttree of influence, named Jyekam, is the principal witness, and his turning Queen's evidence has excited profound sensation. It is to this, and to nothing else, I attribute the numerous rumours that reach me through the police of excitement in the city. Up to date, notwithstanding the searching enquiry that has been made, nothing has been found to implicate Kookas in the Umritsur murders. One approver mentioned them as being concerned, but without positive information. The clue is being worked out.

4. The Kookas are rather a *beta noir* of the police. Without sufficient reason, as I think, from the very first, men of rival opinions were set to watch them and track them. I trust that this has not had the effect of exciting them. On the news of the Raikote murders, the two leading Kookas at this place were arrested - a proceeding which was only reported to me yesterday. It may very possibly be that there

is cause for apprehension.

I am not in a position to judge, except as regards my own District, in which the suspicion is very slight. Brahmins and Khuttrees, inimical to Kookaism, are believed here to be at the bottom of the discontent. But of this one thing I am confident, that if the leaders of this powerful sect are to be everywhere forcibly interfered with, it will be quite enough to disgust them, and the Government should be prepared with its measures accordingly.

This document is important because it records a significant distinction between official suspicion of the Kukas and actual evidence against them. Equally significant is Birch's criticism of the manner in which the Kukas had been treated by the police. The report therefore provides an important contemporary official perspective on the situation.

* * *

Document 31

Further Reports on Raikote Outrage from Punjab Government to Government of India.

The investigation into the Raikot outrage was now nearing completion, and the proceedings were being formally communicated between the Punjab Government and the Government of India.

No. 1120-1/2, dated Lahore, 1st August 1871

From - Lepel H. Griffen, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To - The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

In continuation of my letter No. 99-S., dated 28th July, I am desired to forward, for the information of His Excellency Governor-General

in Council, copies of repos No. III and VI, on the progress of the enquiry in the case of the late outrage at Raikot.

* * *

Document 32

Chief Court Judgment in the Raikot Murder Case

The Sessions trial of the Raikot murder case had been concluded at Bussean on 29 July 1871, and the four accused — Mustan Singh, Goormukh Singh, Mangal Singh and Golab Singh — had been found guilty and sentenced to death, subject to confirmation by the Chief Court.

--

1st August 1871

The Crown,

Versus

Mustan Sing,

Goormookh Sing,

Mungal Sing,

Golab Sing.

Charge.- Murder of Dussoundhi and Mussamat Bussan at Raikote, in the Loodiana District.

Case referred by Commissioner, Amballa.

The particulars of this case are given in the judgment of the Sessions Judge, which was as follows:-

The evidence in this case as regards the history of it depends much upon the evidence of men more or less implicated in the affair. Dull Sing confesses to being one of the actual murderers: he has been offered, and has accepted, pardon under the terms of section 209, Criminal Procedure Code. Khuzan Sing knew of the crime intended and concealed the swords afterwards. Uttur Sing and Juggut Sing,

and Mussumat Ram Kour, Dull Sing's wife, knew it was going to be committed. Goormookh Sing, Ram Sing, Boota Ram and Umur Sing, must have suspected; it has not been thought advisable to proceed against any of these. Their evidence varies in several particulars, but is the same in the main, and has most evidently not been tutored by the police nor agreed upon among themselves; in fact they had hot disputes in Court over portions of Dull Sing's statements which have generally turned out to be the true ones. Whole of the above-named persons are "Kookas," except Ram Sing, and so are all the accused.

It is proved by the evidence of Dull Sing, Mussumat Ram Kour, Juggut Sing and Uttur Sing, that Dull Sing, Juggut Sing and Uttur Sing had several meetings, at which the expediency of killing cow-killers at Raikote was discussed. On the day before the day on the evening of which the murder occurred, at about 10 A. M., Uttur Sing and Juggut Sing came from their villages of Ranoi and Chouhaki, bringing Golab Sing with them. Uttur Sing admits this. Juggut Sing says he and Golab Sing came in afterwards. On their arrival at Dull Sing's house in Cheeneewal, Mussumat Ram Kour, who is also a Kooka, went out and brought in Dull Sing, her husband, and gave them all food; after food Dull Sing went out and brought in Goormookh Sing with his sword; (No. 7) Goormookh Sing, a Kooka, admits this. After this they excepting Goormookh Sing, went to a neighbour's, Ram Sing's (not a Kooka) and Uttur Sing bought some 12 annas worth of goor, and Dull Sing borrowed a sword. Ram Sing denies the matter of the sword. Uttur Sing after this left with Juggut Sing.

At this point there is a discrepancy. Uttur Sing says he went home. Juggut Sing says he went home, but returned the following day with Ruttun Sing, Naiwalla, (a lame man) who rode on a camel, and Bhugwan Sing, and brought them to Khuzan Sing's Tukeya. He sent Khuzan Sing to fetch Dull Sing and the two went off with Dull Sing. He subsequently admits that Luchmun Sing and Beer Sing also passed through his house on the way to Cheeneewal.

I believe Dull Sing that it was the day above-mentioned (and this is supported by Uttur Sing) and that Juggut Sing on leaving the village

went to a place of meeting in the jungle and brought in Ruttun Sing, Naiwalla, on his camel, and three strangers of Umritsur district, called or known by the names of Bhagwan Sing, Luchmun Sing and Beer Sing, all Kookas. Golab Sing was then called by Dull Sing and the party started, Juggut Sing going into the village (Cheeneewal) and stopping the night at Dull Sing's house. Mussumat Ram Kour states that at starting next morning he told her to expect the Pitokee men, i. e., Mustan Sing, Goormookh Sing and Mungul Sing, accused, and to send them to Boparai jungle. Juggut Sing denies this.

To return to the party starting with the camel. They consisted of Ruttun Sing,* (* Ruttun Sing is a well-known retainer or Kooka Soubha in this part of the country) who rode the camel, Dull Sing who tells the story, Goolab Sing, and the three Umritsur men. There seems to have been 8 swords on the camel, besides the three Dull Sing had. The party then went towards Boparai, where, leaving the others behind, Ruttan Sing on his camel, with Dull Sing and Bhagwan Sing went into the village, woke up Umur Sing, Kooka, and left 4 swords with him. Umur Sing admits this, but does not mention Bhugwan Sing. Dull Sing states that Ruttun Sing then left to see what the Pitokee men were doing; saying he would bring them he went along to Boparai. The party then went on apparently with three swords, Ruttun Sing having carried off the rest. They went through the jungle not far from Raikot and on to Tajpoor, where arrived about sunrise. It was necessary to conceal their swords and to get food. Dull Sing and Beer Sing went to Boota Ram a *Saad* and asked if he might bring in the swords and the other men. Dull Sing returned and brought in the swords, and Golab Sing and Luchmun Sing, and presently Bhugwan Sing followed. About noon having eaten and drank they left, the four Umritsur men (for Golab Sing properly belonged to Umritsur) going out by the door. Dull Sing with the three swords concealed down his back under a blanket went through a hole in the back of the house into the jungle. This was entirely confirmed by Boota before the Magistrate, and he has also in this Court told the same story with this exception, that he did not know they were swords, only saw a parcel in a blanket.

The four Umritsur men took the road and went right through the town of Raikote, to a *keekur* tree on the road from Raikote to

Jullaldeewal and Cheeneewal, where they were met by Dull Sing, who had come round through the jungle with the swords. They then hid the swords in the furrows of a field and dispersed a little to escape observation. Dull Sing says he went off to Boparai and waited till dusk when he went into Umur Sing's house. During the afternoon a constable returning from Cheeneewal to Raikote saw four Kookas by a tank looking so excited, and singing and shaking their bare heads, that he was frightened, hid his sword under his arm and passed by at a distance. He does not recognize Golab Sing as one of the 4, nor yet the other accused.

I return to Dull Sing. Umur Sing went out to bathe, and Dull Sing states returned with the news that the Pitokee men had arrived. At all events, by the admission of Umur Singh the four swords were taken out with some food to a party of 5 men at an outlying well. Umur Sing says he saw they were Kookas, and that Dull Sing told him 3 were Pitokee men and 2 Manja Sikhs. Dull Sing says the 3 Pitokee men were the three accused, Mustan Sing, Goormookh Sing and Mungul Sing. The 2 Manja men were Beer Sing and Bhugwan Sing who had come up. It is necessary here to trace the Pitokee men up to this point. From the evidence of Khuzan Sing and Mussumat Ram Kour it is proved, and the accused admit, that they arrived (according to Khuzan Sing shortly after sunrise, according to them about 11 a. m.), at Khuzan Sing's Tukeya, had their dinner at Ram Kour's, and left shortly before sunset. Mussumat Ram Kour and Khuzan Sing say that Ruttan Sing was with them and before the Magistrate Mungul Sing admitted that he saw a man whom he was told was Ruttun Sing at the Tukeya, but before this court they do not mention Ruttun Sing. To return to the well near Boparai - Umur Sing took the dishes and returned home. Dull Sing states that he and his 5 companions went to the *keekur* tree and called Golab Sing, and Luchmun Sing answered and came up; they then divided some goor. Beer Sing had in his *pugree*, washed their hands in sand and went on. The party now numbered 8. A little further on they took off their superfluous clothes and shoes and went on, down the Jullaldeewal and Raikote road crossed the fields near two wells into the Dudhoor and Raikote road, which is a hollow lane, then full of water, and runs end on against the

butchers' houses. They here agreed that if they were heard going through the water, they should say they were camel men. They then went through the water, saw a number of people on charpoys in front of the houses, and set on them. Dull Sing states he hit something, man, woman or child, twice, got frightened and went back and stood by the water. There was now an outcry and they all ran off through the water up the lane, across the fields, but at this side of the walls into the Jullaldeewal road, picked up and put on their shoes and they found Ruttun Sing waiting for them with his camel under some trees. Somewhat beyond the Pitokee men left them going through the jungle, two of them giving Dull Sing their swords, Mungul Sing keeping his. At a *peepul* tree further on Beer Sing, Golab Singh and Luchmen Sing gave their swords to him and kept on right through Cheeneewal. He, Ruttun Sing and Bhugwan Sing stopped to drink and get rid of their swords at Khuzan Sing's Takeya, Ruttun Sing giving two, and Bhugwan Sing one sword, to Khuzan Sing. Khuzan Sing's story differs considerably from this. He says it was the three Pitokee men who were with Ruttun Sing, but as it was pitch dark, blowing a dust storm, and Rattan Sing was the only one who spoke, and he is himself a stupid old fellow, and must have been greatly frightened; and, moreover, denies Dull Sing's presence, of which there can be no doubt, I believe he has no distinct recollection of the matter beyond having had 3 swords to bury, two of which he placed under the thorn hedge round his *Tukeya*, and the third out in the sand heaps. Dull Sing having given back Ram Sing his sword, took the rest to his house, and on the trackers coming to the village buried the swords under the stack, where they were eventually found.

To return to the scene of the murders. The butchers' huts, which were placed there by Mr. Ricketts sometime in 1856, stand by themselves some 200 yards from the town wall, and still more from the nearest gate; the Thanah must be a quarter of a mile off. I have been all over the ground and seen the tracks as far as the *keekur* trees. On the night in question, several Goojurs, male and female, were guests of the two butcher families; one of the butchers was absent in Loodiana appealing against an order of the Tehsildar fining him for throwing carcasses into the pool near the house, but

I do not think there was any serious grievance between them and the Khutrees of Raikote. Runga, Mussamat Noree, and Nabbia, were on the roofs of the houses, the rest on charpoys below. Those above named state they were roused about 11 P. M., by the noise of blows, flash of swords, screams, &c. ; they jumped down, and the two latter ran screaming off to the Thanah, being met on the road by the Duffadar of Chowkeedars, who was prompt in his succour: when they got back to the spot the assailants were gone. A clever native Hakeem, Alia, was soon on the spot. He deposes that Dussondee and Mussamat Bussan died almost immediately and Ranja, aged 4 years, died on the 4th day and that six others, were most severely wounded, losing arms, fingers and toes. One was wounded in 10, another in 13, places. All the wounds, except three, which seemed to have been done with a square-headed wood axe, were caused by sword cuts.

The night was so stormy that it was impossible to go after the murderers at that time. Next morning two trackers, Bhanga Singh and Bhoopa, were started on the tracks, which were clearly those of 8 men without shoes, for some distance along the Jullaldeewal road to a point where 7 of them put on their shoes. At Jullaldeewal they made a circuit to avoid the village, and among the sand hills two tracks were lost, the remainder ran on to Cheeneewal, and were lost within 20 paces of Khuzan Sing's *Tukeya*. Owing to the wind storm which was still going on, and the sandy broken nature of the ground the tracking beyond Jullaldeewal seems to have been most difficult; and when the trackers say that six tracks were carried up to Cheeneewal they may well be mistaken in one, or two, as they only picked up a footstep they recognized now and again. The trackers have since compared the foot-prints of the 4 accused with the tracks close to the spot, and swear that 4 of the tracks are those of accused. Dull Sing's being that which went without shoes the whole way.

Enquiries were verbally made from Khuzan Sing, who first said that three Kookas had passed his *Tukeya* towards Raikote, then said they belonged to Pitokee, then gave their names and showed where the swords were hid. 1, 2 and 3 the Pitokee men were then seized, and Khuzan Sing gave information regarding Dull Sing, who was seized, brought before the Magistrate at Bussian, and then sent back

to point out where he had hid the six swords. This he did in the presence of Faiz Ali Khan and other witnesses, who swear to there being blood on three swords, quite fresh, with sand sticking to it; they found also a small piece of skin or flesh on one of the sword handles, a *chudder* with pieces torn out and marks that look like washed out blood, also a *koorta* with one suspicious mark on it, also an axe handle, were found in Goormookh Sing's house at Pitokee. But I place little weight on the two latter. After producing the swords Dull Sing made his confession. Golab Sing was seized at his village Choor Chuch on the 23rd on Dull Sing's information.

The defence of the three Pitokee men is the same. They say they left their village making for Bhainee the third day, have no witnesses of that part of their journey, stayed at Bhainee, till the third day seeing the Gooroo and his Soobhas. Both Gooroo and Soobhas deny having seen them at all of late. One of the accused, Mungul Sing, says he consulted the Gooroo about drowning his rich son, a fact the Gooroo would not fail to have remembered. Leaving Bhainee in the afternoon they reached Banpoor and slept there; next morning, or rather shortly after midnight, they marched right through to Cheeneewal, arriving at 11 A. M., spend the day at Khuzan Sing's *Tukeya*, eating at Mussamut Ram kour's, start again at sunset, and spend that night in the jungle near Raisin, where they had Kooka friends, instead of going into the village, and reached their own village they say shortly after sunrise, and do not see any one until about 10 A. M. Their stories vary in many particulars, moreover they named no witnesses before the Magistrate though duly asked if they

wished to do so. At the close of the case Goormookh Sing was asked if he wished the two witnesses he had lately named sent for and said "what is the use.". Mangal Sing has named two witnesses at the last moment, both Kookas, but he wants them to prove that he had been to Bhainee, which is quite immaterial to the case, and as neither of them saw him till 10 A. M., if then, that, if admitted, would not prove an alibi, which in fact was not what he thought of proving. I have therefore not thought it necessary to delay the case 3 days more. The distance from Raikote to Pitokee is not above 34 miles, and could easily be done between 11A. M. and 8 P. M. at 4 miles an

hour.

To consider their whole story then it is clear that their going to Bhainee or not is immaterial. I do not believe that they did, but it is sufficient that they admit staying the whole day before the murder at Cheeneewal, and are fed by the wife of one of the murderers, that they leave the village at a suitable time to commit the murder, and not at the time travellers would have started, and then pass the night in the jungle close to village, the night being a most tempestuous one. Their defence has therefore entirely failed.

The evidence against them is the direct statement of Dull Sing, corroborated to a great extent by his wife, by Bhugwan Sing, and again in an indirect manner by Umur Sing, and lastly by the evidence of the trackers, which I consider of considerable weight, as though the last part of the journey was in bad soil, that near the butchers' huts where the tracks were of naked feet was favourable, being either hardening mud or smooth cultivated ground.

The marks on the *chuddur* have not been proved to be blood but the fact of the way in which it has been freshly torn into holes is most suspicious.

I have no hesitation in finding Mustan Sing, Goormookh Sing and Mungul Sing, guilty of the offence charged.

With regard to Golab Sing, his defence is that he was at Bhainee at the time of the murder. The evidence of his Gooroo is distinctly against this, his assertion of borrowing Rs. 5 from Gopal Sing is disproved by the latter. In fact, he is quite unable to account for himself at the time of the murder.

The evidence against Golab Sing is the direct evidence of Dull Sing supported by that of his wife, Ram Kour. The evidence of Jaggut Sing, Uttur Sing, Goormookh Sing and Boota Ram, proves clearly that he was going about with the armed party of murderers the day preceding and the day of the murder. His foot-prints are also sworn to by the trackers. (I should mention that Bhunga Sing, tracker, shut up in a room by the Magistrate while some ground was prepared, and the 4 accused marched across it, and that the tracker was able to name each foot-print without the least hesitation.)

The evidence against Golab Sing I consider most conclusive, and find him guilty of the offence charged.

I sentence the accused Mustan Sing, Goormookh Sing, Mungul Sing and Golab Sing, to be hanged by the neck till they are dead, subject to the confirmation of the Chief Court.

BOULNOIS, J.-At a Court of Sessions held at Bussian, near Raikote, in Loodiana, for the District of Loodiana, by Mr. J. W. McNabb, Sessions Judge of the Ambala Division, on the 27th day of July 1871, with the aid of four Assessors, the Court, concurring with the Assessors, found the prisoners guilty of the charge, and sentenced them to death, subject to the confirmation of the Chief Court, for which the proceedings have now been forwarded.

In the outskirts of the large village or qusbah of Raikote, a hamlet of butchers' huts has existed since 1856, where they were allowed to be erected, as the evidence shows, by the District Officer of that day. The position of the huts is shown on the accompanying plan taken from the file of the Sessions Judge and exhibiting the names in English.

For some time past, according to the evidence, some feeling has been shown against the persons engaged in the trade of beef butchers at Raikote (see the evidence of Dull Sing, No. IV, as to what occurred at the meetings and at the Kotha Mela, also that of Ranja, No. 1).

Intimation is said to have been given to the butchers of the hamlet that they had better close their business, sometime before the murder, and threatening language held. -See Ranja No. I.

Moreover, Buta, one of the butchers, had been recently fined 10 rupees upon a charge of throwing a carcass into a pond near the slaughter house, whereas according to Ranja the charge was false, and the bones of cattle were either burned or buried on the butchers' premises. But whether the above details are true or not, the following general facts are plain:

On the night of the 16th July two persons, who were passing the night as guests with the butchers, viz., Dussoundhi Gujur, and Mussummat Bussan, his wife, were killed by blows of sharp

instruments, inflicting incised wounds some eight or ten inches long, and so severe as to cause death in both cases (within a few minutes, if not) instantaneously; as to this the evidence of Alia, the barber, and the Sub-Assistant Surgeon, are not quite in accord, but the difference is not material.

At the same time, Howrie, a woman of about 40 years; Bunia, a girl of 8 or 9; Rangha, a boy of 3 years, an infant three weeks old; Huku a man of 30; in all about 10 persons, were cut and gashed with incised wounds in all directions. -See the evidence of Sub-Assistant Surgeon H. C. Banerjee.

The evidence of several witnesses (I, II, III,) establishes that a sudden attack was made by a party of men upon the hamlet about 11 P. M. The night was dark and tempestuous. None of them could be identified and several of the butchers who were sleeping on the roofs of the huts, and out of the way of the assailants, jumping down, ran towards the Thana. The Duffadar of Chowkidars, Ahmed Khan, who was then on his rounds, having heard cries from the direction of the butchers' huts, ran quickly to the spot, whence the murderers had then gone. Torches were fetched, but were useless on account of the storm. A village surgeon, Alia, witness VII, began dressing the wounds; and investigation, on account of the weather, being useless that night, tracking was commenced in the morning. (Bhunga Singh, XVIII, and Bhupa, XIX.)

The sole question in this case is whether the investigation which then began has resulted in the conviction of the real offenders, for the main portion of the evidence is given by Dull Sing under a conditional pardon sec. (209) to which he was admitted after his arrest, which was brought about in the following way :-

Starting from the end of a lane leading down upon the butchers' hamlet, the trackers traced the foot-marks of eight men to the *Tukeya* of Khuzan Sing. Khuzan Sing in the presence of Mukul Hoosein, a Thanadar belonging to Putiala, witness VI, and Manum Khan, VII, a Lumberdar of Dhunner, also a Putiala subject, produced three swords, and named three men of Pitokee, besides Dull Sing of Cheeneewal, and Ruttun Sing of Naiwalla, as the actual perpetrators. Dull Sing was then arrested, and commenced a series

of admissions which have ended in his giving his evidence under conditional pardon. Dull Sing showed the Police where more swords were concealed. According to the evidence of Manum Khan these swords were bloody.

Khuzan Sing, witness 13 for prosecution, admitted that the accused were at his house a few hours before, and also a short time after the murder. He states that they informed him that they had done their work, and, as the Sessions Judge observes, this witness seems to have known of the intended murder and of its perpetration.

Umur Sing, XIV, corroborates the statement as to the intention to attack the butchers, but his evidence chiefly relates to Dull Sing, whose evidence however as to Ruttun Sing accompanying him on a camel it confirms, as well as the fact of Dull Sing's collecting swords. Mussumat Ram Kour's evidence also is strongly corroborative of her husband's statement. She names all four of the accused as having been to Dull Sing's house and having returned to Khazan Sing's *Tukeya* on the day before the murder. Mustan Sing says that he put up at Khuzan Sing's *Tukeya*. Khuzan Sing told him to go to Dull Sing's for food, which he did, after which he slept in the jungle.

Goormookh Sing admits that he passed through Raikote on the day of the murder, and says that he went on by Jullaldeewalla, starting at 12 o'clock on the night of the murder; he also, according to his own account, slept for an hour or two on a sand hillock on that night. Golab Sing failed also to account for his whereabouts; and Mungul Sing admits having passed Raikote about the time, and having been to Khuzan Sing's *Tukeya*, and also been out in the jungle and reached home just before his arrest.

Upon the whole case there seems to be sufficient corroboration of the statements of Dull Sing as to the persons whom he names, whilst there certainly is as to the facts which he states. I am of opinion that the sentences passed by the Sessions Judge on all the prisoners sentenced by him should be confirmed.

Campbell, J.-I concur in holding that the evidence is conclusive as to the guilt of the prisoners. The sentences of death passed on Mustan Sing, Goormookh Sing, Mangal Sing and Golab Sing are accordingly confirmed.

The Chief Court judgment is one of the most important documents in this section because it provides the higher court's assessment of the evidence on which the four accused were convicted.

The judgment is especially valuable for understanding the evidentiary basis on which the colonial courts reached their conclusions in the Raikot case. At the same time, as a judicial record, it represents the court's assessment of the evidence placed before it and should be read in that context.

* * *

Document 33

Execution of Three Raikot Convicts

Letter dated 5th August 1871

From - L. Cowan, Esq., Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana.

To - Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala Division.

The execution of the sentence of death on the three Kookas, Mustan Singh, Goormookh Singh and Mungul Singh, was carried out at Raikot this morning at sunrise. There was no excitement nor crowd. About two hundred spectators assembled. There were not more than ten or fifteen Kookas.

2. The neck of Kookaism is broken. Successions are of hourly occurrence. The "kuch" has been entirely discarded by women in several villages and the men are changing the form of their *pugrees*. Ram Singh is distrusted. Kookas believe that, fearing evil consequences to himself, he gave false evidence at the trial, whereby the accused were prejudiced. This is an incorrect belief but it is well to encourage it. The surveillance the police are eager to reestablish over Ram Singh is a great mistake. It will again give him importance in the eyes of his followers and reinstate him in his former position with them.

3. I am glad to say that the Registrar of the Chief Court has

written to inform me that the Hon'ble the Judges of the Chief Court consider that "the Raikot case has been very satisfactorily dealt with."* (*Recognising the services rendered by Police personnel and others in tracking the Raikot murderers successfully, awards were granted to them. See details in appendix A)

Endorsement by Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala Division.

No. 250, dated Kasauli, 8th August 1871.

Copy of above forward to L. H. Griffin, Esquire, officiating Secretary to

Government, Punjab, for information.

This report is particularly revealing because it moves beyond the immediate legal proceedings and records the administration's interpretation of their political and social consequences.

More significant is Cowan's assessment that "The neck of Kookaism is broken."

The document therefore provides an unusually candid example of the colonial administration's attempt to assess — and potentially influence — the internal position of the Kooka movement after the Raikot executions.

* * *

We have seen that Raikot murder episode had a short duration. Murders took place on 15 July 1871 and perpetrators arrested within a few days. Committing Magistrate Mr. Cowan sent the guilty to Sessions Court. Mr. MacNabb, Sessions Judge, heard the case from 25 to 29 July, Chief Court confirmed the decision on 1 August and the 'culprits' Mustan Singh, Goormookh Singh and Mungul Singh were hanged at Raikot on 5 August 1871.

One of the culprits of Raikot murder case Golab Singh, who had confessed his involvement in Amritsar butchers murders, was taken under custody by Colonels Macandrew and Mr. Baillie Deputy

Inspector-General of Police. They taking him along with reached Amritsar on the 2nd of August and handed him over to Amritsar police. Mr. Turton Smith, District Superintendent of Police presented the statement of Gulab Singh to the Committing Magistrate. With this the scenario of Amritsar butcher murder case changed altogether.

Police claims that on the basis of information given by Gulab Singh, Beela Singh of village Narlee, district Lahore, was the first to be arrested in this case. Where as truth is different. Historian of Kuka sect reveal that when the news of the killing of the butchers by the kukas in Amritsar had reached Satguru Ram Singh and he came to know about the torturing of the innocent people by the police, he ordered that the accused kukas should surrender to law, confess their crime and save the innocent from the wrath of the police. Resultantly Fateh Singh, Hakim Singh, Lehna Singh son of Mussada Singh, Lal Singh and Lehna Singh son Bulaka Singh surrendered themselves to the police. However police claims that these were arrested on 3 August which is totally baseless and unfounded. Had these were arrested the very next day after the arrival of Golab Singh from Raikot to Amritsar, why the release of innocent persons was delayed for about a week?

Document 34

Arrest and Confession of Beela Singh in Amritsar Murder Case

Progress report of enquiry, No. X., dated Umritsar, 7th August 1871.

BEELA SINGH, Kookah, of Narlee, District Lahore, arrested on information of Goolab Singh, the reprieved prisoner in the Raikote case, immediately on his arrival admitted his own share in the murderous attack on butchers at Umritsar on 15th June, but professed his entire ignorance of any of the others who were engaged with him in the affair.

Beela Singh is a *Sadh* Kookah, of no fixed place of residence; he appears actuated by strong fanatical zeal, and to be indifferent to his

own fate. He has to-day gone out with Mr. Turton Smith, District Superintendent, Police, to search for the weapon (a *gundassa*) with which he was armed on the occasion, and which he says he buried at the bottom of a pool, some ten or twelve miles out of the Umritsar and Lahore road, on his way back from the scene of the murder.

2. Of the ten men named by Goolab Singh as concerned in this case, five are still at large, and have evidently absconded, as no trace of them is to be had at their homes or usual places of resort.

3. Beela Singh has produced two *gundassas* with long handles, found buried under water in the spot described; they are most murderous weapons; the second one, he states, was used by Mehr Singh (absconded). Beela Singh has now named all the parties engaged with him in the crime; his statement entirely agrees with that of Goolab Singh.

* * *

Document 35

Government of India Questions Police Interference with Kooka Leaders

The investigation into the Amritsar butcher murders had taken a new turn with the surrender of Kukas. At the same time, the manner in which the police had dealt with leading Kukas had attracted the attention of the Government of India.

No. 1347, dated Simla, the 10th August 1871.

From - E. C. BAYLEY, Esq., C.S.I. Seey. to the Govt. of India.

To - The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 102-S, dated 31st ultimo, forwarding certain reports connected with the late murder of butchers of Amritsur.

2. The Governor General in Council will be glad to have an explanation of the remarks contained in the last paragraph of Major

Birch's letter, as to any unnecessary interference with the leaders of the Kookah sect. It would seem, too, that a good many leading men of all classes have been arrested, and I am to ask how it happens that action of this kind seems to have been taken by the Police without previous communication with the Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner.

The document provides an important counterpoint to the reports of police suspicion and surveillance. It also helps explain the administrative tension between the desire of the police to prevent further violence and the concern of senior civil authorities that action based merely on suspicion might unnecessarily alienate the Kuka leadership and its followers.

* * *

New culprits in custody, Police allowed Jai Ram to retract his confessional statement; police officers announced this in Court and all the accused were released on 9th of August.

Document 36

Further Progress of the Amritsar Murder Enquiry

No. 1142-3/4-123S, dated Lahore, 12th August 1871

From - LEPEL H. GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To - The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

In continuation of my letter No. 82-S., dated 14th July, I am desired to forward, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, copy of a further report* (**Foot note** * Refers to document No. 34) of the progress made in the enquiry into the outrage at Amritsar.

* * *

Document 37

Progress Report on the Amritsar Butcher Murders

No. 1238, dated Simla, the 12th August 1871.

From - L. H. GRIFFIN, Esq. Offg. Secy, to the Govt. of the Panjab,

To - E. C. BAYLEY, Esq., C. S. I., Secy. to the Govt. of India.

IN continuation of my letter No. 828, dated 15th July, I am desired to forward, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, copy of a further report of the progress made in the enquiry into the outrage at Amritsur.

AMRITSUR BUTCHER OUTRAGE.

Progress report of enquiry No. X, dated Amritsar, the 7th August 1871.

BEELAH SING, Kookah, of Narlee District, Lahore, arrested on information of Goolab Sing, the reprieved prisoner in the Raikote case, immediately on his arrival admitted his own share in the murderous attack on butchers at Amritsur on 15th June, but professed his entire ignorance of any of the others who were engaged with him in the affair.

Beelah Singh is a Sadh Kookah of no fixed place of residence; he appears actuated by strong fanatical zeal, and to be indifferent to his own fate. He has to-day gone out with Mr. Turton Smith, District Superintendent of Police, to search for the weapon (a gundassa) with which he was armed on the occasion, and which he says he buried at the bottom of a pool, some 10 or 12 miles out on the Amritsur and Lahore road, on his way back from the scene of the murder.

2. Of the ten men named by Goolab Singh as concerned in this case, five are still at large and have evidently absconded, as no trace of them is to be had at their homes or usual places of resort.

3. Beelah Singh has produced two gundassas, with long handles, found buried under water in the spot described; they are most murderous weapons; the second one, he states, was used by Mehr Singh (absconded). Beelah Singh has now named all the parties

engaged with him in the crime; his statement entirely agrees with that of Goolab Singh.

The repeated description of Beela Singh as a “Sadh Kookah” and as motivated by “fanatical zeal” should be understood as the language of the colonial official record. It reflects the administrative perception of the Kuka movement rather than an independent assessment of Beela Singh's motives.

* * *

Document 38

Report on the Execution of the Raikot Convicts

No. 1145-1/2-128S, dated Lahore, 14th August 1871

From - LEPEL H. GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To - The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

In continuation of my letter No. 107-S., dated 1st August, I am desired

to forward, for the information of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, copy of the Deputy Commissioner's report* (**Foot note** * Refers to document No. 33) of execution of three of the men concerned in the late outrage at Raikot.

The letter confirms the continuing official attention given to the Raikot case even after the execution of three of the convicted men.

* * *

Document 39

Rewards for Assistance in the Raikot Investigation

No. 1369, dated Simla, the 15th August 1871.

From - E. C. BAYLEY, Esq., C. S. I., Seey, to the Govt. of India,

To - The Secy, to the Govt. of the Punjab.

THE Governor General in Council having been demi-officially informed of the excellent services rendered by the officials of His Highness the Maharajah of Puttialla, in tracing and arresting the criminals in the case of murder at Raikote in the Ludiana District, I am desired to express his gratification in hearing of the loyal assistance which has been thus afforded to the officers of Government, and of the success which has attended the efforts made.

2. His Excellency in Council desires that suitable rewards may be given at once to the Puttialla thanadars, and to the subordinate officers and men of the police, as well as to any others through whose assistance the culprits have been arrested and brought to justice.

This document illustrates the importance attached by the colonial administration to the cooperation of the Patiala State in the investigation of the Raikot murders. It shows that the investigation was not conducted solely through the machinery of British Indian administration, officials of the Patiala State played a practical role in tracing and apprehending suspects, and their contribution was formally recognised at the highest level.

* * *

Document 40

Official Precis on the Amritsar and Raikot Murder Cases

By the middle of August 1871, the investigations into the Amritsar and Raikot murders had produced substantial new information.

The Home Office now prepared a consolidated Precis summarising the subsequent reports received after its earlier memorandum of 28 July.

PRECIS. (dated 16th August 1871 by Home Office)

Murderous outrages at Amritsar and Raekote.

SUBSEQUENT to the memorandum of the 28th ultimo, the following reports have been received relating to the Amritsar and Raekote outrages.

AMRITSAR.

The Deputy Commissioner (26th July) committed twelve persons for trial. Of these three were Nihungs, residents of Amritsar, one man of influence (of the Khuttree caste) supposed to have instigated the crime, and the remainder bad characters of the city. Two men professed to turn approvers, one a man of position (also of the Khuttree caste) named Jye Ram. Nothing, however, in their information tended to implicate the Kookas. On receipt of the news of the Raekote murders, the two leading Kookas at Amritsar were arrested. The Deputy Commissioner doubted the necessity for these arrests, and the Punjab Government has been asked (10th August) for an explanation on the subject and how it happens that action of this kind is taken by the police without previous communication with the Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner.

The police reports, however (Mr. Christie's) enclosed by the Deputy Commissioner state that it was rumoured that a body of Kookas, to the number of 100, had, since the Amritsar murders, engaged, with the approval of Ram Singh, to scatter themselves in different districts and devote themselves to acts of violence against dealers in kine for purposes of slaughter, and more particularly against beef butchers in the vicinity of Hindoo cities, towns, and temples. The necessary precautions were taken to avert any danger to traders and butchers should there

be any foundation for this rumour.

Similar rumours from several places have also been reported to the effect that Ram Singh has ordered the extermination of beef butchers from the precincts of cities and places of resort by Sikhs, though they are not to be interfered within cantonments or European stations; also that it has been planned to have a general onslaught on the Mahomedans for their having encouraged the sale of beef, and that this attack is to be carried into effect next October during the Dewalee festival, when outsiders are to attend armed with axes, and by a sudden rush the police guards are to be seized.

A Kooka named Beela Singh has, since been arrested, who admits his share in the Amritsar murders, and has pointed out the spot where two axes were buried, some 10 or 12 miles out on the Amritsar and Lahore Road. He confesses to have used one of these weapons on the occasion of the murders; the other, he says, was used by Mehr Singh, who has absconded. He has named all the parties engaged with him in the crime. This information has since been amply corroborated by the confession of one of these so named and the recovery of other weapons, and it seems scarcely doubtful that the persons first arrested and committed for trial are innocent, at least, of the actual crime.

The return from Nipal of Baba Khan Singh, a Nihung Sikh, and a chief Kooka in the Hoshiarpore District, is mentioned. He carried presents for the Rajah, and was favorably received. He has, it is reported, undertaken to supply the Rajah with Kookas for a regiment; but it is not explained what Rajah is meant.

RAEKOTE.

On the 22nd July, the Nazim of Patiala Punjab, brought in several Kookas suspected of complicity in the Raekote murders. Two of the number made full confessions. The trial of the prisoners was held on the 28th by Mr. McNabb at Bussean, near the scene of the outrage. Ram Singh (Kooka Gooroo), summoned as a witness for the defence, arrived on the 28th with 36 followers (10 mounted) and encamped near the scene of the trial.

Many Kookas have been noticed going in small parties towards Ram Singh's headquarters. They are watched, and pre cautions have been taken in all districts to prevent further attacks on butchers.

A later report from the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana intimates the conviction and the execution of the sentence of death on the three of the above Kookas, named Mustan Singh, Goormookh Singh, and Mungal Singh, at Raekote, at sunrise, on the 5th August. There was no excitement or crowd. Among the 200 spectators, there were not more than 10 to 13 Kookas. The Deputy Commissioner adds, "The neck of Kookaism is broken. Secessions are of hourly occurrence Ram Singh is distrusted. The Kookas believe that, fearing evil consequences to himself, he gave false evidence at the trial." The Chief Court of the Punjab has approved of the proceedings in the Raekote case.

Suitable rewards have been ordered to be given at once to the Patiala Thannadars and the subordinate officers and men of the police, as well as to any others through whose assistance the culprits have been arrested and brought to justice

HOME OFFICE,

The 16th August 1871.

This Precis is particularly valuable because it brings together the official understanding of the two cases at a relatively advanced stage of the investigations. The document provides a useful snapshot of the colonial administration's thinking; the Raikot case was regarded as successfully concluded, while the Amritsar investigation was being substantially revised in light of new evidence.

* * *

Document 41

Investigation of the Raikot Murders and Recommendations for Rewards

The successful investigation of the Raikot murders had resulted from the combined efforts of British Indian officials, police personnel, trackers and officials of the Patiala State. After the Government of India directed that suitable rewards be given for the

assistance rendered in bringing the offenders to justice, the Ambala Commissioner was asked to report in detail on the services performed.

No. 264, dated Kassouli, the 6th September 1871

From-J. W. MACNABB, Esq., Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala Division.

To- -The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

IN reply to your No. 136S., dated 22nd ultimo,, I have the honor to report as follows:-

2. The Raikot murder took place at a little before midnight of the 15th. The first man to hear the outcry and to arrive at the spot was Ahmud Khan,, duffadar of chowkeedars at Raikot. the Native *hakeem* of Raikot was almost immediately on the spot, and owing to his skillful care I am convinced several lives have been saved.

3. A storm was going on at the time, and nothing could be done; but at daylight, 16th, the duffadar, having secured the services of several trackers, started at once on the tracks of the eight murderers, along with Ram Singh and Dussounda Singh, constables of the Raikot Thanah, and by night-fall had carried them to within a dozen paces of the "*tukeya*" of a Kooka Fakeer, Khuzan Singh, a distance of 10 miles, and most difficult tracking.

4. The news reached Ludiana on the forenoon of the 16th. The Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Cowan,, Mr. Hatchell, the District Superintendent, and Dr. Ince, Civil Surgeon, started before noon for the scene of the murder -- The Deputy Commissioner having first reported the occurrence to this office by telegraph and letter. Owing to the difficulty of conveyance, they did not arrive at Raikot, a distance of 38 miles, till late that evening, and commenced their investigations the following morning.

5. Dr. Ince, finding the native *hakeem* was doing all that was necessary, at once returned to Ludiana..

6. At the same time the following men of the Ludiana Police were despatched from that place at 11 A. M. on the 16th, reaching Raikot

by the direct road at 4 P. M.; pressing on without a halt, they joined the tracking party soon after they had reached Cheeneewal,--the whole distance being 34 miles:--

1. Abdool Raheem Khan, Deputy Inspector.

2. Zabta Khan, Mounted Sergeant.

3. Sounda Khan, Sowar.

4. Punjab, Sowar.

Meanwhile the Deputy Commissioner had sent off his Patiala Vakeel, Ahmud Hussun, to render assistance, and the party were joined at Cheeneewal by Thanadar Mohomed Hussun, of Ahmudgurh, and Thanadar Mukbool Hoosseini, of Budhour, both in Patiala.

7. By the influence of these three Patiala officials, Khuzan Singh, to whose "*tukeya*" the tracks had been traced, was induced to give information after showing where three of the blood-stained swords were buried, which led to the apprehension and conviction of four of the eight men, - one of whom has since given evidence regarding the Amritsar murders.. The other three were hanged on the 5th August, on the spot, in Mr. Cowan's presence.

8. On the 20th Colonel McAndrew,, Deputy Inspector-General,, with Imdad Ali, Inspector, arrived at Raikot, where he had been preceded by Colonel Baillie, Deputy Inspector-General, with Nihal Singh, Inspector. These officers were, with the assistance of Mr. Cowan, indefatigable in their exertions in getting up the case, the greatest care being taken to prevent any irregular action by the subordinate police, and with great success Mr. Cowan committed the case by dint of very hard work on the 23rd. I commenced the trial on the spot on the 25th, and concluded it late on the evening of the 29th.

9. The Lieutenant Governor is aware of the exertions of Colonel McAndrew and Colonel Baillie in the matter..

10. I would also submit that the thanks of Government are due to Mr. Cowan, the Deputy Commissioner, who acted throughout with promptitude and a sound discretion, and to Mr. Hatchell, who had a severe attack of fever resulting from exposure.

11. As regards the subordinate police, at an early date Mr. Cowan reported to me that the police are behaving splendidly.

12. The Inspectors Narain Singh and Imdad Alli both exerted themselves with ability and success in tracing out corroborative evidence to support that of the Queen's evidence, Dull Singh, and subsequently in tracing up the clue leading to the apprehension of the Amritsar murderers. In this, from his knowledge of Amritsar as well as Ludiana, Narain Singh took the leading part. They will be recommended for reward by their own superiors.

