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C.T. Metcalfe, Resident at Dehli to J. Adam, Secretary to
(Extract) the Governor General: 18.1. 1818

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13. I take the opportunity of mentioning in this place, that in the negotiations which I have yet had with the Rajpoot states, they have all sought to have an agreement included in the treaties against the slaughter of horned cattle in their territories. Though I have uniformly declared it to be impossible to admit such a stipulation into a treaty, I have assured them that all possible attention shall be paid to their religious feelings on this point.

14. The subject was dwelt on in the negotiations (p 121) of the Oodeepoor treaty, and only two days ago I received most pleasing application from Raj Rana Zalim Sing of Kota, excited (his agents say) by the recent slaughter of cattle for the consumption of the different armies which have lately operated in his country.

15. If it be practicable fully to respect their religious feelings, it will doubtless be deemed politic to do so, as it is certain that such a violation within their territories, of one of the principal rules of their faith, must be an objection in their eyes to any connection (p 122) with us.

16. If not practicable, this impossibility would suggest the expediency of retaining some portion of conquered country in the vicinity of Rajpoot states, for instance Rampoora, or of acquiring suitable portions by exchange, and keeping our stationary forces within our own dominions. No objection can be urged to what we do in a country retained under our own Government, but each of the Rajas would feel himself degraded by the slaughter of the sacred cattle in a territory under his acknowledged rule.

Delhei, 18th January 1818

I have &c
C.T. Metcalfe, Resident.

J. Adam to C.T. Metcalfe, Resident at Dehli: 2.2.1818
(Extract)

5. Your declining the insertion in any of the treaties with the Rajpoot states, of an article binding the British Government to prohibit the slaughter of horned cattle, and the assurance you have given them, that every practicable attention to their religious feelings on this point shall be observed, are equally approved by the Governor General. Measures will be adopted accordingly, under the orders of the commander in chief, for suppressing as far as possible if not entirely preventing, this practice with any (p 140) divisions of British troops operating or stationed within the territories of the Rajpoot princes camp. (?)

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Camp Kingowley, February 2, 1818.

I have &c
J. Adam, Secretary to G. General.

John Adam Esq, Secretary to the Governor General to Lt Col Nicol,
Adjutant General to the Army: 2.2.1818

Sir,

I am directed to request you to submit to his excellency the commander in chief, the enclosed extracts from correspondence with the Resident at Delhi, and obtaining his excellency's sanction for prohibiting as far as may be practicable, if not (p 141) entirely preventing the slaughter of horned cattle with any divisions of British troops operating or stationed within the territories of the Rajpoot princes. (Jyepoor, Oudeypore, Cotah, Boondee, Kerowley and their dependencies.)

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Camp Kingowley, 2 February 1818.

I have &c
J. Adam, Secretary to G. General.

IOR: Board's Collections: Vol 1104: No 29702: pp 111-22, 135-40, 141.

CPM 1.2

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

J. S. D.
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NOTE ON THE AGITATION AGAINST COW-KILLING.

The History of the agitation. The following gives a summary of the information on record in the Central Special Branch regarding the agitation against cow-killing from 1892 to date.

Early in 1892, news was received of the commencement of an agitation for the protection of cows in the Punjab, started by the Arya Somaj of Calcutta and supported by the Maharaja of Benares. This movement resulted in an attempt at Lahore to get up a monster petition against kine-killing. About the same time, a Committee was said to have been formed in Calcutta under Pandit Dyanand Saraswati, the Arya Somaj leader, for the purpose of securing the co-operation of Hindus throughout the country, and attempts to procure signatures to memorials prepared by the Calcutta Committee were heard of in various parts of the Punjab. The Arya Somajes in the N. W. P. and Punjab were also reported to be sending out accredited agents to large centres for the purpose of distributing copies of the memorial against kine-killing and obtaining signatures.

The Arya Somaj is one of the most important of the modern sects, and was founded by Pandit Dyanand Saraswati, a Brahmin of Kathiwar, who having convinced himself of the untrustworthiness of the sacred books of the Hindus subsequent to the Vedas, formulated his new system and attacked the existing orthodox Hinduism. He aroused considerable antagonism, and his death, which took place at Ajmere in October 1883, was not without suspicion of poisoning. The Arya (*lit.* true) or "Vedic" religion is primarily the outcome of the solvent action of Natural Science on modern Hinduism. In the eyes of the Arya Somaj the 4 Vedas constitute the only infallible revelation, and the bases of the Aryan faith are the revelation of God in the Vedas and the revelation of God in Nature, and the first practical element in this belief is the interpretation of the Vedas in conformity with the proved results of Natural Science. In their interpretation of the Vedas the Arya Somaj find themselves at issue with other Sanskritists. The three entities of Dyanand's philosophy are, God, the Soul, and Matter. The Somaj finds an efficacy in prayer and worship, but greatly limits the number of ceremonies to which it accedes any meritorious powers. It discourages the practice of bathing in sacred streams, pilgrimages, the use of beads and sandal-wood marks, gifts to mendicants, and all the thousand rites of popular Hinduism. It holds the futility of rites on behalf of the dead. Idolatry and all its attendant ceremonies, according to the Aryas, have no basis in the Vedas and no place in true religion. The Aryas defend their religion from the charge of novelty and regard it as a revival of an old and forgotten faith, the decay of which was mainly due to the Brahmins. The Arya theory of to-day is that the real Brahmin is one who is a Brahmin at heart: that the Vedas are not confined to one class, and that all castes are equal before God. Though this is the theory of the Aryas, in practice they will not eat or intermarry with people of other castes. The movement is to a great extent confined to the educated classes, and one of its most striking features is its readiness to re-admit into caste converts to Christianity, or Muhammadanism, who are willing to re-embrace the old faith. The Arya Somaj disapproves of child marriage and encourages widow re-marriage. It bases itself with female education, with orphanages and schools, dispensaries and public libraries and philanthropic institutions of all sorts. The Arya doctrines have been formulated into a series of 10 somewhat wide propositions, and any person professing belief in the fundamental principles of the Somaj is eligible for membership. Whether the members of the sect are increasing or not is a moot point, but its strength is not to be estimated by numbers. The Aryas have an influence quite out of proportion to their numerical strength from the fact that they are recruited almost entirely from the English-educated classes and that their tenets are most popular among Pleaders, Government servants and others who have the greatest pretensions to mental enlightenment. It has been alleged that in the morning hymns of the Somaj they ask for deliverance from the rule of aliens. This has not been substantiated; but the following prayer written by Dyanand Saraswati was reported by the Punjab Government, in October 1889, to be used regularly by members of the Somaj:—"We are the subjects of the Lord of Creation, and the Supreme Spirit is our King. We are the humblest of His slaves. May He graciously grant us the privilege of ruling in the world created by Him, and enable us to dispense His true justice." Though bitterly at variance with the orthodox Hindus in other points, they are at one with them in the matter of Cow-preservation. A split has commenced in the current year between the vegetarian and meat-eating members of the Somaj. Formerly the Aryas kept themselves strictly aloof from politics, but they are now freely taking part in all political movements.