13. With regard to Patiala officials, His Highness the Maharaja, on hearing of the outbreak, at once sent Sirdar Dewa Singh, Adaluttee, and the two Local Nazims to the spot, and their presence was of considerable importance, as showing the views of His Highness the Maharaja in the case; but the actual work was done by the men previously mentioned; and I should here add that since the above date the Patiala Vakeel, Ahmud Hussun has, with the assistance of Mahomed Hussun, Thanadar, and a third Thanadar of Patiala, Allah-ol-deen. succeeded in hunting down and capturing in the wilds of Bikaneer Ruttun Singh, who confesses to having been an accomplice in the murders. I would, having consulted Colonel McAndrew, recommend the following rewards —

Vakeel Allmed Hussun, shawls Rs. 500, cash Rs. 500= Rs. 1000

Thanadar Mahomed Hussun, sword, 100, cash Rs. 500= Rs. 600

Thanadar Mukbool Hoosein, sword, 100,
cash Rs. 400= Rs. 500,

Thanadar Allah-ol-deen, cash Rs. 300 = Rs. 300

Total, Rs. 2,400

14. I would further recommend- To Ahmud Khan, Daffadar of Chowkeedars at Raikot, a purwana and Rs. 30

The Native Hakeem at Raikot, a purwana and Rs. 150

Boota, tracker Rs. 50

The other trackers Rs. 20

Abdool Raheem Khan, Deputy Inspector Rs. 100

Zabtee Khan, Mounted Sergeant,	Rs. 30.
Soundah, Khan, Sowar,	Rs. 20
Punjab, ditto	Rs. 20
Ram Singh, Constable,	Rs. 15
Dussoundah Singh,, Constable,	Rs. 15
To be disposed of by the Police authorities,	Rs.150
600	

Grand Total, Rs. 3,000

This report is an important administrative record of the investigation into the Raikot murders from the perspective of the officials who conducted and supervised it. Unlike the judicial proceedings, which concentrate primarily on the evidence against the accused, this document emphasises the process of investigation and the contribution made by individual officials and other participants.

The document is valuable not only for reconstructing the investigation of the Raikot murders but also for understanding the inter-state cooperation between the British Punjab administration and the Patiala State in the pursuit of the accused.

* * *

Document 42

Sanction of Rewards for the Raikot Investigation

No. 1297A.—165S., dated Lahore, 12th September 1871

From - LEPEL L. GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To - The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department

WITH reference to your letter No. 1369, of the 15th August, communicating the views of His Excellency the Viceroy and

Governor-General in Council in regard to the assistance afforded by the Patiala officials in bringing to justice the men who were concerned in the outrage at Raikot, I am desired to forward, for information, copy of letter No. 284, dated 6th September, from the Commissioner of Ambala, and to state that the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor has sanctioned the rewards proposed by Mr. MacNabb as in accordance with the wishes expressed by the Viceroy.

No. 1297B, dated 12th September 1871

COPY forwarded to Commissioner of Ambala, for information and guidance, with reference to his letter No. 284, of the 6th September.

No. 1297C.

EXTRACT paras. 13 and 14 of Commissioner's letter, and copy of above, to Accountant-General, Punjab, for information.

This brief communication completes the administrative process initiated by the Government of India's decision to reward those who had assisted in bringing the Raikot offenders to justice.

The document also illustrates the administrative chain through which such rewards were processed: the field officers submitted their recommendations, the Commissioner forwarded them, and the Lieutenant-Governor gave the final sanction. It therefore provides a useful conclusion to the series of documents concerning official recognition of the investigation into the Raikot murders.

* * *

Document 43

Rewards and Gratuity in the Raikot Investigation

No. 1441, dated Simla, 12th October 1871.

From— LEPEL L. GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to

Government, Punjab.

To--- The Offg. Inspector-General of Police, Punjab.

In a letter to your address, of Colonel McAndrew,, Deputy Inspector- General, Ambala Circle, dated 21st August, certain rewards were proposed for Officers and Constables of the Police who had done good service during the investigation of the Raikot murder cases.

2. The Commissioner of the Ambala Division, in his letter No. 284, dated 6th September, copy of which is hereto annexed, forwarded recommendations for the Police and others with reference to the same case, and the Police recommendations were understood to be submitted on the basis of those recommended by Colonel McAndrew. The rewards, however, recommended by the Commissioner were less in amount than those recommended by the Police Department. But the Commissioner's proposals appear to dispose of all Police recommendations with the single exception of a reward of Rs. 200, proposed for the relatives of a Mounted Constable who fell dead from sunstroke during the enquiry into the murders.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor, after consideration of this case, is unable to sanction the reward proposed under the recent rules of the Government of India. The relatives of a Government official who dies in the discharge of his duty are not entitled to any special gratuity or reward, unless such duty be of an especially hazardous description. The duty in question was that which ordinarily falls to the duty of the Police, and there is nothing in the Raikot case to warrant any departure from the rules that have been laid down.

4. The rewards proposed by the Commissioner have been sanctioned.

* * * .

Document 44

Secretary of State's Thanks to the Maharaja of Patiala

No. 41, dated London, 18th October 1871

From - Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

To - His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General of India in Council.

The despatches of Your Excellency in Council, dated 28th July and 17th August respectively, No. 20 and 24 of 1871, forwarding copies of papers on the subject of murder of certain Mahomodans at Amritsar and Raikot have been considered by me in Council.

2. The intelligence of the apprehension and condign punishment of the perpetrators of the Raikot murders is very satisfactory. I desire that my thanks may be expressed to the Maharaja of Patiala for the prompt and effective assistance afforded by his Government in the detection and arrest of the criminals.

3, I will await a further communication from your Excellency in Council relative to the deplorable outrages at Amritsar.

No. 2002

Copy forwarded to the Government of the Punjab, with a request that the thanks of Her Majesty's Secretary of State may be communicated to the Maharaja of Patiala.

The despatch is significant because it comes from the Secretary of State for India in London, representing the highest level of the imperial administrative hierarchy. His satisfaction with the apprehension and punishment of the perpetrators and his specific direction that thanks be conveyed to the Maharaja of Patiala demonstrate the importance attached by the British Government to the cooperation of the princely state.

Document 45

Chief Court Judgment in the case of Amritsar butcher murder case

No. 1483, dated Lahore, the 21st October 1871.

From - C. M. RIVAZ, Esq, Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

To - The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I AM directed to forward herewith, for the information of the Government of India, copy of the proceedings in the recent Amritsar butchers' murder case.

Crown vs.

1. Goolab Sing, of Choohur Chuck.

2. Beela Sing, of Narlee.

3. Lehna Sing, of Lopokee.

4. Futtch Sing, of Amritsar.

5. Hakim Sing, of Mourah.

6. Lainah Sing, Carpenter.

At large.

7. Mehr Sing, of Lopokee

8. Jhunda Sing, of Thutta

9. Luchmun Sing, of Chabul

10. Bhugwan Sing, of Mehrana

11. Lall Sing, Constable.

12. Laynah Sing, Kookah Soobah.

Charge, against accused, Nos. 1 to 10, murder of butchers at Amritsar, on the 14th and 15th June, Section 302, Indian Penal Code; against 11 and 12, abetment of murder.

On the 13th, Lall Sing, of Thutta, made a statement to effect, that about twenty days prior to the commission of the murders, he had come in with a party headed by Raja Sing, Soobah of Tandree Mianee, intending to commit the murders. That on hearing of the murders having been committed, he asked Jhunda Sing (accused 8), who admitted he had had a share in them.

Statements were made to the Deputy Inspector General by other witnesses on the 14th. A *gundassa*, said to have been found in the boundaries of the village where, Goolab Sing says, he concealed his, was shown to Goolab Sing, but said by him not to be his. From the other circumstances it does not appear to belong to the case.

To-day, 15th August, Futteh Sing, Hakim Sing, and Lainah Sing, prisoners 4 to 6, were examined by me as to their whereabouts on night of offence. Lainah Sing (prisoner 6) said he was, on the night of the murders, with the murderers, and made a statement confirming in a number of details the statements before made by the other prisoners who confess. He said, ten Kookahs were concerned, and gave the names of prisoners 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6, and accused 9. He described how he and Luchmun Sing (accused 9) had hidden their weapons, one an axe and one a sword, in a well and *bhoosah* stack, and shown four axes, amongst which the one recovered from well on initiation of Goolab Sing (prisoner 1), he said that was the weapon he had carried. He said he did not strike a blow. Lainah Sing says he was told by Goolab Sing (prisoner 1) that the Guru (Ram Sing) had directed the murder of butchers. Lainah Sing also said that the third evening, prior to the murder, he was present at a home festival held at Laynah Sing's (prisoner 12) house by a gang who thence started to carry out the murders, but turned back finding the gates closed. Lall Sing (prisoner 11), he said, was in the murder conspiracy.

TURTON SMITH,

District Superintendent of Police.

CROWN VS.

1. Goolab Sing.
2. Beela Sing
3. Lehna Sing.
4. Futteh Sing
5. Hakim Sing.

At large

6. Lainah Sing
7. Mehr Sing
8. Jhunda Sing
9. Luchmun Sing
10. Bhugwan Sing

Charge - Murder of butchers and others at Amritsar on the 14th June 1871, Section 302, Indian Penal Code.

Charge-Murder of butchers and others at Amritsar on the night of 14th June 1871, Section 302, Indian Penal Code.

Report of inquiry dated 9th August 1871.- On the 8th August a statement to the effect following was made by Lehna Sing of Lopokee (prisoner No. 3). Three months ago, Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing (accused and 8) returned from a visit to Ram Sing, Guru, who was then on a tour in the Malwa, and said the Guru had given instructions for the destruction of slaughter-houses and expected obedience. In consequence of the Guru's orders, Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing sent Bussswa Sing of Chela, and Sham Sing of Thutta, to Raja Sing of Tandree Minnee wio, in reply to summons, came with five Kookahs unknown to Lehna Singh (deponent) and consulted with Mehr Singh accused 7 and Mool Sing on the orders received. Volunteers to carry out the orders were called for and the following volunteered:

1. Jhunda Sing (accused 8)
2. Mehr Sing (accused 7)

3. Goolab Sing. (Prisoner 1)
4. Lainah Sing (maker of statement and prisoner 6)
5. Mool Sing of Lopokee
6. Bussawa Sing of Chela
7. Sham Sing of Thutta
8. Lall Sing of Thutta

5 to 8 Hitherto not implicated by former statements.

The above, with Raja Sing, Soobah, and his party, started the same evening, intending to carry out the murders. Goolab Sing (prisoner 1) went first, undertaking to bring men from the city, and a well called Anud-ka-kot was the appointed place of rendezvous. Owing to Goolab Sing with men from the city not coming to the appointed meeting place, the project was for the time given up; and Raja Sing, Soobah, Mool Sing, Sham Sing, Mehr Sing, Bussawa Sing, and Lehna Sing, (deponent) came on to the city and went to the house of Futteh Sing (prisoner 4) where they met Goolab Sing (prisoner 1), Luchmun Sing (accused 9), Jowahir Sing, and Lall Sing (police constable), and on discussion decided to postpone action as the nights were then moonlight. After the meeting, Raja Sing, Soobah, started for Bhainie, Some time after above, on nights when there is no moon returning, Bhugwan Sing (accused 10), with Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing (accused 7 and 8), came with positive orders said to have issued from the Guru that butchers were to be exterminated. For a second time the project of killing the butchers was formed, and the men, marginally noted*, (*Goolab Sing, prisoner 1, Beela Sing prisoner 2, Lehna Sing prisoner 3, Futteh Sing prisoner 4, Hakin Sing prisoner 5, Mehr Sing, accused 7, Jhunda Sing accused 8, Lachman Sing accused 9, Bhugwan Sing accused 10, Fatteh Sing, of Moursh, Jumeet Sing, of Thutta.) undertook the project. The several persons joined at different points in the road. Lehna Sing (prisoner 3 and deponent) carried a *gundassa*, Jhunda Sing and Jumeet Sing brought three swords. Owing to its being late on all meeting at the appointed rendezvous, at the brick kiln, it was decided not to carry out the murder that night, and so the weapons were buried at the kiln. Futteh Sing and Jumeet Sing returned to

their villages, and the rest, with exception of Mehr Sing (accused 7) and Hakim Sing (prisoner 5), went to a Boonga behind the Akal Boonga in the city.

The ensuing night it was determined, for the third time, to carry out the murder, and all the persons concerned in the second project, Futteh Sing and Jumeet Sing excepted, after meeting at the house of Futteh Sing (prisoner 4) proceeded in twos and threes to the brick kiln, where weapons were concealed. A tenth Kookah from the city was also present. The ten (being those accused) proceeded and committed the murders. Lehna Sing said he carried a *gundassa* and Jhunda Sing a sword, and that these, after murders, were thrust in a bhoosah stack in the boundaries of village Chowinda.

This morning, 9th August, accompanied by Inspectors, Narain Sing and Imdad Ally, and Lehna Sing (prisoner 3), I proceeded about 12 miles to Chowinda, and found in a bhoosah stack, pointed out by Lehna Sing, a *gundassa* and in a second a sword, the latter appeared to bear blood stains. Lehna Sing said he did not strike a blow, and the *gundassa*, he says he carried, appears to bear no blood stains.

TURTON SMITH,

District Superintendent of Police.

On Lehna Sing's information, Lall Sing, police constable, who is a brother of Luchmun Sing (prisoner 9), was arrested on the 8th August.

CROWN VS.

1. Goolab Sing, of Choohur Chuck.
 2. Futteh Sing, of Amritsar.
 3. Beela Sing, of Narlee.
 4. Hakim Sing, Patwaree, of Narlee.
 5. Lehna Sing, Jat, of Lopokee.
- Absconded.
6. Lainah Sing Raj.
 7. Mehr Sing, of Lopokee.

8. Jhunda Sing, of Thutta.

9. Luchmun Sing.

Others

10. Bhugwan Sing, of Mehrana.

11. Lall Sing, Police Constable.

12. Laynah Sing, Kooka Soobah, Amritsar.

Charge - Against Nos. 1 to 10, murder of butchers and others, on 14th, 15th June,

Section 302, Indian Penal Code; against Nos. 11 and 12, abetment of murder, &c.

At the first hearing of the above case in the Court of the Magistrate of the District, yesterday, the Court animadverted on the very abstract nature of the memorandum of evidence handed in. This memorandum is intended to supply the omission remarked on.

On the 29th July, prisoner No. 1, Goolab Sing, then under sentence of death for his share in the murders of butchers at Raikote, on promise of pardon, should he give information leading to the detection of the murderers in the Amritsar case, made a statement implicating himself and accused 2 to 10 as the actual perpetrators; he has at times enlarged upon and added to his statement then made. The following is an abstract of his statements made at different times:

Goolab Sing says that at last Bysakhee, the camp of Ram Sing, Guru of Kookahs, passed through his village; he joined the camp and continued with it. When still with the camp Maler Kotla, it was joined by Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing (absconders 7 and 8), who represented to the Guru that a great deal of agitation had been caused in Amritsar about sale of beef, and who expressed their intention of murdering the butchers, a plan to which Ram Sing gave his sanction. Mehr Sing and Jhunda sing (absconders 7 and 8) left the camp and the next day, he (Goolab Sing) obtained Ram Sing's sanction to proceed to Amritsar to aid in the murder of butchers. Goolab Sing says that, on arrival in Amritsar, he went to Futteh Sing (No. 2), and thence to Jhunda Sing, and Mehr Sing (absconders 7

and 8), at Thutta. At Thutta he found Raja Sing, Soobah of Tandree Mianee, and six or seven other Kookahs, and it was then agreed by the Kookahs assembled, that the butchers should be murdered that night. He was sent back to Amritsar to bring Kookahs from there to aid in the work, and a well was appointed as the rendezvous for the Lopokee and city party. Arrived at Amritsar, Goolab Sing got Futteh Sing (prisoner 2), Luchmun Sing (absconder 9), Jowahir Sing, and Lall Sing (prisoner 11); (the last three brothers) to agree to join in the offence, and they actually went out that night to commit it; Lall Sing (prisoner 11) bringing with him eight swords, but, owing to a mistake as to the place of rendezvous, the parties missed one another, and the carrying out of the murder was postponed. The above occurred about nineteen days before commission of murders.

The above attempt having failed, on the day following a meeting was held at which Mehr Sing, Jhunda Sing (7 and 8 absconded) Lainah Sing (No. 6) were present, when it was agreed that the carrying out of the murders should be postponed till the next dark nights. After this agreement Goolab Sing says he went to Bhugwan Sing (No. 10 absconded) at Mehrana, and thence returned with Lachmun Sing (No. 9 absconded). Afterwards they were joined by Kushal Sing, Chutter Sing, and Shahbeg Sing, of Mehrana. In the meantime orders had arrived from Ram Sing to stay action, and another messenger had been sent for his orders. The man sent was Gunda Sing, who returned with the Guru's orders that the butchers were to be murdered, and it was then determined to murder them that night, Sunday 11th June. Prior to going out for the murders a home festival was held at the house of Laynah Sing (prisoner 12), who knew of the reasons of its being held. The men below mentioned were at the home.

Goolab Sing, deponent, and his four companions: Lainah Sing (No. 6).

Luchmun Sing (No. 9). Kushal Sing, Chuttur Sing, Shahbeg Sing.
Lainah Singh (No. 6)

Futteh Sing (No. 4).

Beels Sing (No. 2).

Bugail Sing.

Laynah Sing (No. 12).

The *home* having been held, the above party, with the exception of the last named, started to commit the murders; but being stopped at the gateway, turned back and slept at Laynah Sing's (No. 12). This second attempt had thus failed.

On Monday morning (12th) the murders were a third time planned, and it was arranged they should be carried out the ensuing evening, the 13th. Jhunda. Sing and Mehr Sing (Nos. 8 and 7 absconded) went off for arms and to bring their party to Lopokee, and the well before mentioned was agreed upon as the place of rendezvous. Next night (13th) in persuading of agreement, the following met:

1. Goolab Sing (1).
2. Luchmun Sing (9).
3. Bhugwan Sing (10).
4. Kushal Sing
5. Chuttur Sing.
6. Shahbeg Sing
7. Futteh Sing (4)
8. Beels Sing (2).
9. Bugnil Sing
10. Mehr Sing (7).
11. Jhunda Sing (8).
- .12. Lehna Sing (3).
- Hakim Sing (5).

All had arms, and amongst them were three swords brought by Jhunda Sing (No. 8). Owing to the meeting having been late, the murders were postponed till next night (the 14th), and the weapons were concealed at a brick kiln near the railway line. The night was a rainy one and several of the party took shelter at a housestead at a well. The third attempt thus proved futile.

After return on the morning of the 14th, Goolsb Sing says that he,

Beela Sing (No. 2), Lehna Sing (No. 3), Bugail Sing, Mehr Sing, Jhunda Sing, Luchmun Sing, Bugwan Sing, (absconders 7 to 10) went to the Narlee Boonga and stayed the day. In the afternoon he started with Luchmun Sing towards the appointed rendezvous and *en route* went and bathed at Tupa Bun, where he was joined by Beela Sing) and Lainah Sing (6), where a quarrel arose with some Kuthri boys. From Tups Bun they went to the brick kiln and there assembled:

Goolab Sing No. 1.

Futteh Sing No. 4.

Beela Sing No. 2.

Hakim Sing No. 5

Lehna Sing No. 3.

Lainah Sing No. 6

Mehr Sing No. 7.

Jhunda Sing No. 8.

Luchmun Sing No. 9.

Bugwan Sing No. 10.

After the train from Lahore passed, these started to commit the murders and actually carried them out. After commission of murders, Goolab sing says, Lainah Sing (No. 6), Luchmun Sing (No. 9), Bugwan Sing (No. 10), and he ran off together, and that Lainah Sing (No. 6) disposed of the axe he had carried by throwing it into a well, and Luchmun Sing of his sword, by putting it in a boosa-stack. On indication of Goolab Sing an axe (No. 1) and sword (No. 2) were found in a well and by a canal water-course,

Bussawa Sing, witness No. 7. - Bussawa Sing witness No. 7, confirms Goolab Sing's statement as to having come in with Rajah Sing on the first night appointed for the offence, and the two parties not having met, he says he was reproached by Futteh Sing and Lall Sing (Nos. 4 and 11) for having failed at the appointed place of meeting. He adds it was decided the deed should be carried out on the approaching dark nights, and that he then started for Loodianah to see and report to Ram Sing Guru.

Mool Sing, witness No. 8 - Says he was one of the party who came in with Rajah Sing on first occasion of murder being planned; confirms Goolab Sing as to parties missing one another. He says that the ensuing morning he went to Futteh Sing (No. 4) and there heard from him, Luchmun Sing (No. 9) and Jawahir Sing and Lall Sing (No. 11) of their having taken out swords, and how they had failed to meet one another. He says Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing (Nos. 7 and 8) then went to Laynah Sing (No. 12) and discussed the murders, arranging it for next dark nights, Laynah Sing (No. 12) agreeing to give good information about the locality of the slaughter houses.

Rajah Sing, witness No. 9 - Says he came in with a party about nineteen or twenty days before the offence; that he personally had no intention of committing the murders; that he went to Bhainee to obtain orders from the Guru and was told to have nothing to do with the murders, that what God might do would be right,

Gunda Sing, witness No. 10 - Says that Futteh Sing (No. 4) distrusting the statement of Goolab Sing that the Guru had ordered the murders, sent him and one Lainah Sing to Ram Sing Guru to ask what his wishes really were. He went, obtained orders for the slaughter of butchers, returned and communicated these orders to Futteh Sing, and the third day afterwards, the murders were committed. This is the Gunda Sing referred to by Goolab Sing, whose return led to the second attempt.

Futteh Sing, witness No. 11. - Futteh Sing says he was invited by Hakim Sing (No. 5) to join in the murder of butchers. That he came with a party on Tuesday (the 13th) to carry out the murders, but turned back. On Wednesday (14th), he asked after Hakim Sing and learnt he had not returned. He came back on Thursday (15th).

Jumeest Sing, witness No. 12 - Jumeet Sing says that on invitation of Jhunda Sing (8) he came in with a party on Tuesday (13th) to commit the murders, Hakim Sing (No. 5) was of the party, as were also Mehr Sing (No. 7), Beela Sing (No. 2), Lehna Sing (No. 3). Crossing the railway he turned back. Jhunda Sing did not return to his village till the second day after this,

Kushal Sing, witness No. 13 - Kushal Sing was present at the home

at Laynah Sing's on the 11th. Started thence for butchers' houses but turned back. Was also with the party on Tuesday (13th), and confirms Goolab Sing as to their having slept at a well that night.

Shere Sing, witness No. 14 - Identifies the axe found in the well on indication of Goolab Sing as the property of Lainah Sing, No. 6.

Sahai Sing, witness No. 15 - Confirms Goolab Sing's statement as to quarrel of four Kookahs with Kuthris at Tupa Bun on the day preceding the murder. "Can't identify any of the prisoners as of the number,

Soudagur, No. 16 - Confirms Goolab Sing's statement as to men having sheltered at housestand on his well on a stormy night before murders. Is unable to identify any of the prisoners.

Roopa Sing, No. 17 - Roopa Sing says that the diary of the Putwaree, Hakim Sing (No. 4). was written up in one day, and that he declined to sign it as a daily diary.

Chunda Sing, witness No. 18 - Confirms "the fact of a *home* having been held at Laynah Sing (No. 12) on Sunday the 11th. Does not know who attended.

Bussawa Sing, witness No. 19 - Busawa Sing, sergeant of city police, supports Goolab Sing by stating that some days prior to the murder, seven or eight men of his barrack found that their swords had been displaced at night and moved from one peg to another. This occasioned inquiry in the barrack.

Maha Sing, witness No. 20 - Says he lives in the Narlee Boonga of Amritsur, and that the day preceding the murder (14th June) Beela Sing (No. 3), Goolab Sing (reprieved convict) Lehna Sing (No. 3) and others, in all eight Kookahs, came and ate food, and spent part of the day in his boonga.

The other witnesses are to discovery of weapons, &c.

Statements of the accused.

Futteh Sing, prisoner No. 4 - Denie all knowledge, and says he slept at home on the night of the offence.

Beela Sing, prisoner No. 2 - Confesse, in full and in nearly every detail supports the statement of Goolab Sing as to what occurred on

Sunday the 11th June and days subsequently up to time of murder. Says that after murder he, Lehna Sing (No. 3), Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing (Nos. 7 and 8) went off together. Mehr Sing (No. 7) and he hid their weapons in a pool of water. He pointed out this pool on the 7th August, in boundaries of village Kolanwallah; and before me the weapons Nos. 3 and 4 were found; No. 4, he said, he had carried; No. 3 Mehr Sing had carried.

Hakim Sing, prisoner No. 5 - Hakim Sing denies being implicated. Says he was in his village, but declines to refer by name to any witnesses for attestation of his statement.

Lehna Sing, prisoner No. 3 - Lehna Sing confesses in full. Says he joined in the murders on representation of Jhunda Sing and Mehr Sing (Nos. 8 and 7); that the Guru ordered destruction of butchers. Confirms Goolab Sing's statement in all details known to him with regard to the first futile endeavour to carry out the deed, also to events of the 13th and 14th June. Says that though present at the murders, he did not strike a blow. On 9th August pointed out the spot where weapons 5 and 6 were found, i. e., bhoosa-stacks at Chairuda, eleven miles off, and said he had carried No. 5. Luchmun Sing (accused 9) he said had carried the sword.

Lainah Sing No. 6. - Lainah Sing confesses as to having gone with the murderers and to having carried axe No. 2. Says he did not use his weapon, and that on flight after the murder, he threw in the axe at a well, where a sword was also concealed. Says ten Kookahs were actual perpetrators of murders, but only mentions Goolab Sing (reprieved convict), Futtch Sing (No. 4), Beela Sing (No. 2), Luchmun Sing (No. 9) by name.

Lall Sing, prisoner No. 11 - Acknowledges to having gone out with the first party and to having taken swords from the police barracks with him. Says on failure of attempt, he withdrew from the enterprise.

Acknowledges to a *home* having been held at his house, at which some of the accused were present on the evening of Sunday, 11th June.

AMRITSAR;

TURTON SMITH,

The 18th August 1871.

District Superintendent of Police.

IN THE COURT OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF
AMRITSAR.

The deposition of Bussawa Sing, son of Goordut Sing, caste Sundhoo, age 25, residence Chele, Ajnala; occupation, village service.

[Taken under solemn affirmation prescribed by Act V. of 1841, before me this 18th day of August 1871.]

Jhunda Sing and Mehr Sing came to me at my village and told me to go to Tandree, for Rajah Sing, Soobah. It was the *Sut* Guru's order. I went, returned at night to Lopokee. There was a *pershad* at Mehr Sing's. Then the next day returned to Cheleki. Then Chunda Sing came to me and took me to Thutta and told me to come to kill the butchers; I declined. He said it was the *Sut* Guru's order and my face would be blackened if I did not go. I then came with Rajah Sing, Lehna Sing, Mehr Sing, Jhunda Sing, Chunda Sing, and ten or twelve others - do not know their names,--to Golub Rai's garden, about two *koss* from the city. There we passed the night. In the morning Rajah Sing went away. The rest of us came into the city. At Futteh Sing's shop ate and drank. Jhunda Sing reproached Futteh Sing for having failed them the previous night. Futteh Sing retorted with a "tu quon." Jhunda Sing said the useless ones should be weeded and only the good ones kept.

This witness is suffering from fever and suddenly becomes sick and leaves the Court.

IN THE COURT OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF
AMRITSAR.

The deposition of Roopa Sing, son of Kour Sing, caste Zumindar, age 54, residence Bhoolmin; occupation Lumberdar, (Chief)

Ajnala.

[Taken under solemn affirmation prescribed by Act V. of 1841, before me this 18th day of August 1871.]

No. 9. - The diary now shown me is Hakim Sing's putwaree, but is written up by his assistant, Kaka. I cannot read nor write myself. I affix my seal to the entries. To the entries of 13th, 14th, 15th June, my seal is not affixed. I cannot recognise my seal; but I know that I have not affixed for the last month or month and a half.

Prisoners ask no questions.

C. H. HALL.

Magistrate of District.

CROWN vs. Futteh Sing and 6 other Kookhas.

Charge-Murder; Section 302, I. P. C.,-butchers.

Police and other miscellaneous papers.

Golab Sing, who has to-day been sentenced to death, subject to confirmation of the Chief Court, offers, if he get a full pardon, to make a full disclosure of the facts connected with the Amritsar and Raikote butcher murders. His offer is accepted on the condition that he makes a full disclosure which shall afford *bona fide* proof of the real perpetrators of the crimes, also of the instigators. I make this fully as far as my power thereto extends.

J. W. MACNABB,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 29th July 1871.

Special Report for the information of the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar.

Statement of Goolab Sing. - The following were concerned in the Amritsar case with myself.

1. Bhugwan Sing, son of Deynah Sing, of village Murrana Turn Tarun.

2. Luchmun Sing, inhabitant, Amritsar City.
 3. Futteh Sing, (Bhatra) inhabitant, Amritsar city, Bhai Peri's shop
 4. Lainah Sing, Turkhan, employed in Rambagh.
 5. Beela Sing, (Sadh) Purdhana.
 6. Jhunda Sing Lopokee
 7. Lehna Sing of Lopokee.
 8. Mehr Sing, of Lopokee.
 9. Nehal Sing, Brahmin, Putwari of Lopokee.
 10. Goolab Sing, informer, village Choor Chuk, Thanna Moga, Zilla Ferozepore,
- All Kookbas.

I went to Amritsar, by chance, some fifteen or sixteen days before the attack, to Futteh Sing Kookah (No. 4); found Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing there. They were consulting about attacking the butchers; they were also of opinion that it would be desirable to attack the butchers in the disguise of Nihungs. The affair was put off as it was moonlight. Went again in a few days before the outrage. Met the whole ten assembled there.

Weapons had previously been buried near the brick kiln, by the slaughter houses, by Jhunda Sing and Mehr Sing. On the night of the attack, we left the city singly, by the Rambagh Gate in the afternoon, and four of us (Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 10) went to Tupa Bun to bathe and wash our teeth; the others dispersed hither and thither. Met at the brick kiln, dug up and distributed the weapons as follows: Jhunda Sing, Luchmun Sing, and Nehal Sing had each a sword, the rest had "gundassas" and hatchets. The weapons had been buried three days before the attack. Attacked the butchers about 12 o'clock after the train had come in from Lahore. Many of them got up and ran off. It was over in a very short time. We all attacked indiscriminately; there was no appointed leader; the majority of the gang left their spare clothes and shoes at the brick kiln. We (i. e., Bugwan Sing, Luchmun Sing, Lehna Sing and myself) left our clothes near where the bridge crosses the outlet of the main drain. We then went down the Ferozepore road, kutchah; leaving the road,

we went to the left and buried two weapons on this side, and two on the farther side of the canal. Those disposed of on this side were a tulwar and a hatchet; the former we threw into a bhoosa-stack and the latter we threw into a well. On the further side we disposed of two gundassas, by burying one underground, and the other we stamped down into the mud at the bottom of a pool of water. I will try and point them out again. Lehna Sing left us at the canal and returned towards the city. We three went to the south, crossing the Beas at the Jowla Bhailla Ferry, which we reached in the afternoon. We ate nowhere in the day; got some goor and made sherbet. Spent the night in a small Mussulman village in Kuppoorthulla territory; proceeded next morning to the Jukoopoor Ferry of the Sutlej; crossed over to Dhurmkothe and Choor Chuck, where my mother lives with her brothers. Of my two companions, Luchmun Sing only accompanied me to my house. Bugwan Sing had some words with me near Choor Chuck and would not come on. Don't know where he went to. Spent two days and nights at Choor Chuck, then grew restless, and went off to the villages in Malwa where we had acquaintances of the Kookah Punth. Staying a few days here and there (names various villages), at last reached Choothankee, where I went to visit Juggut Sing. There we met Jawahir Sing (the Meer Sing of the Raikote case), he is brother of Luchmun Sing, and had come to search for him. He had come from Bhainee.

THE above is the substance of a confession made by Goolab Sing who was condemned to death in the Raikote murder case and granted a pardon by the Commissioner, Ambala, provided he gave full and true information as to all parties concerned in the murder of butchers at Amritsar.

Since Goolab Sing has been at Amritsar he has pointed out some of the weapons used in the Amritsar murder, and they were found on the spots described by him when he first confessed at Bussean.

The following men, implicated by Goolab Sing, have been arrested:

1. Futteh Sing Bhatra, City of Amritsar.
2. Beela Sing (Sadh) village Pudhana, District Lahore.

3. Lehna Sing, inhabitant, village Lopokee, District Amritsar.

4. Hakim Sing, Brahmin, Putwaree of Morkee, Thanna Lopokee.
The above are all Kookahs.

J. C. P. BAILLIE,

Offg. Deputy Inspector General of Police,
Lahore Circle.

UNDER instructions of Deputy Inspector General, forwarded for information of the Deputy Commissioner, a sword was yesterday found, about 300 yards from the bhoosa-stack, indicated by Goolab Sing as that in which the sword had been placed, on intimation of the owner of the stack, who said he had there found it on the morning of the murders, but was deterred from giving information owing to the hue and cry raised; a hatchet was also found in my presence in the well indicated by Goolab Sing. Beela Sing accidentally passing the slaughter houses on his way to headquarters, after arrest, this morning confessed to me to having been concerned with Goolab Sing in the murders, and said he had carried a gundassa. He would not enter into particulars.

The 5th August 1871. TURTON SMITH,
District Superintendent of Police.

CROWN versus

1. Goolab Sing, Chohur Chuck.

2. Beela Sing, of Narlee.

3. Lehna Sing, of Lopokee,

4. Futtch Sing, of Amritsar.

5. Hakim Sing, Putwaree.

6. Lainah Sing, Turkhan.

At large.

7. Mehr Sing, of Lopokee

8. Jhunda Sing, of Thutta

9. Luchmun Sing
10. Bhugwan Sing, of Mehrana
11. Lall Sing, Constable, City Police.
12. Laynah Sing, Kookah Soobah, of Amritsar.

Charge - Against Nos. 1 to 10, murder of butchers and others on the night of 14th and 15th June, Section 302; against prisoners 11 and 12, abetment of murder.

Report for 11th August, dated 12th August 1871 - On 10th August, Goolab Sing (prisoner 1) made a further statement to the Deputy Inspector General, confirming the statement of Lehna Sing (prisoner 3) as to three distinct attempts having been organized to carry out the murders.

On the morning of the 11th August, a *home* at a well near the brick kiln, place of rendezvous before murders, was visited by the Deputy Inspector General and myself, and Inspectors and Goolab Sing (prisoner 1). The prisoner stated that, on the night the murderers had assembled the second time for the commission of the murders, it came on to rain, and they sheltered, eight of them, in the house at the well. This received confirmation from one of the well men.

The Inspector and I afterwards went to the city, and were taken by Beela Sing (prisoner 2) to a house in the Durbar Chouk, where he alleged eight of the intended murderers had stayed and eaten food on the day the murders were carried out. Mahan Sing, occupier of the house, confirmed Beela Sing's statement, and said eight Kookahs, of whom he knew the names of Goolab Sing and Beela Sing (prisoners 1 and 2) and Bugail Sing (unarrested), had come to him as stated by Beela Sing. The next day he heard of the murders. Beela Sing, with Bugail Sing, had again come about 20 days ago. Beela Sing explained this was(page torn - Ed.)) going to report to Ram Sing at Bhainee.

Goolab Sing and Beela Sing then took us on to the house of Laynah Sing (prisoner 12), and pointed out where a religious ceremony called *home* was held by the intended murderers, prior to going out on the second futile attempt to commit the murders.

During prior inquiries evidence of a *home* having been held at this man's house was forthcoming; and as he was said by the prisoners to have been cognizant, the ceremony was held as an invocation of divine aid in the murders. Laynah Sing (Soobah) was arrested for abetment of murder.

Lainah Sing (prisoner 6) was arrested on 9th August, at(place not mentioned - Ed.) by Deputy Inspector Mahomed Buksh.

The 12th August 1871.

TURTON SMITH,

District Superintendent of Police.

Lall Sing, Constable, (prisoner 11) was said by Goolab Sing (prisoner 1) to have brought eight swords intended to have been used on the second occasion the murder was planned.

List of the Papers belonging to the case of CROWN, vs. FUTTEN SING, and six other Kookhas.

Deposition of Dr. Taylor, witness No. 1.

Deposition of Jumma Khan, No. 2.

Deposition of Kurmdeen, No. 3,

Deposition of Elahee Bux, No. 4.

Deposition of Kheewa, No. 5.

Deposition of Goolab Sing, No. 6.

Deposition of Mr. T. Smith, No. 7.

Deposition of Gunda Sing, No. 8.

Deposition of Futteh Sing, No. 9.

Examination of accused No. 2.

Examination of accused No. 4.

Examination of accused No. 5

Examination of accused No. 7.

List of witnesses for defence.

One plan of the locality. One Calendar: not received.

WITNESS No. 1.

The information and deposition of ADAM TAYLOR, of Amritsur, taken upon oath by me, CHARLES HENRY HALL, Magistrate of Amritsur, on Thursday the 17th day of August 1871, who on oath saith:

I am Civil Surgeon of Amritsur. On the 15th June last early in the morning I received a message from the Deputy Commissioner to come immediately to the dispensary, as there had been a murder. I found on reaching it two wounded men lying on charpoys. The first Eli Buksh, a Mahomedan male, aged about 30 or more, had the following injuries:

A severe incised wound on the left shoulder through the bone, a slight wound on the upper arm, a superficial wound along the front of the chest, another superficial wound on the right shoulder, a deep wound on the right wrist, which I could not closely examine as it had been dressed before I arrived. These wounds were in the aggregate dangerous. The man was a long while in hospital, he has been discharged, but the wound in his right wrist has not healed.

These wounds were all caused by a sharp bladed instrument such as a sword or axe.

The second wounded man named Dheaou, a Mahomedan male, about 40 years or more had two severe wounds in the right shoulder blade, both wounds cutting into the bone. These wounds were caused by a sharp bladed instrument such as a sword or axe.

A third wounded man Imamdin, a Mahomedan, 26 years of age, was shown me afterwards. He had a slight cut on the left shoulder, and another on the palm of the hand, both caused by some cutting instrument. After a short time on the same morning four dead bodies were brought in, - the first of a man named Peera. He was a well-nourished Mahomedan, aged about 45 or 50 years. The following injuries were detected on the body. A slanting out on the top of the head through the skull into the brain, left wrist nearly severed. Two cuts along the lower part of the chest. These cuts were

peculiar. They were deep on the walls of the chest to a depth of two inches, and length about the same.

The rest of the wounds for some six or eight inches across the chest were superficial. I judge that the blows causing these wounds were of some straight longish weapon with a sharp point, or even more probably an instrument curved and sharpened on the concave side of the curve. The wound in the head and wrist might have been caused by a sword or axe. The second body was that of a Mahomedan called Tenonee, male, about 50 years old, a well nourished man. Cause of death was a wound at the back of the neck severing the spinal cord. There was also a slight cut at the right corner of the mouth, and two deep and severe cuts through the muscles and ribs at the back. All these wounds may have been caused by a sword or broad axe. The third body was that of Shadee Mahomedan, male, age 20 years or so, body well nourished. There were several cuts on the left side of the head and neck, wounding the brain and severing the jugular vein.

These were the cause of death, caused by an axe or sword probably.

Body No. 4, a Mahomedan boy, named Gammee, age about 15. Cause of death were cuts on the right shoulder, several nearly severing the head from the body. The right arm was also nearly cut through, the body was much hacked. The wounds were caused by such an instrument as a sword or broad axe.

The wounds might have been caused by the swords or axes (*gundassas*) now shown me Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6. The wood hatchet, No. 2, is not such as would have caused any of the serious wounds, with the exception of one of the skull wounds in body No. 3.

The axe or *gundassa* now shown me, No. 5, might have caused the peculiar wounds I have described on the body of Peera. I judge, from the rust and mud on sword No. 1, and axes Nos. 3 and 4, that they must have been under water or in a muddy place for some time. Axe No. 2 is, like all dirty axes, likely to get rusted.

The prisoners do not examine the witness.

C. H. HALL,

Magistrate.

WITNESS No. 2

IN THE COURT OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF
AMRITSAR

The deposition of Jumma Khan, son of Secundar, caste zemindar, age 35, residence Hurujee, district Amritsar; occupation, Mounted Sergeant, police.

[Taken under solemn affirmation prescribed by Act V. of 1841, before me this 17th day of August 1871.]

2nd Witness for prosecution. - On the night between 14th and 15th June, it was 1 A. M. and past, I was sleeping, Nanak Shah, Faqueer, and Oomra Maskee came up, and reported that men had been killed at the slaughter-house. I took 30 or 35 constables with me and proceeded to the spot. We first met Kurmdeen, the wounded man; he went his way. On reaching the slaughter-house I saw four dead bodies lying in front of the houses inhabited by the butchers. They were these of Emamdeen, a boy; this body was on a charpay; Shadee's body was on the ground beyond it; Jeewun's body was lying on the thurra or chubootra; Peer Bux's body was lying beyond Shadee's, near a keckur tree. I accompanied these four bodies to the dispensary, where they were examined by the Civil Surgeon. The prisoners do not examine this witness.

C. H. HALL,

Magistrate.

WITNESS No. 3.

IN THE COURT OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF
AMRITSAR

The deposition of Kurmdeen, son of Dhumna, caste Jeewur, age 25, residence Khaib-mar, Nurowal; occupation, grass-cutter.

[Taken under solemn affirmation prescribed by Act V. of 1841, before me this 17th day of August 1871.]

3rd Witness for prosecution. - I was sleeping outside at Deengurh slaughter-house by the horse of Ali Buksh, Choudree of butchers, whose servant I am. This was some two or two and half months ago. On the night of the murder, I was woke up by the noise of people running. I thought thieves had come. I ran to the assistance of the butchers, who were sleeping there. When two steps from them, one man rushed at me and wounded me, on the left shoulder with an instrument or weapon which had a handle to it. I turned and fled. I know nothing more. I fled to the fields. When I returned, I saw four lying dead, I a Chungur; 2 Shadee Pulaka; 3 Peer Buksh, butcher; 4 Emandeen, Salaroo's boy. They were dead, and had many wounds.

Question by Lainah Sing, prisoner No. 6. - Did you recognise any one?

Answer, No. -Had I done so, there would not have been so much enquiry.

No other questions asked by him or other prisoners.

C. H. HALL,

Magistrate.

WITNESS No. 4.

IN THE COURT OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF
AMRITSAR

The deposition of Elahee Buksh, son of Gumanee, caste Butcher, age 40 years, residence Amritsar; occupation Butcher.

[Taken under solemn affirmation prescribed by Act V. of 1841, before me this 17th day of August 1871.

4th Witness for prosecution. - On the night of the murder (does not remember date) was awake till 11 P. M. at the slaughter-house at Deengurh; then went to sleep outside on a charpoy. All of a sudden

in my sleep I was attacked and severely wounded. There were about 12 men who surrounded me. I just escaped with my life. It was so dark I could not see what weapons were used. I ran off behind the *tukia*. There I fell senseless. I remained subsequently some ten or twelve days in the hospital, then my brethren took me away (corrects the above) - was about one and half months or two months in Hospital. My wounds are still painful.

The prisoners decline to examine this witness.

C. H. HALL,

Magistrate.

IN THE COURT OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF AMRITSAR

The deposition of Kheewa, son of Baisakhee, caste Chungur, age 40, residence Bungalee Tehseel, Amritsar; occupation, agriculture and trade in cattle.

[Taken under solemn affirmation prescribed by Act V. of 1841, before me this 17th day of August 1871.]

5th Witness for prosecution.— On the night of the murder I was sleeping at Deengurh. At midnight I was sleeping outside on a mat in the thurra or chubootra. Eli Buksh's bed was in front of me, the butcher who was attacked. I saw him attacked. I was suddenly wakened up. I saw four men hacking at Eli Buksh. I called out. I got up and fled. Two men pursued me. They had blue pugrees on. They caught me up by the Bee tree. They both struck and wounded me on the right shoulder, the one with a large *gundassa*, the other with a small *toka*. I was struck with a *gundassa* similar to the one now shown me (No. 3), only broader. I then ran further and fell. Eli Buksh also came up to the spot. We proceeded to the Fuqueer's *tukia*. Eli Buksh being there, I sat. After this I do not know what occurred. The Fuqueer went off to give information to the police.

The prisoners do not examine this witness.

C. H. HALL,

Magistrate.

WITNESS No. 6.**IN THE COURT OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF AMRITSAR.**

The deposition of Goolab Sing, son of Futteh Sing, caste Jat, age 35, residence Merana, Amritsar District; occupation agriculture.

[Taken under solemn affirmation prescribed by Act V. of 1841, before me this 17th day of August 1871.]

This witness is examined under Section 209, Criminal Procedure Code, a conditional pardon having been offered him by the Sessions Judge of Umballa on the 29th July 1871.

6th Witness for prosecution.— I came to Amritsar to kill the butchers. With me were Lehna Sing (Jat), Lainah Sing (Turkhan), Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Mehr Sing, Jhunda Sing, Bugwan Sing, Putwaree (Hakim Sing), Luchmun Sing. These were all. These were the men that killed them. All are present in court except Mehr Sing, Jhunda Sing, Bugwan Sing, and Luchmun Sing, six are present. Some ten or twelve days before massacre, Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing went to Baba Ram Sing in Maler Kotla. I was there before. There was a talk with Ram Sing about the disturbances in Amritsar, about the butcher's killing cows, about beef being thrown into wells, &c.; that the Khuttees and Hindoos of the city had given a petition to the Sahib (what Sahib, I don't know) who had taken no notice of it; that the Sikhs, Kookahs, talked of killing the butchers, and had sent them to make enquiries. Ram Sing asked whether the Sikhs of Amritsar were in this, they replied no, that the Sikhs were not in it; they, i.e., Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing named Rajah Sing, and some others whose names I do not remember. Ram Sing said he would give no advice, but at the same time told them to remember their manhood. The two Sikhs (Kookahs) said they would give their heads; they would do it, with the butchers. Ram Sing the next day told them to do as they pleased and bid them go.

I then went into Ram Sing's presence and informed him of my intention to accompany them. He told me to do as I pleased. The two above named went ahead. I followed and took the rail at

Loodhiana and arrived at Amritsar at night. I went to Futteh Sing's shop, who gave me information regarding the other two, who, he said, had gone to Lopokee. They had told Futteh Sing what their purpose was. I told him mine was the same. I then went also to Lopokee. I got there in the morning, but Mehr Sing and Chunda Sing were not at home. They returned at night accompanied by Rajah Sing. Some five or six others (Kookahs) were with the latter, who they were I know not. In the morning Rajah Sing was not there. Chunda Sing told me to go to Amritsar. At midnight they would come. I was to warn Futteh Sing, Luchmun Sing, Lall Sing, and others, and we should all meet at a well on the Ram Tirut road near the cantonment pillar. I breakfasted with Futteh Sing. I warned Futteh Sing and the others of the place of meeting and the hour. Luchmun Sing, Lall Sing, and Jawahir Sing, three brothers, were there warned. Lall Sing, who is a policeman, said he was on guard at 11 P.M. Luchmun Sing and I went to the appointed well. No one else came, although it was past midnight. As the moon then rose, we returned. On the way back, we met Lall Sing, Jawahir Sing, and Futteh Sing. The two first had their uniform on, and Futteh Sing a black coat. Futteh Sing had a big bundle over his shoulder done up in matting. He said it contained eight swords. I did not see them myself. We quarreled about their having left us in the lurch. Luchmun Sing and I went back to the well. They retraced their steps. Where they went to I don't know. Lall Sing and the two others said they had got the swords from the "lines," and asked where should they bury or conceal them. In the morning at Futteh Sing's shop, where Mehr and Chunda and Lehna and other Sings had come, I heard that they had managed to take the swords back to their places in the lines. There were reproaches then passed, about the mutiny having failed. We then agreed all of us that the enterprise, i.e., the killing of the butchers, must be put off. It was then agreed that we should meet on Sunday night, a dark night, at Futteh Sing's shop. Twelve or fourteen days after, letters to that effect were written to Ram Sing. I do not know who the messenger was. Luchmun Sing and I went to my village. There we stayed five or seven days, then returned to Amritsar. My house was not in order, so we stayed with Bugwan Sing, that is, at his house. There

were four other Kookahs there who agreed to share in the enterprise, Bugwan Sing, Shahbeg Sing, Khosal Sing, and Chutter Sing. Luchmun Sing and I came on ahead, and told them to come in also on that certain dark Sunday.

Three or four days still were wanting when we arrived in Amritsar. Futteh Sing and Lall Sing told them that a message had come from Ram Sing that they were not to do it, and forbear. They did not believe this, so they sent two Kookahs, one of whom was Gunda Sing — does not know the other — to enquire why it had been stopped. Luchmun Sing was eventually sent, Gunda Sing being considered too young, but he had gone. Luchmun Sing and Gunda Sing returned with the message “kill the butchers.” All the Kookahs then assembled at Futteh Sing’s shop. Beela Sing, Bhugail Sing, Mehr Sing, Chunda Sing, Bugwan Sing, Shahbeg Sing, Khosal Sing, Chutter Sing, Futteh Sing, and I were there, with Luchmun Sing, Lehna Sing (Turkhan). It became evening. The general view was to carry out the killing of the butchers then and there, but it was voted we should go to Lehna Sing (Soobah’s) first. We went all to his house. He told us to perform *home*, a kind of burnt offering. We did so, also *kurapershad*. It became very dark on that night. The evening gun fired. Roor Sing came up and asked why we had done *home*. We did not tell him*. (*Corrected, on being read over to witness, “We took arms of friends wiyh us) We were about to set forth. We went to the city gate, without gate. Luchman Sing and Futteh Sing had gone on ahead. When we got to the gate, the sentry would not let us out. We returned to Lehna Sing’s; we all slept there. In the morning at gun-fire Chunda Sing and Mehr Sing said they would go home and return on the second night. They had no swords and said they would bring their arms. We agreed. The place of meeting for that night was again fixed at the well on the Ram Tirut Road. We did meet there on that night—Luchmun Sing, Futteh Sing, Khusal Sing, Shahbeg Sing, Chutter Sing, Bugwan Sing, Lehna Sing (Turkhan) and I; also Beela Sing and Bugail Sing. Then Chunda Sing, Mehr Sing, Lehna Sing (Jat) and Putwaree, with another, came up. They brought three swords and a *gundassa*. We then proceeded towards the slaughter-house to kill the butchers. When we got to a brick kiln, then we agreed it was too late, past

midnight, day would break soon, and we should be caught; put it off till the following night.

The gundassa now shown me, No. 5, is Lehna Sing's (Jat), the one he brought with him.

Mehr Sing brought sword No. 1, which was given to Luchmun Sing. No. 6, I cannot identify.

All were armed on that night, some with swords, others with broad axes, hatchets, &c. They all buried them in the kiln, with the exception of Shahbeg Sing, Chutter Sing, and Khusal Sing, who carried away theirs and did not return.

Mehr Sing, who had a sword, carried it away also; the Putwaree ditto, also the stranger. The place of meeting appointed for the next night was this kiln. When we all went to sleep for that night a storm and heavy rain came on; we ran to a well in the neighbourhood. There were two *koothas*. In one there were chooras, and they said it leaked. We took possession of the other. Two men belonging to the well were there — do not know them. They asked us who we were; we said Raises going on to Goojranwala seeking shelter. They were alarmed and sat quiet. The rain did not stop till daylight. We returned to the city and spent the day at the Narlee Boongah. We left this in the evening. Two of us, I and Luchmun Sing, went towards the slaughter-house and inspected the locality and premises. Then we went to Tuppa Bum, where there is a tank and wells to bathe. We washed our teeth there also. Two of our party, Lehna Sing and Bugwan Sing, were then before us. A Khutri was bathing at the well. He and Bugwan Sing had a dispute; a Nihung was there, who warned them not to quarrel. I went away towards the place of meeting, the kiln. Darkness had then set in. Beela Sing, Futteh Sing, Chunda Sing, Lehna Sing (3), Luchmun Sing, Bugwan Sing the Putwaree, Mehr Sing and I, ten of us, met at the kiln. We sat there till the night train came in from Lahore. Each got out an arm from the kiln, a sword or an axe or a hatchet, whatever suited him, Futteh Sing, two Lehna Sings, six in all. I cannot remember accurately now. I think it was five*. (*Corrected. Beela Sing was the sixth) Lehna Sing, Futwaree, Futteh Sing and Chunda Sing left their clothes and shoes at the kiln. We then all advanced together along the road. The

rest of us put our clothes on a bridge there. I had Lehna Sing's shoes, the Turkhun's; I also left them at this bridge. We four, Lehna Sing, Turkhun, Luchmun Sing, Bugwan Sing and I then joined the others and proceeded along the road to the slaughter-house to kill the butchers. When we got there we found they were still awake talking; we stopped, their dog barked; we ran in, and struck right and left. We all went in. I cannot say how many were killed or what was the result of our attack. I had a gundassa and I struck two men a blow each. One man was running away. I followed him and struck him over the shoulder on the back of it; he fell. I returned, I saw another standing with a light in his hand, I struck him also; he was on the chubootra, I also struck him behind on the shoulder. We then all fled; Luchmun Sing, Bugwan Sing, Lehna Sing (Turkhan) and I joined company. We went along the road. Luchmun Sing had a sword. When we got to a well, about a kos or more from the slaughter-house, on this side of the Husli Canal, Lehna Sing threw his axe or hatchet into the well.—Shown axe or hatchet No. 2, identifies it. Luchmun Sing stuffed his sword into a bhoosa stack by the well—identifies No. 1 sword as Luchmun Sing's. Bugwan Sing and I kept our gundassas; we crossed a second canal; Lehna Sing then left us. We then buried our two gundassas in the edge of a field in a hole. I cannot find the place again. We then went clean away towards the Loodhiana district. I was taken by the police to look for the hidden arms, and recognised the well, where Lehna Sing and Luchmun Sing had made away with them. The bhoosa-stack was no longer in existence; but the lumberdars eventually recovered the sword. The hatchet was got out of the well. On the day of the murder, which we spent at the Narlee Boonga, there were these: Chunda Sing, Bugwan Sing, Luchmun Sing, Lehna Sing (Turkhan). I am not certain about the other, Lehna Sing (Jat), Beela Sing, Bugail Sing and I. Lehna Sing No. 2 in whose house the *home* was held, knew what it was for. It was performed because we were going to kill the butchers, and sacrifice our own lives.

Q.—Hakim Sing Putwaree (No. 5).—Did you know me before the meeting for the murder?

A.—No, I did not.

Q.—Did you know I was a Kookah?

A.—Chunda Sing told me the Putwaree is a Brahmin, but turned Kookah.

Q.—Did you see me for the first time the day before yesterday.

A.—On two previous occasions, the nights of the meetings, and again on his arrest.

Asks no further question.

Q.—Laynah Sing Soobah No. 12.—Did I give you any advice or assistance?

A.—No, but you had knowledge.

C. H. HALL,

Magistrate.

WITNESS No. 7.

The information and deposition of Turton Smith, of Amritsar, taken upon oath by me, Charles Henry Hall, Magistrate of Amritsar, on Friday, the 18th day of August 1871, who on oath saith:—I am District Superintendent of Police, Amritsar. On the 4th of August, on information of Goolab Sing, pardoned convict, that he would be able to point out where an axe, said to have been used in the murder by Lainah Sing, prisoner No. 6, and a sword said to have been used by Luchmun Sing (No. 9, absconded), had been concealed, I proceeded with him, according to his guidance, towards a village called Moola Chuck. Goolab Sing said these weapons would be found near a well. We went to several wells, but Goolab Sing said none of these was the one we were in search of. He at length described the well to the lumberdars, and they directed us to it. Arrived at this well, Goolab Sing pointed to a bhoosa stack, from which some bhoosa had been used, and said the sword had been thrust into that. I had the stack pulled down, but found no sword. On enquiry from the owner of the stack, the latter went off to fetch the sword, and with Mur Sing and Khuzan Sing, lumberdars, brought the sword back. The place from whence it was brought was then pointed out to me. It was the bank of a canal, about 200 yards from the well, and the bank showed the place where the sword had

been in loose sand. The sword I hold in my hand, No. 1, is the same. I was told by the man, who gave it to me, that he had found it in his stack the day after the butcher murder in Amritsar, and that the sword then showed stains of blood. The name of the owner of the stack is Gundoo; and Goolab Sing said the axe would be found in the well. We first had the well searched by some men, but failed to find the axe. I sent for divers to the city, and remained at the well till they came. After a short search Shahzadeen, diver, brought up the hatchet now shown me marked (2). This hatchet I showed afterwards to Lainah Sing, prisoner No. 6, about the 15th or 16th of August, amongst three other hatchets of kinds. He picked it out and said that he had carried it on the occasion of his going to murder butchers, that he had thrown it into a well, and that Goolab Sing, reprieved convict, was with him at the time that he had thrown it away. He asserted most strongly that he had never struck a blow with it, though he was present with the party at the scene of the murder. On the 5th August I went with Goolab Sing to the scene of the murder. He pointed to a spot on the terrace in front of the slaughter-house, and said that on this spot he had inflicted a tremendous wound with a gundassa on a man there. On this spot, on the 15th June, I found the body of a man who was called "Khewa," with two wounds which I particularly noticed, one on the back and one on the back of the head. Goolab Sing also described to me how he pursued and inflicted a tremendous wound on a man running away. Such a wound as the witness "Khewa" has on the nape of its infliction, and the place where inflicted, as stated to me by Khewa and Goolab Sing, were identical, with the exception that Khewa said two men pursued him. As I was only conversing with Goolab Sing at the slaughter-house, Mahomed Buksh, Deputy Inspector, brought from village Narlee, Beela Sing, prisoner No. 2. I questioned Beela Sing at once. He acknowledged he had taken part in the murder, and said he had carried a gundassa at that time. He gave me no further information. Subsequently, on the 6th August, Beela Sing made a detailed statement, and said he would point out where weapons used at the murder would be found. On the morning of the 7th August I accompanied him to a pool, by the side of a road, in the boundaries of village Kalunwali. He sat down by a

keekur tree, and pointed to a bank about a foot high on the opposite side of the pool, and said that, in this pool, under that bank, would be found a gundassa and an axe. I had the place searched, and found two gundassas, now in Court, marked 3 and 4. He said he himself had used the gundassa, marked No. 4, at the murder, and Mehr Sing, prisoner No. 7, the other. This place was about nine or ten miles distant from Amritsar. On the 9th August, Lainah Sing, prisoner No. 6, went out with me about eleven miles to the lands of village Chowinda. Lainah Sing told me that he would point out where a sword and gundassa, which had been carried on the night of the butcher murder, would be found in bhoosa stack. When he got to Chowinda, he became somewhat confused, and it was sometime before he could point out the position of the bhoosa stack. At last he pointed out two, but he pointed to and said that in that the gundassa he had carried would be found. It was found then by me. I produce it, No. 5, in Court. It was very clean, and Lainah Sing asserted most strongly that, although he had carried it on the night of the murder, he had not used it. In the second stack I found sword No. 6, now in Court, which Lainah Sing told me had been used by Jhunda Sing (absconded), No. 8.

The prisoners decline to ask any questions.

C. H. HALL,

Magistrate.

WITNESS No. 8.

**IN THE COURT OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF
AMRITSAR.**

The deposition of Jhunda Sing, son of Ram Sing, caste Arora, age 18, residence Amritsar; occupation petty dealer.

[Taken under solemn affirmation prescribed by Act V. of 1841 before me, this 18th day of August 1871.]

Witness for prosecution.— Five days before the murder occurred, i.e., the sixth day's night, I went to Futteh Sing's shop, (No. 4 prisoner), points him out, who said that Goolab Sing had brought a message from the Guru (Ram Sing) that they were to kill the

butchers, and had asked him (Futteh Sing) to join. Futteh Sing then said, he would pay my expenses if I went to the Guru's and ascertained the fact. He gave me Rs. 3, and Lehna Sing Rs. 1-8. We then started at midnight by train. In the early morning reached Loodiana; stayed with Heera Sing Kookah (comb-seller). From there I started at 2 P.M. At two ghurrees of the night, I reached Roorka. The Guru was not there; at six ghurrees of the night he returned. Lehna Sing and I delivered our messages. We had no letters about Goolab Sing and the order to kill butchers, and asked his intentions. He said he would reply in the morning. In the morning he went to another village, a koss off. I remained there all day without an answer, and all night also. The following day Ram Sing sent for me, and told us what Goolab Sing said was true. If it was to be done, why this delay? Lehna Sing stayed there. I came back. I returned the way I came. Arrived at Amritsar at midnight, went home. In the morning I went to Futteh Sing, and told him the result of my mission, and what the Guru had said. He (Futteh Sing) told me to hold my tongue about it, and said I had brought "kuchee puckee sulah," and not direct orders. He said he would send Luchmun Sing, and forbid me to mention it. On the third day, after my return, the murder was committed.

I saw one day a steel quoit like the one now shown me (No. 7) in Futteh Sing's shop, lying on the chowkut of the shop door. When I went to him three days after the murder had been committed, he said "that business is done, only do not say anything about it."

The prisoners decline to ask any questions.

C. H. HALL,

Magistrate.

WITNESS No. 9.

**IN THE COURT OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF
AMRITSAR.**

The deposition of Futteh Sing, son of Hookma Sing, caste Jat, age 50, residence Manree Ajnala; occupation agriculture.

[Taken under solemn affirmation prescribed by Act V. of 1841

before me, this 18th day of August 1871.]

HAKIM SING is the putwaree of my village. He came to me at the canal cut, and invited me to join in the murder of the butchers. It was on Tuesday Harsungra*, (*13th June), three ghurrees of the day remaining. He said, come along for the butchers, and seized me by the arm. I did accompany him to Goolab Rai's garden. Met Jhunda Sing and Mehr Sing, then we four went from there. About 40 paces on, there were some 10 or 12 more men. We all joined. But I turned back and went home. I did not like the business. The next day I went to enquire after Hakim Sing, having gone to the village to buy necessaries. Hakim Sing returned on Thursday (the 15th June). I saw him at his house. He did not tell me on that day, but he told me some days afterwards that they (the Sings) had killed the butchers, on which I remarked that they had not done well.

Q.—By Hakim Sing, prisoner No. 5—What relations are the proprietors of the village to you?

A.—My parent-in-law.

Q.—Do they bear me enmity?

A.—I know not.

Q.—Do I cultivate their land or not?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Have they given you any of their land?

A.—Yes, 10 beegahs.

The prisoner has no further questions to ask.

C. H. HALL

Magistrate.

EXAMINATION OF ACCUSED No. 2.

IN THE COURT OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF AMRITSAR.

Name Beela Sing, son of Nihal Sing, caste Suddoo, age 27; residence in the jungle.

Q.—Is that gundassa now shown you, yours?

A.—It is not my property, but it was in my hand when we went to the butchers.

Q.—On what occasion?

A.—On the night when we went to kill the butchers, I came to Amritsar for the Harsungra to bathe. It was a Sunday. I met Goolab Sing at the “Durbar Sahib.” He said orders had been received for the sake of *dhurm* to kill the butchers. Cows were being killed. There were disturbances and a commotion. I replied I had no weapons, but would go. I had my life and could give nothing better. He said I should find something—if not a sword, an axe, or something. He told me to come to Luhna Sing Soobha’s house. I went there at night, two ghurrees had passed. There was a Kurrapershad* (*The *home* was over) but I declined it, as I only take it in the morning. There were some 10, 12 or 13 Sings there. We went out together to an open gate,* (* Sooltan) i.e., which has no doors or gate-way. We were stopped by a sentry, as it was after gun-fire. We dispersed to sleep. In the morning we met at the Boonga. Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing said they had no arms, and would go to fetch them. Went away to-day; they would come the next. They said they would come the night after to a well, where there are some sirrus trees towards cantonments. At night we did meet. Some five or six came to this well with arms. Mehr Sing, Jhunda Sing, Lehna Sing (Jat), Hakim Sing. I do not know the others. We then all joined together and went to the butcher-khana. I, and the four above-named, Goolab Sing, Luchmun Sing, Bhugwan Sing, Shahbeg Sing, Chutter Sing, and another whose name I know not, went to the railway, and passed a brick kiln; then the remark was made, that that little of the night remained, it had better be put off to the next night. We went to sleep in various corners. Then heavy rain came on. We all ran to a well near, with kothas, in which we sought shelter. The first leaked; and a man appeared who said he was a Choorra, so we took possession of the other. We stayed there till daylight. The next night we went out together to an open gate. We were stopped by a sentry. We again dispersed to sleep. Then Narain Sing, Chutter Sing, Shahbeg Sing,

and another went off. All the rest went to bathe in the tank just outside the town; then back to the city, to the Narlee Boonga, where did *pershad*, then dispersed to sleep. Goolab Sing had directed that we should all meet at the brick kiln, where the night before they had concealed the arms. Parties were to go out as they pleased, provided they met there at gun-fire, so as not to be shut in by the city gates again. I went out a little before gun-fire to the kiln as appointed. When we were all assembled, the party was mustered. They numbered ten Sings,—Beela Sing, Goolab Sing, Bhugwan Sing, Luchmun Sing, Jhunda Sing, Mehr Sing, Lehna Sing, Lainah Sing (carpenter or mason), Hakim Sing (putwaree) and Futteh Sing. The last three were from the city. We stayed there till the train passed in, then all said—“Now’s the time, let us go.” All then rose and laid hold of arms whatever each pleased,—sword, gundassa, or axe. They put down their clothes and shoes, six of them, by the kiln. By the bridge under sirrus trees all ten halted. Those who had not put down their clothes before were told to do so then. Hakim Sing, Bhugwan Sing, Goolab Sing, and Lehna Sing left their clothes and shoes there. Then all went to the butcher-khana. They halted by the wall. The butchers were still talking inside, but Goolab Sing would not let us turn back. Then all rushed in shouting. I did strike a blow with a gundassa, to one on a bed. The gundassa broke; then I went towards a man with a light and struck him under the waist; he was stooping forward. Then ran away.

C. H. HALL,

Magistrate.

EXAMINATION OF ACCUSED No. 4.

IN THE COURT OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF AMRITSAR.

Deposition of Lehna Sing, son of Dul Sing, caste Jat, age 26; residence Lopokee.

Q.—Is the gundassa No. 5 now shown you, yours?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Why did you hide it?

A.—When I returned from the butcher-khana I hid it. Mehr Sing and Chunda Sing came from Amritsar to Lopokee. I was at my well. They came to me. They said it was the Sut Guru's edict that whoever should kill the butchers would do a good deed in the cause of the religion (Hindoo). They asked me to join. I declined. They said if you are a Sut Guru's Sikh, you must come with us; if not then stay away. I made excuses. I was alone—no one to look after my work, if I went away. They said I should come at night, could return in the morning. I said I had never fought; I was not used to arms. I could not strike. They said it is a great *dhurn*; whoever will go with us will earn the guru's praise, even if he only accompanies. I came with them. I brought my gundassa with me. At Jhunda Sing's well we met. Jhunda Sing told me to go on with Mehr Sing. He and Jumeyut Sing would follow at night with arms. At about 3 A.M. we came to a bowlee on the road, where we found Hakim Sing and Futteh Sing sitting. A ghurree after, Jhunda Sing and Jumeyut Sing also came up. We six went on till we came to a garden by the cantonment boundary, where there are some sirrus trees. There Goolab Sing, with seven or eight men, whose names I do not know from the city, were waiting. We joined them. Then it was agreed on to go and kill the butchers. In crossing the rail Futteh Sing twisted his foot. Futteh Sing and Jumeyut Sing stopped and went back to their village. It was a very dark night. Hakim Sing and Mehr Sing strayed and lost their way. We could not find them. The night was nearly over. Two or three more of Amritsar deserted also. Six or seven of us lay down where we were. Goolab Sing and Bugwan Sing concealed all the arms in the kiln, from which we were to fetch them next day. In the morning went to the city; breakfasted at the Narlee Boonga. Slept at mid-day. In the afternoon met at Futteh Sing's shop, and settled how we were to go. Mehr Sing and I went out at the Rambagh gate. We went to the kiln. In the evening all assembled there. About 11 at night the train passed, then all took their arms,—some swords, some hatchets, some gundassas. Some Kookahs left their clothes and shoes. Then went to the butcher's shops. There stood and took observations. Some said they were still talking inside. I myself did not hear them. My body began to tremble. I felt I could not do

anything or raise my weapon. Luchmun Sing and Bugwan Sing said that if I attempted to turn back, they would kill me first. Fearing them, I accompanied them into the butcher-khana enclosure. They ran in to kill the butchers. When they had struck them with their swords, the butchers cried out. I ran back four or five paces. Then all the rest ran back. We all ran away. Went to the kiln to get my clothes and shoes. Then all dispersed. Jhunda Sing and Mehr Sing went together. I had a gundassa, Jhunda Sing a sword. We hid both these in a bhoosa stack in the boundaries of Chowinda. We are ignorant; I completely so. I was led away by the evil-minded. I did not strike a blow.

C. H. HALL,

Magistrate.

EXAMINATION OF ACCUSED No. 5.

IN THE COURT OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF AMRITSAR.

The examination of Lainah Sing, son of Mutsudda Sing, caste Turkhan, age 30, residence Punnoo, Gurdaspur.

Charge—Section 302, Indian Penal Code.

Q.—Is the axe (No. 2) now shown you, yours?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You heard what the District Superintendent said about its being found in a well at Moula Chuck. When did you throw it into the well?

A.—I was working at a gate in the Rambagh. I went to eat my dinner at 12. I met Goolab Sing at Futteh Sing's shop, who told me that it would be a good and virtuous action to kill butchers, and heaven for a Hindoo, to dispose of cow-killers. I agreed to go with him and the others, but declined to hit a blow. I had never had a fight with any one. I would go for the sake of my *dhurm*. I thereafter, saying this, went home to my dinner when it became dark, for we were dismissed from work very late. I went to look for Goolab Sing at Futteh Sing's. He was not there. I learnt he had gone to Laynah Sing

Soobah's. Late at night I went to Laynah Sing Soobah's house also. There were a lot of others there with Goolab Sing. I was not acquainted with any of them. There was *parshad* ready; Laynah Sing Soobha offered me some *parshad*. I took a little. The assembled men then went out. I followed, but found them returning. The cause was the gates were shut. I also went back and went to sleep. Next day I came to my daily labor; that day passed without any event. The next day I met Goolab Sing at Futteh Sing's shop, which we had to pass. He called to me. He said, "we are ready." I replied all right, I'll go too. At night I went to a well. Goolab Sing remained on the other side of the rail. I went then with Goolab Sing. Other Sikhs (Kookahs) came up also; some ten or twelve. We sat there till about 2 A.M. Two of the men then went off. Would not proceed further in the enterprise. We slept there. It was decided nothing could be carried out that night. It came on to rain heavily. We took shelter in a *kotha* by a zemindar's well. In the morning the rain stopped, and we came back to the city. Goolab Sing told me not to go to work that day. I was going to it as usual. I then went with Goolab Sing to a boonga, where we dined. In the evening at 3 P.M., Goolab Sing and two others with me (I do not know the others), went to Tuppa Bum; drank water. Went to bathe at the tank. Goolab Sing was bathing at the well. Goolab Sing then said, come along. I had my axe. It is a tool of my trade. Then some ten Sings came up and joined us at a kiln. When the Lahore train had come in, the word was passed—"Let us go." We then proceeded to the butcher-khana. When we got on the road, Goolab Sing and the others put down their clothes. I had only my shoes, and did not take it off. When we got to the gate of the slaughter-house, the butchers inside were still talking. I advised to retreat. Goolab Sing struck me with his fist. The dogs inside barked. Then all the rest rushed in. I did not. I retreated. I had fear, and did not like it.

C. H. HALL,

Magistrate.

EXAMINATION OF ACCUSED No. 7.

IN THE COURT OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF

AMRITSAR.

The examination of Laynah Sing, son of Bolaka Sing, caste Ramguria, age 25, residence Amritsar.

Charge 302—109, Indian Penal Code.

Q.—How long have you known Goolab Sing?

A.—Only since he came to perform the *home* at my house some two or two and a half months ago.

Q.—Do you know why he performed this ceremony?

A.—He told me afterwards, it was on account of killing the butchers.

The ceremony of *home* is performed when any one is about to perform a good action, or desires victory in any matter.

Q.—How many attended at the ceremony?

A.—Five or six men—Goolab Sing, Jhunda Sing, Mehr Sing, Bugwan Sing, Luchmun Sing, and perhaps Beela Sing, but I am not acquainted with him. I heard that three or four had returned as they could not get out at the gate, and thanked God they had not fulfilled their purpose.

C. H. HALL,

Magistrate.

The 17th August 1871.

Charges made out and read to the prisoners.

FUTTEH SING, No. 4, states he wishes the following witnesses to be summoned to give evidence on this trial before the Court of Session:

Lall Sing, Ram Singh: } Neighbours of his

Beela Sing, No. 2

Hakim Sing, No. 5, names witnesses—

Sudeeg, Khoja.

Gobind, Khutree.

Sarmukh Sing, Lumberdar.

Ghusseeta, Burwalla.

Dhunna Sing, Khutree.

Manuk, Khutree.

Goordut Sing, Jat.

Eeda, Elza } Tailees.

Lehna Sing (Jat), No. 3.

Lainah Sing (Turkhan), No. 6.

Lall Sing, No. 11, does not wish any witnesses summoned to this Court of Sessions. Laynah Sing (Soobha), No. 12, names witnesses—

Aroor Sing, Mahunt.

Hurree Sing.

Goolab Sing.

Mutsudda Sing, Lumberdar.

Sookhoo, Lumberdar.

Dewa Sing.

Goolab Sing, the reprieved convict and approver.

C. H. HALL,

Magistrate.

The 19th August 1871.

AMRITSAR DIVISION.

SESSIONS CASE No. 2 OF AUGUST 1871.

CROWN vs. (1) Futteh Sing;* (2) Beela Sing;* (3) Hakim Sing;* (4) Lehna Sing* (1), (5) Lainah Sing* (2), (6) Lall Sing,† and (7) Laynah Sing† (3).

Charge under section - 302/109 Indian Penal code

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 2 for the prosecution.—Jummie Khan, son of Namdar, age 36, caste Zemindar Jat, resident of Pergunnah Amritsar, occupation Sergeant Police.—States on solemn affirmation: On the night between the 14th and 15th June I was on duty at the D. Division states on solemn affirmation: On the night between the

14th and 15th June I was on duty at the D. Division barrack near the Lahore gate of the city. I was awoke from sleep by Nanak Shah Fuqueer and Oomee Mookhee (bhestie), who came running up breathless from the slaughter-house saying that some men had been killed and asking me to come. I collected some thirty or thirty-five men (constables), and taking them with me started for the slaughter-house. About half way we were met by Kurmdeen, a man in the service of the butchers; he said he had been wounded himself. We went on with him to the slaughter-house, and on arrival there found four dead bodies which turned out to be the bodies of Emamooddeen, Shadee, Jeewun and Peer Buksh. The body of the first was lying on a charpoy in front of the houses, that of the second on the ground near the charpoy on which he had been sleeping, that of the third on the chabootra (raised platform) in front of the houses, that of the fourth some six or seven paces further on near a keekur tree. On enquiry I found that two men had escaped wounded, they were Khewa and Illahi Buksh; they were found and brought in. Shortly after I was sent by the Inspector with the four bodies to the dispensary where I remained in charge of them till the Civil Surgeon, Doctor Taylor, arrived and examined them.

The accused have no questions to put.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 28th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 3 for prosecution. Kurmdeen, son of Dhumna, age 25, caste Jhinor, resident of Pergunnah Rias, occupation grass-cutter:— States on solemn affirmation: I am a syce in the service of Alle Buksh butcher. On the night of the murder of the butchers, I can't remember the date, it was about two and half months ago, one Wednesday I was sleeping nearby. I was awakened by hearing a noise of men running. I got up and ran forward thinking that thieves had been caught. I had not gone many paces when I was met by two men of whom one struck me this blow on the left shoulder (points

to it), with what appeared to be a gundassa. I got frightened. I ran off into the field and hid there some time. I called out after a time, and was answered by Goolab Sing and another who re-assured and told me I might come up. On returning to the slaughter-house I found four dead bodies lying there; they were the bodies of Emamdeen, a boy of 12 or 14, Shadee, Peera, and Jeewun Chungar. They were covered with the _____ and quite dead.

I know nothing more.

The accused have no question to put to the witness.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 28th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 4 for prosecution. Illahi Buksh, son of Gamami, age 40, caste Mohandi, resident of Amritsar, occupation butcher.—States on solemn affirmation:

About two months and a half ago, I don't remember the date, I with some ten or twelve others lay down to sleep in front of the houses in the slaughter-house. We had remained awake talking till about 11 P.M. I then fell asleep. All of a sudden I was awakened by receiving a blow on my head. I found myself surrounded by six or eight men who commenced hacking at me. I received some eight or nine wounds, but managed to escape with my life. I could not see, it was so dark, who struck me, nor what weapons were used. I ran towards the fuqueer's takiya at the back of the slaughter-house. As I ran along I found some one else running by the side of me. I asked him who he was, he said Khewa Chungur. On arrival at the takiya I fell senseless. I was taken to the hospital where I remained nearly two months. The wound on my left hand is not yet well.

The accused have no question to put to this witness.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 28th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 5 for prosecution. Kheewa, son of Pyazalli, age 40, caste Chungar, resident of Bangali Tehsil, Amritsar, occupation trader.—States on solemn affirmation: About two and a half months ago I was sleeping on the raised chabootra in front of the butchers' houses in the slaughter-house. Jeewun and Heera, Chungars, were sleeping near me on one side, and Elahie Buksh, butcher, on a charpoy in front of me. All atonce I was awakened by hearing Elahie Buksh cry out, and I then saw him surrounded by four men who were hacking at him. I could not make out who they were, it was so dark, or what weapons they had in their hands. I got up and ran for my life towards the faqueer's takiya at the back of the slaughter-house. Two men followed me. I had not gone about fifteen paces when they overtook me and inflicted these two wounds on my right shoulder; they each inflicted one. I could not see well, but the weapon was something like this gundassa (points to gundassa No. 3). After I had run some distance Elahie Buksh came running up; we both ran to the takiya, and there he fell senseless. I retained possession of my senses. The faqueer of the takiya went off and reported what had happened to the police. I did not return to the slaughter-house. I cannot identify any of the accused men. It was so dark I could see nothing. I only saw that the two men who attacked had "kutch"* (* Short pajamas), on and blue turbans.

The accused have no questions to put.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 28th August 1871.

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THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 6 for prosecution. Goolab Sing, son of Futteh Sing, age 36, caste Jat, resident of Harana Ilaka Sirhali, occupation cultivator.—States on solemn affirmation: Some twenty days or so before the murder of the butchers took place at Amritsar I was with Guru Ram Sing on a tour in the Malair Kotla ilaqa; we were

returning from the shrine of Dum Duma in the Sirsa District. One day Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing of Amritsar came to Ram Sing saying that disturbances had taken place at Amritsar between Hindoos and Mahomedans regarding the slaughter of kine, that the latter had defiled the tanks and wells of that holy city by throwing cows' flesh into them; that no notice had been taken of representations made by the Hindoos to the sahibs, and that in consequence Rajah Sing and other Kookahs of the adjoining village had formed the design of murdering the butchers, and that they had come to ascertain the guru's wishes on the subject. Ram Sing asked them if they were alone or had they been joined by the Kookahs of the city; they replied that they were alone. They added that they were prepared to give their lives. Ram Sing said "very well do so," and they left. The next day I went to pay my respects to the guru, on which he accosted me by saying that my fellow countrymen had gone to kill the butchers at Amritsar,—what were my intentions? I said that if he, the guru, ordered me I also was ready to sacrifice my life in the same cause. He asked me if I felt myself equal to it; on my answering that I was, he said "well you had better go too." I did not know these men before nor where they lived. The guru told me their names and where they lived, and told me to go to them at Lopokee. I left the same day and travelling by rail from Ludhiana arrived in a day or two at Amritsar. At Amritsar I met Lall Sing, police constable (accused No. 6), at the holy tank, and learnt from him that Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing had gone to Lopokee. Having communicated to him their design of murdering the butchers, we then went together to the shop of Futteh Sing (accused No. 1) and there we talked the matter over again, Futteh Sing saying that Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing had been to him the day before, and after discussing the question of the murder, had gone off to Lopokee. I left Lall Sing at Futteh Sing's shop and went on to Lopokee. There I found Jhunda Sing, Mehr Sing, and Rajah Sing. I told the two former the errand on which I had come, and they answered that they had already matured arrangements for carrying out the design. The next morning they told me to go to Futteh Sing (accused No. 1), Luchmun Sing (absconded), and Lall Sing (accused No. 6), and to tell them to meet them at midnight at the well near the old

cantonment on the road to Ramteerth, and to bring with them as many weapons as they could lay hands on. I delivered the message to all the persons named, and, according to engagement, Luchmun Sing and I repaired at the appointed hour to the well. We waited there for some time till the moon rose, and as none of the rest came, we left and were returning home when, as we reached the Ahira huts in cantonments, we met Futteh Sing, Jawahir Sing (brother of Lall Sing) and Lall Sing; they had a lot of swords (wrapped in a blanket) which Lall Sing said he had got from the police lines. They were annoyed and began to abuse me because the Lopokee men had not come according to the appointment. They then returned to the city and we to the well, where we slept. The next morning we came to the city to Futteh Sing's shop, and found Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing there before them. They in answer to my enquiry why they had not come, said that the moon had risen so early and they had accordingly determined on putting off the intended attack for some ten or twelve days. We all agreed to this and sent a letter to Ram Sing informing him of the change in the design. I then went home, Luchmun Sing going with me, they stayed at the house of Bugwan Sing (accused absconded) for some seven or eight days. While there we induced Khusal Sing, Bugwan Sing, Shabeg Sing and Chutter Sing to join us. We then returned to Amritsar having arranged with the rest to meet us at Futteh Sing's shop on the day appointed for the attack, which was the next Sunday. On reaching Amritsar Futteh Sing told us a letter had been received from Ram Sing altogether forbidding the carrying out of the project of murdering the butchers, and that he had sent off Gunda Sing and Lehna Sing to find out why this order had come. We afterwards consulted together and decided on sending Luchmun Sing as a more trustworthy agent; he left by rail and returned by rail the next night, bringing Gunda Sing with him. They said that the guru had given his permission to carry out the original design. The next day we all collected at Laynah Sing Soobha's house as follows: 1 Bhugwan Sing, 2 Khusal Sing, 3 Shahbeg Sing, 4 Chutter Sing, 5 Jhunda Sing, 6 Mehr Sing, 7 Luchmun Sing, 8 Beela Sing, 9 Futteh Sing, 10 Lehna Sing, and a friend of Beela Sing's whose name I don't know, and myself. There the burnt sacrifice called the *home* took place to bring success to

our enterprise, and we all set off to the slaughter-house in twos and threes. As we approached the Sultanwind gate, Bhugwan Sing met us saying that the sentry at the gate would not let him go out as the gun had fired, and that we must return and give up the attempt for that night. We went back and slept at Laynah Sing's house, except Luchmun Sing and Futteh Sing, who had succeeded in getting out of the city.