Prior to 1892, however, in September 1891, a dispute arose between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Multan regarding the possession of a temple and well. When matters came to a dead-lock, an agitation was commenced against the sale of beef, which led to serious rioting.

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In consequence of some uneasiness having arisen in Delhi in 1852, the Punjab Government directed the local authorities demi-officially to use quiet influence with the leading men to nip agitation in the bud and to throw cold water on the movement, also to assure the Muhammadans that their interests were perfectly safe, and that there was no need for representation on their part. A demi-official circular to the same effect was also issued to all Commissioners.

The Hoshiarpur district was reported to be affected by the agitation, and in the end of 1852 Lahore and Delhi were similarly affected. Then followed a lull till April 1853, when the Hindus of Amritsar and Lahore were reported to be again active against kine-slaughter. Some bad feeling was aroused against the Muhammadans in Amritsar, and memorials were again reported to be in circulation through the Arya Somaj and Singh Sabha. In June 1853, ill-feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans was aroused at Jagadhri, Amalala district, and in the following month agitation became active in Lahore, and a slight disturbance was reported from Kapurthalla. In August, the Hindus of Ferozpur became excited against the Muhammadans, and held a meeting at which it was decided to hold no intercourse with the latter. In October 1853 a serious disturbance took place at Delhi, and the peace of the city was threatened for some days. This incident resulted in the preparation of a monster petition on the part of the Muhammadans praying Government to remove certain disabilities in regard to kine-slaughter.

In April 1854, the agitation revived at Amritsar, which resulted in the display of ill-feeling between the Hindus on one side and Englishmen and Muhammadans on the other. The Simla Arya Somaj took an active part in the agitation of 1854, and throughout the year demonstrations for and against cow-killing were heard of throughout a great part of the Punjab, and especially in the large towns, but no case of violence was reported except in one instance by a Kuka, who declared his intention of murdering the servants of Government who permitted cows to be slaughtered. Reports from other districts showed that the minds of the Kukas were a good deal unsettled at this time.

The Kuka sect was founded about 15 years ago by one Balak Singh, a money-lender of Hazro in the Rawalpindi district, who appears to have been mainly intent on breaking the power which the Brahmans had acquired over the Sikhs. After the death of Balak Singh the doctrines of the sect were pushed forward with great vigour by his disciple, Ram Singh, a carpenter of Bhaini in the Ludhiana district. The belief of the sect is a pure deism. The Kukas or "Shouters" (so styled because, unlike ordinary Sikhs, they permit themselves to fall into a state of frenzy during their religious exercises), inculcate a very strict morality and desire to restore the Sikh religion to its original state of purity. They have no respect for tombs, temples or shrines, with the exception of the "Durlar Sahib" or Golden Temple at Amritsar, which they reverence as being the depository of the "Granth" (Sikh Scriptures), and perhaps as being the capital and centre of the Sikh religion. They have a belief in Gobind Singh as the only Guru (spiritual leader) and in his incarnation as Ram Singh, and look forward to the establishment of the Khalsa Raj (Sikh Kingdom) as a temporal dominion. They generally refuse to believe in Ram Singh's death and expect his reappearance. They are supposed to avoid the use of meat and spirits of all kinds. In other respects, they are a puritanical Sikh sect of the School of Gobind with a more marked hatred of Muhammadans, butchers, cow-killing and tobacco than that held by most Sikhs. They commonly call themselves "Nandhari" (one who keeps the name of God), and many try to conceal the fact of their belonging to the sect. Baba Budh Singh, brother of the late Ram Singh, is the present acknowledged head of the sect. Ram Singh incited his followers to believe in the speedy overthrow of the British power, and the sect attracted the attention of Government as early as 1863. Precautions were taken to avoid large gatherings, but small disturbances took place here and there at religious fairs. In 1866, some cases of destroying tombs and Hindu images occurred. In 1869, there was a small rising of Kukas at Ferozpur, who after collecting all their cash and grain into a common stock, proclaimed the Sikh Raj (Sikh Kingdom). In 1870, a number of Muhammadan butchers were murdered at Amritsar and elsewhere, and the murders were traced to the Kukas. The rising of 1872 was partly to avenge the deaths of the Kukas executed for the murders. In a minute on this rising, dated 26th February 1872, Sir R. H. Davies, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, remarked that the selection of Kotla, the chief town of the only Muhammadan State in the cis-Sutlej territory, for assault appeared strongly to Sikh prejudice. "It had, in 1794, been similarly attacked in revenge for kine-killing by Beshi Sahib Singh, who again, in 1798, raised 7000 Sikhs, preached at Amritsar a religious war against the Afghans of Raikot on the same pretext, overran the Raikot district, and laid siege to Ludhiana. Nor can it be left out of this retrospect that, although a Patiala force soon reached Kotla, Beshi Sahib Singh was a sacred character, and the Sikh soldiers were unwilling to fight against him."

A peculiarly mischievous report came from Karnal to the effect that there was an impression among the Hindus there that the Russians would put a stop to cow-killing if ever they should conquer India. The Maharaja of Kashmir was said to be greatly interested in the movement. As far as could be ascertained at this time, the centres of agitation appeared to be at Calcutta, Bombay and Benares; and the Arya Somaj branches throughout the country were used to stir up the Hindu community. The branches of this society in all the large towns of the Punjab began at this time to form themselves into Gaurakhsha Sabhas or Cow-protecting Societies, and to use violent language.

Connected with the anti-kine-killing agitation is that set on foot against the use of sugar manufactured after the European method in which the bones of cattle are said to be made use of in the process of refinement. This was first reported from Lahore and Amritsar in 1851. It was heard of no more till the revival of the kine-killing agitation in 1854. In November of that year, it was resuscitated at Bahawalpore, and quickly spread to Lahore, Amritsar, Peshawar, Ludhiana, Mooltan, Gujrat, Jullundar. In the spring of 1855 it was heard of at Delhi, but shortly after subsided.

Early in 1855, the ill-feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans in the Montgomery district was said to be on the increase, and a decision of the Bahawalpore State Council permitting the slaughter of kine by Muhammadans inside the city of Khairpur was said to have much incensed the Hindus. In July 1855, a mischievous report came from Ludhiana to the effect some Hindus had remarked that, if England went to war with Russia, the Hindus should take advantage of the opportunity to massacre all the butchers in the country. In September 1855, the Hindus at Bahawalpore were reported to be much aggrieved at the daily slaughter of cows, or oxen, in the Nawab's Palace. In the same month some excitement was reported from the Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana districts. Towards the close of the year the Muhammadans of Delhi appear to have again taken alarm, and were reported to be making preparations to memorialise Government for permission to sacrifice cows within their own dwellings—a privilege they claimed to have long enjoyed. Swami Ala Ram, a member of the Amritsar Arya Somaj, was very active in preaching on behalf of the Cow-protection movement and in raising funds.