The next morning Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing said they would go to their village and fetch their weapons and, if possible, bring some others with them, and that we were to meet at the same well, which had been fixed as the first place of rendezvous, bringing what weapons we could. We went there according to appointment. The following came: Jhunda Sing, Mehr Sing, Lehna Sing (Jat), Hakim Sing Putwari, and another whose name I don't remember from Lopokee; from the city came Khusal Sing, Shahbeg Sing, Chutter Sing, Bugwan Sing, Futteh Sing, Luchmun Sing, Beela Sing, Bhugail Sing, and myself. The Lopokee party brought with them three tulwars and a gundassa. The party from the city had provided themselves with hatchets and gundassas. From the well, we all started together and, crossing the railway, reached the large brick kiln known as "Shah Mahomed ka Awa." There one or two were for putting off the attack as it had become late, and they thought no time would be left for getting off. While the discussion was going on Khusal Sing, Shahbeg Sing, and Chutter Sing left us and it was finally decided to put off the attack till the following night. All the weapons were then buried, except two tulwars, which were taken away by Mehr Sing and Hakim Sing and another of Lopokee. All the rest went to sleep near the brick kiln; while there a storm of wind and rain came on and we were obliged to take shelter at a well close by. The well owners objected to our stopping there, thinking we were thieves, but we said we were travellers going to Goojranwalla. I went into one of the houses belonging to the well. The next morning we returned to the city where Beela Sing took us to the Narlee Boonga. We spent the day there; and in the afternoon Luchmun Sing and I started for the appointed rendezvous, the brick kiln. On our road we passed the slaughter-house and examined it. We then went to a shrine near there called Tuppa Bun, where we found Bugwan Sing

and Lainah Sing (Turkhan). We left soon after for the brick kiln, arriving there as it was getting dark. The rest dropped in one by one. There were besides the five first accused and myself, Bugwan Sing, Jhunda Sing, Mehr Sing and Luchmun Sing, who have not yet been caught. We dug up the weapons and Mehr Sing and Hakim Sing brought back their two swords and then waited till the Lahore train came in. Some of us left our clothes at the kiln while others took theirs with them. I, Bugwan Sing, Luchmun Sing, and Lainah Sing (Turkhan) took our clothes, as we intended to go towards the Hureeputtrun, while the rest had to return. We then all set off towards the slaughter-house; we approached quietly, and, hiding behind the wall, looked to see if they were asleep. While we were looking and in doubt, a dog barked and this decided us on making the attack without delay. We rushed in and commenced striking right and left. Two men jumped down from the chabootra and ran off; I gave chase and, overtaking one, struck him a blow on the shoulder. He fell. I turned back and saw a man creeping away along the chabootra. I mounted it, and struck him a violent blow with the gundassa on the back. He fell and did not rise again. We then ran off as far as the bridge over the city sewer escape. Lainah Sing (Turkhan), Bugwan Sing, Luchmun Sing, and Beela Sing were with me. About a mile from the city Lainah Sing (Turkhan) threw his hatchet down a well belonging to the village of Moola Chuck, and Luchmun Sing thrust his tulwar into a bhoosa-stack close to the well (these have been found). Bugwan Sing and I carried our gundassas for some distance further, and eventually threw them into a pool of water on the other side of the canal near the village of Gilwalee. Lainah Sing (Turkhan), after we crossed the canal, left us and returned to the city. We crossed the river Beas at the Jowl Babil ferry and, continuing our flight across the Doab, went to Choohur Chuck in the Malwa, where I have relations. I afterwards reported what had happened to Ram Sing, and he applauded what we had done.

Cross-examined by Futteh Sing, accused No. 1.—You were one of the ten men who assembled at the brick kiln, who went thence to massacre the butchers.

Cross-examined by Hakim Sing, Putwari, accused No. 3.—What I

deposed to before the Deputy Commissioner was perfectly true. I stated before the lower court that I did not know your name, but that I saw you there among the ten and that you were called the Putwari, and that I distinctly identify you. I cannot say that I have seen you in assemblies of Kookahs, but on these occasions thousands collect and it is not to be expected that each man can identify all who are present.

Cross-examined by Laynah Sing (Soobah), accused No. 7.—The ceremony of *home* is performed with the object of propitiating the deity and securing the success of any enterprise in which men of our religion are about to engage. Lainah Sing did not supply arms or money but he distributed food (*kurapershad*), on the occasion referred to when the *home* ceremony was performed.

The 29th August 1871.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

Cross-examined by Lall Sing accused No. 6.—Yes, I saw the swords brought to the well; Futteh Sing carried them. I afterwards heard from yourself that in returning the swords to their places in the lines they had got misplaced and that the constables to whom they belonged disputed among themselves, one accusing the other, of having taken his sword.

Re-examined by prosecution.—I saw that the Putwari Hakim Sing had with him a bundle of papers at the meeting at the brick kiln. I do not know whether he took the papers away with him or not.

The 29th August 1871.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

CHARGE:—Section 302 Indian Penal Code against I to V. Section 109–119 Indian Penal Code against VI and VII.

Witness No. 7 for prosecution.—The information and deposition of Turton Smith, Esquire, Superintendent of Police, Amritsar,

taken upon oath by me on the 29th day of August 1871, who on oath said: I am Turton Smith. On the 4th of August, on information furnished by Goolab Sing I accompanied him to a well within the boundaries of a village called Moola Chuck. Goolab Sing pointed out one of three bhoosa stacks as the one in which Luchmun Sing (absconded) had stuck his sword in his flight after the murder of the butchers. The stack was partially opened out, and some of the bhoosa had been consumed. The sword was not there. On enquiring from the owner of the stack, Gundoo, he at first denied that the sword had ever been there, but after sometime and after he had been subjected to a lengthened enquiry by the lumberdars, he at last admitted that he had found the sword in the stack on the morning after the murder of the butchers, that he had at first intended to report the fact to the lumberdars, but through fear he did not do so. Gundoo then took the lumberdars with him to the spot (about two hundred yards from the well near the banks of a rajbaha) where he had hidden the sword, and it was there found. I saw all this with my own eyes from the well. This is the sword (No. 1) now in Court (points to it).

Goolab Sing, having further said that the hatchet used by Lainah Sing accused No. 5 would be found in the same well, I sent divers down to search for it. Shahzada diver brought this axe (No. 2) up. On the 15th August Lainah Sing (accused No. 5) admitted to me that he had carried this hatchet on the occasion of the murder of the butchers, but asserted positively that he had not struck a blow with it.

On the 5th August as Beela Sing (accused No. 2) was being brought into Amritsar in custody, he passed the slaughter-house where I was at the time. I called him in and he there admitted that he had taken part in the murder and that he had carried a gundassa. On the 7th August Beela Sing took me to a pool of water by the side of a road, about nine or ten miles from Amritsar within the boundary of a village called Kowlanwala; he told me that an axe carried by Mehr Sing (absconded) and a gundassa used by himself on the occasion of the murder of the butchers, would be found in the pool indicated. It was searched, and Pooran constable in my presence found these two gundassas (Nos. 3 and 4), No. 4 was the one Beela Sing said he

had used, and explained that he had made a mistake in saying that the weapon carried by Mehr Sing was an axe, that really this was the weapon.

Again on the 9th August, Lehna Sing (Jat) accused No. 3, took me to the village of Chewinda about ten or eleven miles from this and, after some little search, pointed out two bhoosa stacks saying that in one would be found the gundassa which he had carried on the same occasion, and in the other a sword which Jhunda Sing (absconded) had used. They were opened out and in one was found this gundassa (No. 5) and in the other sword No. 6.

I wish to add that during the course of enquiry into this murder case I on several occasions had closely questioned Laynah Sing (Soobah) accused No. 7, as to whether a *home* had taken place in his house some days before the murder, but on every occasion he denied it till it was proved to have taken place by the statement of Goolab Sing, Beela Sing, and other Kookahs, who took part in it.

Cross-examined by Laynah Sing (Soobah), accused No. 7.—I asked the people of his house whether a *home* had taken place, but no one would admit it; but I received information, derived from Chunda Sing, a servant of Laynah Sing, that such a ceremony had taken place the night before the murder.

Chunda Sing however on enquiry denied it.

W. G. DAVIES,

The 29th August 1871

Officiating Commissioner.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing and others.

Witness No. 8. Pardoned accomplice Lehna Sing, son of Dull Sing, age 25 years, caste Owlik Jat, resident of Lopokee, occupation cultivation.—On solemn affirmation: Some time before the murder took place Jhunda Sing and Mehr Sing of my village went to pay their respects to the Guru (Ram Sing) who was then on a tour in the Malwa. They returned after some days to the village; two days after Goolab Sing, the informer, arrived. They told me that it was the

order of the guru to kill the butchers as they were defiling the holy city of Amritsar, that it was a good work, and that I should join them. I agreed to do so. I went in the evening to Mehr Sing's house; there was a large assembly there. After reading prayers some left and the following remained, Jhunda Sing (absconded), Rajah Sing with four or five others—Lall Sing, * (*Not Lall Sing accused No. 6) Mool Sing, Mehr Sing, and Bussawa Sing, Goolab Sing (informer) and myself. It was then settled that the butchers should be murdered. Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing were to provide some weapons, and Goolab Sing said that he would go to Amritsar and obtain some swords through Lall Sing (accused No. 6). It was arranged that we should meet the next night at the well at the corner of the road to Ramteeruth, near one of the cantonment pillars. We left the village, about an hour of the day remained, and repaired to the spot indicated which we reached about when a watch of the night had passed. We lay down waiting for Goolab Sing, but he did not come. After a time we went to sleep and did not wake till it was broad light. The men who had come with Rajah Sing then left, taking with them the swords and gundassas which we had brought; the rest of us viz. Rajah Sing, Mehr Sing, Jhunda Sing, Lall Sing, Bussawa Sing, and myself came to the city to look for Goolab Sing and ascertain from him why he had not come to the place of meeting. We went to Futteh Sing's (accused No. 1) shop and there found Goolab Sing (informer), Lall Sing (No. 6), and his two brothers Jawahir Sing and Luchmun Sing. They said that they had been to the appointed place and had been looking for us all night. We had in fact missed each other. It was then settled that the carrying out of the project of murdering the butchers should be put off for a fortnight, by which time there would be no moon. We then returned home. At the appointed time Jhunda Sing and Mehr Sing came to me at my well and said that another urgent order had come from the guru to carry out the design of killing the butchers without delay, that it was meritorious work, and all who took a part in it would benefit. I tried to excuse myself on the ground that I had other work to do, that I was alone, that I did not know how to strike a blow but they would not hear me and insisted on my joining them. I at last consented and it was settled that Mehr Sing and myself should go on to Amritsar and that Jhunda Sing should

follow from Thutta bringing with him the weapons and any other Kookahs whom he could induce to join in the enterprise. We went until we came to a bowlee near the Ramteeruth tank; there we found Hakim Sing Putwari and one Futteh Sing of Moura. I did not know the latter before but learnt his name from Mehr Sing. We waited there a little while for Jhunda Sing, he arrived soon after with Jumeyut Sing (Turkhan). We six then started for the appointed place of meeting at the well near the cantonment. There we found Goolab Sing and with him Bugwan Sing, Luchmun Sing, Beela Sing and Futteh Sing (No. 1). There were three or four others whose names I don't know. It was not quite midnight when the meeting took place. Soon after we all started together for the slaughter-house. Before we reached the line of railway Futteh Sing of Moura and Jumeyut Sing slunk away. All the rest of us went on. But on crossing the rail Hakim Sing Putwari and Mehr Sing got separated from us. On reaching the said Mahamood brick kiln we found that the two latter were not with us; we waited, expecting they would join us for sometime, and when they did not do so we called to them in a low voice, but they did not come. We then buried the weapons near the brick kiln and lay down to sleep in a field close by. Presently it came on to rain and then we took refuge in a house (kotha) attached to a well not far off. We stayed there till near day light and then all left for the city, and after bathing in the Dorgiana tank went to the Narlee Boonga and passed the day there. Futteh Sing left us by the tank and went home. That afternoon about 4 P.M., (Sunday may be) we all left the boonga and went to Futteh Sing's shop. We found him there, and soon after Hakim Sing Putwaree and Mehr Sing came up. There we learnt from the two latter that when they had got separated from us they went on straight to the brick kiln near the slaughter-house expecting that we should come on and join them there; that finding we did not come they at last went back to the place where we had first assembled and buried their swords there. We then talked the matter over and decided on making another attempt on the butchers lives that night. It was first proposed to kill the butchers at the cantonment slaughter-house, and Mehr Sing and I went off to the well where the latter had buried the swords the night before, and it was arranged that we should wait there till the rest

came bringing their weapons from the brick kiln. After we had been there some time Bugwan Sing came to us saying that the rest had decided that the attack should be made on the butchers at the city slaughter-house, as the other was surrounded by the houses of Ahirs. On this Mehr Sing went off and brought the two swords from where he had buried them, and we all then set off and joined the rest of the party at the brick kiln. There were seven there in all—Beela Sing 1, Jhunda Sing 2, Goolab Sing 3, Luchmun Sing 4, Futteh Sing 5, Hakim Sing 6, and Lainah Sing 7 (Turkhan). We stayed a little while till the train from Lahore passed by. It passed at eleven o'clock. We waited for this lest we should be interrupted by it when escaping. When the train had passed we all started for the slaughter-house. I, Hakim Sing Putwari, Jhunda Sing, Mehr Sing, and Beela Sing, left our clothes at the brick kiln as we intended returning that way; the rest took their clothes with them, leaving the clothes at the bridge over the city drain. We then crept quietly up to the wall in front of the slaughter-house and looked over it to see if the butchers were asleep or awake. Some voices were heard talking and I and some others were talking of giving up the idea of the attack, but Luchmun Sing and Bugwan Sing threatened to kill any of us who should attempt to withdraw. On this a dog commenced barking which was the signal for a general rush forward. I did not go. I stood still looking on while the rest rushed in and commenced hacking right and left. The whole thing did not occupy above a few seconds. A general flight took place. The five who had left their clothes at the bridge went off in that direction, and out of us five who had to return for our clothes at the brick kiln I, Mehr Sing, and Beela Sing returned there together. Jhunda Sing had reached the place by a short cut before us. We waited a short time for Hakim Sing Putwari, but when we found he did not come, Mehr Sing took up his bundle of papers and we all went off home. We left his clothes that he might not be wandering naked all over the country. As we were going along Mehr Sing and Beela Sing threw their weapons into a pool, and they told us and advised us to hide ours. Jhunda Sing and I hid our weapons, he his sword and I my gundassa in the bhoosa-stack in the boundaries of a village called Chewinda. This is my gundassa (points to No. 5) and this is Jhunda Sing's sword

(points to No. 6). I afterwards showed the Superintendent of Police where they were hidden.

Examined by prosecution.— After the failure of the first attempt I met Lall Sing (No. 6) at the jail where a man was being hanged, and he then told me that he had been very fortunate in being able to restore the swords to the barrack from which they had been taken without being detected; that the constables had afterwards been quarrelling among themselves, accusing each other of having taken the best swords, as in restoring them they had got changed. This quoit (No. 7) and this blue rag (No. 8) belong to Futteh Singha (accused No. 1). It had been previously arranged that they should be left on the scene of the murder to divert suspicion from themselves and cast it on to the Nihungs.

Cross-examined by Hakim Sing, Putwari, accused No. 3.— Hakim Sing did not join at any of the meetings at which I was present when the project of murdering the butchers was discussed; but I learnt from Jhunda Sing and Mehr Sing that he had talked the matter over with them. I have never had any quarrel with you (Hakim Sing).

Cross-examined by Lall Sing, accused No. 6.— I was not examined as a witness by the Committing Magistrate.

W. G. DAVIES,

The 29th August 1871.

Officiating Commissioner.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 9 for prosecution. Gunda Sing, son of Ram Sing, age 18 years, caste Arora, resident of Amritsar, occupation shop-keeper.—States on solemn affirmation: Six days before the murder of the butchers, I came to Futteh Sing's shop. I had to get some money from him. He said that Goolab Sing had come from Bhainnee saying that it was the guru's order that we should kill the butchers, that he wished to satisfy himself if this was true and would pay my expenses. I agreed to go. Lehna Sing went with me. Futteh Sing (accused No. 1) and Lall Sing (accused No. 6) went and saw us off by the train. Futteh Sing gave me Rs. 3, and a ticket to Lehna

Sing. Went to the Guru (Ram Sing) at Roorka, asked him if it was true, what Goolab Sing had given out, that it was his order to kill the butchers. He replied that he would give me an answer next morning. That day he moved to another village and the next morning he sent for me and Lehna Sing and said that he had certainly sent orders by Goolab Sing to kill the butchers, and that if it was to be done why delay? I returned and delivered the guru's reply to Futteh Sing, on which Futteh Sing said that he did not believe me, that he would send Luchmun Sing. I don't know if he did this. Three days after my return the murders were committed. Some days after this, one day I had occasion to go to his shop again, when he told me that the murders had been committed, but that I was not to breathe a word to any one or I should suffer for it.

I identify this quoit as the property of Futteh Sing as I saw it one day lying in his shop.

W. G. DAVIES

The 29th August 1871.

Officiating Commissioner.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, and others.

Witness No. 10. Lehna Sing, son of Kanh Sing, age 32 years, caste Kural, resident of Raib, occupation cultivation.—States on solemn affirmation: Some time before the butcher murder Gunda Sing was sent by Futteh Sing (accused No. 1) and Lall Sing, accused (No. 6), were sent to ascertain the Guru's (Ram Sing's) orders regarding the murder of the butchers. I was going to Ludhiana to pay my respects to the Guru and went with Gunda Sing. Not having the means of paying the rail hire Futteh Sing and others subscribed the amount and bought a ticket for me. Futteh Sing and Lall Sing came to the train and saw us off. Arrived at Ludhiana, we both went off to Roorka where we heard the Guru was, found him there, asked what his orders regarding the killing of the butchers was; he said he would give them the next day. Next day moved to Nuggul where Ram Sing told Gunda Sing that Goolab Sing had rightly carried his message to

kill the butchers. Gunda Sing left. The day after he left Luchmun Sing came, and after remaining three days left again. It was not till after he had left that I discovered that he had come on the same errand as Gunda Sing. I know nothing more.

The accused have no questions to put.

W. G. DAVIES,

The 29th August 1871

Officiating Commissioner.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 11 for prosecution. Futteh Sing, son of Hookma Sing, age 50 years, caste Jat Kular, resident of Moura, occupation cultivation.—States on solemn affirmation: The day before the murder of the butchers took place I knew it because it was the Sankrant of the month of Har when it is a custom of Hindoos to bathe and offer up offerings. It was a Tuesday I met Hakim Sing coming towards a village near the rajbaha. He wanted me to join in killing the butchers; he seized me by the arm and dragged me away with him. I came with him to Goolab Rai's garden outside the city; there we were joined by Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing. We went together to where twelve or thirteen others (Kookahs) were standing. I followed them a short distance and then slunk away and went home. This was about (pehur rat gaien) when a watch of the night had gone. Hakim Sing Putwari lives in my village. He did not return to the village till Thursday morning, the morning after the murder. I saw him there early that morning. He was not there on Wednesday, at least I did not see him.

Cross-examined by Hakim Sing, accused No. 3.—You (Hakim Sing) had no weapons in your hand when you invited me to accompany you. Yes, the proprietor of my village is my father-in-law. Hakim Sing's father is the hereditary cultivator of one well in it.

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W. G. DAVIES,

The 29th August 1871

Officiating Commissioner.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing and others.

Witness No. 12. Laka, son of Manah, age 22 years, caste Brahmin, resident Ajnala, occupation patwarie's assistant.—States on solemn affirmation: I am Hakim Sing Putwari's assistant. Two days before the Superintendent of Police and Baillie Sahib came to Lopokee to arrest Hakim Sing, Hakim Sing caused me to write up the entries in his diary which had been left blank from the 12th of March to 4th August. They were written straight off in one sitting and referred almost exclusively to his own movements. The seals of the lumberdars of Bhullar, which is the headquarters of the circle, were obtained and affixed to the entries, all except the seal of the Alla Lumberdar, Roopa Sing, who was absent on that day. The next day I applied to him for his seal but he refused to give it. On the 14th June Hakim Sing caused himself to be entered as present at Moura, and on the 15th June at Juggowar. In reality Hakim Sing was not at home (Moura) on the night of the 14th June, for on my return from Ajnala, where I had been to the tehsil on business, I went to his house and found that he was absent, ate my dinner there, and came to his shop and went to sleep there. He returned on Thursday. On that day I heard of the murder of the butchers.

Cross-examined by Hakim Sing, accused No. 3.—I am not a Government servant; I am the servant of Hakim Sing. I do whatever I am told by Hakim Sing.

W. G. DAVIES,

The 29th August 1871.

Officiating Commissioner.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 13. Mool Sing, son of Beer Sing, age 24 years, caste Turkhan, resident of Lopokee, occupation carpentry.—States on solemn affirmation: Some twenty days before the butchers were murdered I accompanied the first party under Rajah Sing and

Jhunda Sing and Mehr Sing. We came as far that night as Goolab Rai's garden. The attempt failed and it was decided to postpone it to the dark half of the month. We slept there that night and came into the city the next morning. Jhunda Sing and Mehr Sing took us to Futteh Sing's (accused No. 1) shop. After remaining a short time there we went to Lall Sing's house, and had our food there. We slept at the house of Laynah Sing (accused No. 7). There the question of the murder of the butchers was fully discussed, and it was decided to put it off for some time. Laynah Sing fed us all and promised to make all necessary enquiries for carrying out the design to a successful issue. After this I went home and did not again join in the design.

Accused have no questions to put.

W. G. DAVIES,

The 29th August 1871

Officiating Commissioner.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 14. Bussawa Sing, son of Gurdut Sing, age 25 years, caste Turkhan, resident of Cheyla, occupation carpentry.—On solemn affirmation: Sometime before the butchers were murdered I came with Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing to Goolab Rai's garden. It was intended to kill the butchers. The project for that time failed and the next morning we came to the city. We went to Futteh Sing's shop, stayed there a short time, and then went to the house of Lall Sing where we ate our morning meal. Towards evening we went to the house of Laynah Sing (accused No. 7), a friend of Jhunda Sing; they both originally belonged to the same village. The question of the murder of the butchers was discussed, and it was decided that it should be put off till the dark half of the month, and Laynah Sing (No. 7) promised to collect all information necessary for carrying out the project to a successful issue. The next day I went off with Pahara Sing to the guru at Bhannie. Pahara Sing reported to the guru about my going on, adding that Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing would not listen to him but seemed bent on killing the butchers, to

which Ram Sing replied that if they would not listen they must “gang their own gait.”

The accused have no questions to put.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 29th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, and others.

Witness No. 15 for prosecution. Ram Sing, son of Bhago, age 24 years, caste Jat, resident of Jagoowala, occupation service.—On solemn affirmation: I am one of the city police. I found this “chukkur” (quoit) at the slaughter-house on the evening after the murder of the butchers (15th June). It was lying outside at the foot of one of the enclosure walls.

The accused put no questions.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 29th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, and others.

Witness No. 16 for prosecution. Bussawa Sing, son of Jeet Sing, age 25 years, caste Mehra, resident of Amritsar, occupation service.—On solemn affirmation: I am serjeant in the city police, No. 36 A division. Some days before the murder of the butchers the swords of the constables in the barrack near the Rambagh gate of the 1st and 2nd sections were found to have been changed from one peg to another. Some eight or nine swords had been so changed. Lall Sing (accused No. 6) was in No. 1 Section of which most of the swords had been changed. The next morning the sepoy's began discussing among themselves how the changes had taken place, and accusing each other of having taken one another's swords.

Cross-examined by Lall Sing.— I did not hear from any one that your (Lall Sing's) tulwar had been changed.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 29th August 1871.

CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Hakim Sing, and Beela Sing, &c.

Prisoner No. 1, Futteh Sing, son of Hakim Sing, age 35 years, caste Bhatra, resident of Amritsar, occupation shop-keeper.— Having pleaded not guilty, is called upon to enter upon his defence and states as follows: On the night on which the butchers were slaughtered I slept at my house in the Kuheyia Kutra. I remained the whole day at my shop at the Rambagh gate. I left my shop at 9 P.M., went home, had my evening meal, and went upstairs to bed. My neighbours, Ram Sing and Lall Sing, are my witnesses to this; they saw me come from my shop to my house and saw me again the next morning come out of my house. I have nothing else to urge.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 29th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 1 for defence.—Lall Sing, son of Mulaja, age 50 years, caste Arora, resident of Kuheyia Kutra, Amritsar, occupation wood-seller.—States on solemn affirmation: My shop in the Kuheyia Kutra is opposite to Futteh Sing's house. I do not know when Futteh Sing returned home on the night of the murder of the butchers. I am in the habit of shutting up my shop and going home at 7 P.M. or so.

The 29th August 1871. W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 2 for defence. Ram Sing, son of Sukhha Sing, age 38 years, caste Arora, resident of Kuheyia Kutra, occupation miscellaneous dealer.—States on solemn affirmation: I opened my

shop in the Kuheyia Kutra in Cheyt last; my shop is next door to Futteh Sing's. On the night that the butchers were murdered Futteh Sing came home at 8 P.M., I had and went upstairs. I saw him go to his shop again the next morning at 6 o'clock. I slept at my shop that night. I don't remain awake all night as a rule. I don't remember the date on which the murder took place, Suren Das Badmash is my uncle.

The 29th August 1871.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Prisoner No. 2. Beela Sing, son of Nihal Sing, age 27 years,

caste Saruddee, resident of Jangal Kasoor, occupation —.—.

Having pleaded guilty is called upon to enter upon his defence, and states as follows: I came to Amritsar to bathe on the Sankrant of Har (13th June). As I was bathing at the holy temple Goolab Sing (informer) met me there. He told me that the orders of the Guru (Ram Sing) had come to kill the butchers; asked me if I would join. I told him I was ready to give my life, but that I had no weapons; he told me to look for one, anything would do, a hatchet or a gundassa, and that I was to come to the house of Laynah Sing, Soobah (accused No. 7). I went as it got dark. The *home* sacrifice was just over, and *kuraparshad* was being distributed. The sacrifice was to ensure success to our enterprise. Laynah Sing was present at the time. We started off to go out of the city, but were stopped by the sentry at the Sultanvind gate and returned, all but Futteh Sing and Luchmun Sing, who had succeeded in getting out. The next morning Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing said that they were going off to their village to collect arms and, if possible, men, and that we were to meet them the next night at Goolab Rai's garden near the cantonment boundary. We went according to appointment, reached the garden at about 9 P.M.; Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing arrived about midnight, Hakim Sing Putwari, Jumeyut Sing, Lehna Sing (Jat) and Futteh Sing, of Moura came with them. With us were

Goolab Sing, Bugwan Sing, Luchmun Sing, Shahbeg Sing, Chutter Sing, Futteh Sing (accused No. 1), and Bugail Sing, and some others. We started off together for the slaughter-house. Before crossing the railway Futteh Sing of Moura and Jumeyut Sing slunk away, and crossing the line, Mehr Sing and Hakim Sing Putwari got separated from us. When we reached the brick kiln we waited for them for some time; they did not come, and finding that it was getting late we determined on putting off the attack till the next night. We accordingly buried the weapons there and went to sleep. A storm came on and compelled us to take shelter in a house attached to a well close by, slept there till daylight, then we got up and went into the city, and passed the day at the Narlee Boonga. Futteh Sing had left us and gone home straight. It was arranged that we should meet at the brick kiln and we went accordingly some before, some after. At 10-30 about all had assembled except Bugail Sing, Shahbeg Sing, Chutter Sing and Khusal Sing; we counted our number and found that we were ten; 1, Goolab Sing, Lehna Sing, Bugwan Sing, Jhunda Sing, Mehr Sing, Lainah Sing (Turkhan), Futteh Sing (accused No. 1), Hakim Sing Putwari, Luchmun Sing; five left their clothes there, and the rest took theirs on with them and all started for the slaughter-house. We stopped at the wall and looked over it; some inside were talking. A dog barked and we rushed in, and commenced striking right and left, the first blow I struck hit the wood-work of one of the charpoys and a piece was broken off the blade (points to blade of No. 4. at corroboration). I had only time to strike another blow when, seeing the rest of our party running, I went off too. Mehr Sing and Lehna Sing (Jat) went off together, I did not see where Hakim Sing Putwari went to. On arriving at the brick kiln, found Jhunda Sing there before us. We waited a short time for Hakim Sing but as he did not come, we started off taking his papers with us, and leaving his clothes on the road. I and Mehr Sing buried our weapons in a pool near Kowlowal. I afterwards went with the Superintendent of Police and pointed the place out and these weapons (points to Nos. 3 and 4) were found. After going a little further I left them; I went to my own village. This "chukkur" (points to quoit (No. 7), was on Futteh Sing's head when we went to the attack, also this blue pugree.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 29th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Prisoner No. 3, Hakim Sing, son of Roopa Sing, age 35 years, resident of Moura, caste Brahmin, occupation Patwari.— Having pleaded not guilty, is called upon to enter upon his defence, states as follows: I have been ill from fever for the last twenty-five months. I was ill on the night of the murder of the butchers. I was at my village. The following are my witnesses to this fact: 1. Ghaseeta, 2. Suddug, 3. Gurmukh Sing, 4. Gobind, 5. Dhurm Sing, 6. Manuk, 7. Goordut Sing, 8. Eeda, 9. Ilahyia. I am not a Kookah. I am at enmity with Lehna Sing (No. 3) of Lopokee. Lopokee is not in my circle. Two years ago he struck me at the Vassaki Mela. I have no enmity with Goolab Sing.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 29th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 3 for defence. Ghaseeta, son of Kisser, age 26 years, caste Baranola, resident of Moura, occupation chowkidar.—States on solemn affirmation: I don't know whether Hakim Sing was at his house on the night on which the butchers were murdered, and I did not see him in the village till the second day after the murder. I saw him then at his shop.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 30th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 4 for defence. Suddug, son of Sharaf Deen, age 40 years, caste Khoja, resident of Bhullar, occupation phsie.—States on

solemn affirmation: I don't know where Hakim Sing was on the day the butchers were murdered at Amritsar. My village is a koss off Moura where Hakim Sing lives. Some five or six months ago he asked me to prescribe for him, never again. He was not then so ill as not to be able to move about.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 30th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 5 for defence. Gobind, son of Motee, age 40 years, caste Khutree, resident of Moura, occupation cultivation.—States on solemn affirmation: Hakim Sing Putwari lives in my village. I don't know if he was in the village on the day the butchers were murdered. I did not see him that night. The next day I went to Lopokee to attend on the mounted sergeant Fuzuldeen and there heard of the murder. I knew that he had a boil on his thigh. He used to have fever before.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 30th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 6 for defence. Gurmukh Sing, son of Hakeekut Sing, age 65 years, caste Bajmo, resident of Moura, occupation cultivation.—States on solemn affirmation: I am quite blind and have been so for a long time. I cannot say if Hakim Sing Putwari was in his village on the night of the murder of the butchers. He was ill some time before.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 30th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 7 for defence. Dhurm Sing, son of Ram Sing, age 55 years, caste Khutree, resident of Moura, occupation shopkeeper.—States on solemn affirmation: I know Hakim Sing Putwari. He lives in my village. I don't know if he was in the village on the night of the murder of the butchers. I have a shop in another village and go off every day at sunrise, returning at night. I have heard from the people of the village that Hakim Sing had a boil on his leg.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 30th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 8 for defence. Manuck, son of Jumujata, age 36 years, caste Khutree, resident of Moura, occupation shop-keeper.—States on solemn affirmation: Hakim Sing lives in my village. I don't know whether he was in the village on the night of the murder of the butchers. The day before the murder (*corrects himself*)—the day of the murder—early in the morning I saw him go out to perform the offices of nature.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 30th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 9 for defence. Gurdut Sing, son of Rup Sing, age 55 years, caste Bhimdal (Jat), resident of Moura, occupation cultivation.—States on solemn affirmation: Hakim Sing lives in my village. On the day of the night in which the butchers were murdered, Hakim Sing was in the village. I can't say if he was there during the night. He had a boil, but used to walk about. I do his work. He had fever sometime before.

Cross-examined by prosecution.—I heard from Gobind Khutree,

who had been to the Lopokee Chukee, that the butchers had been murdered on the night of Wednesday. This was in the month of Har. I did not borrow any jewels of Hakim Sing in Baisakh preceding. I did borrow some in Cheyt and pawned them with Deyanut Brahmin of Bhullar. I released the ornaments eight days after.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 30th August 1871.

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THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 10 for defence. Eedu, son of Faiza, age 60 years, caste Tailee, resident Moura, occupation carrier.—States on solemn affirmation: Hakim Sing Putwari lives in my village. I don't know if he was in the village on the night of the murder of the butchers.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 30th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, and others.

Witness No. 11 for defence. Ilahiya, son of Faiza, age 45 years, caste Tailee, resident of Moura, occupation carrier.—States on solemn affirmation: I am brother of Eedu who has just deposed. Hakim Sing Putwari lives in my village. I don't know if he was in his village on the night on which the butchers were murdered. I saw him two or three days after. He used to go about his work. He was ill sometime before.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 30th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Prisoner No. 5. Lainah Sing, son of Mootsudda Sing, age 26, caste Jat, resident of Punnoowna, District Gurdaspore, occupation Turkhan.— Having pleaded not guilty, is called upon to enter upon his defence, and states as follows: I am a Kookah, became one three years ago. I was working in June at the kutcherry in the Rambagh; went home to eat my dinner at noon. On my way back met Goolab Sing at the shop of Futteh Sing (accused No. 1). They knew me to be a Kookah, and stopped me. Goolab Sing said that it was the Guru's (Ram Sing's) order that the butchers should be killed, and asked me to join them in carrying out the order. I objected, but they insisted, saying that I was not a Kookah if I did not obey the guru's order. I said that I would go with them. Goolab Sing then told me to come in the evening to the house of Laynah Sing (Soobah) accused No. 7. I went there about 8 P.M. Laynah Sing was there. They had just performed the ceremony of *home* and were distributing the ceremonial food (*kurapershad*). I took some. They then all came down stairs. There were some ten or twelve, but I did not know all. We started for the slaughter-house but were stopped by the sentry at the gate, and came back and separated. I went the next day but one, at noon, according to appointment, to Futteh Sing's shop. Goolab Sing, and some others I do not know, were there. They said that it was decided to murder the butchers that night, and that I might meet him in the bazar. I did so. He took me to the well near the cantonment. Futteh Sing was there. Some others, about twelve in number, came there. We started for the slaughter-house. On the road one or two of the Sikhs left us. We waited some time at the brick kiln, and it having become late, it was decided to put off the attack till the next night, and we slept at a well close by and then returned to the city. We stayed that day at the Narlee Boonga. In the afternoon we went out, bathed at Tuppa Bun, and when it was dusk went to the appointed place of meeting, the brick kiln. Ten of us assembled there. I only knew Goolab Sing and Futteh Sing (1) of those assembled; the rest I can't recognize, as it was dusk when we met. One of them was called by the others "Putwari." After the Lahore train had passed we started for the slaughter-house; arrived there, we listened and hearing some voices, it was proposed by some to retreat, but Goolab Sing insisted, and

we all rushed in. I had a hatchet in my hand; this is the one (No. 2). I did not, however, use it, but stood still from fear, and then ran away. I went away with Goolab Sing, and he made me throw it down a well. I do not know where the well is. It is on this side of the canal south of the city.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 29th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Prisoner No. 6, Lall Sing, son of Dul Sing, age —, caste Jat, resident of Chahul District Gurdaspore, occupation constable.—Having pleaded not guilty is called upon to enter upon his defence, and states as follows: I know nothing of this case and took no part in it. I did not take any swords out of the barracks to be used in murdering of the butchers. I don't know where my brothers Jawahir Sing and Luchmun Sing are. I am a Kookah, so are my brothers. I did not go to see Gunda Sing off by the train when he went to Ram Sing. I know he did go some five or six day before the butchers were murdered. I have nothing else to say. I did not feed Mehr Sing, Jhunda Sing, and the Lopokee party. Perhaps they prepared their food at my house, or were fed by Guneyaha Sing, Ekkawala, who lives in the same house with me.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 30th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Prisoner No. 7, Laynah Sing, son of Bulaka Sing, age 25, caste Turkhan, resident of Amritsar, occupation carpenter.— Having pleaded not guilty, is called upon to enter upon his defence, and states as follows: I deny that I know that the butchers were going to be murdered. No burnt sacrifice or *home* took place as stated by the witnesses on the Sunday before the murder took place, nor did

Sikhs assemble there. I am a Kookah. When Ram Sing comes to Amritsar he always stops at my house. My witnesses will prove the truth of what I say. The following are neighbours: Goolab Sing, Mootsudda Sing, Sukhkhoo, Dewa Sing, Aroor Sing Mahunt, and Hurree Sing, also know that no *home* took place at my house.

I did not admit before the Deputy Commissioner that the *home* had taken place at my house. What I said was because the Superintendent of Police told me to admit that the *home* had taken place and promised that I should get off if I did so. Mool Sing and Busawa Sing did not come to my house, and I did not promise them to show the way to the slaughter-house and assist as far as I could.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 30th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

BAL. Goolab Sing, son of Gursa Sing, age 30 years, caste Kumboh, resident of Amritsar, occupation service.—States on solemn affirmation: I know Laynah Sing, contractor Soobah of the Kookahs. I live in the same gallee. I cannot say if any *home* took place at his house on any occasion before the murder of the butchers took place.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 30th August 1871.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

Witness No. 12 for defence.—*Goolab Sing, son of Guraa Sing, age 30 years, caste Kumboh, resident of Amritsur, occupation service.*—States on solemn affirmation: I know Laynah Sing, contractor Soobah of the Kookahs. I live in the same *gulle*. I cannot say if any *home* took place at his house on any occasion before the murder of the butchers took place.

W. G. DAVIES,

The 30th August 1871.

Officiating Commissioner.

CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing.

Witness No. 13 for defence.—Mutauadda Sing, son of Mujja, age 50 years, caste Kumboh, resident of Jullawala Kutra, occupation cultivation.— States on solemn affirmation: My “*khurras*,” a place to grind corn, is near Laynah Sing Soobah’s [accused No. 7] house. I go there every now and then, when there is anything to be done, once a week or so. I don’t know whether the *home* ceremony took place at Laynah Sing’s house on any occasion before the day on which the murder of the butchers took place.

The 30th August 1871.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, and others.

Witness No. 14 for defence.—Sukkhoo, son of Khanoo Mull, age 32 years, caste Arora, resident of Jullaka Kutra, occupation wool-seller.— On solemn affirmation: I live about a quarter of a koss from Laynah Sing (accused No. 7). I know him by sight. I can’t say whether any such ceremony as the *home* took place at Laynah Sing’s house or not at any time.

The 30th August 1871

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

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THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, and others.

Witness No. 15 for defence.—Dewa Sing, son of Jussa Sing, age 55 years, caste Kumboh, resident of Anritsur, occupation service.— On solemn affirmation: I am a neighbour of Laynah Sing. My house

is close to his. I don't know whether the ceremony of *home* took place at Laynah Sing's house on any occasion before the murder of the butchers took place. I don't even know what the ceremony of *home* is.

The 30th August 1871.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, and others.

Witness No. 16 for defence.—Hurree Sing, son of Ram Sing, age 30 years, caste Brahmin (Kookah), resident of Amritsar, occupation religious devotee.— On solemn affirmation: I know Laynah Sing (accused No. 7); he is my *Goorbhaee*; he is a leading Kookah. Ram Sing comes and stays with him when he is at Amritsar. I live at the holy tank, about half a mile from where Laynah Sing lives. I don't know if on any occasion before the murder of the butchers, the ceremony of *home* took place at Laynah Sing's house. I heard one say that he had gone to Lahore; this was sometime before the butcher murder, but I can't say how long.

The 30th August 1871

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, and others.

Witness No. 17 for defence.—Aroor Sing, son of Dyal Sing, age 40 years, caste Tarkhan, resident of Ram Gurhia Kuttra, occupation shop-keeper.— On solemn affirmation: I live about half a mile from the place where Laynah Singh (accused) lives. I know him well. He is my *Goorbhaee*. Ram Sing puts up at his house when he comes to Amritsar. The ceremony of *home* takes place sometimes at Laynah Sing's house; he sometimes calls me, but not always, to assist. He did not call me to assist at any such ceremony at any time immediately before the murder of the butchers. My brother was ill about that time, and I did not, therefore, go near Laynah Sing.

The 30th August 1871.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

(Called by Laynah Sing, accused No. 7.)

THE CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, &c.

Witness No. 18 for defence.—Goolab Sing, son of —, age —, caste —, resident of —, occupation —. States on solemn affirmation: You were certainly a party to the design to massacre the butchers. You caused the sacrifice (*home*) to be celebrated, and you distributed *kurapershad* to ensure the success of the enterprise; you did not assist with money.

The 30th August 1871

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

IN THE COURT OF THE COMMISSIONER AND
SUPERINTENDENT (SESSIONS JUDGE), AMRITSAR
DIVISION.

The Crown versus

1, Futteh Sing; 2, Beela Sing; 3, Hakim Sing, (putwaree); 4, Lehna Sing, son of Dul Sing (Jat) admitted to pardon; 5, Lainah Sing, son of Mootsudda Sing (Turkhan); 6, Lal Sing, 7th, Laynah Sing, son of Bolaka Sing.