There was a lull during the earlier months of 1856; but in June of that year, certain Nihangs (Sikh Zealots) at Amritsar were reported to be concerting measures to obtain a prohibition to beef being brought into the sacred city. In July of the same year, a combination of Banahs was reported to have been formed at Hisar to forbid the butchers purchasing cattle for the Commissariat. Some Hindus in the Kapurthalla State were reported to be interesting themselves in the movement.

Early in September, the Hindus of Karnal began to agitate the beef question on account of the approaching *Id** festival, and professed to apprehend a disturbance. In the same month the bad feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Delhi culminated in a serious riot, to quell which it was found necessary to call in the assistance of the troops. This riot was regarded as the result of the bad feeling which had its origin in the Muhammadans having sacrificed some 150 head of cattle at the *Bakar Id*.* On the occasion of the same festival at Ludhiana, there was evidence of a combination on the part of the leading Hindus, and especially members of the Arya Somaj, to stop the sacrifice of cows. The Hindus seized some meat being legitimately bought from the shambles, and the Muhammadans retaliated by attacking the Hindus. For some hours there was much disturbance in the town. At Amalala a riot was only averted by the prompt action of the Deputy Commissioner and Police in arresting the ringleaders. In October 1856, a mischievous rumour was current in Amritsar that the two European soldiers had been ordered by the Kashmir Darlar to be hanged for shooting a *Wilyasi* and that the protests of the Resident had been disregarded. Amritsar continued to be the most active centre of the agitation, and towards the close of the year a rumour was in circulation that the Hindus proposed to offer Government 3 lakhs of rupees annually if they would put a stop to kine-killing. In December, there was a riot at Chichawatni in the Montgomery district.

In January 1857, the Singh Sabha at Amalala was reported to be discussing the possibility of keeping all cattle out of the hands of the Muhammadans. In June 1857, the Arya Somaj at Amritsar gave out that an application of the Hindus for the issue of orders forbidding the slaughter of cows, on account of the Queen's Jubilee, had been refused by Government. A determined attempt was made in August 1857 by the Hindus of Delhi to put a stop to cow-killing during the *Id*. In the same month it was announced that a meeting of the representatives of the Arya Somaj from all parts of the country would take place at Calcutta for the purpose of concerting measures for the protection of cows. In September 1857, it was reported from Jullundar that the Kukas were looking forward to the coming of Maharaja Dalip Singh, who was expected to put a stop to kine-killing altogether. They gave out that, if the English would put a stop to kine-killing, they would be content and would wish for no other Government. From Gujrat came reports at this time that the Kukas were restless and discontented, and were greatly exercised on the subject of cow-killing. A memorial to Government was heard of at Jhajjar in the Rohtak district. In December 1857, a Kuka at Amritsar was reported to be going about Amritsar reciting verses to the following effect.—“The unclean have come from London, and have established slaughter-houses in every place. They have killed our Gurus, and we must now sacrifice our lives.”

After the establishment of the Central Special Branch of the T. & D. Department with the Government of India in the winter of 1857-58, with branches at the head-quarters of the local Governments, information on this subject began to be received from the other Provinces.

* There are two 'Id's: (1) the 'Id ul-Fitr'—the festival held immediately after the 'Ramman' (the Muhammadan month of fasting) is over; and (2) the 'Id us-Zuba' commonly called 'Bakar Id'—the yearly sacrifice in commemoration of the Patriarch Abraham's offering up of his son Isaac. The latter is held by the Muhammadans on the 10th of the month 'Zil-hajj', two months and 10 days after the 'Id ul-Fitr'. The 'Bakar Id' lasts for three days.

Early in the year 1888, the Arya Somajes at Lahore and Amritsar were reported to be collecting subscriptions for the purpose of sending a representative to England to lay a petition before Parliament, praying that cow-killing might be put a stop to. In April the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozpur received an anonymous letter threatening his life if he sanctioned the slaughter of cows in Ferozpur City. In May a rumour was reported from Gurdaspur that the Kukas were all determined to stop cow-killing by fair means or foul, so that when Maharaja Dalip Singh arrived in the country, he would be pleased to see what had been done. In August 1888, a party of Kukas were noticed itinerating in the Punjab, who had vowed to abstain from the use of milk, ghi and butter until they had succeeded in putting a stop to cow-killing.

The Parsis of Bombay were reported to have submitted a memorial to the local Government on the subject of cow-killing. In noticing this memorial a Calcutta Native paper pointed out that the proportion of beef-eaters to worshippers of the cow in India is one to four, and called upon the Viceroy to take these facts into consideration.

In the North Western Provinces, early in 1888, the Hindus of Allahabad were said to be much excited in consequence of a recent ruling of the N. W. P. High Court to the effect that a cow is not an 'object' within the meaning of Section 295, of the Indian Penal Code, and that the term was not meant to include animate objects such as cows. It appears that two Muhammadans, who killed a cow in a public place at Tilhar, Shahjehanpur district, on the day of the *Id*, were convicted under Section 295, I. P. C. The Sessions Judge referred the case to the High Court, which ruled as above. A meeting of Hindus was held at Allahabad to express their grief and indignation at this decision, and it was resolved to memorialise Government to extend the provisions of Section 295, I. P. C., to cow-killing.

✓ A Hindu ascetic calling himself Sriman Swami, since identified as an ex-convict named Desika Chari (see on page 6), now appeared on the scene, and began to stamp the country on behalf of the Allahabad Cow-protection Society. He stated that he had adopted the designation 'Cow-protection' movement in consequence of the ruling of the Allahabad High Court, and that the agitation in which he was engaged was started with a view to attempt to move the Legislature for an amendment in the Criminal Law. Sriman Swami lectured in many of the districts of the N. W. P., Oudh, and Bengal, establishing Gaurakhsha Sabhas wherever he went and collecting money for the 'Cow Memorial Fund.' In three districts in Oudh, the Deputy Commissioners were reported to have presided at Sriman Swami's meetings. A subscription list was moreover published in the Native papers headed by the Maharajas of Durbhanga, Hatwa and Bettiah. The Maharaja of Benares was also reported to have subscribed, and the Maharaja of Dumraon was apparently interested in the movement. In September 1888, Sriman Swami after holding 10 or 20 meetings up-country held a meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall. The Hindu newspapers in noticing it said that, now that all India was interested in the cow question and intended to memorialise the Viceroy and Parliament, it would no longer be possible for Government to ignore the movement. A bid was made for Muhammadan support but without effect.

On the occasion of the *Bakar Id* at Ghazipur, N.W.P., the Hindus incited by fanatical speeches of one Gopalanand, a member of the Benares Arya Somaj, assembled in large numbers, and attempted to prevent the sacrifice of kine by the Muhammadans. A riot was only stopped by the arrest of the ringleaders. The movement for preventing kine-killing had extended to the Shahjehanpur, Lucknow, Cawnpur, Ghazipur, Dehra Dun, Allahabad and Benares districts of the N.W.P. The Arya Somajes at Dehra Dun, Jhansi, Aligarh, Basti and Benares were also reported to be very active in agitating.