Charge against Nos. 1 to 5 under Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code.

Charge against Nos. 6 and 7 under Sections 109 and 302 of the Indian Penal Code.

Judgment.— During the months of April and May considerable excitement had prevailed in the city of Amritsar on the subject of the slaughter of kine. Owing, however, to measures taken by the authorities, this feeling, it was believed, had completely died out when, on the night of the Wednesday, the 14th June last, a sudden

attack was made on the slaughter-house near the city by a party of persons unknown, the results of which were that four persons were killed outright, and three others were severely wounded.

The four killed were Peera, Jeewan, Shadee and Tussamee. The three wounded, and who have since recovered from their wounds, are witnesses Kurmdeen (No. 3), Ellahie Buksh (No. 4), and Khewa (No. 5). The wounds inflicted on these seven men are described in detail by the Civil Surgeon Dr. A. Taylor (witness No. 1); they were all, he says, such as would be caused by a sharp cutting instrument, such as a sword, axe, or *gandassa* (a kind of chopper).

All endeavours to discover the criminals at that time failed; this was due to several causes. The night was dark, the last quarter of the moon having been selected for the commission of the murder, so that not one of the murderers had been recognized by any one of the survivors. There were no trackers at hand to follow up the track, and no clue had been left by the attacking party beyond a *chuckhur* (quoit or disc of steel worn under the turban by Akalis), and a blue turban, which, as will afterwards appear, was left on the spot by the accused with the special design of throwing off suspicion from themselves and casting it on the Akalis. It is almost needless to add that the ruse succeeded but too well in diverting suspicion from the real perpetrators of the outrage.

The police were for a long time entirely at fault, and the clue that was afterwards obtained turned out to be a false one. Tempted by the large reward offered, some of the city budmashes fabricated a false case, and a number of persons belonging to the city of Amritsar were arrested and committed for trial. But, before the trial came on, one of the men condemned to death for having taken part in the butcher murder at Raikot in the Loodiana District, came forward, and offered, if his life were spared, to disclose all the facts of the Amritsar murder. The offer was accepted, and the enquiry which ensued having established the innocence of the persons committed for trial, and the falsehood of the evidence on which they had been sent up, the prosecution was withdrawn, and they were at once released.

The informer referred to is Goolab Sing (witness No. 6). His

statement was taken down in detail on the spot (Raikot) by the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Colonel Baillie. In it he gave the names of all the ten men of his sect (Kookah) who were concerned in the murder; described all the circumstances of the crime, and where some of the perpetrators of it had in their flight concealed their weapons. His statements in all particulars were found to be true. He was brought to Amritsar, where he arrived on the 2nd August. The next day some of the accused were arrested. On the 4th August Goolab Sing took the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Turton Smith, (witness No. 7,) to Moola Chuck, and pointed out the place where he said the weapons used by Luchmun Sing (absconded and still at large) and Luchmun Singh (Turkhan), accused No. 5, would be found. The circumstances attending the finding of these two weapons is so strongly corroborative of the truth of the informer's statement, that they deserve to be related at length. This can be best done in Mr. Smith's own words. He says—"Goolab Sing pointed out one of three bhoosa stacks as the one in which Luchmun Sing had stuck his sword in his flight, after the murder of the butchers. The stack was found partially opened out, and some of the bhoosa consumed. The sword was not there. On enquiring from the owner of the stack (Gandoo), he at first denied that the sword had ever been there; but, after some time, during which he was closely questioned by the lumbar-dars, he admitted that he had found the sword in the stack on the morning after the murder of the butchers; that he had at first intended to report the fact to the lumbar-dars, but afterwards refrained through fear. Gundoo then took the lumbar-dars with him to the spot (about two hundred yards from the well near the limits of a rajbaha), where he had hidden the sword and there it was found." This in itself was good evidence of the truth of Goolab Sing's story; but there was stronger corroborative evidence still to come. To continue the quotation from the Superintendent of Police's evidence: "Goolab Sing having further said that the hatchet used by Lainah Sing, (accused No. 5,) would be found in the same well, I sent down divers to search for it. Shahzada diver brought this axe (No. 2) up." About this time, Beela Sing (accused No. 2), one of the five named by Goolab Sing as his accomplices in the murder, was arrested and brought in. He

confessed, and, on the 7th August, took the Superintendent of Police out to a village called Kowlawala, about ten miles from Amritsar, and from a pool of water produced two *gandassas* (choppers with long handles), which, he said, had been carried by himself and Mehr Sing (absconded, and still at large). On the night of the murder, Lehna Sing, one of the persons named by the informer, also confessed, and on the 9th August taking the Police Superintendent to the village of Cheewinda, about eleven miles from Amritsar, pointed out the bhoosa stack in which he said would be found the gundassa carried by himself, and the sword carried by Jhunda Sing. The stacks were opened out and the weapons found inside. All this was decisive as to the truth of the informer's story and the confessions made by Beela Sing and Lehna Sing.

It is now time to relate the main facts connected with this murder as gathered from the evidence of the informer, Goolab Sing, and that of Lehna Sing, who was committed for trial as accused No. 4, but whom it was considered advisable to admit to pardon and examine as witnesses, under Section 209 of the Criminal Procedure Code, in order to strengthen the evidence for the prosecution in certain particulars. A map (Not received) is appended to illustrate the narrative.

One fact comes out with startling clearness from the evidence of these men corroborated as it is by the confessions of Beela Sing, (accused No. 2), and the testimony given by Gunda Sing (witness No. 9) and Laynah Sing (No. 10), that no step was taken in this murderous outrage without consulting Ram Sing, the leader of the sect, to which the accused all belong, and further that he distinctly encouraged the accused to commit it.

It appears that three separate attempts were made to murder the butchers before the 4th, and successful attack of the 14th June, each time something having occurred to postpone the carrying out of the design. There is little doubt that many joined in it most unwillingly and were only induced to do so from their ignorant fear of the consequences to themselves of offending their guru. The leading men throughout appear to have been Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing of Lopokee (absconded), Goolab Sing (informer), and Futteh Sing

(No. 1), who received material assistance from Lal Sing, police constable (No. 6), and Laynah Sing (No. 7). The meeting for discussion as to the best means of carrying out the project took place generally at Futteh Sing's shop, which is conveniently situated near the Rambagh gate, and sometimes at the house of Laynah Sing (No. 7), a leading man among the Kookahs.

The first attempt was made some twenty days before the final attack; and before this step was taken Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing thought it necessary to ascertain the wishes of the Guru (Ram Sing). He encouraged them, and they set off to carry out the design. If we are to believe Goolab Sing, he was directly instigated by Ram Sing to join in the intended attack. He followed Jhunda Sing and Mehr Sing to Lopokee and thence talked over the matter with them and Rajah Sing. They agreed to provide some of the weapons, and Goolab Sing was sent off to Amritsar to obtain swords through Lal Sing, police constable (accused No. 6). It was arranged that they should all meet at a well on the outskirts of the cantonment at the corner of the road to Ramteeruth. The attempt on this occasion appears to have failed owing to the several parties from Lopokee, Thutha, and the city having missed each other. Goolab Sing and Luchmun Sing are the only persons who appear to have gone to the right place. After waiting a long time they got up and were returning to the city when they came upon Futteh Sing (No. 1), Jawahir Sing, and Lall Sing (No. 6); this party had with them a number of swords which Lall Sing said had been obtained from the police lines. They afterwards all, including Mehr Sing, Jhunda Sing, and Lehna Sing (pardoned accomplice witness No. 8), met at Futteh Sing's (1) shop, and it was then decided to put off the attack for a fortnight by which time the moon would be in last quarter and the nights dark.

The second attempt, if it can be so called, was made on Sunday, the 11th. The conspirators assembled at the house of Laynah Sing (accused No. 7), and, to ensure success to their enterprise, a propitiating burnt sacrifice (*home*) was offered up, the following being, from first to last, present: Bugwan Sing, Khushal Sing, Shahbeg Sing, Chattrur Sing, Jhunda Sing, Mehr Sing, Luchmun Sing, Beela Sing, Futteh Sing, Lainah Sing (Turkhan), accused No. 5, and the proprietor of the house. After the sacrifice was over and

the sacramental food (*karapershad*) had been distributed, all sallied forth led by Luchmun Sing and Futteh Sing (1); only these two, however, succeeded in getting out of the city. All the rest were stopped by the sentry at the gate, by which they were leaving. It should be explained that Lehna Sing (Jat), the pardoned accomplice (witness No. 8), was not present at this meeting.

It was then decided by the leaders Mehr Sing and Jhunda Sing (absconded) to postpone the attack till Tuesday, the 13th, the next day but one. They wished to go home to get some more weapons, and, if possible, more men; the well near cantonment with the trees near it, spoken of by some of the witnesses as Goolab Rai's garden (see plan) being again fixed as the rendezvous. On this occasion the following appear to have assembled: Jhunda Sing, Mehr Sing, Lehna Sing (Jat), witness No. 8, Hakim Sing (Patwari), accused No. 3, Khushal Sing, Shahbeg Sing, Chuttur Sing, Bhagwan Sing, Futteh Sing, Luchmun Sing, Beela Sing, Bugail Sing, and the informer Goolab Sing. There was some delay on this occasion, and in crossing the railway line, some of the party got separated and some slunk away not liking the business. Among the latter were Khushal Sing, Shahbeg Sing, Chuttur Sing, and Bhagwan Sing. Owing to these secessions and to Mehr Sing and Hakim Sing having become separated from them, the main body, after waiting sometime at the Shah Mamood-ka-awa (see brick kiln so named in the map) determined on postponing the attack till the following night. They accordingly buried their arms and lay down to sleep. The next morning they returned to the city and passed the day (all but Futteh Sing who went to his shop) at the Narlee Boongah.

The fourth, and this time successful attempt, was made on the 14th June, and the occurrences of this night had best be described in the words of Goolab Sing, whose account is entirely borne out by the evidence of the pardoned accomplice, Lehna Sing (witness No. 8), and the confessions of Beela Sing (accused No. 2), and Lainah Sing (Turkhan), accused No. 5. Goolab Sing says:—"On the afternoon Luchmun Sing (absconded) and I started for the appointed rendezvous, the brick-kiln; we passed by the slaughter-house and examined it. We then went to a shrine near there called Tappo Bun (see map), where we found Bhagwan Sing and Lainah Sing

(Turkhan). We left soon after for the brick-kiln, arriving there as it was getting dark. The rest dropped in one by one. There were, besides the first five accused, Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing (Patwaree), Lehna Sing (Jut), and Lainah Sing (Turkhan) myself, Bhagwan Sing, Mehr Sing, Jhunda Sing, and Luchmun Sing. We dug up the weapons, and Mehr Sing and Hakim Sing brought back their swords from the place where they had hidden them (see Luchmun Sing's deposition), and we then waited till the Lahore train came in. Some of us left our clothes at the kiln, while others took their clothes with them. I, Bhagwan Sing, Luchmun Sing, and Lainah Sing (Turkhan) took our clothes with us, as we intended to go along the Huree-ka-puttun Road, while the rest had to return by way of the kiln. We then all set off towards the slaughter-house. Approaching quietly and hiding behind the wall, we looked to see if the butchers were asleep. While we were still looking, an old man outside marked, and this decided us in making the attack without delay. We rushed in and commenced striking right and left. Two men jumped down from the *chabootra* (raised platform) and ran off. I gave chase, and, overtaking one, struck him a blow on the shoulder; he fell. I turned back, and saw a man creeping away along the *chabootra*. I mounted it and struck him a violent blow with a *gandassa* on the back; he fell, and did not rise again. We then ran off as far as the bridge over the city sewer escape. Lainah Sing (Turkhan), 5, Bhagwan Sing, Luchmun Sing, and Beela Sing were with me. About a mile from the city Lainah Sing threw his hatchet down a well belonging to the village of Moola Chuck, and Luchmun Sing thrust his sword into a bhoosa stack, close to the well (where they were found). Bugwan Sing and I carried our *gundassas* (choppers) for some distance further, and eventually threw them into a pool of water on the other side of the canal near the village of Gilwalee."

Such is the story of the massacre of the butchers as told by one of the principal actors in it, and having related it, we must now bring together the evidence bearing on the guilt of each of the six accused separately.

Against Futteh Sing (accused No. 1) there is first the evidence of the two approvers,—Goolab Sing and Lehna Sing (witnesses Nos. 6 and

8)—who depose to Futteh Sing having taken a leading part in every attempt that was made on the lives of the butchers, to meetings for discussing the project having been repeatedly held at his house, and to his having been present on the occasion of the actual attack on the night of the 14th June 1871. The evidence of these two witnesses is corroborated in certain particulars which directly connect Futteh Sing with the offence charged by the evidence of Gunda Sing (No. 9), Lehna Sing (No. 10), Mool Sing (No. 13), Wussawa Sing (No. 14), and Ram Sing (No. 15), the first two proving that Futteh Sing sent Gunda Sing specially to ascertain Guru Ram Sing's wishes respecting the murder, the next two, that meetings to discuss the mode of carrying out the design took place at Futteh Sing's shop. Gunda Sing (No. 9) further deposes to the quoit and blue rag found at the slaughter-house being the property of Futteh Sing, while Ram Sing (No. 15) proves the finding of these the morning after the murder. Against this overwhelming evidence the accused has nothing to set, but a simple denial that he took any part in the murder, and an assertion, after passing his whole day at his shop, he went to his house in the Kunhaya Kuttra and slept there throughout the night; to prove this he calls his neighbours, Ram Sing and Lall Sing. The former cannot remember the date on which the murder took place, and the latter cannot say when Futteh Sing returned home on the night of the murder of the butchers. There could be no doubt whatever of Futteh Sing's guilt.

Beela Sing (accused No. 2) has made full confession which, in all its details, tallies with the accounts of the circumstances connected with the murder given by the two approvers. Against Hakim Sing (accused No. 3) also the proof adduced is most conclusive and convincing. Besides the evidence given by the approvers, which goes to show that Hakim Sing took part in the third attempt and in the final attack on the butchers, there is the testimony of Futteh Sing, of Moura, (witness No. 11) to Hakim Sing's having compelled him to join in attempt (No. 3) and to Hakim Sing's having been absent from his village on the day of the murder of the butchers (Wednesday), and to his not being returned till the following day (Thursday), and there is the evidence of his assistant, Kaka (witness No. 12) to Hakim Sing having caused him, Kaka, to write up his diary which

had been left entirely blank from the 12th March to 4th August 1871, that was done at one sitting, two days before the police came to arrest him; that the entries related almost entirely to the patwaree's own movements, the object being to show that he was present at his village (Moura) on the day of the murder of the butchers, and on the day following it another village called Jujja. The mere inspection of the book shows that the entries relating to the period specified were all made in one day. The defence set up by Hakim Sing is that he had been ill from fever continuously for more than two years, and that he was at his village on the night of the murder. He calls nine witnesses to prove this, but not one of them supports his statement. On the contrary, several depose to his being able to go about as usual and to his not having been in the village on the night of the murder. There can be no doubt whatever of this man's guilt, and the fact of his being a Government servant aggravates, if possible, the heinousness of the offence.

Lehna Sing (accused No. 4) was, during the trial admitted to a pardon under Section 209 of the Criminal Procedure Code. He was chosen, because he had evidently joined in the attack on the butchers under strong moral compulsion, and because he had not taken any active part in it.

Lainah Sing (accused No. 5) put in a plea of not guilty, but afterwards made a statement which amounts to a confession of guilt. He admits that he joined the party which made the attack on the butchers, and that he was on the occasion armed with a hatchet, but he denies that he struck a blow. This is not improbable, as he is a man of timid disposition and joined only under moral compulsion. This, however, though it may palliate, cannot in any way excuse his guilt.

There remain the two accused Lall Sing (No. 6) and Laynah Sing (No. 7), who are charged with having abetted the commission of the murder. There is not a shadow of doubt as to the guilt of both. As regards the former, there is the evidence of both Goolab Sing and Lehna Sing, approvers, that Lall Sing was one of those concerned in the first attempt on the lives of the butchers; that he actively assisted by obtaining swords for the party from the barracks in which he was

on duty; that in restoring them to their places the next day, constables began disputing among themselves and accused each other of having taken his sword. This is corroborated by the evidence of the Serjeant of the guard, Bussuwa Sing (No. 16). Again, Moola Sing and Wussawa Sing (Nos. 13 and 14) prove that Lall Sing received the conspirators into his house and fed them the day after the failure of the first attempt. The man, it should be added, is the brother of Jawahir Sing and Luchmun Sing—two of those actually concerned in the murder; and it must not be forgotten, in awarding punishment, that this man is a policeman paid by Government to protect life and property.

As regards Laynah Sing (accused No. 7) also, there can be no manner of doubt that he is guilty. Apart from the evidence of Goolab Sing, there is the testimony of Mool Sing (No. 13) and Wussawa Sing (No. 14) to the whole party of conspirators, the day after the failure of the first attempt having passed the night at Lehna Sing's house, to the design to murder the butchers, having been fully discussed with Laynah Sing, and to his having promised to procure information and to do all in his power to ensure success to the enterprise. Again, it is proved by the evidence of the informer, Goolab Sing, and the accused's own admission before the committing Magistrate, that, on the night on which the second attempt was about to be made (on Sunday the 11th June), the conspirators all assembled at his house, and the ceremony of *home*, to ensure success to the enterprise, was gone through, he being present and actively assisting. When to this, it is added that this man is one of the leaders of the Kookah sect at Amritsar, the man at whose house the Guru, Ram Sing, stays whenever he visits Amritsar, and, therefore, the one most likely to encourage a design which he knew had the support of his spiritual leader, the most sceptical mind must admit that the strongest possible case has been made out against the accused. Against it the prisoner himself has nothing to set but a denial that the ceremony of *home* took place on the occasion referred to. He has the hardihood to make this denial in the face of his admissions before the committing Magistrate, and not only to do this, but to assert that he was induced to make the admission by the Superintendent of Police on promise of pardon

should he consent. He has called seven witnesses to prove the negative, but not one of them supports him; and one Goolab Sing (the informer) only confirms his statement to the effect that Laynah Sing was a party to the design to massacre the butchers, and on one occasion caused the sacrifice (*home*) to be celebrated in order to ensure success to the enterprise.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 31st August 1871.

The Court, concurring with the Assessors, finds that Futteh Sing is guilty of offence specified in the charge, namely that he (Futteh Sing) has committed the offence of murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code, and the Court directs that the said Futteh Sing, subject to the confirmation of the Chief Court, be hanged by the neck till he be dead.

The Court, concurring with the Assessors, finds that Beela Sing is guilty of offence specified in the charge, namely, that he (Beela Sing) has committed the offence of murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code, and the Court directs that the said Beela Sing, subject to the confirmation of the Chief Court, be hanged by the neck till he be dead.

The Court, concurring with the Assessors, finds that Hakim Sing is guilty of offence specified in the charge, namely, that he (Hakim Sing) has committed the offence of murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code, and the Court directs that the said Hakim Sing, subject to the confirmation of the Chief Court, be hanged by the neck till he be dead.

The Court, concurring with the Assessors, finds that Lainah Sing is guilty of offence specified in the charge, namely, that he (Lainah Sing) has committed the offence of murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 302 of the Indian

Penal Code, and the Court directs that, subject to the confirmation of the Chief Court, the said Lainah Sing, son of Motsudda Sing, be hanged by the neck till he be dead.

The Court, concurring with the Assessors, finds that Lall Sing is guilty of offence specified in the charge, namely, that he (Lall Sing) has committed the offence of abetment of murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Sections 109 and 302 of the Indian Penal Code, and the Court directs that the said Lall Sing be transported beyond seas for the term of his natural life.

The Court, concurring with the Assessors, finds that Laynah Sing, son of Boolaka Sing, is guilty of offence specified in the charge, namely, that he (Laynah Sing) has committed the offence of abetment of murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Sections 109 and 302 of the Indian Penal Code, and the Court directs that the said Laynah Sing, son of Boolaka Sing, be transported beyond seas for the term of his natural life.

CROWN vs. Futteh Sing, Beela Sing, Hakim Sing, &c.

The trial being now concluded, the Assessors give their opinion as follows:

1. Sirdar Runjodh Sing.— That the accused are all guilty of the offences with which they respectively stand charged. Beela Sing (No. 2) and Lainah Sing, Turkhan, (No. 5) from their own admissions, and the rest of the accused from the evidence of the approvers, Goolab Sing and Lehna Sing (witnesses Nos. 6 and 8), corroborated by the evidence of the other witnesses for the prosecution. The defences set up by these prisoners, he remarks, have all broken down.

2. Gholam Kadir

3. Bal Mokund

Are both of the same opinion.

W. G. DAVIES,

Officiating Commissioner.

The 31st August 1871.

No. 35, dated Simla, the 31st October 1871.

From — The Government of India.

To — Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Referring to the second paragraph of our despatch No. 24, dated the 17th August last, we transmit, for your Grace's information, a copy of a letter* (* No. 1683, dated 21st October 1871.) from the Government of the Punjab, and of its enclosures, containing the proceedings in the recent Amritsar butchers' murder case.

* * *

After the conclusion of first trial regarding Raikot murders, police implicated two other Kukas, Gyani Singh and Rattan Singh, charging them with abetment.

Document 46

Judgment Raikot butcher murder case

Session Court, Ambala (26 October 1871)

Crown versus GYANI Singh and Ruttun Singh.

Charge - Abetment of murder; Sections 100 and 300, Indian Penal Code.

[The assessors, Meer Golam Mohammad, Chundeo Lall, and Kunhya Lall find the accused Rutten Singh and Gyani Singh, guilty of the offence charge for the reasons set forth in the Verneular]

Judgment.- It is unnecessary on this occasion to go over the story of the Raikote murders, which is given in detail in the judgment on Golab Singh, Mustan Singh, Goormookh Singh, and Mangal Singh. Since then Golab Singh has turned Queen's evidence on a promise of pardon. I have recorded the evidence of Dall Singh, his wife, and Golab Singh at length, and find that they only differ in two important points from the evidence given at the previous trial Ist, that Dull Singh took Golab Singh, Lachman Singh, and Jawahir alias Beer Singh, to Boota Ram one night, and Bhagwan Singh the second night, whereas Dull Singh is recorded as stating that he took them all on the same night, but from his language it is unusually difficult

to record his evidence clearly, and I distinctly remember feeling there was a gap of time in his story, and that it did not agree with that of his wife's and Juggut Singh's. His present story explains this. He has never made such a clean breast of it, and he may have wished to *screen* Boota Ram. The 2nd point of difference is, that he makes Ruttun Singh to stop with his camel at Cheenewal instead of waiting for the party at Jalaldewal. Ho explains this by saying that the arrangement was for Ruttun Singh to wait at Julaldewal, but that he did not do so. It may be so it is certain that no camel tracks were found by the trackers. The facts of the actual murder are again proved by Ranja and Alia, Native Doctor.

It is necessary to consider how far the present accused are connected with that murder,- the former as abettor, and after the latter, Gyani, as abettor before the fact.

The first fact is, that Otam Singh and Juggat Singh, as proved by Dull Singh and his wife's evidence (and evidently supported by Juggut Singh's admissions on the previous trial), immediately after a visit of Gyani Singh's, who admits having been there to Juggut Singh's house to persuade Dall Singh, a man with a sword, to murder the butchers.

Then Golab Singh, Queen's evidence, states that, having been present at the Amritsar murders, and having got his orders from Ram Singh, of Bhainee, to kill butchers in the Malwa, he with Bhugwan Singh, Lachmun Singh, and Jawahir Singh started off, making straight for the village Khodie, where Gyani Singh was: this they reached on the fifth day. If it was not to meet Gyani Singh, their five days' journey was objectless, as Raikote lies much nearer Bhainee. The Raikote butcher- khana was particularly obnoxious to Kookas, as it lay on the direct road from the homes of a large section of them to Bhainee, was itself nearer the high road, and the butchers themselves laying out of the town were especially open to attack. Gyani Singh admits that Golab Singh saw him at Khodie, but gives a different reason (having come to recover money) for his presence. Golab Singh states that Gyani Singh promised to help them with men and swords in killing the butchers, and told them to go to Boota Ram at Tajpore as a rendezvous, he himself going off with Bhugwan

Singh to make arrangements.

The evidence of Utra, Gyani Singh's syce, shows that he was sent to Runguan to summon the people to Mourah" to a melá."

There is evidence to prove that Ruttun Singh went to Mourah. He says alone arriving in the evening, but Deedar Singh, Fakeer, and Jeewan Singh, and Kala Singh say he came (in the morning, except Deedar Singh) almost immediately after Gyani Singh, and that he had a stranger with him. Jeewan Singh says there was no mela, but it is proved that Jowahir Singh, Goordutt Singh, and others went to see Gyani Singh; and Deedar Singh states that some of them sat up all night talking with Gyani; also, that Ruttun Singh brought four swords and took them away when he left. Goordutt Singh states that, in Gyani Singh's presence, Ruttun Singh made him promise to join in the Raikote murder, and that he went to get a sword and gave it in Gyani Singh's presence to Ruttun Singh, but whether Gyani Singh heard or saw he can't say. Jowahir Singh says, Ruttun Singh made him promise to join the murder, but not in Gyani Singh's presence. He also says that on the previous day Deedar Singh, Fakeer, had told him Gyani Singh was coming, and that swords would be wanted. These men, except the two Játs, gave their evidence most unwillingly, and not nearly so strong as before the Magistrate; and it is known, and, in fact, admitted by one of the party that they all, being Kookas, went to Bhainee the day before this trial commenced, i. e., on the 23rd. I had to put off commencing for some time, as they had not arrived; they then all denied having been there.

It is admitted that Gyani Singh then returned to Jogdy.

Ruttun Singh admits, and it is proved by the evidence of Golab Singh, Dull Singh, and his wife, that they took Bhugwan Singh on with the swords to Cheeneewal, and then deposited them at Boperaie. The evidence of Dull Singh's wife, confirmed on the previous trial by that of Bhugwan Singh, proves that next day he returned with the Pitokee men, took them to be fed at Dull Singh's house.

Khuzan Singh in the previous trial distinctly stated that Ruttun Singh left and returned with the Petokee men.

The evidence of Mussamut Ram Kour (Dull Singh's wife),

both now and on the previous occasion, goes to show that Ruttun Singh went on to Jullaldewal; but, however that may be, the three Petokey men left in the evening in Ruttun Singh's company to commit the murder. Before day-break the murderers returned, and Ruttun Singh, by his own admission and the statements of Dull Singh and Golab Singh, took one of them, Bhugwan Singh (still at large), off on his camel, and Ruttun Singh states he took straight away to Gyani Singh, at Jogay, Jeewan Singh, a Kooka Lamberdar of Jogay, with whom Gyani Singh was staying, admits that on the 2nd day of Gyani Singh's stay Ruttun Singh came with a stranger on a camel, stayed there that night, and started next morning for Petokey. Ruttun Singh admits this, and adds that Jeewan Singh gave Bhugwan Singh Rupees 5 for his bravery. Ruttun Singh states that the police came to Petokey the day he was there. If this be true, it was on the 20th or 19th, and he must have stayed two days with Gyani Singh. He shows every disposition to screen Gyani Singh as well as himself, only admitting facts about which there is not a shadow of doubt.

His story is this: He was feeding his camel at Rungeean; heard of a mela at Mourah, went; reached about 5 P. M.; also went to sleep; was awoke at 8 P. M. by Bhugwan Singh, who carried him off, telling him of his intention, on the camel with some swords, which, after joining Dull Singh, they deposited that night at Bhoperaie, a distance of twenty or thirty miles; and he returned alone to Cheeneewal, fed the Petokey men that morning, waited there till next morning, when the murderers returned; and he carried off Bhugwan Singh to Gyani Singh's without any particular object, and the party with Bhugwan Singh at Mundi, Gyani Singh's own village, and then made for the desert, where he was hunted down by the Patiala officials.

Gyani Singh admits his presence at the places named, and says he was there on his ordinary business of settling Kooka disputes, or holding melas. I find it proved that Ruttun Singh procured swords for the murder, which were used in the murder; conducted one of the party to near the scene of action; fed, or caused to be fed, others of the murderers; find to induce two men to join in the murder, but they failed to appear (though the number of swords actually collected, 13, show that the four Mourah men were expected); and finally, after the murder, assisted one of the

murderers in his escape. (I do not include the making over of the bloody swords, as Khuzan Singh has not been brought forward on this trial.)

I have, therefore, no hesitation in finding Ruttan Singh guilty as abettor, both by aiding in and conspiring for the murder which was committed.

I have set aside the evidence of Dull Singh and his wife as to Gyani Singh having instigated them to commit and abet the murder, not because it is in any way improbable in itself, or that at this distance of time the discrepancies between their statements are at all fatal, and, indeed, the way in which they each replied to Gyani Singh's torrent of questions, invectives, and abuse, made me and the assessors inclined to believe they were speaking of something that had occurred, but the way in which the evidence was brought up late in the trial by the police left it doubtful, and I attach no weight to it.

What remains is the direct evidence of Golab Singh to Gyani Singh's conspiring for the murder with four of the murderers. This, given in a satisfactory manner, itself is supported by the facts which I find undoubtedly proved of Gyani Singh leaving Bhainee immediately on the news of the Amritsar murder, going straight to Juggut Singh's house, whence the first idea of butcher-killing in that neighbourhood commenced, and was carried out; next, his meeting Golab Singh at Khodie.

His presence at Mourah (where there was no mela) along with Ruttan Singh* (*His arrival there with Ruttun Singh and a man who must have been Bughwan Singh), the collection of swords there, and the instigation of men to join, of both which there is the strongest presumption, he must have been aware. Finally, his going to Jogay without any apparent reason, and waiting there till his friend Ruttun Singh returned with one who must have been the murderer, Bhagwan Singh. On these grounds I have no hesitation in finding Gyani guilty of abetting the murder of the Raikote butchers by instigation to and conspiring for that purpose; therefore the Court, concurring with the assessors, find Ruttun Singh and Gyani Singh guilty of the offence specified in the charge, namely, that Ruttun Singh and Gyani Singh have committed the offence of abetment of

murder, and have thereby committed an offence punishable under Sections 100 and 302 of the Indian Penal Code, and the Court directs that the said Ruttun Singh and Gyani Singh be hanged by the neck till they be dead, subject to the confirmation by the Chief Court.

The 26 October 1871.

J.W. MACNABB,

Session Judge, Ambala

* * *

Document 47

Rewards for Police and Trackers in the Raikot Murder Investigation

The investigation into the Raikot murders had resulted in rewards sanctioned for the police personnel and trackers who had assisted in tracing and apprehending the perpetrators. However, the Lieutenant-Colonel G. McAndrew, Officiating Inspector-General of Police, Punjab, who had supervised the investigation on the spot, considered that some of the men who had actually taken part in the initial tracking operation had been omitted from the approved list. Therefore, he draws the attention of the Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala Division to the names of men who had actively participated in the first stage of the investigation. He supplies details of the tracking party and seeks their proper recognition.

Letter No. 4892, dated 1st November 1871

From - Lieutenant-Colonel G. MCANDREW, Offg. Inspector-General of Police, Punjab.

To - The Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala Division.

I HAVE the honor to forward herewith copy of a letter No. 1441, dated 12th October, from the Officiating Secretary to Government, Punjab, to my address, on the subject of rewards to Ludiana Policemen and trackers for their exertions in the detection of the

Kuka murderers of the Raikot butchers.

2. My object in now bringing this subject to your notice is, that the rewards recommended in your No. 284, of the 6th September last, to the Officiating Secretary to Government, Punjab, have been sanctioned in preference to those recommended by me as Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Ambala Circle, and senior Police Officer conducting the investigation on the spot.

3. When you wrote the letter of the 6th September, no detailed report of the proceedings of the Police in the first stage of the Raikot enquiry had been laid before you, and the names of some of the men who took an active part were not remembered by me when I talked over the matter with you at Kassauli, and have consequently been left out of the list attached to your letter.

4. The tracking party consisted of the men named in the margin.

1.-Abdoola, Sergeant, Raikot Thanna.

2.-Hoossain Beg, Constable, station writer.

3.-Omrono, Constable.

4.-Nehal Sing, do.

5.--Ahmed Khan, Duffadar of Chowkidars,

6.-Bungoo, Tracker.

7. Poopee and other Boureeah Trackers

These men, as you are aware, took the track of the murderers with great perseverance and unusual success via Jullal-di-wall to the village of Cheeneewall, and up to the *Tuckee* of Khuzan Sing, Kuka faqueer; on this proceeding the entire future success of case depended, and, as successful tracking is now getting very rare, I consider it most important, in a case like the present one, where failure in detecting the band of Kooka murderers might have led to serious consequences, that a liberal reward should be given, and thus encourage the Police and trackers not to abandon a good old institution, which, if well used, is a most important aid in the detection of crime.

5. On the heels of the tracking party came Deputy Inspector Abdool Rehman Khan, Mounted Sergeant Zpty Khan, with other

Mounted Policemen, who, starting from Ludiana at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 16th, rode right on to Cheeneewall, a distance of more than 40 miles, and joined the tracking party; on finding that the murderers had been tracked to Cheeneewall, a Patiala village, and to Khuzan Sing's *Tuckee*, Abdool Rehman Khan and Zpty Khan at once sent a letter to the nearest Patiala Thannadar to come to their assistance, which he immediately did, joining the party at Cheeneewall next morning, and was followed by another Thannadar, also the Vakeel at Ludiana; and through the influence of these officials the first confession was obtained, which rendered future proceedings easy. But the fact was not sufficiently laid before His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, that the Ludiana Police had actually tracked the murderers to their place of meeting (after the outrage) before any of the Patiala Police had come on the scene; and that I believe Zpty Khan had actually taken possession of Khuzan Sing on suspicion before their arrival.

6. With regard to Mounted Sergeant Zpty Khan, no man engaged in the case worked harder and with more zeal; he went with Dull Singh and his wife, Ram Kour, and arrested the three Pitokee men who were executed, and throughout was ever ready and willing; and I feel satisfied you will agree with me that the reward proposed in your list for him, viz., Rs. 30, is quite below his deserts, and compared with the splendid rewards given to the Patiala men, it would dishearten a fine young fellow of (as the late Sir Herbert Edwardes states)- "the best blood of the Khyber."

7. I now propose, and, if you agree with me, will submit the same to Government, rewards as follows:-

To the tracking party - .Rs. 500

To Deputy Inspector Abdool Rehman Khan,

Mounted Sergeant Zpty Khan, Shaik Beegey Khan,

Deputy Inspector, and the Mounted Constables

who followed the tracking party, also others

who assisted in the capture of Goolab Sing, &c., &c.,

together with Ram Kour, wife of Dull Sing, who made her

husband confess, and has been since in attendance giving evidence at Amritsar and Ludiana, a sum of .Rs. 800

Out of this a sword will be given to Zpty Khan.

8. An early reply to the above will oblige.

* * *

Document 48

MacNabb Reconsiders the Rewards for Police and Trackers

Letter No. 233, dated 4th November 1871

From - J. W. MacNabb, Esq., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala Division. To - The Offg. Inspector-General of Police, Punjab.

In reply to your No. 4892, dated 1st November, I have the honor to state that I regret my letter to Government conveyed the impression that I had consulted you as to details, which was not the case.

2. I entirely agree with you that but for the energy of the Duffadar of Chowkeedars and the skill of Boota, tracker, neither the Raikot nor the Amritsar cases would ever have been traced.

3. I am inclined to think that my rewards, which have, after all, to be measured by result as well as mere actual services, have been insufficient, and might well be increased to Rs. 150 for the above two men, and Rs. 50 for the other trackers.

4. With regard to the regular Police also I think the rewards somewhat inadequate, and you had a much better opportunity than I had of judging of their exertions, as the evidence being mostly that of Queen's evidence, the successive steps in the investigation did not come prominently forward. I should therefore be glad to see an advance on the amount sanctioned; but as many of them you mention did not come forward at all in the course of the enquiry; it is therefore impossible for me to go into details; but Rs. 600 would seem suitable. This would raise the sums as follows:-

Native Doctor - Rs. 100

Duffadar and trackers - Rs. 350

Police - Rs. 600

Total, Rs. 1,050

* * *

Document 49

Secretary of State Approves Rewards for Patiala Officials

No. 49, dated India Office, London, the 9th November 1871.

From - His Grace the Duke of ARGYLL, Secretary of State for India in Council. To - His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council.

MY LORD,-The despatch of your Excellency in Council, dated 26th September, No. 27 of 1871, on the subject of the rewards sanctioned by the Punjab Government for the Patiala officials and others, in recognition of services rendered by them in bringing to justice the men who were concerned in the Raikot murders,, has been considered by me in Council.

2. I have to express my full approval of the grant of these rewards.

No. 2078.

COPY forwarded to the Government of the Punjab for information, in continuation of letter from this department, No. 1529, dated 16th September 1871.

The document is significant for what it reveals about the administrative importance attached to the cooperation of the Patiala State. The services rendered by its officials in tracing and apprehending the Raikot offenders were repeatedly acknowledged at successive levels of the colonial administration

* * *

Document 50

McAndrew's Case for Additional Rewards to the Police and Trackers

No, 192, dated Lahore, 11th November 1871.

From - Lieutenant-Colonel G. McANDREW, Offg. Inspector-General of Police,,

Punjab.

To - The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 1441, of the 12th October, conveying the orders of Government sanctioning certain rewards, proposed by the Commissioner of the Ambala Division, to members of the Ludiana Police, in connexion with their successful action in the Raikot murder case.

2. I forward, for the perusal of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor,, a copy of my No. 4892, of the 1st November, to the Commissioner of Ambala, of my explaining my reasons for considering the rewards proposed by him inadequate, and suggesting a further grant of Rs. 700. To this Mr. McNabb agrees, as will be seen from the copy of his No. 233, of the 4th instant, which forms a second enclosure to this letter.

3. I venture to hope that the additional sum I have asked for may be sanctioned by the Government, for the following reasons:-

The murders at Raikot were no ordinary crimes. The concerted assassination of butchers in Amritsar and Raikot formed part of a scheme to defy authority, and to compel Government to abandon its policy of toleration, by obliging it to put a stop to the slaughter of kine. A movement of this kind, backed by the whole influence of Ram Singh, being in the nature of a bid on the part of the Kukas for the sympathy and support of every Hindu, might be expected to enlist at least the secret approval of a large part of the Police Force and to influence them when called on to do their duty. This not unnatural anticipation, gathers strength when it is recollected that the Raikot murder was investigated in those localities where Kukas are most numerous and influential. The Police agents employed in the discovery of this case were Sikhs, Hindus and Mussalmans. From the Sikh Inspector down to the youngest Constable there was no faltering, no flinching from duty. Feelings, the offspring of

customs sacred with the approval of successive ages, were restrained by native Policemen in the resolve to do their duty to the British Government against their co-religionists. I knew that the struggle would be no easy one to ignorant and bigoted men, and in the name of the Government I promised liberal rewards to those who faithfully executed the trust reposed in them.

4. I should explain that, in the ordinary course of Police investigations, it will naturally happen that the departmental rather than the judicial officer will be in the better position to value services performed and apportion the rewards necessary. Colonel Baillie and I had charge of the case from the first. We watched every step, heard every admission, and tested each fact disclosed. The Courts could judge of the value of the evidence collected; we only could decide the exact share of merit due to the exertions of the individuals who elicited and verified those facts. We spent some twelve days in directing the operations of the subordinate Police and in collecting all the evidence necessary for the prosecution. So complete was the case against the accused, that Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana, was only obliged to stay a day and a half on the spot to conduct the trial to commit the prisoners to the Sessions, and the Sessions Judge was able to conduct the trial in a similarly short time. It needs no demonstration to prove that the opportunity and special knowledge necessary to enable a judicial officer to give an opinion as to the relative exertions of different members of the Police in an inquiry will be present in inverse ratio to the perfection of the case for the prosecution as unfolded in Court. In other words, the more carelessly and incompletely the evidence is sent up, the more will the judicial officer know of the real working of the case, and of the individuals to whom he is indebted for assistance.

5. In the Bassian trial the Police case was self-contained. No witness was summoned either by the Committing Magistrate or the Sessions Judge. The various clues were placed before the Courts in a connected manner, so that little remained for the Judge beyond recording them and drawing correct conclusions from the evidence. On these grounds, then, I trust His Honor may be pleased to sanction my application for a further sum of Rs. 700 to adequately

reward men whose exertions I am personally cognizant of.

The letter also contains a revealing example of the colonial administration's perception of the Kuka movement.

* * *

Document 51

Sanction of Additional Rewards for Police and Trackers

No. 1606, dated Lahore, 22nd November 1871

From - LEPEL H. GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secretary
to Government, Punjab.

To - The Inspector-General of Police, Punjab.

I AM directed to acknowledge receipt of your No. 192, dated 11th November, asking that additional rewards may be granted to the Police and trackers for their success in the discovery of the perpetrators of the Raikot murders.

2. The Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to accede to the recommendations made by you, as modified by the Commissioner, that in excess of what was previously sanctioned, Rs. 700 may be granted from Police savings.

3. His Honor is anxious to encourage as much as possible the system of tracking, which, when carefully supervised and in the hands of men carefully trained, is capable of very good results. He would wish to see a detailed list of the persons to whom the rewards now sanctioned are given, so as to be sure that the trackers who appear to have done a large proportion of the work receive a fair proportionate share of the reward.