At the Berhampur Cattle Fair in the Shahabad district, Bengal, a mob of Hindu villagers, in April 1888, forcibly drove off some cattle sold by a Muhammadan to a Commissariat contractor's cry having been raised that the cattle were going to be slaughtered. The Bengal Government reported in the same month that there were indications that the kine-killing agitation was likely to take a troublesome shape, as there was reason to believe it was being manipulated by some of the Bengali agitators. In July the authorities at Gaya reported that trouble was anticipated there on account of the strong feeling against kine-killing. In August 1888, the butchers of Arrah, Shahabad district, complained to the authorities that they could not obtain cattle for slaughter on account of the Cow-protection movement led by a Sikh of Amritsar. Ill-feeling was also reported in the Dacca and Sarun districts.

The movement had now spread to Neemach in Central India and to the Central Provinces, and the local Gaurakhsha Sabha at Nagpur was said to have made good progress.

A Society for the preservation of cows and buffaloes, said to have been started at Bombay in 1887, was now heard of for the first time. It was also reported that in September 1887, the Thakur of Gondal on his return from Europe sent in a memorial on

† Section 295, I. P. C., runs as follows:—"Whoever destroys, damages or defiles any place of worship, or any object held sacred by any class of persons, with the intention of thereby insulting the religion of any class of persons, or with the knowledge that any class of persons is likely to consider such destruction, damage or defilement as an insult to their religion, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both."

the subject of cow-slaughter in his State, but the Bombay Government declined to alter the previous orders on the subject. His memorial was, it is said, prompted by this Society. It is a curious commentary on the above that the Thakur himself should not object to partake of beef! A Muhammadan, writing from Bombay at this time to a Native newspaper, denied that any of his co-religionists had signed any memorial to Government against cow-killing as had been alleged; though special efforts, he added, had been made to induce them to do so. The writer attributed the initiation of the agitation to Pandit Dyanand Saraswati and the Arya Somaj. Later in the year a branch of the Bombay Society was started at Poona. According to the 'Daily Post' (Bangalore) of the 12th December 1889, the Bombay society for the preservation of cows made a demonstration on the day of Lord Lansdowne's arrival in Bombay, and displayed strips of bunting with the following inscriptions. 'The cow is the wealth of India'; 'The cow is a part of India's family'; 'No happiness for India's people without the cow'; 'The cow is India's foster-mother'; 'God bless the cow,' &c. &c.

In connection with this agitation a writer in a Madras newspaper drew attention to the anomalous state of the law with regard to the Sacred Bull question, and pointed out that two Judicial Courts had given diametrically opposite decisions regarding it: the N. W. P. High Court ruling that the creature termed loose is not 'property' within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code, while the Punjab Chief Court decided that in all cases where a person is the owner of a thing he does not cease by his own will and act to be the owner without transferring the ownership to another person, and therefore the thing does not cease to be property.

In September and October 1889, the Maharaja of Durbhanga was reported to be actively interesting himself in the movement, and it was stated that the local Cow-protection Society started under his auspices had been formed out of revenge, because the Muhammadans as a body refused to attend the National Congress of 1886; and in consequence of a general impression that it was Mr. Justice Mahmud of the N.W.P. High Court who ruled that a 'Brahmini Bull' is not property within the meaning of the I. P. C.

In September 1889, there was a cow-killing riot at Dhubri on the occasion of the *Bakar II*, in which the Hindus were the aggressors. A Muhammadan Magistrate from Bankipore wrote to a Calcutta daily paper pointing out the dangerous character of the agitation, and stated for the information of Government that the Ferazis, Wahabis and other sections of Musalmans felt very keenly about the matter, but at the same time had every faith in the justice and impartiality of the Government policy.

In November 1889, the Maharaja of Benares was reported to have stopped his subscription towards the maintenance of the local cattle home in order to curry favour with Government.

Towards the close of the year a mischievous pamphlet, by a Eurasian, named Mr. Garnett-Kemp, on the cow-question was reported to be in circulation in several Native States. Among other misrepresentations the author asserted that cattle are impressed for slaughter by officials. The agitation was at this time reported to be more active in the Central Provinces than elsewhere, and in the Hoshangabad district a determined attempt was made by the Hindus to convince the Muhammadans to give up cow-killing. The movement was also reported to have extended to Berar, the Inspector-General of Police reporting that a bad feeling existed between the Hindus and Muhammadans in consequence, and that the latter complained that the movement was to a certain extent directed against them. A Hindu Native paper at Lahore at this time remarked that the cow-question might possibly lead to the defection of the Hindus ~~en-masse~~ to Russia, should she, on invading India, declare for the suppression of kine-slaughter!

Early in 1889, Bengal reported a renewal of activity in consequence of the proceedings of Sriman Swami, who was on a lecturing tour in the districts. In November 1889, the Swami had visited Nepal and gave out, on his return to Calcutta in December following, that the Darbar had contributed Rs. 10,000 towards this agitation, and had promised a further contribution. The Resident in Nepal, however, reported that Sriman Swami got no money either from the Maharaja or any of the Sardars. He was said to have asked for 3 lakhs of rupees to overthrow the British Government, and this request caused his temporary confinement in his quarters at Katmandu. In March 1889, the Maharaja of Jeypur was reported to have become a member of the Gya Cow-protection Society while on pilgrimage to that place, and the Raja of Faridkot was also said to have joined the movement. In April, the Arya Somajes in the N. W. P. and Rajputana were reported to be very active; and a branch of the Cow-protection society was established at Ajchahnagar, Nainair, in His Highness the Nizam's dominions, one of the five chief temples and places of pilgrimage of the Sikhs.

In May, Raja Rampal Singh, an Oudh Talukdar and well-known Congress partisan, was mentioned for the first time as identifying himself with the movement. The Maharaja of Durbhanga was also actively helping the agitation. A report from Rajputana showed that an attempt had been made to get at the Native Chiefs there chiefly by agents of the Arya Somaj, but apparently without result. The Political Agent, Haroat and Tonk, noted that the wealthy Jain community are always ready to support such a movement. Incidentally he mentioned that the Maharaja of Benares* and Raja Shiva Prasad, C.S.I.,* were the chief patrons of the movement.

* The names of both the Maharaja of Benares and Raja Shiva Prasad, C.S.I., have been again mentioned quite recently in connection with the Cow protection movement.

In July, reports were received of a tour of Sriman Swami in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies to secure sympathy for the movement and collect subscriptions in its aid. At Bombay the Honourable K. T. Telang proposed a resolution of sympathy with the movement which was seconded by the Sheriff of Bombay. At one of Sriman Swami's meetings at Madras, Mr. Eardley Norton, the Barrister, remarked that the movement was of such great national importance that it could be included in the programme of the Congress. At another meeting Mr. Norton declared that the movement savoured of a political character, and if it did not, it ought to. Sriman Swami's speeches were marked by a tone of satire and derisiveness towards the English, which elicited much applause from his Hindu audiences. He remained touring and lecturing in Madras and the neighbouring Native States till the middle of October, when he suddenly left for Allahabad in consequence of his identification as an ex-convict named Desika Chari, who had been convicted in the Tanjore District in 1869, for making a false charge and perjury, for which he was sentenced to suffer 6 years' rigorous imprisonment. Sriman Swami was publicly exposed in the "Pioneer" newspaper of 23rd December 1889, but beyond publishing a denial of his identity with the convict Desika Chari, and threatening the "Pioneer" with an action for defamation, he has since taken no steps to vindicate his character.

In October 1889, the Chief Secretary to Government, N. W. P. and Oudh, referring to some disturbances which had occurred during the late *Id* festival, significantly remarked that the cow-killing movement was doubtless spreading both in depth and breadth, and that Sir A. Colvin apprehended that it would cause considerable trouble in course of time as it was spreading among the more ignorant and excitable classes. During the *Makaram* there was a disturbance at Rohtak in consequence of the Hindus attacking the Muhammadans, and the Police had to fire with buck-shot on the rioters before they could be dispersed. In November 1889, the preaching of an agent of the Cow-protection Society at the Sonapur Fair in Bengal, was reported to have resulted in trouble for the Muhammadan ryots who wanted bullocks for agricultural purposes, and to the Commissariat at Dinapore which purchased for killing. A Commissariat officer from Allahabad was unable to purchase any cattle for the Transport and Artillery. In December 1889, the Kukas were reported to have given out that Maharaja Dalip Singh would ere long restore the Khalsa Raj (Sikh kingdom) when kine-killing would be stopped.

Though there was not much active agitation in the Punjab during the year 1889, hardly a week passed without some reference to kine-killing in the vernacular newspapers, and the tone of the articles was unmistakably one of social and religious animosity. Throughout the year, the Central Provinces continued to be the most active centre of the agitation. In Rajputana also the movement was well supported; an agent of the Ajmere Arya Somaj was deputed to work the Native Chiefs, and a contribution of Rs. 5,000 was reported to have been obtained from the Maharaja of Jodhpore. The Missionaries of the Arya Somaj were also active in the N. W. P.

The year 1890 opened with a report from the Political Agent, Kotah, of a mysterious distribution of *chapattis* along with an injunction to people to abstain from selling cattle to any one. Previous to the Mutiny, *chapattis* were distributed and were held to have a similar significance to the 'Fiery Cross', though it is not known if the real meaning of the sending of '*chapattis*' was ever fathomed.

In connection with a commotion in Indore city, the Agent to the Govr.-Genl. for Central India, reported in January 1890 that an institution known as the '*Gisra Panch*,' or Eleven Panches, existed in Indore and consisted of Baniahs from the Agarwal, Oswal, Mahwar and Saraogi clans. These Panches are bankers and traders themselves and control trade in Indore city. They maintain a cattle pound for ownerless and infirm cows and have an establishment for preventing Muhammadans from purchasing cows at fairs, &c. A short while before this, the Bhow Cantonment authorities complained of the illegal seizure and detention in Indore of cattle purchased by Commissariat butchers from the Muhammadan district of Seronj.

In March and April, the Arya Somaj missionaries were reported to be active in Sind, the Punjab and Rajputana. One of them Swami Ala Ram, who is also an active Congress agitator, boasted at Lahore that he had been the means of establishing 300 Gaushalas (asylums for cows) in Hindustan. A report on the movement in the Central Provinces showed that 14 societies existed there, and that on the whole the promoters had conducted their agitation in a peaceable manner, keeping within the law. The active propagandists were said to be a knot of Mahratta Brahmin Pleaders, and after them, the Marwaris of sorts. A missionary of the Burdwan Cow-protection society toured in the minor States in Bundelkhand, but did not meet with much success. Two Arya Somaj propagandists visited Indore, Dewas, and other places, but failed to excite much interest in the Cow-protection movement.

In April, there was friction between the Muhammadans and Hindus of Kusitea, in the Nuddea District, Bengal, arising out of cow-killing. Another riot occurred at the Berhampur cattle fair in the Shahabad district on the 17th April, and some butchers, who had purchased cattle, were assaulted by a number of Hindus, and their cattle taken away at the instigation of one Gopalanand Swami of the Benares Arya Somaj. In June, Mr. Joshi, a Pleader of Akola, in Berar, who had been sent to England in the

previous April, to lecture on behalf of the National Congress, was interviewed on his return to Bombay, and, being questioned as to funds, said he proposed that the Congress should assist the Cow-protection movement on the distinct understanding that half the subscriptions collected should be handed over to the Congress Committee. Soon after it was reported that Swami Ala Ram had solicited signatures to Congress petitions to Parliament for the reform of the Legislative Councils under the pretext that the measure would lead to the stoppage of kine-killing, and the abolition of the Income Tax. Mention was now made in reports from Bengal of the intention of the Calcutta Pinjrapol Society to get up a memorial against kine-killing for submission to Parliament. The Central India Agency reported an attempt of the Cow-protection Society at Neemuch to induce the Thakurs of neighbouring villages in Gwalior territory to join it, but the Gwalior authorities promised to discourage the growth of the agitation.

In August 1890, the Hindus of Belgaum were reported to have boycotted the Muhammadans during the *Muharram*, and the feeling of animosity between the two communities ran high. In Bengal, strained relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans were reported from the Rajshahi district, and at Durbhanga a disturbance took place on the day of the *Id*, the Hindus on this occasion being the aggressors. Ill-feeling also manifested itself at Patna and Dinapur. In the N. W. P. there was no actual disturbance at the *Id*, but the Hindus of Aligarh boycotted the Muhammadans for sacrificing cows. The prime mover on this matter was a Pleader, named Badri Parshad. There was some little excitement also at Allahabad, but it was promptly suppressed. In the Punjab, the *Id* passed quietly, but the Hindus of Jagadhri, in the Amritsar district, boycotted the Muhammadans for sacrificing cows. Some friction was also reported from Amritsar with reference to the rules for the regulation of kine-slaughter recently promulgated by the Punjab Government which the Muhammadans considered an interference with their religious rights. There was friction also in the Gurdaspur district, but the Magistrate promptly set matters right.

The ill-feeling at Aligarh and Jagadhri had not abated in the following month, and it was reported that letters had been sent out from Aligarh to the Hindus in the neighbouring districts in the N. W. P. and Punjab, urging them also to boycott the Muhammadans. Several Calcutta Hindu papers at this time accused the officials of stirring up the Muhammadans to insult the Hindu religion, and thus cause dissension between the two communities, lest they should unite and become politically strong.