* *

Document 52

Chief Court Judgment in the Raikot Butcher Murder Case: Ruttun Singh and Gyani Singh

The Sessions Court at Ludhiana had convicted Ruttun Singh and Gyani Singh of abetment of the Raikot butcher murders and sentenced both to death on 26 October 1871. Since the death sentences required confirmation by the Chief Court, the entire proceedings were referred to the Punjab Chief Court for judicial review. The principal issue before the Court was not merely whether the two men had participated in some manner in the events surrounding the murders, but whether the evidence legally established their guilt as abettors and whether the extreme penalty of death should be confirmed.

CHIEF COURT OF THE PUNJAB

Reference Side, No. 65 or 1871-CRIMINAL

[Case referred by Mr. Macnabb, Commissioner, Ambala Division, with his No. 185 of 26th October 1871, under Section 306, Criminal Procedure Code]

PRESENT:

C. Boursors, Esq.

C. R. LINDAY, Esq.

J. C. CAMPHILL, Esq., Judges

The Crown versus (1) Ruttun Singh, son of Budh Singh, caste Kooka, age 28 year, Resident of Naiwala; (2) Gyani alias Ruttun Singh, son of RAM Kishan, caste Kooka, age 35 years, resident of Mandi.

Charge - Abetment of murder. Sections 108-302, Indian Penal Code.

A Court of Sessions held at Ludhiana for the District of Ludhiana by Mr. J. W. Macnabb, Sessions Judge of the Ambala Division, on

the 26th day of October 1871, with the aid of three assessors, Ruttun Singh, son of Budh Singh, Gyani alias Ruttun Singh, son of Ram Kishen, were charged under Sections 100-302 of the Indian Penal Code with the murder of butchers at Raikote.

The Court, concurring with the assessors, found the prisoners guilty of the charge, and sentenced them to death, subject to the confirmation of the Chief Court, for which the proceedings have now been forwarded.

There are some difficulties in this case concerning the conviction of Gyani.

The two prisoners, Gyani and Ruttun Singh, were committed for trial on the 21st of September 1871: the latter implicating the former in his evidence before the Magistrate.

Ruttun Singh, in fact stated before the Magistrate that he was summoned to Mourah by Gyani, and there the murders were planned, and from Mourah he, Ruttun Singh, proceeded to carry out the plan, and, immediately after the massacre, rode to Jogay and reported to Gyani the success of the enterprize. But Ruttun Singh was not present at the massacre. This is a statement that, differently brought forward, might have formed the most serious and, taken along with other evidence relating to Gyani's movements immediately before the 10th of July conclusive evidence against him.

But the two prisoners, Gyani and Ruttun Singh, were committed together for trial, and were tried together, consequently nothing that Ruttun Singh says is evidence against Gyani.

It may be all true, but, taken in this way, the evidence of one prisoner against another tried at the same time with him, with no opportunity to that other prisoner to cross-examine, and with some the possible inducement to the confessing prisoner to bring in another along with himself, is excluded by the law; moreover, from this, such as it was, Ruttun Singh afterwards resiled.

The other evidence than must be carefully examined, and this consists mainly of that given by an accomplice admitted to pardon, evidence which is admissible, and, if believed, is sufficient for

conviction.

This other evidence, too, is greatly helped by the movements of Gyani, who was hovering about at the time of the Raikote murders, three days before which he went to Deedar Singh's Dhurmsala at Mourah, where Ruttun Singh also came on his camel. There, according to the evidence of Deedar Singh, Sadh, Rattan Singh had a heavy bundle, which he said were swords which he was taking to Bhainee.

There were a number of men who came there apparently to see the Subah, who, being a man in authority in the sect, would naturally be visited, and there is evidence that besides here was excitement about the butcher murder.

Here it was that Goordutt Singh visited Gyani; but, though, according to Goordutt Singh, Gyani was sitting by, Gyani did not speak about the attack on the butchers himself. Ruttun Singh did. This witness, according to his own account, was afraid to have anything more to do with the matter, and left.

The evidence of Raj Kour about his (Gyani's) saying on a previous day at the Syar Mela "sugrah raho" is brought forward very late. She said nothing of this on the 27th of July, when she was examined at length, and this should hardly be accepted as credible. Once undertaking to make statements against Gyani, the witnesses are likely to be influenced by the strongest desire to get him found guilty in the interests of their own safety.

Dull Singh's evidence chiefly is, that he got instructions direct from the Guru, i. e., through Mungul Singh, at Bhainee; and, in one point as against Ruttun Singh, Dull Singh's evidence is open to much doubt. It is hardly credible that Ruttun Singh could have been, as Dull Singh says he was, at Jelaldewal (or rather at the Jukiyn), for his camel-tracks were not visible.

As against Gyani, his (Dull Singh's) evidence about the mela and "Sugrah raho" (be firm,) was brought out on the police requesting his re-examination, and the whole scene requires confirmation before it can be accepted as likely at all. If it was true, it amounts to a very vague statement as the wife puts it; but the husband, Dull Singh, makes it out to have been more definite. On the whole, it looks

much as if the recollection had been assisted by tutoring,

Golab Singh's evidence is much more strong against Gyani-" He asked us at his house at Khoodie," says Golab Singh, "if we had the Guru's orders, and told us he had," i. e., to kill butchers; but Golab Singh's evidence comes with the infirmity that he is an approver.

It is plain from the evidence of Jowahir Singh that a great number of people knew vaguely that butchers were to be killed. Jeewan Singh carries the case no way at all against Gyani Singh, nor does Kala Singh.

Gyani Singh's sending his syce, Utter Singh, shows that he was much implicated in getting men together, and to assemble at Mourah; but the evidence of the syce does not show any more definitely than the rest of the case, what precise act or words of instigation can be brought home to Gyani, who, indeed, appears to have been no more an instigator than many of the sect with which he was associated. Doubtless his position as a Subah gave him influence for evil, and his explanation of his whereabouts at the time of the murder is unsatisfactory. He says that he was at Bhainee when the news of the Amritsar murder came, and afterwards went to Juggut Singh's house at Jogay. This brings him near the scene. But he says that he went to settle some Kooka dispute. He also went to Khoodie to settle some other dispute.

Upon the whole case I should hesitate to confirm the sentence of death against Gyani. No doubt the logical view is, that the abettor, if he abetted, should suffer capital punishment. But the law is expressly framed to allow judges a practical discretion; and, in the exercise of it, I feel very strongly that the capital sentence had better not be confirmed. We do not know what part he actually took upon really good and reliable evidence. We are sure that he took what may be vaguely described as some part for evil by arrangements and presence at counsels. But in the doubts which the case presents upon the legal evidence, I am quite of opinion that it is within the discretion of the Chief Court to sentence Gyani only to transportation for life.

I would commute the sentence of his follower, too, Ruttun Singh, who was not upon the actual scene of the murder, and the

murderers had full instructions from elsewhere (see Dull Singh's evidence), to transportation for life.

The 11th November 1871.

C. BOULNOIS,

Judge.

I CONCUR with Mr. Boulnois as to the guilt of the accused, whose sentences are now under reference. Ruttun Singh's statement amounts to a confession, and the evidence against him is ample, and shows that, though not one of the actual murderers, he took an active part in carrying out arrangements for the murder. I think, too, that the evidence of the informers, the proved movements of Gyani Singh, and the statement of Ruttun Singh, show he, too, took part in the arrangement. The last-named is evidence receivable with great caution against one who did not make it, and who could not cross-examine; but it is by law taken as evidence in the case, and I do not know the **lose by** which it is entirely excluded, except in the case of the person making it. I take it for what it is worth, and I think in the present case it is of some strength.

I agree with Mr. Boulnois in his finding as to Gyani Singh, which is as follows: We do not know what part he actually took upon really good and reliable evidence. We are sure that he took what may be vaguely described as some part for evil by arrangements and presence at counsels;" but I cannot concur with him in thinking that this is a case in which the Court should exercise its discretion by reducing the sentences from death to transportation for life.

The present murder was the second of what would, no doubt, have been a series of murders if justice had not overtaken the perpetrators. They were planned from the most influential of motives, and I look on those who planned and arranged them as far more guilty than the excited fanatics who were used as tools to perpetrate them.

There may be pity for men led to evil by religious excitement, none for those who instigate them, themselves standing aside to try and avoid the attendant risks. I would confirm the sentences of death

passed on Ruttun Singh and Gyani Singh.

As to confirmation or modification of the sentences of death, the proceedings will go before Mr. Lindsay.

The 14th December 1871.

J. S. CAMPBELL,

Judge.

I HAVE given most careful consideration to this case.

There is, in my opinion, no reasonable doubt that Gyani Singh and Ruttun Singh abetted the murder of the Raikote butchers.

In a case such as this, the main point for consideration is, whether the innocence of the accused is consistent with the facts disclosed in evidence.

I have considered this point very carefully, and I think it highly improbable that Gyani Singh, under the circumstances disclosed, could not have been an abettor of the crime in the legal sense of the term.

The presumption is violent that he was an abettor. The case against Ruttun Sing is still stronger.

I therefore agree with my colleagues in holding Gyani Singh and Ruttun Singh guilty of the offence of abetment of murder, and I agree with Mr. Justice Campbell in holding that they are as guilty as the men who actually committed the murder.

The actual murderers were apparently but instruments in their hands, or in the hands of others, and it may be that they are somewhat less guilty than those who urged or aided them to commit the crime. In coming to this conclusion, I am not in any way biased against Gyani Singh by the statements of Ruttun Singh.

His statement in itself is not evidence against Gyani Singh, though facts elicited from it may be on the legal evidence adduced against Gyani Singh, I base my opinion.

I confirm the sentence of death passed upon Ruttun Singh and Gyani Singh by the Sessions Judge.

The 23rd November 1871.

C. R. LINDSAY,
Judge.

They were eventually hanged outside Ludhiana jail on 26 November 1871

* * *

Document 53

Government of India Precis on the Amritsar and Raikot Butchers Murders

PRECIS

(Dated 11th December 1871 prepared by Home Department, Government of India and sent to Secretary of State, London.)

Butcher murders committed by Kookas at Amritsar and Raekote.

THE events that preceded the perpetration of these outrages are detailed in the memorandum dated 28th July 1871, hereto annexed, a copy of which was forwarded to Her Majesty's Secretary of State with Judicial dispatch from the Government of India, No. 20, dated 28th July 1871. They are briefly as follows:

During the months of April and May of that year considerable excitement prevailed in the city of Amritsar on the subject of the slaughter of kine. This, excitement was to an extent hitherto unusual, and, there is reason to believe, owed its origin mainly to the exposure of beef for sale in the city, and to the fact of one Dewah Singh, a Sikh, irritated by this exposure, taking a beef bone into the temple and placing it in front of the *grunth*. Prompt measures were adopted by the local authorities to allay the excitement. Recognizances were taken from the butchers and others employed in the slaughter of kine, that nothing should be done in any way calculated to offend the prejudices of the Hindoos and Sikhs. The Commissioner held a durbar on the 3rd of June, and carefully explained the wishes and orders of Government, and, after the Commissioner's address had been delivered, many of the Hindoo and Mahomedan gentlemen present "embraced each other in their

anxiety to show that no traces of the ill-feeling engendered by the late disturbances remained in their minds."

It was thus believed that the bad feeling that existed had completely died out, and from the date of the Commissioner's durbar till the 14th of June the local authorities had not any suspicion or information as to what was about to occur. On the night of the date last mentioned a sudden attack was made on the slaughter-house near the city of Amritsar by an armed gang. Four of the inmates of the house were killed outright, and three others were severely wounded. The criminals escaped, unrecognized and unpursued, in the darkness of the night; but they left behind a *chukkur* (quoit or disc of steel worn under the turban by Akalis) and a blue turban which, as it was afterwards discovered, were left on the spot with the intention of diverting suspicion from the real perpetrators and casting it on the Akalis.

Again, at about 11 P. M. on the 15th of July, a similar outrage was committed by a gang of armed men in a house occupied by butchers at a village called Raekote, in the Ludhiana District. The gang suddenly appeared in front of the house, and commenced to hack at the sleepers down below. The owner of the house and two companions on the roof made their escape by jumping off the rear wall of the house, and ran, calling for help, towards the town. A man and a woman were killed, and seven women and children were wounded; but the two butchers, whose murder was evidently intended, escaped, the victims being strangers temporarily residing in their house and a part of the family of one of the butchers. The assailants escaped unrecognized, and, as a storm was raging at the time, it was found impossible to light torches and to follow at once on the tracks. The tracks were taken up the following morning at daylight and carried into the Patiala territory. With the aid of the Patiala officials several Sikhs of the Kooka sect were arrested and brought into British Territory on suspicion of having been concerned in the Raekote murders. Two made full confessions, which led to the conviction and the execution of three of the number, named Mustan Singh, Goormookh Singh, and Mungal Singh. They were executed on the 5th August. A fourth man, named Golab Singh, who had also been condemned to death for having

taken part in the Raekote murders, offered, if his life were spared, to disclose all the facts of the Amritsar case. The offer was accepted, and his statement was taken down at once. He gave the names of ten men (all of the Kooka sect) who were concerned in the latter murders, described all the circumstances of the crime, and where some of the perpetrators of it had in their fight concealed their weapons. His statements in all particulars were found to be true. He was brought to Amritsar on the 2nd August. The next day some of the accused were arrested (others had absconded), and two of this number also confessed. The discovery of weapons in the places indicated confirmed the truth of Golab Singh's story, and of the statements made by two others, named Beela Singh and Lehna Singh, who also confessed to their share in the crime. It was considered advisable during the trial to admit the latter to pardon, and to examine him as a witness in order to strengthen the evidence for the prosecution. He was chosen because he had evidently joined in the attack on the butchers under strong moral compulsion, and because he had not taken any active part in it.

The evidence given by the two informers, and the confession made by Beela Singh, satisfactorily established the guilt of the accused-

1. Futteh Singh.
2. Beela Singh.
3. Hakim Singh (Putwaree).
4. Lainah Singh (Turkhan).
5. Lall Singh (Police Constable).
6. Laynah Singh (a leading man among the Kookas).

Nos. 1 to 4 were found guilty of the crime of murder, and were sentenced to death; Nos. 5 and 6 were found guilty of the crime of abetment of murder, and were sentenced to transportation for life.

It appeared from the evidence of the informers, and the confession of Beela Singh, that the Amritsar murders had been deliberately and repeatedly planned. Three separate attempts were made to commit the crime before the successful attack of the 14th June. All concerned in the crime belonged to the Kooka sect, and several joined in the attack most unwillingly, and were only induced to do

so from fear of the consequences alleged to be probable, of offending their Guru Ram Singh.

There can be no doubt that the designers of these crimes gave out that they were committed under the authority of the Guru, and, if the evidence of some of the witnesses is to be believed, he was at least cognizant that some outrage of the kind was in contemplation, though the evidence so far as laid before Government, is not so clear as to the extent to which he approved or encouraged it. He appears also to have attempted to get several of his followers employed as soldiers in the service of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and also in Nepal. So far as can be ascertained, he met with no success in Nepal; but the reports received from the Government of the Punjab show that some Kookas were in the employ of the Maharajah of Kashmir, who had been persuaded to form a Kooka regiment, but, after receipt of intelligence of the butcher murders by Kookas, the Maharajah dismissed all the men of that sect who were in his employ, and expelled them from his territory. The movements of these men in British Territory were closely watched by the police.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab considers that "it will be difficult, and may be impossible, to obtain against the Guru Ram Singh any such evidence as would warrant his prosecution in a criminal court." His Honor adds, "Such evidence as is procurable is now being carefully collected, and its value tested; and, should it appear that the evidence is conclusive, and that there is no danger of a failure in the prosecution, it will be necessary to decide whether to place him on his trial, or to deal with him in some other more convenient manner."

Ram Singh's popularity as the leader of the Kooka sect has, it is hoped, at least received a check. He was summoned as a witness for the defence in the Raekote case, and the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, who is, however, perhaps somewhat over confident, reported as follows after the result of the trial: "The neck of Kookaism is broken. Secessions are of hourly occurrence. * * * Ram Singh is distrusted. The Kookas believe that, fearing evil consequences to himself, he gave false evidence at the trial."

One of Ram Singh's Subhas, Laynah Singh, as already stated, was

convicted of the crime of abetment of murder in the Amritsar case, and was sentenced to transportation for life.

Two other Subhas are now under arrest at Ludhiana. On this subject the Punjab Government remarks, "Against one, Gyani, evidence sufficient to warrant his commitment to the sessions as an abettor seems to have been obtained, and proceedings will be taken against him. The second Subha, Lakha Singh, has been summoned as a witness in the case against Gyani; but should there be sufficient evidence to criminate him, he also will be put upon his trial." And the Lieutenant-Governor proposes to adopt the same course wherever the connection of any of the Kooka Subhas (who are about 40 in number) with the recent murders is proved. It is understood that Gyani Singh and one Ruttun Singh have since been convicted by the Sessions Judge of Ambala, and their case is under reference to the High Court.

HOME OFFICE;

The 11th December 1871.

The Precis prepared by the Home Department of the Government of India on 11 December 1871 and sent to the Secretary of State for India in London brings together the principal developments surrounding the Amritsar and Raikot murders and considers the wider political implications attributed by the colonial authorities to the Kuka movement.

A particularly important aspect of the document is its treatment of Satguru Ram Singh and his subhas.

The document also records the colonial administration's assessment of the wider Kuka movement

Document 54

Government of India Seeks Report on the Trial of Two Kooka Subahs

No. 2061, dated Fort William, 16th of December 1871.

From - E. C. Bayley, Esq., C. S. I., Secretary to Government of India, Home department.

To - The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I am directed to request that with the permission of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor, you will as soon as possible, forward, for the information of the Government of India, the copy of the confidential report which, it is understood has been submitted by the Commissioner of the Amritsar Division regarding the trial and conviction of two Kooka Subahs, named Gyani Singh and Ruttun Singh.

Although very brief, this document is significant for understanding the continuing official interest in the Kuka leadership after the principal murder cases had been decided.

* * *

Document 55

Final Report on the Amritsar Butcher Murders

No. 1814, dated Amritsar, 21st December 1871

From - Major W. G. DAVIES, Offg. Commissioner and Superintendent, Amritsar

Division.

To - The Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.

I HAVE the honor, in continuation of this office No. 150, of the 21st June 1871, to furnish the report called for in your No. 1422, of the 9th October 1871. The report has been delayed by a variety of

unavoidable causes, which, however, I need not enter into here.

2. Between 12 and 1 o'clock on the night of the 15th June last a murderous attack was made on the butchers in the slaughter-house, situated outside walls of the city of Amritsar, by a party of persons unknown. Four men, who were sleeping in front of their houses inside the enclosure, were killed outright, and three others were badly wounded.

3. A party of police, under Joomma Khan, Sergeant, were soon on the spot. The only traces of the assassins found were a blue turban and a steel disc, such as worn by the sect of fanatics known as Nihungs or Akalis; but this only had an effect of misdirecting enquiry. The soil was unfavorable for tracking, and before good trackers could arrive a fall of rain had rendered a resort to this mode discovering the murderers quite hopeless.

4. The news of the outrage reached me at Dalhousie on the 17th, and, started at once, accompanied by Colonel Baillie, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, arrived at Amritsar on the following day. At the suggestion of the leading citizens, who had great confidence in his powers of detection, and with the sanction the head of the Police Department, Mr. Christie, Superintendent of the Police of the Jullundhur District (at that time on leave at Dalhousie), was sent for, and posted at Amritsar on the 24th of the month, and from that time the chief conduct of the investigation remained in his hands.

5. He appears first to have been inclined to distrust appearances tending cast suspicion on the inhabitants of the city itself, and to have suspected Kookas, the real perpetrators of the murders. . But this first and, as subsequent events showed, correct impression was entirely effaced by the appearance on the scene, after, of an informer of the name of Heera, who professed to have been himself concerned in the commission of the crime. Stimulated by the hope of gaining large reward offered for information which should lead to the discovery of the crime, this man acted his part so well as completely to deceive Mr. Christie and with whom he was brought in contact, and from that time the enquiry was pursued on information given by him, supported by another self-committed

person named Ayya. At last, when Jai Ram, a respectable broker of the city, admitted that he had instigated these men and the others named by them to commit the murder, all doubts were dispelled, and, the evidence being considered sufficient to obtain convictions, twelve persons were, on the 25th July, committed by the Magistrate of the District, Major Birch, to take their trial before the Court of Sessions.

6. But while the case was still under investigation there, the butcher murder at Raikot took place. The murderers were apprehended, tried, and condemned to death. They were all men of the Kooka sect, and one of the four convicts, named Goolab Singh, offered, if pardoned, to give up the names of all who had been concerned in the Amritsar murders. His offer was accepted, and a conditional pardon given. When admitting that he himself had been a principal in the murders, he gave the names of his nine accomplices, 1, Futteh Singh, of Amritsar ; 2, Pula Singh ; 3, Hakim Singh, Putwari of Mowra ; 4, Lehna Singh, Turkhan of Amritsar; 5, Lehna Singh, Jut of Lopoke; 6, Jhunda Singh, of Thutthi; 7, Mihur Singh, of Lopoke; 8, Luchmun Singh ; and, 9, Bhagwan Singh, of Mehran,—all Kookas.

7. Bringing Goolab Singh with them, Lieutenant-Colonels McAndrew and Baillie arrived at Amritsar on the 2nd August, and, enquiry into the truth of the informer's statements commenced. The next day Futteh Singh of Amritsar, Hakim Singh, Putwari, and Lehna Singh of Lopoke were arrested. On the 5th August Beela Singh was brought in by the Police, and a day or two after Lehna Singh, Turkhan, was apprehended. Jhunda Singh, Mehur Singh, Bhugwan Singh and Luchmun Singh could not be found, and are still at large.

8. On the 4th August, on information furnished by Goolab Singh, a sword and axe used by two of the murderers, Luchmun Singh and Lehna Singh, Turkhan, were found by the Superintendent of Police, M. T. Smith, near the village of Moola-chuck, the former buried in the raised bank of a canal water-course, and the latter in a well. The next day Beela Singh was brought in, and, as soon as he heard what Goolab Singh had said, he himself confessed, and, on the 7th August,

took the Superintendent of Police to the village of Kowlanwala, where he pointed out the pool of water into which, he said, the hatchets used by himself and Mihur Singh had been thrown. The pool being searched, the hatchets were found in it. The day following these occurrences (8th) Lehna Singh of Lopoke also made a full confession, confirming in every particular the story told by Goolab Singh, and, on the 9th August, he took the Superintendent of Police out to a place about thirteen miles from Amritsar, and pointed out, hidden in a Bhoosa stack, the hatchet which he had himself carried, and the sword which, he said, had been used by Jhunda Singh.

9. By degrees every particular of the Kooka conspiracy for the murder of the Amritsar butchers was elicited from Goolab Singh and such of his accomplices as admitted their share in the outrage. It thus came out that no less than three different attempts had been made by these and other men of the Kooka sect to carry out their design before the final and successful onslaught of the 15th June, and that, owing to some accident or other, their intention on each of these three occasions had been frustrated. It was further discovered that Lehna Singh, a wealthy contractor of Amritsar, and one of Ram Singh's Soobas, and Lall Singh, a Police Constable, had actually abetted the commission of the crime, the former by allowing a burnt sacrifice ("Hom") for the success of the enterprize to be offered up in his own house, himself presiding at it, and the latter by providing weapons, on one occasion, for the use of the murderers. Both these men were accordingly arrested.

10. The result of the enquiries into this case having convinced Colonel Baillie and myself that the evidence on which twelve men, residents of Amritsar, had been previously committed to the Sessions was false, and the chief and only reliable witness, Jai Ram, having retracted his former statements, it was decided to withdraw the charges. This was accordingly done, and the accused, on their plea of not guilty, were formally acquitted by the Additional Commissioner, Mr. Elsmie.

11. The police enquiry into the other and true case was completed, and the case sent up to the Magistrate of the District on the 17th, and

was by him committed to the Sessions on the 19th August. The case was tried by me, with the aid of assessors, on the 28th, 29th and 30th of the same month. Four of the accused, Futteh Singh, Beela Singh, Hakim Singh and Lehna Singh, were sentenced to be hanged, and two others, Lal Singh and Lehna Singh, to be transported for life.

12. The sentences of death having been confirmed by the Chief Court, were carried out on the 15th September without accident, error, or misadventure; and thus peaceably ended the last scene of a tragedy which, viewed politically, at one time wore a somewhat pretentious aspect. On this, however, I need not enlarge, all the facts of the case, including the springs of action and their political bearing. The clue which was ultimately obtained and which led to the discovery of the murderers, was the result mainly of accident; but for the manner in which it was taken up and pursued till it led to the conviction of the chief actors in the foul murder of the 15th June the credit is entirely due to the Police Officers engaged, Lieutenant-Colonels McAndrew and Baillie and Mr. T. Smith, assisted by Inspectors Narain Singh and Imdad Ali. The European Officers have received the thanks of Government, and the Native Officers have been rewarded by promotion to higher grades.

This Document is one of the most important documents because it provides a senior official's comprehensive account of how the investigation into the Amritsar murders developed and was ultimately corrected.

This document has exceptional evidentiary value. It records not only the eventual solution of the Amritsar case but also an official admission that the earlier investigation had gone seriously wrong and had resulted in the prosecution of innocent persons.

* * *

Document 56

Punjab Government Clarifies Jurisdiction in the Gyani Singh-Ruttun Singh Case

No1781, dated Lahore, 23rd December 1871.

From - LAPEL H. GRIFFEN, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab. To - The Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

IN reply to your letter No. 2061, dated 16th December, I am directed to state that no report either confidential or otherwise has been received from the Commissioner of Amritsar on the subject of the trial and conviction of the two kuka Subahas, Gyani Singh and Rattan Singh.* (FOOTNOTE *This case occurred under the jurisdiction of Commissioner Ambala and not Amritsar, hence no report was to be submitted by Commissioner of Amritsar Division.)

* * *

Document 57

Final Report on the Amritsar Butcher-Murder Investigation

No. 1, dated Lahore, the 2nd January 1872.

From - L. H. GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To - E. C. BAYLRY, Esq., C. S. 1., Secy, to the Govt. of India.

IN continuation of my letter No. 1483, dated 21st October last, forwarding copy of the proceedings in the case of the murder of butchers at Amritsar, I am now desired to enclose, for information, copy of a final report on the subject, No. 1814, dated 21st December,³ from the Commissioner of the Amritsar Division.

* * *

Document 58

Alleged connection of Ram Singh, the Kooka Guru, with the murder cases at Amritsar and Raikot. Movements of certain Kookas.

³ Refers to document No. 55

[Confidential.]

Dated Simla, the 9th September 1871.

From—L. H. GRIFFIN, Esq., Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

To—E. C. BAYLEY, Esq., C.S.I., Secy. to the Govt. of India.

I AM directed by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor to forward, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy, certain reports, in original, regarding the recent murder cases at Amritsar and Raikot, and the connection therewith of Ram Singh, the Kooka Guru, and certain of his most trusted Subahs.

2. It will be observed that, so far as these reports show, and so far as they may be accepted as fairly describing the feeling in the minds of the people, Ram Singh is universally credited with having been the *instigator* of the murders, although it will be difficult, and may be impossible, to obtain against him any such evidence as would warrant his prosecution in a Criminal Court.

Such evidence as is procurable is now being carefully collected, and its value tested; and, should it appear that the evidence is conclusive, and that there is no danger of a failure in the prosecution, it will be necessary to decide whether to place him on his trial, or to deal with him in some other more convenient manner. But no action will be taken by His Honor against Ram Singh without the concurrence of His Excellency the Viceroy.

3. I am to bring to your notice that two of the Subahs of Ram Singh are now under arrest at Ludhiana. Against one, Gyani, evidence sufficient to warrant his commitment to the Sessions as an abettor seems to have been obtained, and proceedings will be taken against him. The second Subah, Lakha Singh, has been summoned as a witness in the case against Gyani; but, should there be sufficient evidence to criminate him, he also will be put upon his trial. The Magistrates have been warned to be most careful in their action, and to take up no case in which the evidence does not appear conclusive.

4. The Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor is decidedly of opinion that, whenever the connection of any of the Kooka Subahs (who are about 40 in number) with the recent murders is proved, they should

be proceeded against in ordinary course of law. There appears to the Lieutenant-Governor no objection to such action, and most decided objections to any other course.

This document is particularly important because it records the official position regarding Satguru Ram Singh himself after the investigations into the two murder cases had substantially progressed

This cautious language is noteworthy when read alongside the extensive police surveillance and suspicion directed at the Kuka leadership. It shows that, at least at the level of formal policy, the Punjab Government recognised the difference between political suspicion and evidence sufficient for criminal prosecution.

* * *

Document 59

Government of India Forwards Final Report on the Amritsar Murder Case

No. 11, dated the 2nd February 1872.

From - The Government of India.

To - Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

In continuation of our despatch No. 35, dated the 31st October 1871, we transmit herewith copy of a further communication⁴ from the Punjab Government, and of the final report therein enclosed from the Commissioner of the Amritsar Division, on the proceedings in the Amritsar butchers' murder case.

* * *

⁴ No. 1, dated 2nd January 1872

Document 60

Secretary of State Seeks Information about Jai Ram

No. 14, dated India Office, London, the 26th March 1872.

From — Her Majesty's Secy. of State for India.

To — The Government of India.

The despatch of Your Excellency's predecessor in Council, dated 2nd February, No. 11 of 1872, transmitting copy of a final report on the Amritsar Butchers' murder case, has been considered by me in Council.

2. It is very satisfactory that the perpetrators of this outrage have been brought to justice, and the Police well deserved the commendation bestowed upon them. I desire to be informed whether you have obtained any clue to the mysterious conduct of Jai Ram the broker.

Although very brief, this document is significant because it draws attention to one of the most puzzling aspects of the Amritsar investigation—the conduct of Jai Ram.

The Secretary of State's reference to his "mysterious conduct" is particularly noteworthy. It shows that the uncertainty surrounding Jai Ram was not merely a matter of local interest; it had reached the highest level of the imperial administration in London.

* * *

Document 61

Government of India Seeks a Full Report on Jai Ram and the Police Investigation

The Secretary of State for India, after examining the final report on the Amritsar butcher-murder case, had expressed satisfaction that

the actual perpetrators had been brought to justice but specifically asked whether any explanation had been found for the “mysterious conduct of Jai Ram the broker. Resultatly the Government of India now took up this question with the Punjab Government”

[Confidential.]

No. 873, dated the 4th May 1872.

From—H. W. Wellesley, Esq., Offg. Under Secy. to the Govt. of India.

To—The Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

With reference to your letter No. 1, dated the 2nd January last, forwarding copy of a final report on the case of the murder of Butchers at Amritsur, I am directed to forward the accompanying copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Secretary of State, No. 14, dated the 26th March, and to request the submission of a full report as to the conduct of Jai Ram the broker, and the part played by the Police in taking his confession, and in collecting evidence in support of it.

This document is the proof that the case did not close with an assertion that every aspect of the case had been satisfactorily resolved, but with an official request for further scrutiny

* * *

62

The fallout

With the execution of sentences awarded to butcher murderers this matter was supposed to come to close, but because of following reasons discussion on it in government circles lingered on.

Firstly, Mr. Christie had arrested 12 innocent people. When the actual perpetrators of the crime surrendered themselves to the law, the police withdrew case and set them free. Among these were a few who were in the forefront of movement against the cow

slaughtering and, Hindu and Sikh people respected them. Therefore, there was a great resentment in minds of Hindu and Sikh population of the city against Mr. Christie. Under this pressure, Mr. Christie had to submit his resignation, which remained pending for about two years.

*Secondly, the innocent peoples who were made accused on the basis of false evidences, sought the permission of Government and filed a case of perjury against them. (Foot note *Government permitted to sue Hira and Aya* only, not Jai Ram Seth. Hira absconded, Aya was tried and convicted by Deputy Commissioner acting as Sessions Judge on the 22nd November 1872 and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment, including three months' solitary confinement.)*

Thirdly, Jhanda Singh, an accused in butcher murder case, who absconded when the others were arrested, was detained by police in 1873 and a court case started against him.

Fourthly, Jai Ram Seth sought the permission of Government to sue the police for the inhuman treatment meted out to him.

Dealing with these cases Government officers repeatedly mentioned the original case. It all is revealed in the following documents.

CONDUCT OF JAI RAM IN CONNECTION WITH THE BUTCHER MURDER CASE AT AMRITSAR

No. 2475, dated Lahore, 1st July 1874.

From - C. M. RIVAZ, Esq., Offg. Secretary to Government, Punjab.
To - The offg. Secretary to Government of India, Home Department.

WITH reference to the confidential despatch from the Home Department, No. 2, dated 2nd October 1872, calling for further report on the conduct of Jai Ram in connection with the butcher murder case at Amritsar and the part played by the police in the matter, I am desired by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor to

forward, for the information of the Government of India, copies of the papers marginally noted. (Memorandum by the Sessions Judge, Amritsar Division, on the case Crown v. Jhundah Singh and others, dated 2nd August 1873.

Letter No. 1043, dated 26th May 1874, from Major-General Taylor, Commissioner and Superintendent, Amritsar Division.*), (Foot note * Both the letters are given below) which give a full report of the proceedings taken in this case.

2. His Honor, I am to state, entirely concurs in the conclusions arrived at by the Commissioner. The opportunity given to the parties falsely accused of the murders to prosecute the informers was made use of only partially and in the most dilatory manner; and no dependence can, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, be placed on any evidence that might now be produced, whilst Jai Ram's own allegations on the subject of the treatment he experienced are clearly false.

3. With reference to the remarks in para. 2 of the above despatch, I am to observe that the late Commissioner of Amritsar (Major Davies) omitted to give his reasons for exempting Jai Ram from trial for perjury, and this error led the Chief Court to cancel the order of exemption, and caused much delay in the decision of the question whether further enquiry into the conduct of the police was necessary or not. The Lieutenant-Governor considers, however, that this exemption was, under the circumstances then existing, judicious, inasmuch as it led to the immediate acquittal and release of the men falsely accused, and to the appeasement of the irritation and excitement prevailing among Hindus of Amritsar.

4. His Honor agrees in the opinion expressed in para. 30 of Major-General Taylor's letter of the 26th May, that the statement of Aya regarding his mal-treatment by the police is totally unworthy of credit.

5. The Lieutenant-Governor is, on political grounds, strongly averse to any further direct enquiry into the conduct of the police. The effect of the beef riots in 1871, and of the subsequent outrages committed by the Kukas, was to raise a violent feud between the great bodies of the Hindus and Muhammadans. At present this is

apparently dormant, but an investigation necessarily extending to the actions and proceedings of influential members of both societies could not, in His Honor's opinion, be entered upon by authority without reviving all the bad feeling, mutual suspicion and intrigues which for a time have ceased. Other evidence fully confirms General Taylor's report that any such enquiry is deprecated by local opinion as both useless and mischievous.

6. It is true, I am to observe, that Mr. Christie, though an officer specially deputed to trace out the perpetrators of the butcher murders on account of his detective ability, was, together with his departmental subordinates, completely deceived. There is not, however, any evidence to show that he or they subjected either the informers or Jai Ram to improper duress, although they must, it may be conjectured, have pressed upon the latter the convictions they had arrived at and to which they so blindly adhered. But the police officials were not more widely misled than was Rai Mul Singh, one of the most experienced and able native gentlemen in the Punjab, or than Mr. Christie's own superior officer and the judicial officers to whom the case was submitted; and while nothing has come out in any way leading to a suspicion of Mr. Christie's good faith in the conduct of his investigation, there is, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, a preponderant probability that Jai Ram had so committed himself in the riots and intrigues prior to the murders as to render him an easy subject of intimidation to the informers who accused him. He seems to have felt that he was placed by his previous acts in a dangerous dilemma, from which he saw no escape but in corroborating the story of these men, and making the false confession by which the local officers were deceived; and, although this confession was absolutely false in so far as it accused certain persons of the actual perpetration of the murders, some parts of it, declaring them privy to consultations openly compassing the murder of the butchers, were not met at the time by those persons with a direct denial.

7. The acceptance of Mr. Christie's preferred resignation of his appointment was postponed pending the issue of Jai Ram's trial, since quashed. He has now expressed a desire to be allowed to withdraw that resignation, and will therefore be permitted to return

to duty.

P. S.-I am to add that under the orders issued in this case by His Honor, the right of Jai Ram to prosecute the police on his own account will not be affected, and the Commissioner will be desired to cause official intimation of this to be conveyed to him.

No. 2470.

COPY forwarded to Inspector-General of Police, Punjab, for information and guidance.

No. 2477.

Copy forwarded to Commissioner and Superintendent, Amritsar Division, for information, with the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor's thanks for the careful report he has submitted in this case.

* * *

Memorandum by the Sessions Judge, Amritsar Division, on the previous history of the case Crown versus Jhanda Singh and others, Kukas - charge murder, Section 302, Indian Penal Code.

Sessions Judge, Amritsar Division, awarded death sentence to Jhanda Singh on 30th June 1873 subject to the confirmation by the Chief Court. While forwarding this case to Chief Court, he sent this memorandum, dated 2nd August 1873, along with his judgement to facilitate decision by that Court.

This case has cost the Court considerable labor and time, because it has deemed it necessary, before sending up the sentence for confirmation by the Chief Court, to examine carefully the whole of the previous proceedings in the case.

2. The time and manner in which the agitation manifested itself, and

the measures taken by the authorities.

It is a matter of notoriety, and the fact is very fully set forth in the voluminous proceedings of the case antecedent to the present trial as far back as April 1871, there had arisen considerable excitement among the Hindus in the city of Amritsar regarding the matter of the slaughter of kine. The agitation reached at times a serious pitch. Mobs assembled; Muhammadans were beaten and abused; unmistakable threats reached their ears and those of the Government servants. A guard had to be put over the slaughter-yards. Apprehensions were made, and a number of men tried and punished under minor sections for breach of the peace, &c.

3. Increased demand for beef. Mr. Saunders' prohibition to sell beef in the city

The Court gathers from the whole correspondence and proceedings that there had for some time been an increased activity on the part of the beef-selling butchers; probably some variation in the price of other provisions had led to an enhanced demand for this food on the part of the Muhammadan population (and they are nearly half the population of the city), and the result had been increased operations on the part of the butchers. It appears clear that the original rules made by Mr. Saunders, who had the first establishment of cow-killing to carry out, had included a prohibition to sell the flesh of kine in the city. Persons wishing for this food were to purchase at the shambles, and take the flesh into the city decently covered up. The wording of Mr. Saunders' Vernacular Proceeding of the 20th May 1849 on this point is as follows:-"It is ordered that some place, such as mentioned above, be selected, where the butchers shall build a walled enclosure (whether *pakka* or *kacha*) at their own expense, and slaughter cows inside the enclosure. No butcher should carry beef for sale into the city. If any one does so, he shall be liable to punishment. Moreover, the persons purchasing the meat should carry it to their homes in the city folded in a cloth. They should not injure the feelings of the Hindus in any way." The Court considers it unquestionable that the wording of this order precluded shops being opened in the city for the sale of cow's flesh,

and equally prohibited any system of hawking the meat about for sale, and the Court conceives that Mr. Saunders' order was strictly in accordance with the instructions he had received in the communication noted in the margin*. (*Letter No. 12 of 10th May 1849, from R. Montgomery, Esquire, Commissioner of Lahore, enclosing letter No. 3 of 5th May 1849, from the Officiating Secretary to the Board of Administration, with enclosures.) One of the enclosures of the Secretary's letter was a letter from Major Herbert Edwardes, to Lieutenant James, Assistant Commissioner, Multan, giving, the Board of Administration's interpretation of the orders regarding the slaughter of kine, the terms of which interpretation had been fully confirmed and approved by the Supreme Government.

Major Herbert Edwards' interpretation of the orders of the Board of Administration regarding slaughter of kine.-

In this letter Major Edwardes wrote:-" On no account ought beef to be exposed for sale in shops within the towns, even though slaughtered outside, and Musalmans should be severely punished for ostentatiously parading what they know will offend their Hindu neighbours. In short, the first tendency of the re-action will be to make Musalmans abuse a privilege from which they have been so long debarred, and it will become necessary to protect from insult the Sikhs and Hindus so lately in the ascendant."

Hawking of beef in city prohibited by Mr. Saunders

The correspondence was forwarded to Mr. Saunders, as Deputy Commissioner, by his Commissioner, to be his guide in making the new arrangements. And I think it was quite natural that Mr. Saunders should, on the above directions, have prohibited to exposure of the article sold in one way or another.

4. Notwithstanding the prohibition hawking is carried on. A hawker punished by Honorary Magistrates, but order annulled in appeal.

Notwithstanding the original prohibition, however, it is evident that hawking quietly obtained a footing, and probably, from being quietly and carefully done at first, it led to no

dissatisfaction. But in 1863 the Deputy Commissioner reported a case to the Commissioner of the Division, in which the Honorary Magistrates had punished a man for hawking beef for sale in a *mohallah* chiefly inhabited by Hindus. The Honorary Magistrates, two influential men, one a Muhammadan and the other a Hindu, framed the charge under Section 291 of the Indian Penal Code, and they sentenced the offender to three months' imprisonment and fine of fifty rupees. The Magistrates stated to the Deputy Commissioner that the sale of beef in the city had always been forbidden. The Deputy Commissioner remarked on this that he could find no order to this effect on record.

The sentence was annulled in appeal under the direction of Mr. Cust, the then Judicial Commissioner.

5. Ruling by Judicial Commissioner that sale of beef in city cannot be forbidden, but Magistrate can proceed under Section 62, Act XXV. of 1861.

The Judicial Commissioner followed this up by an order of his Court on the revision side, No. 128, Criminal case, certified by Major Farrington, Sessions Judge of Amritsar Division, of 29th June 1863. This paper would be found among the records of the Chief Court. It pointed out that Section 291 was wholly inapplicable to the case as tried; but showed how an offence of the kind could be dealt with under Section 62 of the Criminal Procedure Code and be punished under Section 188 of the Penal Code. The Judicial Commissioner goes on to say: "It may be convenient, therefore, to rule, once for all, that the sale of beef has not been forbidden in the city of Amritsar, nor under the existing Criminal Law can it be forbidden. If the Magistrate considers that the sale of beef or the exposure of beef for sale at any particular place, say a place of Hindu worship, is likely to cause a riot or affray, he may, under Section 62 of the Procedure Code, issue the order forbidding the sale," &c. But Judicial Commissioner goes on to show that the application of this procedure can only be local and temporary.

6. Cause of the dissatisfaction and the result.

This ruling was acquiesced in by the Hindus, and would not seem to have been much abused by the Muhammadans, as, eight years after, when difficulty arose, there appears to have been only a rumour of one shop having been established. But the Court imagines that the hawking or conveying about of meat for sale in baskets had been very freely, and perhaps carelessly, adopted by the Muhammadans, no proper precautions having been taken to screen the meat from public gaze. This and the great increase of kine slaughtering which accidental circumstances had led to, had gradually caused dissatisfaction to the Hindus; and this evidently resulted in open acts expressive of their distress and annoyance.

7. One Dewa Singh lays a beef-bone before the Granth in the Darbar Temple.

The most remarkable act with this object was that of one Dewa Singh, who took a beef-bone into the Darbar Temple, and laid it down before the Granth. The Commissioner, Major Davies, in his letter No. 150 of 21st June 1871, writes of this mischievous act :—"This had effect at once of setting in a blaze the feelings which had for some time been quietly smouldering, and from that time crowds of Sikhs and Hindus began to assemble. An agitation was set on foot having for its object the complete suppression of kine-killing in or about the holy city, and several affrays took place on the slightest pretexts between the Hindus and Muhammadans of the city."

8. The butchers are threatened by an Akali. The policy adopted by Major Birch.

Major Birch, Deputy Commissioner, reported, in his letter No. 344 of 8th May 1871, that on the 3rd of April 1871, Mr. Macdonald, Inspector of Meat Markets, reported that an Akali had threatened the butchers, who were in great commotion. The rest of this letter of the Deputy Commissioner is worthy of perusal, as it shows the strongly agitated feeling that existed. He says in one place: "I have taken my stand strongly, amidst conflicting interests, on the following two points -1st, that beef shall be slaughtered and sold as

before, i. e., slaughtered outside the city and sold within, but cloaked; 2nd, that the innovations complained of, such as the establishment of shops and the exposed sale of meat, shall be prohibited pending the orders of Government."

The Court notes with regard to this that it has been unable to ascertain from the correspondence whether any shops existed, but it believes there were none.

9. Further disturbances occur and 22 Hindu rioters are tried.

In another place Major Birch notes:-"It was necessary to re-assure the butchers who had not killed beef for three days." A second letter of the 15th of May, from the same Officer to the Commissioner (Major Davies), reports further disturbance, on account of which it became necessary to put 22 Hindu rioters on their trial.

Dewa Singh punished.

Dewa Singh, the man who took the beef-bone into the Darbar Temple, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

10. Major Davies, Officiating Commissioner, addresses Municipal body, and is subsequently assured that the excitement is dying out.

Towards the end of May the excitement appeared to have quieted down considerably. Major Davies, the Commissioner, had arrived on the 20th, and on the 22nd attended a meeting of the Municipal body, and addressed them, explaining the whole of the orders of Government in the matter of the slaughter of kine from the beginning. He considered the tone of this meeting good, and he writes that he "subsequently received daily visits from the native officials and leading gentry of the place, Musalman and Hindu, and all assured me that the feeling of excitement was rapidly dying out." He goes on, however, to say that on the 30th May he became aware "by certain signs that the remnants of the feeling of antagonism, which had been excited by the recent disturbances between the Hindus and Muhammadans of the city, still lingered." He then describes the Hindus not, as had always been the custom, making use of the vessels prepared by the Muhammadan potters for them on a particular festival, and the brass workers refusing to buy old

brass vessels from the Musalmans, on the ground that they might have cooked the flesh of kine in them.

Major Davies, in consequence of certain

Major Davies made further endeavours to allay this ill-feeling, and apparently with better success. He held another Darbar on the 3rd of June, at which all the Sardars, Honorary Magistrates, Municipal Members and *Mohalladars* were present, and he again impressed upon them the necessity of relinquishing animosity and agitation, as it could only lead to serious evils, punishment, &c. The result of the Darbar was considered good. No overt acts had occurred for two weeks, so Major Davies left on the 4th of June for Gurdaspur.

The slaughter-yard is attacked, and 4 butchers killed and 3 wounded.

All remained tranquil from the 4th to the 14th, when the butchers' slaughter-yard outside the city of Amritsar was suddenly attacked at mid-night of the 14th, and 4 butchers killed and 3 wounded. The whole of the assailants made good their escape, and it remained for a long time unknown who, or of what classes, the perpetrators were.

Suspicion is thrown on the Akalis.

Suspicion was at first thrown on the Akalis, from the fact of a piece of blue cloth and a quoit being found near the spot. These, it subsequently appeared, had been left purposely to throw the Police on the wrong scent. Major Davies had at once returned to Amritsar, and every means was adopted by the Civil Officers and Police for getting a clue to the origin and perpetrators of the crime.

11. Numerous arrests are made of the city people.

It was certainly not unnatural after all that had occurred that that clue should have been looked for in the first instance among the classes of the city who had lately shown such strong feeling in the matter of the slaughter of kine. Mr. Turton Smith, District Superintendent of Police, in a letter written at the time, mentions that numerous arrests were made of the city people on information obtained from various sources.

Mr. Christie who has been specially summoned arrives and takes up the enquiry. Mr. Christie rejects as valueless investigations made previous to his arrival. Mr. Christie is attracted by the information of two constables regarding the inquiries made by one Hira Singh, who is a relation of a Kuka, Fatteh Singh.

And these investigations had gone on for nine days, when Mr. Christie, District Superintendent of Police, arrived, having been specially summoned from Dharmasalah at the suggestion of influential Natives in Amritsar, and on account of his known sagacity in such matters, to take charge of the detective machinery. Mr. Turton Smith mentions that Mr. Christie examined the cases in which investigations had proceeded to a certain point, but finding that nothing tangible had been arrived at, he threw them aside as valueless. The whole month from the 14th June, when the attack on the Amritsar slaughter-yards took place, up to the 15th of July, when the attack on the Raikot slaughter-yards occurred, was occupied in these investigations. Mr. Christie arrived after 9 days had elapsed, i. e., on the 24th of June, and at once, after examination of what had been done gave up all the threads that had previously been followed up, and then commenced his own examination. He appears to have been attracted by an entry in the City Police Report of 21st of June (suspiciously late in the day the Court would note) wherein it was noted that Karm Bakhsh and Pir Bakhsh, City Police Constables, had given information that, when they were on duty at the shambles prior to the murders, one Hira Singh Bhatra had visited the guard and made enquiries regarding its strength, the number of sentries, and the time when the members of the guard absented themselves for their meals. On this Mr. Christie sent for this Hira Singh, and confronted him with the constables, and he acknowledged the truth of their assertions.

The Court notes that Mr. Turton Smith in a letter to Colonel Baillie --- October 1871, states that this Hira Singh is a close relation by marriage of Futtah Singh, Kuka, one of the butcher murderers, who has since been hanged.

12. Hira Singh makes a confession implicating himself, one Aya and

one Jai Ram. The latter confirms the statements made by the former.

Hira Singh, on the 3rd of July, made a full confession to Mr. Christie, implicating himself and one Aya. This man was summoned, and confessed on the 7th July. Both Hira's and Aya's statements were made under the promise of pardon. Hira's statement had also implicated Jai Ram Seth, who made a full statement before the Magistrate, Major Birch confirming Hira's and Aya's statements, and confessing to a principal's share, as an instigator, in the murder of the butchers in his own case. The statements of these 3 men, Hira, Aya, and Jai Ram Seth, were made certainly with a considerable amount of circumstantial accompaniment, which gave them a plausible appearance. But the Court, after examining them, records its opinion that the whole story told might very easily have been arranged by collusion. There is no tangible fact by which the narrations might receive solidity, with the exception of the incident, which the Court believes probably actually occurred, of Hira Singh's having played the spy at the butchers' slaughter-yard before the murders, and his having seen and conversed with the men of the guard. The Court has above noted that the mention of this by the two constables of the guard, Karm Bakhsh and Pir Bakhsh, came suspiciously late; but it is yet inclined to believe that the thing really occurred, as one of the butchers on the spot, Shubrati, also spoke to the fact of Hira's having come to the slaughter-yards, asking questions. It was through the statements of Karm Bakhsh and Pir Bakhsh, as previously narrated, that Mr. Christie first heard of Hira; and it is not surprising that the genuine fact, as the Court conceives it to be, that Hira had acted the spy at the slaughter-houses, had been thought to give great solidity to his accusations against the men first apprehended and accused of the crime.

Khan Muhammad Shah, an Honorary Magistrate, gives information tending to cast suspicion on the Kukas.

It must have been about the time, 12th July, when Jai Ram was apparently speaking out distinctly all that had happened, that Khan Muhammad Shah, an Honorary Magistrate, and a man of great

respectability, produced some information, which was calculated to cast some doubt on the correctness of the line of enquiry which Mr. Christie was taking up under the influence of the statements of Hira, Aya, &c. Colonel Baillie, in his letter No. 1702 of the 9th October 1871, thus writes of this information :--" Later in the enquiry, viz., about the 12th July, one of the Honorary Magistrates (Khan Muhammad Shah) produced some information, which first of all tended to cast suspicion on Kukas." Khan Muhammad Shah himself stated to the Magistrate in the case "Crown versus Hira and Aya" with regard to the information alluded to as follows:-" Major Davies and Major Birch at the time had exhorted the gentlemen of the city to speak the truth in this matter. In accordance with this and striving to please Government, I tried to discover the perpetrators. Nihal Singh, of the Ahluwalia cast, I called, and told him of the Rs. 1,000 reward offered by Government, and also promised additional reward from my own purse if he could discover anything. He took to himself two other persons, Gurmukh Singh and Kawan Singh; I gave them funds. They said "We will say wherever we go that we had part in the murders at Amritsar, and we must have letters of protection, in order that in any case we may not be arrested by Government." I obtained these letters from Mr. Christie. After some days they came with information to me; I gave this information to Mr. Christie.

13. Mr. Christie abandons the clue given by Khan Muhammad Shah's information, which subsequent events prove to have been a mistake.

With regard to the character of the information given by Khan Muhammad Shah Major Davies wrote in his letter No. 902, of the 16th September 1871, as follows :--"The two leading men of the Kuka sect referred to by Major Birch in para. 4 of his letter as having been arrested were Lehna Singh and Rurh Singh. They were arrested on information furnished by Khan Muhammad Shah Bahadar, and there is little doubt that if the clue then obtained had been vigorously acted on the real facts of the murder would have been discovered. Unfortunately, Mr. Christie had fallen into the

hands of men who were interested in misleading him, and he gave up, as we now know, the only valuable clue obtained before the disclosures made by Gulab Singh, one of the Raikot murderers, put the Police on the right track. The arrests in question were made with my full knowledge and concurrence. The information on which the arrests were made was to the effect that a few days before the butcher murders took place there was a large assembly of Kukas from Lopoki and other villages in the neighbourhood at the house of Lehna Singh, Kuka, and that the sacrifice called "*hom*" had been celebrated there, Rurh Singh assisting. These and other facts, I may add, have since been established in evidence at the late trial held by me at Amritsar; and of the two above-named persons Lehna Singh has been sentenced to transportation for life for actively abetting the murders. There was clearly, therefore, no unnecessary interference on the part of the Police with the leaders of the Kuka sect in this instance."

14. The opinion held by Major Davies and Colonel Baillie regarding the culpability of Kukas.

Colonel Baillie states, in his letter No. 1702, of the 9th October 1871, to address of Colonel Macandrew, Officiating Inspector-General of Police, that, although Mr. Christie would not entertain the idea of the culpability of the Kukas conveyed by the information given by Khan Muhammad Shah, Major Davies and himself were of opinion that an endeavour should be made to follow up the clue given, and Mr. Turton Smith was entrusted with the task, and was engaged in it when his labors were interrupted by the Raikot confessions.

15. One of Mr. Christie's spies gives information regarding the determination of the Kukas to put a stop to cow-killing, and the manner in which they intend to carry out their object.

Later than this information of Khan Muhammad Shah's, but before the Raikot murderers had spoken out, viz., on the 26th of July, one of Mr. Christie's own spies had given the following information, along with a good deal more matter to the same effect:-"The Kukas

have taken oaths to exert every nerve in exterminating the curse of cow-killing in all places in the vicinity of Hindu cities and Sikh temples. If Government give in to them on this point, a more loyal or devoted sect they could not possibly have amongst their subjects.

*** A Kuka remarked to Wadhava, Brahman, of Bal --- "You will see in a few days, before the next Diwali, cow-killing must cease, or else all will be Akal Akal." * * * Often during conversation with Kukas they have expressed themselves favorably inclined to the English, but that it is common talk with them that Ram Singh has ordered the extermination of beef butchers from the precincts of cities and places of resort of Sikhs, but they are not to be interfered with in cantonments or European stations. That it has been planned to have a general onslaught on the Muhammadans of the city for their having encouraged the sale of beef and caused the prosecution of the Hindus. This intention is proposed to be carried into effect during the coming Diwali, when outsiders are to attend armed with *gandas*, and by a sudden rush the swords of the city Police are to be seized. He names Rattan Singh and Lal Singh, the two Kuka constables, to be spies and men who keep their brotherhood acquainted with all the orders passed and precautions taken."

The Court notes that Lal Singh, constable above mentioned, was tried for abetting the murder of the butchers, clearly convicted, and transported for life.

16. The persons named by Khan Muhammad Shah and the spy were true abettors.

Thus, in the information given by Khan Muhammad Shah on the 12th July one of the true abettors, Lehna Singh, had been indicated, and in the information given by this spy on the 26th of July a true abettor, a traitor in the ranks of our Police, had been mentioned. But Mr. Christie appears to have been so convinced of the genuineness of the case made out by the statements made by Hira, Aya and Jai Ram that nothing would turn him aside from the views that their assertions supported.

With regard to this the Court thinks it fair to notice that the opinions of most of the officers on the spot set the same way at first.

17. Mr. Christie's change of opinion and the causes by which it was brought about.

Mr. Christie, who arrived on the 24th of June, having been specially summoned for this duty from Dharmsalah, has stated in his explanations A. and B., of the 16th and 21st September respectively, furnished in his own department, that he came to Amritsar predisposed to charge the crime on the Kuka sect, and was swayed by the prevailing opinion at Amritsar to give up this view. With regard to this the Court notes that Major Davies, who arrived on the 18th of June, accompanied by Colonel Baillie, writes, in his letter No. 1814, of the 21st December 1871, to the address of Government, speaking of Mr. Christie, para 5: "He appears to have been inclined to distrust appearances tending to cast suspicion on the inhabitants of the city itself, and to have suspected the Kukas as the real perpetrators of the murders; but this first, but as subsequent events showed correct, impression was entirely effaced by the appearance on the scene soon afterwards of an informer of the name of Hira, who professed to have been himself concerned in the commission of the crime.

On the information of Hira Singh, Aya and Jai Ram 12 persons are committed to the Sessions.

This man acted his part so well as completely to deceive Mr. Christie and all those with whom he was brought in contact, and from that time the enquiry was diligently pursued on information given by him, supported by another self-styled accomplice, named Aya. At last, when Jai Ram, a respectable broker of the city, admitted that he had instigated these men and the others named by them to commit the murder, all doubts were dispelled, and, the evidence being considered sufficient to obtain conviction, twelve persons were, on the 25th of July, committed by the Magistrate of the district to take their trial before the Sessions. Court."

18. The murders at Raikot are committed; one of the murderers is granted a pardon, and he gives up the names of the Amritsar butcher murderers.

The Court may as well continue the narrative in Major Davies' words:-

"But while the case was still under enquiry here (Amritsar) the butcher murders at Raikot took place on the night of the 15th of July. The murderers were apprehended, tried, and condemned to death. They were all men of the Kuka sect, and one of the four convicts, named Gulab Singh, offered, if pardoned, to give up the names of all who had been concerned in the Amritsar murders. His offer was accepted, and a conditional pardon given (vide Mr. Macnabb's order of the 29th July). When admitting that he himself had been a principal in the murders he gave up the names of his nine accomplices, viz :-

Here follow the well-known names of his accomplices, including Jhanda Singh, the present accused.

19. Gulab Singh, the pardoned murderer, is brought to Amritsar.

Colonels Macandrew and Baillie arrived at Amritsar on the 2nd of August bringing Gulab Singh with them. On the 5th of August Mr. Turton Smith, District Superintendent of Police, by direction of Colonel Baillie, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, forwarded a statement by Gulab Singh, apparently the original one made at Bassian, to the Deputy Commissioner. A copy of this statement is appended to the file of this court, as being the first utterance of the approver Gulab Singh. There is one discrepancy in this statement as compared with those subsequently made by this approver in that he mentions Nihal Singh as one of his associates in the murder. In his subsequent statements he substitutes the name of Hakim Singh; both are noted as Patwaris, and perhaps Nihal Singh's being given as the name was a bit of faulty memory subsequently corrected.

20. The proceedings of the Raikot murders are examined.

The Court sent for the proceedings in the Raikot case, and has examined them; but there is no copy of Gulab Singh's confession with regard to the Amritsar murders filed with the Raikot case, and therefore, as above noted, an attested copy of Magistrate's

committal file is appended.

21. Mr. Mr. Christie's pre-conceived impression corroborated by Mr. Turton Smith.-

To return to the state of affairs when Mr. Christie commenced his enquiry. Mr. Turton Smith has also stated in one of his letters that Mr. Christie's pre-conceived impression when he arrived was that the Kukas were the offenders.

22. Major Davies is convinced that the feeling which led to the murders is confined to a small section of the city people.

Major Davies, in his letter No. 150 of the 21st of June 1871, to address of the Secretary to Government, wrote:-

"From that date (3rd of June) till the murderous attack was made, by a large party of persons unknown, on the butchers at the slaughter-house on the morning of the 15th Instant, not a whisper had reached the authorities on the spot of any feeling of dissatisfaction, and I may add my conviction, after enquiry here, that the feeling which led to this attack is confined to a small section of evil-disposed persons in that part of the town which is nearest to the slaughter-house."

23. Major Birch thinks it most probable that the murderers were the tools of designing Hindus, and he details the circumstances which bear directly on the crime.

Major Birch, the Deputy Commissioner in his letter No. 423 of the 1st of July 1871 to the address of Deputy Commissioner, sixteen days after the murders, wrote:-" It stands at present as an isolated outrage, which may be attributed to special, but local, feeling in the city of Amritsar. It has not extended to the district. It has not reached the Jats; even the Nihangs, who are believed to be the actual perpetrators, were not alone (it is surmised) in the commission of crime. Those that were employed were most probably, as I have before reported, in the hands of designing Hindus.

"To enable the Government to deal correctly with this case, should the failure to discover the murderers necessitate punitive measures of a more comprehensive character, I think it my duty to record circumstances which have a direct bearing on the crime as it has occurred :-

e"1st. The threat of the Nihangs.

At the outset the slaughter-house was threatened by Nihangs; this was reported in my letter of the 8th of May. A police guard was placed there on the 6th May, but withdrawn on the 31st; this, I fear, was a mistake."

"2nd.- The release of the butchers, which may have given umbrage.

On the 2nd June the order was passed in appeal for the release of the butchers, who had originally, as I thought, given the Hindus some just grounds of offence; possibly this gave umbrage, as it precluded the hope of the law giving redress.

"3rd.- The increase in kine-killing by which the Hindus' feelings were hurt.

Owing to various causes kine-killing has been of late years very much

on the increase. This doubtless hurt many respectable Hindus, and their feelings were entirely disregarded by the parties interested in the sale of beef. I took this view at first, and it led me to punish the individual butchers.

4th. The general result of the measures taken was adverse to the Hindus.

The general result of the measures taken was adverse to the Hindu interests. It could scarcely have been otherwise. The Hindu population felt itself foiled, and its members have presumed to satisfy their feelings of revenge. So glaring a defiance of authority cannot of course be overlooked."

24. Mr. Turton Smith's narrative of the events showing why the Nihangs were first suspected, the pre-conceived impression held by Mr. Christie and the causes which led him to change it.

Mr. Turton Smith writes in his letter No. 934 of 24th of October 1871, giving a narrative of the whole of the events, as follows:-" For three months prior to the murders there had been great excitement in Amritsar owing to the alleged open sale of beef in the city. * * * The first thought, suggesting itself on the report of the murders on 15th of June, was that they had probably been committed by the fanatical Nihangs, who had taken such a prominent part in recent disturbances. * * * Mr. Christie's first impulse was to distrust appearances tending to throw suspicion on the city people, and to suspect Kukas. He was preparing to test the value attached by natives to the evidence already obtained by moving amongst them in the disguise of a native, when some admissions made by one Hira Bhatra, supporting the truth of the clue already obtained, led that Officer to discard his intentions, and to question Hira Bhatra more closely. Mr. Christie's investigations resulted in Hira Bhatra's making a full admission of his own guilt and in his implicating several others. His statement on oath, made under a promise of pardon, was recorded by a Magistrate on the 3rd July. Consequent on this statement of Hira, Aya, a bad character, and Jai Ram Seth, a well-to-do broker of the city, had been arrested amongst others. These, the first on the 7th July, and the other (Jai Ram), a day or two afterwards made confessions entirely supporting that of Hira Bhatra. These confessions also were made under promise of pardon."

25. The object of the Court in quoting the opinions of officers on the spot is to show that Mr. Christie had no pre-conceived prejudice against the Hindus of the city. His deference to his superiors was unwise.

The Court has made these really important and significant extracts from the letters of the officers on the spot, because under certain present circumstances it deems it fair to Mr. Christie to show that in eventually charging the Hindus of the city with the murder of the butchers, he acted on no pre-conceived prejudice against them; that his own bias at first was against the Kukas; but that ere long he was swayed by the strong local opinion tending the other way, into

relinquishing this first view and adopting one unfavorable to the city Hindus. Mr. Christie has, in one of his letters, unwisely overstated this not unnatural result by saying that he regretted having, in deference to the opinions of his superiors, given up his own views in order to adopt theirs. This of course would put him distinctly in the wrong. Entrusted as he was with the working of the machinery employed to detect the origin of a great crime, he would be expected to use his own judgment to the utmost, deferring to none. But in this the Court is of opinion that Mr. Christie has only overstated what was otherwise not an unnatural modification of his views under the circumstances in which he found himself placed.

26. The Court does not consider the local officers blamable for holding the opinions they did.

The Court is further of opinion that, under the circumstances which had arisen, the local officers cannot be blamed for having adopted the views they did. The Hindu inhabitants of the city had shown prominently an angry and turbulent spirit with regard to this matter of the sale of kine's flesh. The Akalis, who have a prestige as desperadoes in such matters, had been freely mentioned as engaged in this agitation. All matters had been decided against the Hindus. They had, in fact, failed in their agitation, and might naturally be expected to be sore in consequence. The Kukas had refrained from any open demonstration of sympathy with the movement, as had been elsewhere noted with regard to them in speaking of the dangerous character of the combination. They had "flowed like deep water" with a smooth surface. No mention in fact containing any tangible accusation against them appears to have been made of the Kukas till the 12th of July, nearly a month after the perpetration of the crime; and then not again till the 26th of July was any further mention made of them. In the absence of all apparent activity then on the part of the Kukas, it is not unnatural that the minds of the local officers were occupied in trying to discover the perpetrators of the deed among those who had lately been engaged in open agitation.

The dangers of a semi-military, semi. religious combination shown

by the events.

It is true, as shown by subsequent investigations, that the Kukas had held several meetings under the very eyes of the Police, as it were, and they had even arranged with a Police constable, a Kuka, to help them to weapons, but here is the danger of a semi-religious, semi-military combination of the sort. It is observable in the case which has just been tried by this Court that the Kukas conducted their proceedings with an almost careless openness, because they dealt only with Kukas, and had perfect confidence in them as safe not to betray their brethren; and when a frightful crime had been committed they took very little pains to get out of the way, and many of them remained at their homes till apprehended.

27. What led to the apprehension and conviction of the real murderers and the release of the 12 Hindus of the city of Amritsar who were committed for trial on the confessions of Hira Singh, Aya and Jai Ram.

The Raikot case being admirably run up by the Police and brought home to the perpetrators, and the men being condemned to death, love of life prevailed with one of the principal offenders, and he offered to speak, if pardoned, regarding the Amritsar murders. He told his story, the Court believes, truly, and pointed out buried and concealed weapons in support of his statements. As he had spoken out, others did the same, even one who was given no hope of his life; and all these narratives agreed very fully one with another, and thus punishment overtook the Amritsar murderers also. It is easy in the narrative given by the Court to perceive where Mr. Christie was led astray on to a false scent, getting a clue in a natural way to the fact that Hira Bhatra had been seen lurking about the slaughter-yards before the murders, asking pertinent questions of the guards, &c. He examined the point and considered it fully proved. The man was recognized by the guards and one of the butchers, and eventually admitted the truth of the story himself. Here then was a solid fact, and, pressing the enquiry, the man began to make further admissions, which, from the fact of the existence of a first foundation of truth, gave all a plausible appearance. Hira confessed on the 3rd

of July, Aya on the 7th, and Jai Ram, a Seth of respectable position, some few days afterwards, perhaps about the 10th or 12th. The case came on in the Magistrate's Court on the 21st of July. Twelve men - names given in the margin 1. Sant Ram. 2. Ram Kishen. 3. Manna Singh. 4. Joala Singh. 5. Dhannaji. 6. Mula. 7. Nihal Singh. 8. Maya. 9. Sundar Singh. 10. Bhup Singh. 11. Teka. 12. Sobha. - were charged by the Police on the evidence of the above three men, who were admitted as approvers, and on the 25th of July the Deputy Commissioner committed the whole of them to the Sessions Court to stand their trial for the murder of the butchers on the 14th of June.

28. Jai Ram's retraction of his confession.

Before the Sessions trial had been fully entered upon, however, a telegram was received from Colonel Baillie, who had proceeded to help in the investigation of the Raikot murders, requesting the Commissioner to stay proceedings against the persons committed at Amritsar, and saying he would be at Amritsar next day. He and Colonel Macandrew came next day, bringing Gulab Singh, Kuka, with them, and the whole truth was arrived at. Jai Ram retracted his statement; this was announced by the Police Officers in Court, and the case against the city people was withdrawn on the 9th of August 1871, and they were released.

29. The opinion held by the local officers and Mr. Christie was in the Court's opinion natural.

The Court records distinctly its opinion that it was not strange, as explained above, that the local officers were inclined to charge the city Hindus with the offence, and further that it was equally natural under the circumstances that Mr. Christie was led to take the same view.

The Court is also of opinion that the apparently significant fact of Hira Bhatra, who was proved to have been engaged in playing the spy at the slaughter-yards previously to the murders, commencing to make admissions in his own case, and subsequently with regard

to others, was truly calculated to mislead the enquiring officer anxious to find a clue where for so many days nothing tangible had been arrived at.

30. The Court conjectures that Hira Singh was set upon Mr. Christie by the Kukas to draw off suspicion.

The Court records its strong conjecture that Hira Bhatra was set upon Mr. Christie by the Kukas in order to draw off enquiry and suspicion from their own sect. This would be the more probable if, as noted by Mr. Turton Smith, Hira is indeed a relation by marriage of Fateh Singh, Kuka, who was one of the men most active in aiding and abetting the murders, and was also one of the ten men concerned in the actual crime. Hira appears to have played his part with great nerve and completeness. He knew probably pretty well our customs in such matters, and that, if once admitted as an evidence, he was safe. He soon implicated another man of much the same character, Aya, and this man also made a confession implicating himself and others. Jai Ram, the Seth, was accused, examined by the Police, confessed, and on his and the other two men's statements, between the 10th and 21st July, twelve men had been arrested, and stood fully charged by the Police with a crime which it subsequently appeared that they were wholly innocent of.

31. Mr. Turton Smith's conjecture as to the inducements by which Jai Ram was led to make the confession he did.

It is the history of Hira's, Aya's and Jai Ram's admissions, and the explanation of how Jai Ram, a man of respectability, it is said, was cajoled or intimidated by the Police into charging a number of innocent men with a crime that might have sent them all to the gallows, which requires clearing up, and this probably will be done by the prosecution of Jai Ram. The Court quotes here a conjectural explanation of Jai Ram's conduct from the pen of Mr. Turton Smith - vide his confidential letter (office mark 232) of the 4th July, to the address of Colonel Hutchinson, C. S. I., Inspector-General of Police:-

"You are aware that at the time Jai Ram made his statement two men - one a notorious ill-liver, and constantly under the watch of the Police; the second of most indifferent character-had already made confessions implicating Jai Ram amongst others as concerned in the murders. The two alleged accomplice informers were probably induced to their statements by promise of free pardon and distinct promise to share the reward of Rupees one thousand. The statements of these two men cleverly introduced mention of agitation meetings about the slaughter of kine, reference to riots and disturbances known to have occurred, and susceptible of proof, and were only so far false as they referred to the actual perpetration of the murders. Great anxiety was shown by the authorities to obtain indubitable evidence as to the perpetrators. The Police who had been specially detailed for the enquiry had been authorized to hold out promise of pardon to a third person, and Jai Ram, on the one hand considering his life endangered by the statements of the two alleged accomplices, and on the other probably encouraged by the Police engaged in the case to disclose anything he might know, made the statement he did make."

"3. The nature and value of Jai Ram's statement.

"With regard to corroboration of Jai Ram's statement, my recollection of the statement is that it confines itself almost entirely to a statement of occurrences prior to the murders, and alleged to have led to their perpetration, - acts of which the Police were aware on occurrence, and of which there was ample evidence. His statement was rather corroboratory of acts already ascertained than an assertion of new ones; - it threw no new light on the case, but confirmed evidence already obtained; its chief value was that it was held to command credence by proceeding from a man of hitherto-unquestioned reliability.

"4. Major Birch withdraws his objection to grant Jai Ram a pardon.

"I ought, perhaps, to mention that the Deputy Commissioner, Major Birch, was for some time averse to Jai Ram's admission to conditional pardon. He finally withdrew his objection in deference to superior authority."

32. The opinion of the Court as to what led to the increase in kine-killing.

In the course of the proceedings the local Government made enquiry regarding the lease of the contract for the slaughter of kine to the butchers, and it appears by the replies of the local officers that a tax of eight annas per head was imposed by the Municipal Committee for kine slaughtered in 1869, and for those years the contract had been held by the butchers. It was but natural, the Court thinks, that this should have led to an increase of kine-slaughtering, as it was obviously the interest of the butchers to enhance the numbers killed. The farm of this tax is no longer sold to contractors – the tax is collected direct. This is a much more wholesome arrangement, tending rather to keep down than enhance the slaughter of kine.

33. The effect of the orders of the Deputy Commissioner and Judicial Commissioner in 1863, and of the lease to a butcher in 1869 of the right to levy a tax on animals slaughtered.

The Court has shown that Mr. Saunders arranged at first that no beef should be sold in the city; this was in 1849. The regulation had probably been evaded in a long course of years, possibly on the known custom obtaining in other large towns; but it had, no doubt, been done at first with care and an absence of ostentation. In 1863 an attempt was made by two city Magistrates to repress the sale, but their decision was reversed by the Deputy Commissioner, and the Judicial Commissioner, having called for the proceedings on the revision side, further laid down that the sale of meat in the city could not, under existing law, be forbidden except in certain ways and temporarily; from that time forth the sale must have been freely carried on, and in 1869 the whole trade probably received an impetus by the contract being given to the butchers. The Court notes that the action of the Deputy Commissioner and Judicial Commissioner in 1863, though, no doubt, in accordance with existing law, abrogated a political concession which had been made fourteen years previously without, as would have been expedient, a reference being made to the local Government on the subject.

34. The prosecution of the false informers Hira Singh and Aya is sanctioned by the Sessions Judge, but not the prosecution of Jai Ram.

The men who had been accused by Hira, Aya and Jai Ram applied more than once to the Deputy Commissioner to be allowed to prosecute them. The Deputy Commissioner referred the applicants to the Sessions Court, as only having the power to accord the permission. Accordingly, one Manna Singh, one of the sufferers, applied on the 9th December 1871 to the Sessions Court for permission to prosecute Hira, Aya and Jai Ram under Section 194 of the Indian Penal Code (giving or fabricating false evidence, &c.). The Sessions Judge, by his order of the 9th December, accorded the required permission in the cases of Hira and Aya, but withheld it in Jai Ram's case. The ground for this exemption does not appear on the face of the proceedings. It is fair to note that the Police Officers, Colonel Macandrew, Officiating Inspector-General of Police, Colonel Baillie, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, and subsequently Colonel Hutchinson, Inspector-General of Police, all urged the prosecution of the false informers. Government does not appear to have interfered in the least on any political grounds, and by a letter from Major Davies, written from England, he appears unconscious of having exempted Jai Ram from prosecution; but there is his order in the vernacular record signed by himself making that exception.

35. Hira Singh absconds, and Aya is convicted and punished. -

Hira absconded, Aya was brought to trial in the Assistant Commissioner's Court and committed by him to the Deputy Commissioner acting as Sessions Judge on the 22nd November 1872. The Deputy Commissioner convicted Aya, and sentenced him to two years' rigorous imprisonment, including three months' solitary confinement. The Deputy Commissioner considered that there were extenuating circumstances in his case.

The Chief Court directs Jai Ram's prosecution.

The Chief Court subsequently annulled the order of the Sessions Court exempting Jai Ram from prosecution, and he has since been charged by Sant Ram and others under the above-mentioned section, viz., 194.

36. The cause of the delay in bringing Jai Ram to trial explained.

As this Court required the full use of all the records, English and Vernacular, during the trial of Jhanda Singh, it became necessary to keep the trial of Jai Ram in abeyance till its conclusion. The whole of the papers will now have to go up to the Chief Court, but this Court hopes that this precis of the previous transactions in the case, which it has been at considerable pains to prepare, may assist the Chief Court in disposing more easily and rapidly of Jhanda Singh's case than would have been feasible if the Judges had felt it necessary to go back through the voluminous files of the case to review the whole story.

Police file of correspondence has been consulted.

In preparing this memorandum the Court has had the advantage of the use of the file of correspondence kindly put at its disposal by the Inspector-General of Police with His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor's permission.

37. The inducement which led the Court to write this review.

One inducement to the Court to undertake it was the feeling that so good an opportunity might not again occur when all the correspondence available for the review, but it was also very necessary for the Sessions Judge, as Commissioner of the Division, to go carefully into the antecedents of the case at this juncture with reference to possible ulterior proceedings.

38. This review was commenced as the judgment in Jhanda Singh's case.

This review was commenced as the order in Jhanda Singh's case, but certain matters have been noticed in it which it might not be

quite convenient to give in copy to the accused for his appeal. It is therefore made a separate paper to accompany the proceedings, and form part of the Court's general remarks on the case. But the grounds of Jhanda Singh's conviction and sentence will be put in a separate form, giving of course all that concerns him. This is, the Court feels sure, the fairest way for him, as he would be quite bewildered by the dissertations, quotations, &c., of the general review of the case.

39. The Court is of opinion that there was no secret understanding between the Hindus and Akalis and the Kukas.

There is one point which the Court has omitted to notice, but regarding which it had intended to record an opinion, namely, the question as to whether the Hindus of the city and the Akalis on one side were acting on a secret understanding with the Kukas on the other. The Court records its opinion that they were not. General sympathy in the movement regarding the slaughter of kine was, no doubt, felt by the Kukas, and they eventually took the matter in hand, thinking it probably an epoch when, if they moved effectually, the honor and popularity of the sect among all Hindus and Sikhs would be greatly enhanced. But the Court has failed to perceive anything approaching to a connecting link between the petulant turbulence of the towns-people and the firm, though ruthless, action of the Kukas when they took the matter in hand. There are, on the contrary, indications of unfriendly or careless action, such as the Kukas leaving fragments of Akali cloth and an Akali's quoit at the scene of the murder, thus throwing the suspicion on them. Gulab Singh, approver, in his first statement, stated that the proposal was first made to make the attack in the disguise of Nihangs (Akalis). It will be further seen that the Court is strongly of opinion that Hira Bhatra was probably instigated by the Kukas in working up a false case against the city Hindus, probably with the object of keeping suspicion away from the Kukas.

40. The secrecy with which the plot was matured and carried out is noted.

Lastly, the Kukas had no need of help; they had only to summon their men, who came at once, - their only anxiety being to know positively whether it was the "Sat Guru's" order that the crime should be committed. Many of them were quiet, well-disposed men, the reverse of truculent, having no particular stomach for the task, which they would gladly have been relieved of, but it was told them that Guru Ram Singh had ordered it; so they carried it out. They worked, however, entirely through their own men and confederates both within the city and without, and hence the helplessness of the Police, for which they must not be too severely thought of. It is difficult to break into the secrets of a confederacy the members of which place implicit confidence in one another. That mutual confidence in the case of the Kukas which was in full force at the time of the murders has now in a great measure been broken up. Numerous recantations have occurred, and it is not, the Court believes, easy for even a member of the sect to know who can be counted on as a true Kuka.

41. The question whether the murders had the sanction of Guru Ram Singh is examined.

It would be hard to say whether Guru Ram Singh actually sanctioned the murders. The case made out by the evidence is not clear against him. As the Court has touched on every portion of the subject, it will not leave this unnoticed. The impression left on the mind by a perusal of the records is, that Ram Singh, swayed by the advice of the stirring spirits around him, felt that the prevailing dissatisfaction in the minds of the Sikhs and Hindus at Amritsar in the matter of the slaughter of kine, sale of beef, &c., furnished a fitting opportunity for his sect to move in a way that would gain them prestige and popularity with the whole mass of the cow-reverencing community. But though he appreciated the epoch, and was sufficiently reckless and unprincipled about the crime, he was still too weak and vacillating to give the order himself distinctly for its commission. He therefore dallied with the proposition, and only half pointed in a timid manner at what he would. Gulab Singh is as truculent a fanatic and desperado as ever lived, though a fine

handsome-looking man, and would hesitate about nothing to advance the honor of his sect; and the Court imagines that he and others urged the slaughter of the butchers earnestly and constantly on Ram Singh, and that when they obtained a half consent from him they set about the enterprize, partly on their own responsibility, but with the certainty that, when the deed was done, their spiritual head would say it was well done. The Court thinks the fact of the Amritsar tragedy being re-enacted a month after at Raikot sufficiently proves this. If Ram Singh had had any ruth or horror to express, he had a month's leisure to do it in, and his followers would not probably have moved again in the same manner if the Amritsar murders had greatly shocked and distressed their chief. The probability is that Ram Singh accepted the deed done, and showed no real regret for it, and his adherents took their cue accordingly.

42. The Court is of opinion that perpetration of the murders was more or less countenanced by Guru Ram Singh.

If anything is clearly shown by the records of the case, it is the fact that the actual murderers of the butchers, both at Amritsar and Raikot, came from the immediate presence of their Guru Ram Singh, and that when doubts arose as to whether he had really given the mandate for a wholesale slaughter of the unfortunate butchers emissaries were sent again and again to his presence in order to ascertain what he really wished. The answers they got either showed real vacillation or were perhaps purposely made to appear ambiguous and contradictory. In result, however, his more stirring followers either believed that they had his order for action, or were determined to read his oracular utterings in their own way, and a cruel butchery was the result in both instances. Had there been only one event, there might have been room to doubt whether the followers had not gone beyond the wishes of their religious guide and ruler, but a month after the Amritsar murders the same crime was repeated at Raikot, and, as has been before noted, the conclusion is irresistible that the whole thing had Ram Singh's approval. Gulab Singh, the principal witness, has distinctly stated this in his evidence in the Raikot case,— the Crown versus Geani and

Rattan Singh. He there states that, after the Amritsar murders, he went to Ram Singh's presence, and told him that the deed was done, on which Ram Singh said that it was "well done.". And again Gulab Singh stated that the Raikot murders had Ram Singh's previously given distinct sanction, and that when he came back and informed Ram Singh that these also had been carried out, he received the old man's applause.

Gulab Singh's evidence has been used to hang his brethren; there is surely no need to cast it aside when he speaks of the spiritual and temporal ruler of his sect.

43. The Court hopes the opinion here may have weight, should the re-laxation of Ram Singh's sentence come under consideration.

The court notes these points after a careful and, it trusts, dispassionate examination of the records in the case, in the hope that the opinion thus re-recorded may be allowed weight, if there should ever in any future time arise an agitation with the object of obtaining a relaxation of the sentence of banishment which Ram Singh is now, as the court believes, most deservedly undergoing in consequence of the crimes committed by his intimate followers and the sect generally.

AMRITSAR:

2nd August 1873.

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(Signed)

REYNELL G. TAYLOR,

Sessions Judge and Commissioner, Amritsar Division.

Comments of Commisioner Amritsar Division on Jai Ram's case

No. 1043, dated Gurdaspur, 26th May 1874.

From - Major-General R. G. TAYLOR, C.B., C.S.I.,
Commissioner and

Superintendent, Amritsar Division,

To - The Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Refers to No. 807 of 22nd April.