In September, reports from Bombay and Central India showed that the local Cow-protection Societies had created difficulties for Commissariat contractors in the Belgaum district, and at Jubbulpur and Mhow. The Chief of Devas of the Junior Branch, who had countenanced his officials in stopping cattle in transit to the Commissariat at Mhow had to be informed by the Agent to the Governor-General that this could not be allowed. The movement was reported now to have extended to the Rewa State, and a Society was formed consisting of 36 of the Rewa Thakurs with a Rewa State Mukhtar at its head. This was followed by the circulation of a petition signed by the Maharani of Rewa, the Raja of Sohawal (Baghelkand Agency) and many others praying for the abolition of the slaughter-house at Satna. The servants of the disaffected Chandelin Maharani of Rewa were reported to be very active in joining the society. The agitation against the use of sugar manufactured after the European method, which had revived in Bengal, was now reported to have spread to the N. W. P. and Punjab. An impetus was given to this agitation by the sitting of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, a religious society started at Hurdwar in 1887 to foster the Hindu revival and the protection of cows. Shortly after, the movement was found to have spread to Ajmere. A movement alleged to have been set on foot at this time, by certain influential Muhammadans of the N. W. P. and Oudh to discountenance the slaying of kine in sacrifice by their co-religionists everywhere, and thus remove one of the chief causes of the chronic antipathy between Hindus and Muhammadans, appeared to be viewed with favour in the united Provinces, but not in Bengal, where any interference with the existing practice was strongly deprecated.

In October, the ill-feeling between the Hindu and Muhammadan communities arising out of the cow question still continued. There was also a slight disturbance at Banskagan in the Gorakhpur district, N. W. P. The tension between the two communities at Durbhanga lasted till October, and at Aligarh till the close of the year 1890. At the latter place all attempts at reconciliation failed owing to the persistent opposition of Pandit Badri Parshad, the head of the agitation. At a meeting of the Arya Samaj at Cawnpore, towards the close of the year, a delegate from the Ajmere branch of the society stated publicly that the Maharaja of Kashmir had helped the movement considerably. A half-witted Sadhu (Hindu ascetic) was noticed going about Amritsar telling the people that, as the English ill-treat cows, he intended to kill them. It was suspected that he was tutored by one Bawa Sarain Singh, Pleader, well-known to be disloyal.

Notwithstanding the apparent lull in the Punjab during 1890, it was noted at this time that very little might at any time convert it into a dangerous fanatical movement, in parts at least of that province. All through the year, the Central Provinces continued to be chief centre of the agitation, and the Arya Samaj and their agents in various parts of the country were as active as ever in furthering the movement. Certain Missionaries of the Arya Samaj travelled through

Bombay to Madras, where they held a meeting under the auspices of the Hindu Tract Society, the President of which urged that Government should pass a law abolishing the wholesale slaughter of cows in India.

In the beginning of the year 1891, owing to the attention of the Hindus generally being diverted to the Age of Consent question, there was a lull in the agitation, but the Arya Somajes in the N. W. P. and Rajputana continued to be active in furthering the Cow-protection movement. A noteworthy incident at this time was an attempt of some men of the 30th Sikhs at Ludhiana to prevent cows being taken to the local slaughter-house. In consequence of a rumour that foreign salt and sugar are refined with bone-dust, the Hindus of Nuddes were reported to have given up the use of these articles.

On the 24th May 1891, there was again a riot at the Berhampur Cattle Fair in the Shahabad district. A crowd of Hindus armed with lathis (quarter staves, often shod with iron) attacked the butchers taking cattle for the Commissariat at Dinapore. The Police had to fire on the mob before the rioters dispersed. One hundred and fifty head of cattle were driven off. In June, in a report on the Nagpur Society, the Central Provinces Government mentioned, as a possible source of disturbances in the future, that the establishment of Gauraksha Sabhas over the country had no doubt prevented butchers within the radius of their influence from obtaining cattle for slaughter as easily as before. The movement in the Central Provinces generally was reported to have marked vitality only in the Mahratta country.

A riot occurred at Gya on the 18th July 1891, on the occasion of the *Id*, between the lower classes of Musalmans and the Hindus, assisted by the bad characters of the town. With reference to this case, the District Magistrate reported later in the year:—"I learn that the Gyawals, who have agents all over India, issued instructions to them to raise a clamour about cow-killing, immediately after the late riot. They have large numbers of agents in the Rajputana States and in Benares, so this cow business here may ultimately have some political importance, and will require very delicate handling." Some excitement at Delhi was reported about this time; also a fresh movement in favour of kine-preservation was reported as being organised by several influential Pandits at Benares. The Maharaja of Jodhpore gave a large subscription to a local asylum for cattle. The agitation against using sugar, refined after the European method, had now spread to the Central Provinces.

In August, there were complaints on the part of the Commissariat at Kanjipoor about the difficulties experienced in obtaining supplies of beef for the troops. Later on, there was a revival of the movement in Gya owing to the riots there. All this time, owing apparently to the awkward enquiries as to the disposal of the funds collected by him for Cow-protection, Sriman Swami kept out of the way in the Punjab, where he joined in the agitation against the Age of Consent Act, passing under an assumed name. Government was accused at this time of turning a deaf ear to the prayers of the Hindus regarding Cow-protection, because the Hindus were the chief aggressors during the Mutiny and massacred British men, women and children. In December 1891, instances were reported of the Cow-protection movement and the National Congress being discussed at the same meetings.

During the year 1891, it appears that the Cow-protection movement was to a great extent overshadowed by the agitation in connection with the Age of Consent Act, and in consequence met with less general support. The Central Provinces continued to be the chief centre of the agitation throughout the year, and the Arya Somajes in the N.W.P. at Benares, and at Ajmere were active in keeping it alive.

Early in 1892, the people at Kanjipoor in the Central Provinces were reported to be looking to the National Congress as the means of entirely suppressing kine-slaughter in India. It was also noted that after the Sessions of the National Congress in December 1891 was over at Nagpur, the members of the Gauraksha Sabha held a meeting in the Congress pavilion, which was attended by 1000 to 1500 persons including some of the Congress delegates and visitors. Two prominent Congress delegates addressed the meeting, and collections were made on behalf of the movement. In March 1892, a mysterious circulation of lotas from village to village in the Sonthal Pargannas, and among the Gonds in the Central Provinces, seemed to be not unconnected with the kine-killing agitation. The feudatory Raja of Khairagarh in the Central Provinces was reported to have joined the movement. Partisans of the Congress were reported to be countenancing the movement in the Berars at this time. In May, the relations between the Hindus and Muhammalans were reported to be strained at Gya in Bengal, Jaunpore in the N.W.P., and Hoshiarpur in the Punjab. The people in the Central Provinces were said at this time to be tired of the exactions of the Gauraksha Sabha. Sriman Swami now reappeared from his retirement, and presided early in June 1892 at a public meeting of Hindus at Lahore to protest against the dispersion of the pilgrims at the Hurdwar fair.

During June, it was noted that the Agarwal and Raskh Somajes and the Kayasth and Khatri Sabhas at Cawnpore had all joined in raising subscriptions in aid of a Gauraksha Sabha at Patiala, a Native State in the Punjab. Some cattle being driven to Mhow were seized by an officious policeman on the ground that the owner was going to slay them. The Jains of Indore, who are

most bigoted about kine-killing, became much excited, and the Minister, who feared a repetition of the trouble of some years ago, sold the cattle. The owner petitioned and the Agent to the Governor-General told the Darlar they must pay him damages.

A case of cow-killing in the Sikh State of Jind in the Punjab was reported in October, and the investigation into it was found to have been conducted with much cruelty by the State officials towards the Muhammadans concerned—7 of whom were wantonly beaten prior to sentence, besides one who was flogged in execution of sentence. The case, however, did not give rise to any general excitement in the Province. The Punjab Government referred the case to the Government of India, and after much consideration, the Governor-General in Council directed the Punjab Government to communicate to the Jind Darlar, without unnecessary publicity, an expression of the dissatisfaction with which the Government of India had learned of the cruelty and oppression which characterised the enquiry conducted by the State officials: and at the same time to intimate a hope that, now that the excitement aroused by these proceedings has passed away, the Council would, with a view to restoring a better state of feeling between Muhammadans and Hindus, deal mercifully with the convicted persons.

The following are some instances of how cases of kine-slaughter are dealt with in Native States:—

In Rajputana, in 1863, Mehta Ajit Singh had a Meywar subject dragged by an elephant until nearly dead and then buried alive. The British Government interfered and outlawed the Mehta.

In Kashmir, in 1882, several accused, including one or two British subjects, were sentenced to imprisonment for life. Lord Ripon ordered that, if imprisonment for life has always been the punishment allotted to kine-killing in Kashmir, the British Government need not interfere until our intervention is called for.

In December 1882, a Kashmiri Maulvi was noticed in Delhi who wished to bring to the notice of Government that 500 Muhammadans had been imprisoned in the Kashmir State, for kine-killing, during the previous two years.

On the whole, the year 1892 may be said to have been one of little agitation and the movement generally was reported to be suffering for want of funds.

In January 1893, at the annual demonstration of the Nagpur Society, it was suggested that the Government of India should be memorialised jointly by the Nagpur and Bombay Societies with a view to the prevention of cow-killing and, if unsuccessful, that the leading members of the Sabha should be deputed to England to agitate the subject there. Early in the same month, there was a riot in the Azamgarh district, N. W. P. A mob of Hindus attacked a Muhammadan driving cattle along a public road for delivery to Comptroller contractors and drove them off. The men arrested by the Police were afterwards forcibly released and the Police assaulted.

In February 1893, there was little doing except that Sriman Swami, who attended the late Session of the National Congress at Allahabad was reported to have started on a lecturing tour in Bengal. An organ of the Cow-protection movement in the N. W. P. remarked that, although the Hindu Chiefs do not allow kine to be slaughtered in their States, they could do much more for the Cow-protection movement without difficulty, viz., by forbidding the export of kine from their territories, by giving grants to the Gaurakhsa Sahibs and appealing to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress for the discontinuance of cow-killing. The Maharaja of Bhurtpur was praised for protecting cattle in his territories.

In March, the agitation was reported to be very active in the Ballia district, N. W. P. An organ of the agitation in the course of a long diatribe against British rule at this time complained that the Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. P. had given permission to the Muhammadans of Mhow in the Azamgarh district to slaughter kine where it had not been allowed under Muhammadan rule, and that a landholder in the Gya district, Bengal, had been requested to supply beef to European troops passing through the district.

In April, after a lull of some months, there was a recrudescence of activity in the Bombay Presidency, the N. W. P. and Central Provinces. The Bombay Society held their annual festival in April and passed resolutions to memorialise the Government of India to extend the area for grazing purposes to reserved forests and to stop the wanton wholesale slaughter of cows. The Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. P. wrote confidentially that the movement, ostensibly against kine-killing, was gaining in strength in the eastern districts, and that there had been some bad outbreaks lately. One especially in Gorakhpur, where a large body of Hindus attacked Muhammadan butchers at a cattle fair, and took 300 head of cattle from them. The tour of Sriman Swami in Bengal was reported to have been followed by a violent outbreak of lawlessness in the Gya and Patna districts in connection with kine-killing. In the Central Provinces efforts were being made to extend the Panchayet system to villages in order to ensure the punishment of Hindus selling cattle to butchers.

In the month of May, it was reported that in Gya district, in Bengal, hardly a day passed without some cases of rioting or threatened breach of the peace on account of the anti-kine-killing agitation, and that the Bengal Government had had to impose punitive police on the

disturbed area. In the N. W. P. the agitation was said to be most rife in the Azamgarh, Ballia and Gorakhpur districts. In the Central Provinces the agitation was as active as ever, and the head Society at Nagpur was reported to be receiving substantial support from the sister Society in Bombay.

Owing to the special precautions taken in Bengal the *Bakar Id* passed off quietly, but in the N. W. P. serious rioting occurred in the Azamgarh district on the 26th June. Hindus from the Ballia, Ghazipur and Gorakhpur districts collected in great numbers and attacked the Muhammadans in order to prevent the sacrifice of cows at the *Id*. The most serious riot occurred at Mhow where the police were outnumbered and unable to repress the rioters who murdered several Muhammadans. The Hindus in all cases were the aggressors. There were minor disturbances in the Ballia district. Much bad feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans existed in Bareilly, but the *Id* there passed off quietly. Things have since quieted down in the disturbed districts owing no doubt to the presence of troops at their headquarters, but the ill-feeling between the two communities is still acute, and the trial of the persons concerned in the recent riots will no doubt make a considerable stir later on.

The movement in Bengal is reported to have the secret support of the Rajas of Bettiah, Dúrbhanga and Hatwa, and in the N. W. P. of the Maharaja of Benares. In the Central Provinces and Berar the leaders of the movement are the Maharashtra Brahmin Pleders, the same men who are the chief supporters of the Congress. In Western India, the Society is more quiet in its operations, but equally powerful, as was shown recently, when a representative of the Bombay Society was able to compel the Minister of the Baroda State to cancel an order that had been issued for the destruction of certain half-wild cattle, which were injuring crops in the districts. Every now and again complaints are made by Commissariat officers in the Bombay Presidency of the interference of the Hindus with the purchase of cattle for slaughter for the troops.

Organization of the Gauraksha Sabhas.—As has been shown in the preceding section of this note, the Cow-protection movement, originally commenced by the *Manimood Arya Samaj*, was joined gradually by the Dharma Sabhas, or orthodox Hindu religious societies, and other Hindu bodies throughout the country. The leaders are mostly Brahmin officials, Schoolmasters or Pleders, members of the so-called Patriotic Societies, but the main supporters of the movement are the great Hindu trading and banking classes, who are bigoted Hindus, and several prominent Hindu Rajas and nobles have given it their adhesion and support.