1. I BEG to refer you to my letter No. 807, of the 22nd of April, announcing the relinquishment of the proceedings against Jai Ram by the orders of the Chief Court.

2. Reasons for not having written in continuation before.

I should have written earlier in continuation of that communication had I not heard from a reliable source that it was Mr. Christie's intention to address Government regarding his own position, and I was inclined to wait and give my final opinion in the matter when applied to for information on Mr. Christie's application. You have now demi-officially called upon me to furnish whatever further information I have to offer on the subject at once; so I proceed to do this.

3. Jai Ram questioned as to the character of the defence he intended to make.

In my letter above alluded to I mentioned that, after informing Jai Ram that he was to be exempted from further proceedings, I had asked him certain questions as to what was to have been the character of his defence.

4. Reasons for making this enquiry.

The cause of my doing this was that I knew that I should have to give my Government an opinion as to the necessity or otherwise of any further proceedings being instituted in the case; while the fact that Jai Ram had not been permitted by his counsel to make any statement before the committing magistrate had left me quite uninformed on the point of what the character of his defence was to have been.

5. I knew that there was one danger in thus questioning Jai Ram, which was that he would be pretty sure to put forward the defence which he had been incubating through so many months with an object of vital importance to himself; but at the same time, as he was now made a free man, it appeared to me natural and appropriate to

ask him plainly how he had been induced to give the false evidence which might have involved such serious consequences; and I accordingly did put this question.

6. Jai Ram brings out the defence he had prepared.

The result was, as I had somewhat anticipated, that he came out with the whole story that he had prepared for his defence, the main character being that actual bodily pain and fear had been the predominating cause of his giving the false evidence alluded to.

7. I confess that I had rather expected that he would lay chief stress on the moral pressure put upon him by the other informers, which I believe still to have been the real cause of his act of perjury, but one of these men being in jail, and the other having absconded, he may have thought that that line of defence would be difficult to establish, and might not carry the weight with it that an assertion of actual maltreatment at the hands of the police would.

8. Jai Ram asserts that he still bears the marks of ill-treatment.

One of Jai Ram first assertions to me was that he still bore the marks of the evil treatment he had received, and he made a sign towards the part of his body where these were, and asked if he should show them.

9. The bodily injuries examined.

As he again in the conversation alluded to these marks, I allowed a chaprassi to examine them, and he reported that the locality in question (between the arms and scrotum) was in a miserable state, with running sores, &c.

10. A committee of officers assembled to judge of the asserted injuries.

As this had a serious appearance, I at once requested the attendance of the following officers next morning in order that the character of these injuries might be examined and cleared up, viz., Mr. T. W. Smyth, Deputy Commissioner, Mr. W. Coldstream, Assistant Commissioner, Mr. O'Connor, Assistant District Superintendent of Police (the District Superintendent being absent), and Mr. F. Mackenzie, Civil Surgeon.

11. Civil Surgeon's report.

On this occasion Jai Ram was summoned, and his alleged injuries examined by the Civil Surgeon. I append the Civil Surgeon's report, from which it appears that the evil state of this man's body in this locality has distinctly the appearance of being the result of a particular disease, and that it would be a very improbable thing that these marks should be the result of injuries inflicted three years ago.

12. Main points of maltreatment.

The main points of the maltreatment complained of were that he had been made to sit on a slab of stone or slate covered with some acid that burnt him, and, secondly, that red pepper had been burnt in the room in which he was confined, which had produced deafness.

13. Medical opinion adverse to the truth of Jai Ram's assertions.

It was distinctly the opinion of the Medical Officer that the effect of a bath of burning acid as described would have been to leave a general scar covering the whole locality, of which there was no sign, and further that burnt pepper would in the first instance have affected the eyes rather than the ears.

14. Opinion of the officers assembled also adverse to the truth of Jai Ram's statement.

On the above grounds, the opinions of the officers I had assembled were adverse to the truth of Jai Ram's statements of maltreatment, based on the marks he professed to show on his body, the medical evidence showing very clearly that in all probability these allegations were fabricated.

15. My own opinion similar.

My own opinion was distinctly to this effect, namely, that the assertion that these sores were the result of the treatment received three years before was not merely an exaggeration of a partial truth, but that the allegation thus based was, as far as I could judge, distinctly and designedly false.

16. Jai Ram had been long expecting trial on a serious charge; his preparing a sensational defence natural.

With regard to this it must be remembered that Jai Ram had for a considerable time had a trial impending over him on a charge of so distinct and serious a character that he may not unnaturally have thought that nothing but an equally serious and sensational counter-charge would be likely to ward off conviction on it, or obtain mitigation of punishment if the conviction were inevitable.

17. My own connection with the case.

Before giving a final opinion regarding the necessity or otherwise of further proceedings in this case, I wish briefly to review my own connection with it, as I hope that it may be considered to give me some right to speak with regard to the course which it may now be necessary or expedient to pursue.

18. I joined the division in April 1872.

I joined the division, having returned from furlough, in April 1872. The excitement regarding the butcher murders and the subsequent trials had in a great measure subsided. His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor's visit to Amritsar and the proceedings then held by him had had a sedative effect. The Hindus who had been falsely accused appeared to be quite quiescent. I did not even know - for it in no way came to the front - that some of the men who had been falsely accused had received the permission of the sessions court to prosecute two of the men who had informed against them. It subsequently appeared that they had received this permission on the 9th of December 1871 by an order of Major Davies, the then Commissioner.

19. Character of action taken by the injured parties in prosecuting false informers.

It has cost me some pains to ascertain the exact extent and character of the action taken by the injured parties, i. e., the men who had been falsely accused of the butcher murders against their false accusers.

20. Major Davies exempted Jai Ram from prosecution.

Major Davies, the Commissioner, had been applied to for the permission to prosecute Hira Singh, Aya and Jai Ram Seth. He permitted the prosecution of the two first, but, for reasons which he

has since explained, he refused the permission in the case of Jai Ram.

21. The prosecution of the two principal informers left open.

It was, however, open to the injured men at once to prosecute Hira and Aya, who were really the two active informers in the case, Jai Ram having been only subsequently dragged into the matter by their machinations, and in some mysterious manner induced to back their assertions.

22. It was very necessary that the prosecutions should be carried out at once.

I note that if the true story were to be arrived at, nothing was so necessary, or would have so much conduced to an opening up of the whole ramifications of the case, as the immediate prosecution of the two principal informers.

23. Injured parties slack about the prosecutions.

Instead, however, of any prompt and vigorous action on the part of the men who had been falsely accused, they had not, though provided with the Commissioner's permission, which they duly quote, so effectually lodged their complaint as to get it properly taken up till so far on as 17th October 1872.

24. A complaint filed by one Soubah, one of the men who had been falsely accused, early in the spring of 1872.

I find there had been an attempt on the part of one Soubah, one of the falsely accused persons, to get the matter taken up in the spring of 1872. By a careful search in the vernacular records I have discovered a petition of his, dated 1st October 1872, in which he lodges a complaint against Aya, and in this petition he states that, in accordance with the permission of the Commissioner (i. e., the Sessions Judge), he had filed a prosecution against the false informers before Captain Marshall (Captain Marshall, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, who had subsequently reverted to Assistant Commissioner, left the Amritsar district in April 1872), but that he had himself fallen ill, and nothing had come of it.

No order by Sessions Court endorsed on his petition permitting the prosecution.

He therefore complained again, but it was evident that in his former complaint he had probably only quoted the Commissioner's permission and had not filed his order or an attested copy of it; and this he also failed to do with his petition of the 1st October 1872.

25. Munna Singh files a complaint in due form, with Sessions Judge's permission accompanying, on the 17th of October 1872.

Commissioner's permission being dated 9th December 1871.

However, a few days afterwards, namely, on the 17th of October 1872, Munna Singh, also one of the injured men, filed a complaint in due form, accompanied by Major Davies' original order permitting the prosecution of Hira and Aya. The complaint charged Hira and Aya, and Jaimul, one of the witnesses, under Section 194 of the Indian Penal Code, and it mentioned that it was the intention of the complainant to bring charges against the rest of the witnesses when he should ascertain their names from the records of the case.

26. Translation of Munna Singh's complaint.

I give a translation of the petition lodging the complaint, as I think it shows clearly that the complainant only professed it to be his first effort to obtain the punishment of the men who had injured him since obtaining the Sessions Judge's permission to prosecute them ten months before. The petition runs:—

"In accordance with the written order of the Commissioner dated 9th December 1871, I lodge this complaint to the effect that the accused, having falsely informed against me in the matter of the butchers, had me placed in confinement, causing me expense and damage to the amount of Rs. 3,000. Regarding this I many times gave in petitions. (I note that these would all have been previous to the Commissioner's order), and the order on them which I received was to the effect that I must bring a ruling from the office of the Sessions Judge and then my complaint would be heard. Accordingly, having obtained the required ruling, I now complain, and request that the accused may be summoned and dealt with in order that they may not again be guilty of such an act. The present complaint therefore is filed under Section 194, Indian Penal Code, in order that the charge may be investigated. For proof the record in the criminal trial is forthcoming, and the permission to prosecute

is with me, and I will place it before the Court.

"With regard to those men who gave false evidence I shall file separate complaints.

"Signed by Munna Singh, Chelah of Hindal Singh, caste Nihang (Akali), of the Ramghurrian Khuttra, Amritsar."

Munna Singh's deposition of the 25th October 1872.

In his deposition taken in Court on the 25th of October, Munna Singh notes that Hira and Aya were informers, and Jaimul a witness, and that he will prosecute the other witnesses (drawing thus a distinction between them and the informers) when he finds out their names from the record.

27. Original petition presented to Commissioner on 5th December 1871 by Munna Singh, Maya and Ram Kishen.

With the above petition Munna Singh. filed his original petition to the Commissioner with Major Davies' original order upon it. This petition was dated December 5th, 1871, it was from Munna Singh, Maya and Ram Kishen, all three men who had been falsely accused, saying that they had applied to the Deputy Commissioner, who said he could do nothing without the permission of the Sessions Court.

On this petition Major Davies passed his order of the 9th December 1871, allowing the prosecution of Hira and Aya, and disallowing that of Jai Ram.

28. Munna Singh, Maya and Ram Kishen fully empowered on the 9th December 1871 to prosecute on 9th December 1871 did not do so till October 1872.

Hira had then absconded.

Thus these three men, Munna Singh, Maya and Ram Kishen, were fully empowered on the 9th December 1871 to prosecute the two real informers; and they took no measures to act on this permission till the 17th of October 1872. The consequence was that one of the two had absconded. Aya was tried and confessed, but pleaded maltreatment and intimidation. This plea was, according to my impression of the bearings of the case, too easily received, and he got off with a light punishment.

29. Character of Hira and Aya, and opinion that they were never harshly treated by the police.

Police induced to put too much faith in Hira.

Hira and Aya were two, as Mr. Turton Smith called them, "notorious evil-livers;" they were the instruments made use of in the unravelment, as it was for a time fully supposed to be, of the story of this great crime; and my belief is that they themselves had an easy time of it with the police, who were induced by some solid points of evidence which had transpired with regard to Hira to put faith in their assertions and to act against all whom they indicated as concerned in the crime.

30. Opinion as to how the case against the city Hindus was worked up.

I therefore entirely disbelieve Aya's assertion that he was subjected to any rough treatment. With regard to this I quote a passage from a demi-official letter of my own, dated 23rd March 1874, as describing what I believe to have been the process by which the accusation against the city Hindus grew to the dimensions it eventually reached. I wrote that, after going carefully through the facts of the case, it appeared to me that "the whole point for enquiry was nutshelled into the events of five or six days. First, one man Hira Phatrah had been allowed to turn informer, and then he had associated a second with himself, Aya; thirdly, these two managed to throw a coil in some way round Jai Ram, a respectable citizen. What their hold upon him was is one of the matters for enquiry, but it may fairly be conjectured to have been that Jai Ram had truly been rather deeply engaged in the previous Hindu agitation against the killing of kine, and the others were possibly able to show him that if he resisted their will they would involve him in ruin by evidence which would be incontestable, because truly showing his seditious spirit and action in the previous agitation." * * * I utterly disbelieve the assertion of Aya that he was tortured or maltreated. He and Hira were in good case all along. It is also, I conceive, perfectly possible that there was no material pressure put on Jai Ram, but that he was quietly intimidated into perjuring himself by the other two informers.

Mr. Christie possibly quite unconnected with the proceedings of the informers, who managed matters their own way, only producing results.

“In such a case it might be possible that Christie's only fault had been making things over too much to his native subordinates and assistants, and not caring to enquire too particularly into the process by which certain results had been arrived at. * * * Christie and the men who were aiding him, among whom were Rai Mul Singh and Sardar Bhagwan Singh.”

31. The point I would lay stress on is the fact that the men who were certainly deeply injured by the false accusation made against them subsequently exhibited great slackness in instituting and carrying out proceedings against the false informers.

32. Colonel Hall reports that Munna Singh's petition of the 17th October 1872 was the only complaint filed with Commissioner's order endorsed.

I applied to Colonel Hall, Deputy Commissioner, for information as to whether any previous complaints had been filed, that is previous to October 1872. He replied, under date 30th January 1873: "The only petition presented with Major Davies' order endorsed was the one by Munna Singh, on which the charge against Aya was taken. I have examined registers and called for reports from record office, but this appears to be the only petition presented in the District Court. The prosecution required the Sessions Judge's sanction, and if any petitions were ever presented they must have been returned for submission to the higher Court. Hall also replied officially to a letter of mine of the 9th January 1873 on the same subject to the following effect in letter dated 14th January 1873. After mentioning Munna Singh's complaint of 17th October 1872, Colonel Hall said- "no other prosecutions have been instituted in connection with the butcher murder case."

33. Soubah's petition is, probably, January 1872 overlooked.

In these replies Soubah's petition of the 1st of October and his reference to his complaint previously lodged were overlooked; but it is most probable that Soubah's complaint was informal, and not accompanied by any order of the Sessions Court. This is not quite

clear, however, as it appears to have been handed over to the Police for enquiry, and to have been subsequently struck off, possibly on the prosecutors failing to attend from sickness, as he himself states. I will endeavour to trace the action taken on Soubah's petition.

Complaint of Soubah appears to have been filed or struck off by order of Captain Marshall, possibly from complainant' being ill and not appearing.

It was decided to leave the parties injured by false accusation to prosecute the informers.

It will be in the recollection of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor that Major Davies wrote from England under date 19th November 1872. After saying that it had been decided at the time to leave the institution of prosecutions against the false informers to the injured parties, and that they had accordingly received permission to file their complaints, Major Davies added -"The complaints were, I know, filed in the court of the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar before I left Amritsar."

34. Major Davies remembered prosecutions being filed before he left Amritsar in January 1872. This may have been Soubah's complaint.

Major Davies left on the 23rd of January 1872. I think it therefore probable that it must have been Soubah's petition which he alluded to, proceedings on which had fallen through from the complainant's own sickness.

35. Manna Singh, Maya, &c., took no action till October 1872.

Manna Singh, Maya and Ram Kishen had taken no action on the order they had obtained.

36. Session Court appears to have only issued one permission.

It does not appear that any second order of permission to prosecute had been given by the Sessions Court; it is probable therefore that Soubah only quoted the permission that the others had received.

37. The injured parties in fault for not having earlier instituted the prosecutions.

• My point therefore is that the injured parties had full

permission and opportunity afforded them through a long period of righting themselves, and they failed to take due and prompt advantage of it. If they had done so at the early stage at which they received the permission, when the interest in the recent events was keen and fresh in the minds of all, the result would have been that the whole thing would have been run up at once, and all the subsequent complaints, which on the fact of the case I consider ill based, of a lack of enquiry would have been obviated.

38. All the officers, Civil and Police, changed.

No excuse for the prosecutors not moving can be based on any asserted influence opposing, or likely to oppose, their action; for it happened that the whole of the local officers were changed about the time in question; - Major Davies left for England shortly after recording his permission to prosecute; Colonel Hall went to Multan; Captain Marshal to Murree; the District Superintendent was changed: Colonel Baillie left for England.

39. As the injured men were slack, Government not bound to prosecute at this late date.

As the injured men failed to exert themselves at the right time, I do not see that the local Government or any other authority is bound to do the work which they chose to neglect, and that when a considerable lapse of time has made the revival of the memory of those distressing events, I allude to the butcher murders and their surroundings, inexpedient.

40. It has been said that Government should have prosecuted.

It has been said that it would have been better for Government to have ordered the prosecution of the false informers itself, instead of leaving the injured parties to prosecute.

41. This view discussed.

I will only say with regard to this that, while I am inclined to agree in this opinion now, when viewed by the light of the intermediate history of the case, I am yet clear that at the time it must have been more difficult to say which was likely to be the best course. The period had been one of unusual excitement, and much angry religious and class feeling had been aroused. Suddenly by the

Raikot revelations, and from the fact of the informers in the Amritsar case retracting their statements, enquiry had been swung round from a wrong to a right direction, and vengeance had descended on the heads of the real offenders, - the long lane had found its turning, and every one breathed more freely. It was not a time when it would naturally have been the inclination of the powers of the day to institute and originate new measures which, whatever might be their object and result, would assuredly have had the effect of continuing to stir up and keep alive all the bitter animosity which had been aroused, but which had shown an inclination 'to subside on the clearing up of the false accusations and the punishment of the real offenders.

42. It was no doubt expected that there would be no delay in instituting the prosecutions.

It was I imagine on this account that the local Government resolved to leave it to the injured men themselves to prosecute those who had given false information against them. It was probably expected that this would be done without delay, and that Government, though not a party to the prosecutions, would have the advantage of having the real state of the case worked out in the ordinary Courts with as little revival or fomenting of the previous agitation and ill-feeling as could be arranged for.

43. It could not possibly have been counted on that, by the dilatory action of the aggrieved parties themselves, these prosecutions should not have been launched till ten months after the permission to carry them out had been given.

44. My connection with the case commenced with Jhanda Singh's trial.

My own connection with the case may be said to have commenced with the trial of Jhanda Singh, one of the gang of Kukas who murdered the Amritsar butchers, and who having absconded at the time had been absent in foreign territory for a year and a half.

45. Commenced the trial of Jhanda Singh in May 1873.

Venturing back to the neighbourhood of Amritsar, he was apprehended, tried and committed to the Sessions in the spring of

1873. I entered on his trial in May 1873.

46. Chief Court rescinded Major Davies' order exempting Jai Ram from trial.

About the same time the Chief Court rescinded Major Davies' order before alluded disallowing the prosecution of Jai Ram.

47. Chief Court had asked me why Jai Ram had been exempted, but I had been unable to explain.

The Chief Court had applied to me to know why this order had been given. I gave in reply all the information that I was able, but I had no means of explaining the especial difficulty. Major Davies was in England, and it did not occur to me to apply to him. I had by me, as I thought, letters which showed that neither the local Government nor Major Davies was aware of Jai Ram's having been exempted from prosecution.

48. Failing in obtaining an explanation of the exemption, the Chief Court rescinded Major Davies' order; and Sant Ram and others instituted a prosecution against Jai Ram.

49. Intention of the Government to order a further enquiry into the police investigation of the butcher murders if necessary.

About the same time I had been made aware that the local Government contemplated, if necessary, directing a further enquiry into the conduct of the police when investigating the butcher murder cases, and it was intimated to me that I might have to carry out this enquiry.

50. Thus different investigations pending.

I thus in a manner had three different cases on hand bearing on the same subject, viz., Jhanda Singh's trial, Jai Ram's prosecution and the possibility of an enquiry into the police investigations at the time of the murders.

51. Jai Ram's trial put in abeyance till conclusion of Jhanda Singh's trial.

The conjunction was perplexing, as the same papers were required in each case. I was therefore obliged to point out to the Judges of the Chief Court that Jai Ram's trial could not proceed till the

investigation in Jhanda Singh's case was completed. In reply, I received permission to keep Jai Ram's trial in abeyance.

52. Government advised to put further proceedings in abeyance till conclusion of Jai Ram's trial.

I further reported to Government that if any ultimate proceedings were contemplated the conclusion of Jai Ram's trial had better be awaited, as that would probably put Government in possession of all that could be said in the matter, and would thus enable it to decide upon the necessity or otherwise of further enquiries.

53. Government accedes to this.

His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor acceded to this view, and postponed further orders regarding an investigation into the conduct of the Police till Jai Ram's trial should be concluded.

54. Mr. Christie's resignation placed in abeyance

Shortly after I was applied to by the Under-Secretary to Government in the Police Department for an opinion as to whether Mr. Christie's resignation should be accepted. I replied that I thought that under the circumstances it had better not.

55. Thus unavoidably Jai Ram's trial awaited the conclusion of Jhanda Singh's, and any further enquiry contemplated awaited the completion of Jai Ram's trial.

56. I cannot accuse myself of any dilatoriness in the matter. Jhanda Singh's trial caused me a considerable amount of anxious care and labour. I had to depend on the stereotyped assertions of approvers - men who had purchased their own safety by swearing away the lives of their brethren. I had also to make use of the utterances of dead men. I could not, therefore, dispose of the case off hand. I sent for the proceedings in the Raikot case, which were some time in coming, and were voluminous.

Jhanda Singh sentenced to death, June 30th, 1873.

I sentenced Jhanda Singh to death on the 30th of June.

57. Preparation of a memorandum reviewing the kine-killing agitation, butcher murder, &c.

Before sending up the case to the Chief Court, finding all the papers

connected with it, viz., the Raikot and Amritsar files, Vernacular and English, and the whole of the police file kindly put at my disposal by the Inspector-General of Police in my hands, I thought it an appropriate opportunity for preparing a brief review of the whole proceedings; this I meant to accompany my order in Jhanda Singh's case.

. 58. Remarks by officers best acquainted with the transactions on the memorandum.

This memorandum has since been printed

59. I must be allowed to quote from memory what has been said of it by the officers best able to judge of it.

60. Mr. Boulnois, 1st Judge of the Chief Court, spoke of it as clear and complete, and he accepted it as evidence in his final order on Jhanda Singh's case.

61. Colonel McAndrew, who had been Officiating Inspector-General of Police at the time of the butcher murders, wrote- "I consider the facts of the case and its surroundings are most clearly and correctly worked out in this memo., and that it is a record that should be preserved for future reference."

62. Colonel George Hutchinson, Inspector-General, spoke of it as "a most lucid resumé" of the case, and said that he had never before taken in the matter as a whole.

63. Colonel Younghusband, now Inspector-General, read it at my house and pronounced it clear and interesting.

64. Major Davies studied it carefully, and wrote to me pointing out the omission of a passage in one of the quotations (a copyist's mistake). He said that he did this as the memorandum would probably be widely read in connection with the case.

65. Major Birch wrote - "May I be permitted to express my acknowledgment and thanks for the utter impartiality of your summing up. I quite agree with its conclusions as to the cause of the whole thing."

66. Mr. Christie wrote - "I am very thankful to you for the copy of the memorandum sent to me last evening. I had not seen it before,

and had never looked at the case in the light you have put it.” opinions of the memorandum.

67. My object in quoting favorable opinions of the memorandum.

I have not mentioned these opinions in any conceit regarding the authorship of what is little more than a precis of correspondence such as could have been drawn in better form by many an intelligent head clerk in the province, but in order to show that care was taken in the preparation of the review of the case, and in the hope that this may be considered to give me a right to speak now at its conclusion, or what I think should be its conclusion.

68. Opinion that further enquiry would not be advisable.

The opinion then is that no good would be obtained, while a considerable amount of mischief might possibly be done, by instituting further proceedings in this case.

69. The grounds of this opinion are—

1st. - **Proofs not reliable.** That no reliance could be placed on assertions and asserted proofs brought forward at this late stage of the proceedings.

70. 2nd. **Further proceedings not wished for locally.** That there is no wish on any one's part locally to have the matter prolonged; the statements made by Jai Ram to me were in answer to questions; otherwise I am confident that he has no wish whatever to move further in the matter; he is only too thankful to escape the consequences of his act of perjury. When told that the prosecution was at an end, he threw himself on the ground and embraced my feet.

71. 3rdly. **The relinquishment of the prosecution of Jai Ram makes a natural conclusion.** Things have come to a natural conclusion now by the relinquishment of the prosecution of Jai Ram, I feel justified in saying that the wisdom and expediency of that relinquishment is very generally appreciated at Amritsar. I have received numerous native opinions of weight on the subject, some sought by me, others quite volunteered, but all to the same effect, namely, that the speakers rejoiced that the prosecution was given up and the matter at an end. What they had evidently anticipated was a raking up of

all the feelings, accusations and recriminations of those now nearly forgotten days, with perhaps an added batch of fresh accusations intended to better Jai Ram's defence.

72. Native gentlemen consulted.

The men I have spoken to include Raja Sir Saheb Dyal and Sardar Mangal Singh. There were others of weight, but I mention these two as especially entitled to speak.

73. Raja Sir Saheb Dyal.

Raja Saheb Dyal considered it a very fortunate circumstance that the prosecution was relinquished, as it would have needlessly revived so much that had better remain at rest.

74. Sardar Mangal Singh*. (*Foot note: Then sarbrah of Golden Temple.)

Sardar Mangal Singh was particularly emphatic in expressing the same views, and he reminded me, as giving him a right to speak, that it was he who immediately in the midst of the disaffected spirit handed up Dewa Singh, who took the cow's bone into the Darbar temple.

75. Most strongly therefore am I inclined to deprecate the institution of proceedings which would have the effect of rendering the above hopes that the matter is now dismissed for good and all nugatory.

76. Political and judicial objections.

This is perhaps a political view of the case but I have noted my judicial objection also, based on the fact that evidence now obtained would be untrustworthy.

77. Jai Ram has shown an inclination to try and prove too much.

The fact that Jai Ram has shown an inclination to try and prove too much is an instance of the amount of principle he might be expected to display if he were embarked against the police again, with a background of mischievous backers, as complainant or witness

78. Complainants in Munna Singh versus Aya and others represented that Jai Ram was well treated by the Police.

I may mention with regard to this that the complainants and witnesses in the case of Munna Singh versus Aya, and also in the

preliminary trial of Jai Ram for committal to the sessions, have all stated that Jai Ram was in good case and well treated all the time, accompanying Mr. Christie when he went out, and well treated by the Police. Mr. Christie has assured me that he was well treated throughout.

79. 4thly. Opinion that the officers acted in good faith.

It is my belief and opinion that, although they may have erred from over zeal and anxiety caused by the pressure of the times, the officers concerned acted in good faith.

Quotation from a letter from Major Davies.

With regard to this I transcribe a portion of a demi-official letter, dated 16th May 1874, from Major W. Davies to my address, on this subject. He writes, -"I have been looking over my demi-official letter to Griffin. I find it has scarcely anything in it that is not in my official on the same subject. I will copy what I said about Christie in it. Here it is-

"So far as regards the Deputy Commissioner, Baillie, and myself, there still remains Christie himself, and it will be asked how it was possible that he was duped, and indeed, it will perhaps be suggested whether he was not a party to the fabrication. As regards the latter, I will say once for all - and I may add that Colonel Baillie entirely agrees with me in this - that Mr. Christie has, I believe, acted throughout in thoroughly good faith. There is no doubt whatever that he has been the dupe of a set of artful men, of whom one is a man of the name of Moree, formerly a noted *badmash* of the city, and who for some time past has been employed by Mr. Christie as an informer. This man, Moree, it appears, concocted the story which was afterwards brought forward with Hira Singh in the hope of getting the reward of Rs. 1,000 which was offered to anyone who would give a clue to the murderers; and they afterwards induced Aya, another noted *badmash* of the city, to join them. Hira Singh had formerly, it appears, been in the service of Sardar Bhugwan Singh, and was known to be a good actor. When this amount of evidence had been obtained the parties accused were of course informed, and, Jai Ram being probably known to Moree and his assistants as the one most open to the influences at their command,

- hope and fear, these influences were brought to bear upon him till he gave way and agreed to support the statements made by Hira and Aya. As soon as he agreed to this he was taken before Mr. Christie. Such is, I believe, the explanation of the manner in which Mr. Christie was taken in. In a less important case he might have been induced to look more closely into the way in which the evidence was brought forward, but his anxiety to discover the murderers, combined with his knowledge that the men accused were those who had been actually engaged throughout in the recent disturbances in the city, led him at once to accept, without suspicion, the admissions made by Jai Ram nor is it wonderful that he was deceived, seeing that one of the shrewdest men in the Punjab, Rai Mul Singh, was equally deceived; for I cannot believe that either he or Sardar Bhugwan Singh would willingly lend themselves to putting forward a case which they knew to be false and fabricated.”

This I think you will find is very much what I afterwards wrote in my official report. At the end of my letter I said that I had placed Hira, Aya, and Jai Ram on security, as Government might perhaps wish to try them for giving false evidence. I added- “I don't think Jai Ram should be prosecuted, both because the false statement he did make was made under extreme moral pressure, and because he eventually told the truth and enabled us to get rid of a very disagreeable case.”

80. Arguments for continuing enquiry. Articles in the papers.

I am aware of the arguments that may be put forward in favor of continuing enquiry. They find full expression in the articles that have lately appeared in the *Indian Public Opinion*, and in the abstract of course all the sentiments expressed are sensible and right, and such as under ordinary circumstances I should wish to be guided by; but the circumstances of the present case are certainly now peculiar, and the position in which I am placed is somewhat peculiar also. I can only advise on my own judgment and to the best of my ability.

81. Assertion in the papers that eager anxiety is felt about the case exaggerated.

One assertion made by the writer in the Lahore paper I deny the

correctness of, namely, that the matter is one regarded with eager curiosity by the community at large. This is an unfounded exaggeration; there may be individuals or a section of the community at Lahore who feel an interest in the matter; otherwise, I assert that the interest in the whole case at Amritsar, where, if anywhere, an anxiety to see justice done, if it were deemed necessary, should exist, is utterly at zero, and thus on this account great disquietude was felt at the prospect of Jai Ram's trial and consequent relief experienced when that was relinquished.

82. Quotation from a letter from Major Birch.

If anything would incline me at this late stage to recommend a raking up of the past by a fresh enquiry, it would be the following sensible and judicious passage from a letter from Major F. Birch to my address, dated the 7th May 1874. (I have courted opinions from all with reference to the advisability of further proceedings or otherwise.) Major Birch writes- "I deprecate on the part of the Government or the higher courts any attempt to interfere with the course of justice; it looks, as the papers say, as if the matter was being hushed up, and these tremendous allegations may all be blown to the winds in the usual course of things, while, if impeded, they gather force, and may eventually take a much more mischievous form."

83. My opinion is still that the time for further proceedings has gone by.

I acknowledge the force and truth of this passage, and under ordinary circumstances and feelings, if the matter were only a year old, I should close hands with the policy thus enunciated. But with Amritsar and its class feelings and personal animosities in my mind, and in view of the difficulty that would now attend the task of attempting to obtain reliable evidence, while assertion and false evidence might be provided in profusion to carry out party feeling and animosity, and further with the knowledge which I reiterate, that there is the reverse of any local anxiety to have the matter raked up again, I say once for all that I think the time gone by.

84. The fact of Jai Ram having been ill-treated doubtful.

I am further of opinion, after a considerable amount of examination of the case, that it is quite a balanced point as to whether there was

any barbarous action at all on the part of the Police in Jai Ram's case.
85. The evidence extant with regard to this (and no new evidence would be in the least trustworthy) is as follows:-

Grounds for supposing that he was ill-treated. For the fact that he was ill-treated, Jai Ram's own assertion, and I would add the popular belief, based, I think, chiefly on the fact that he being a quiet citizen gave false evidence which might have brought any number of men to the gallows.

Against the above-asserted fact. Grounds for doubting it. --There are the statements of Munna Singh, Sunth Singh and others of the prosecutors recorded in two courts of justice, coupled with the independent testimony of men like Nehal Singh, Gurmukh Singh and Khiwan Singh, dependents of Khan Muhammad Shah, to the effect that Jai Ram was seen by them at Sardar Bhugwan Singh's house associated with the other informers and engaged, as a man would be who had undertaken to prove a case of his own free will, and these statements accord with Mr. Christie's assurance to me that Jai Ram was treated with consideration throughout.

86. Jai Ram contentedly working to gather evidence in company with Hira and Aya opposed to the character of his assertions.

It may be suggested that when the witnesses in question saw Jai Ram hand in glove with the other informers, it may have been after he had been through a period of mal-treatment, and when in fact he had given in; but this would be quite opposed to the tenor of Jai Ram's assertions, which represent that he was under bodily fear and rigorous restraint up to the moment of his giving his evidence.

87. On all the above grounds I feel certain that the attempt to ascertain the rights of these points now would be attended with no reliable success.

88. Opinion against trying Jai Ram in a nominal way when assured of pardon.

I have in a previous communication, viz., my letter No. 766, of the 16th of April, and enclosures, described the grounds on which I was of opinion that it would not be proper to try Jai Ram on the original charge after it was known that a promise of pardon had been made

to him.

89. Jai Ram promised pardon.

Major Davies has described the grounds on which he gave this promise of pardon. It became an object, when the Raikot murderers had made revelations, to get the unfortunate men who had been falsely accused at Amritsar released as quickly as possible.

Jai Ram's withdrawing his statements enabled the Sessions Judge to close the case at once.

Nothing would clear the way for this so effectually as the retraction by the informers of the false evidence they had given, and thus when Jai Ram declared his whole statement to be false, the Sessions Judge was enabled to close the case and release the accused without hesitation or doubt.

I fear this report has reached a great length, but I trust it will be found of use whether Government concurs in the main recommendation it contains or adopts a different course.

In my printed memorandum and this letter I have done my best to put the matter as it stands clearly before Government, and this will, I trust, facilitate a final decision in the case.

* * *

The accused, Jhanda Singh, who had escaped arrest by the police in 1871 in the case relating to the killing of the butchers of Amritsar, was arrested by the police in May 1873. He was tried, and on 30 June 1873 the Sessions Judge sentenced him to death. The confirmation of the sentence by the Chief Court and the subsequent execution of the sentence were completed in August 1873. This brought the case to an end, but the matter continued to be discussed in official circles for another year.

The reason was that the persons who had been falsely implicated in the case sought the Government's permission to prosecute Jai Ram in court for having implicated them by giving false evidence. Jai Ram was anxious to avoid prosecution. He maintained that, if the Government granted permission for the prosecution, he would

make a statement in court that would cause embarrassment to the Government. Some prominent citizens of the city were also supporting Jai Ram. In these circumstances, the Government refused to grant permission for his prosecution, and with this the entire episode finally came to an end.

Index

Persons

Abdool — Sergeant, Raikot Thana

Abdool Raheem Khan / Abdool Rehman Khan — Deputy Inspector of Police

Adam Taylor — Civil Surgeon, Amritsar

Ahmed/Ahmud Khan — Duffadar of Chowkidars, Raikot

Ahmud Hussun — Patiala Vakeel

Akhoo — Mahomedan Rajput, present at Raikot butcher quarter

Alia — Native doctor/barber at Raikot

Allah-ol-deen — Thanadar, Patiala State

Ayya — approver/informer in the initial Amritsar investigation

Baillie, Colonel — Deputy Inspector-General of Police

Beela/Beelah Singh — Kooka of Narlee; participant in Amritsar case

Bhagwan/Bhugwan Singh — Kooka; associated with Raikot murder

Bhunga Singh — tracker

Boota — butcher at Raikot

Boota Ram — associated with the Kooka party; rendezvous at Tajpore

Bunia — woman/girl injured at Raikot

Bungoo — tracker

Campbell, J. S. — Judge, Chief Court

Christie, Mr. — Superintendent of Police, Amritsar

Cowan/Cown, L. — Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana

Deedar Singh — Fakir; witness in Gyani Singh case

Dewah Singh — Sikh mentioned in connection with the Amritsar cattle-slaughter agitation

Dull/Dal Singh — participant in the Raikot murder; approver

Dussounda Singh — Constable, Raikot Thana.

Dussoundhi/Dusoundhi — Gujjar murdered at Raikot

Dussoundhi's wife — victim's wife, present at the butcher quarter

Elahie Bux — wounded person at Amritsar

Emee — murdered person at Amritsar

Futteh/Fateh Singh — Kooka convicted in Amritsar case

Ghodaya – informer/witness in the early Raikot investigation
Golab/Goolab/Gulab Singh – Raikot accused who became approver in the Amritsar case
Goordutt Singh – witness in Gyani Singh case
Goormookh/Goormukh/Gurmukh Singh – Kooka executed for the Raikot murders
Gyani/Giani Singh – Kooka Subah; accused of abetment in Raikot case

Hakim Singh – Patwari of Mowra; accused in Amritsar case
Hatchell, Mr. – District Superintendent of Police
Heera – informer in the first, subsequently discredited, Amritsar investigation
Henry Lawrence – Resident at Lahore; mentioned in the background to the regulation of cow slaughter
Hoossain Beg – Constable/station writer at Raikot
Horsford, Captain – District Superintendent of Police, Umballa
Howrie – wounded person at Raikot
Huku – wounded person at Raikot
Hurnam Dass – seceded Kooka; witness/informer against Ram Singh

Imdad Ali/Imdad Alli – Police Inspector
Ince, Dr. – Civil Surgeon

Jai Ram / Jye Ram / Jyekam – Amritsar broker and approver in the initial investigation
Jeewan Singh – Kooka Lambardar of Jogay
Jhunda Singh – Kooka implicated in Amritsar case
Jowahir/Jawahir Singh – witness associated with Gyani Singh
Juggut/Juggat Singh – participant/associate in the Raikot conspiracy

Kala Singh – witness in Gyani Singh case
Khan Muhammad Shah – Honorary Magistrate; supplied information regarding Kookas
Khazan/Khuzan Singh – Kooka Fakir; keeper of the Tukiya where swords were concealed
Keema – wounded person at Amritsar
Kurum Deen – wounded person at Amritsar
Kunhya Lall – assessor in the Gyani-Ruttun trial

Lachhman/Lachmun/Luchmun Singh – Kooka associated with the

Amritsar and Raikot cases

Lakha Singh — Kooka Subah; witness/accused considered for prosecution

Lal/Lall Singh — police constable; convicted of abetment in Amritsar case

Lehna/Lena/Laynah Singh — several references occur; identities should be distinguished according to context

Lepel H. Griffin — Secretary/Officiating Secretary, Punjab Government

Lindsay, C. R. — Judge, Chief Court

MacNabb/McNabb, J. W. — Sessions Judge, Ambala Division

McAndrew/Macandrew, G. — Inspector-General/Deputy Inspector-General of Police

Mahomed Hussun — Thanadar, Ahmudgurh

Mahomed/Mukbool Hoosein — Thanadar, Budhour

Mangal/Mungul/Maingal Singh — Kooka; executed at Raikot

Mastan/Mustan Singh — Kooka; executed at Raikot

Maharaja of Patiala — ruler of Patiala State

Mehr/Mihur Singh — Kooka implicated in Amritsar case

Meer Golam Mohammad — assessor in Gyani-Ruttun trial

Narain Singh — Police Inspector

Nehal/Nihal Singh — police personnel; spelling varies in the documents

Noorie / Mussamat Noorie — witness at Raikot

Omrono — Constable, Raikot tracking party

Otam Singh — associated with Juggut Singh in the Raikot case

Poopee — tracker among the Boureeah tracking party.

Pula Singh — Kooka named in connection with Amritsar murders

Punjab — recorded as the name of a Sowar in the police list

Rai Ahmud Ally — influential person of Tulwundie consulted during the investigation

Raj Kour — witness in Gyani Singh case

Ram Kour / Mussamat Ram Kour — wife of Dull Singh; important witness

Ram Kishan — father of Gyani Singh

Ram Singh — Kooka Guru

Ram Singh — separate non-Kooka person mentioned in the Raikot evidence

Ranja — butcher at Raikot

Reynell G. Taylor — Sessions Judge and Commissioner, Amritsar Division

Ruttun/Ruttan/Ratan Singh — Kooka, son of Budh Singh; later convicted as abettor

Sadee — murdered person at Amritsar

Sahib Ditta — Sub-Assistant Surgeon

Shureef Hussain — influential person of Jugraon consulted during investigation

Soondur Singh — Kooka whose statement was used against Ram Singh

Sounda/Soundah Khan — Sowar

Turton/T. Smith — District Superintendent of Police, Amritsar

Ullia — Native hakeem who treated the wounded at Raikot

Umur Singh — Kooka associated with the Raikot case

Utra/Utter/Uttur Singh — syce/associate in the Gyani-Ruttun proceedings

Places

Ahmudgurh

Amritsar / Amritsur / Umritsar

Bhainee / Bhaini – headquarters of Ram Singh

Bhoperaie / Boperaie

Bikaner / Bikaner

Budhour

Bussian / Bassian / Bassean

Cheeneewal / Cheeneewalla / Cheenewala

Chouhaki

Dyalgarh / Dyalgurh

Fort William

Hulwara

Jogay / Jogdy

Jugraon / Jagraon

Jullaldewal / Julaldewal / Jullaldiwall

Khodie / Khoodie

Kasauli / Kassauli

Kashmir

Kowlanwala

Lahore

Lopoke

Ludhiana / Ludiana / Loodiana

Malwa

Mandi

Moola-chuck

Mourah

Mowra

Mundi

Naeewalla / Naiwala

Narlee
Nepal

Patiala / Puttialla
Petokee / Pitokee / Petoqueo
Pitho / Pitho village

Raikot / Raikote / Raekote
Rajpura
Ranoi
Runguan / Rungeean

Simla

Tajpore
Tulwundie