The rules of the Sabha are designed primarily to prevent cattle from passing, under any circumstances, into the hands of those who will either sacrifice them or slaughter them for food, and to enforce these rules, caste penalties are put in force. A District Magistrate in the N. W. P. has well described the movement:—"The whole of the Hindu population is driven into its arms by the tyranny of caste, and when once the league is established in any place, its grasp is so powerful that every man, woman and child must openly or secretly contribute to its funds, or cease to be a Hindu."

The following are some of the methods of raising funds adopted by the Gauraksha Sabhas. A '*Chituki*,' or pinch equal to one paise in weight or value of food stuff per member of a household at each meal daily, is set aside. One or more officers of the Sabha are appointed to collect and guard these heaps for a whole village, and when a sufficient amount has been collected, the whole is sold and the proceeds credited to the Sabha. In some places, bankers, traders and others pay 20 per cent of their assessments on account of the *Pandri* tax as a contribution to the fund; Government servants paying income tax voluntarily contribute 1 pie per rupee of their income to this fund; persons having transactions with bankers and money-lenders are invited to give small donations according to their means; collection boxes are placed in the shops of money-lenders, traders, liquor-vendors and in public places into which people may drop contributions. Pleders also make their rich clients contribute.

In certain towns, a recognised fee is demanded and paid on all transactions as a contribution to the fund. In others, fees are levied on sales of grain, cotton, oil, lac, cloth, &c., at fixed rates. In others again, fees are levied on cloth going out, and on every cart of grain coming in to the town. In rural districts, a certain proportion of all grain sold is set aside for the benefit of the fund, and fees are levied on ploughs from every cultivator. Contributions too are levied on various ceremonies, such as marriages, adoptions, &c., on entertainments and on festive occasions.

The Cow-protection Societies employ paid agents to itinerate and lecture on behalf of the movement and collect subscriptions, and one of them, the Nagpur Society, has organised classes to instruct selected candidates as lecturers. These men expatiate on the glories of the Hindu régime in the past when no kine-slaughter was permitted, and appeal to Hindus to protect the cow, by distributing pamphlets, leaflets and pictures of the cow with representations of the various gods in every part of its body. Some cartoons represent the cow about to be slaughtered by a butcher, and all the different castes of Hindus standing round and crying out to him to desist. Some represent the cow in her whilom condition calmly drinking at a stream to the sound of music, and in her present state in the hands of a butcher. Others depict a cow as worshipped in the past and as in the present time under the butcher's knife. One of these cow

picture is thus described in detail:—"A calf is at her udder, and a woman sits before the calf holding a bowl waiting for her turn. She is labelled—'The Hindu.' Behind the cow above her tail is a representation of the God Krishna labelled—'Dharmraj' (Kingdom of Justice)—and in front of the cow, above her head, a man with a drawn sword, labelled—'Kaliyug' (The Age of Evil, i.e., the present era.)" A Hindu explained its meaning, as follows:—"The Hindu must only take the cow's milk after the calf has been satisfied. In the 'Dharmraj' of the 'Satyug' (The first or Golden Age) no Hindu would kill a cow, but the 'Kaliyug' is bent upon killing the cow and exterminating kine. As every man drinks cow's milk, just as he, as an infant, has drawn milk from his mother, the cow must be regarded as the universal mother, and so is called 'Gau Mata.' It is therefore matricide to kill a cow. Nay more, as all the gods dwell in the cow, to kill a cow is to insult every Hindu." The officer who obtained this cartoon adds:—"The effect of this symbolical teaching on the rustic mind may be readily conceived and to the Hindu the symbol has in everything displaced the symbolised entity. I found Muhammadans everywhere excited because they heard a picture was in circulation representing a Muhammadan, with a drawn sword, sacrificing a cow, and this they considered an insult. The evil that may be wrought by this picture is obvious."

Agents are also employed to outbid butchers at fairs and markets and to detect and bring to book Hindus offending against any of the rules of the Sabha. Hindus generally are forbidden to resort to the Government cattle pounds. In the N. W. P. lately, there was reason to believe that the Gauraksha Sabha contemplated the ousting of the jurisdiction of our Criminal Courts, and dealing with criminals, whether convicted by our Courts or not, by imposing penalties to go to the support of the Sabha; enforcing payment by turning the accused out of caste if he did not admit the jurisdiction of the Sabha by paying. Another proposal was to establish rural Civil Courts for Hindus.

One of the worst features of the movement is that our Hindu subordinates will not give information.

→ *Dangers of the movement.*—The primary danger is that the Cow-protection question furnishes a common platform on which all Hindus of whatever sect, however much at variance on other questions, can and do unite. As a Native official has well put it:—"To Hindus it is the question of all questions and it will always be the war-cry of the discontented." While professing to be based on economic grounds, the agitation undoubtedly owes its success mainly to the religious element contained in it, and perhaps also to the possibility that it may cause some embarrassment to an alien Government. It must be held to be part of the Hindu revival of which the National Congress is another manifestation, the aspiration at the root of both being directed to the formation of an Indian nation and the displacement from power, place and emolument of the ruling race, who may however be permitted to guard India for its new Government. The inflammable and seditious character of the utterances indulged in at Cow-protection meetings has repeatedly been brought to notice. Though the movement is ostensibly directed against the Muhammadans, it is, as Sir C. Crosthwaite recently pointed out, a form of disloyalty towards the British Government, and in this connection the preaching against the number of animals slaughtered to supply beef to the British soldier and to Europeans, and the attempts made to rescue cattle destined for the Commissariat are very significant. Though the movement has a strong hold in the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces, there is not much likelihood of any serious danger arising out of the movement there, or in Bengal. The real danger lies in its spread in the N. W. P. and the Punjab where serious disturbances between the Hindus and Muhammadans, and collisions with the authority of Government, have already occurred. The Kuka rising of 1872 had its origin in the abhorrence of the sect to cow-killing (see page 2 *supra*), and the recent riots in the eastern districts of the N. W. P. are due to the spread of the agitation to those parts from the neighbouring districts in Bengal. It has often been pointed out that under Muhammadan rulers the Hindus have made no attempt to raise this question, and that before the time when the Hindus were stirred up by the existing political propaganda, the Hindus and Muhammadans hardly ever fell out with each other over cow-slaughter or went to the lengths they do now. Muhammadan organs in the Native Press throw the blame upon the new education and sometimes on the Government which they declare does not maintain strict neutrality and leans towards the Hindus. Hindu organs on the other hand charge Government officials with deliberately sowing dissension between the two communities or of favouring the Muhammadans at the expense of the Hindus in order to divide and rule.

→ The allusion in the first section of this note to a belief current among the Hindus, that the Russians would put a stop to kine-killing if ever they should conquer India, and to the Kukas looking to restoration of the Khalsa Raj (Sikh Kingdom) to effect the same purpose should not be lost sight of.

The opinions of Sir A. Colvin and Sir C. Crosthwaite on the danger of the agitation spreading in the N. W. P. have already been noticed. It remains to quote the opinion of the late Lieutenant-Governor, and of the present Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, on the danger in that province. In a minute on the Dalip Singh intrigues, written in 1857, Sir J. B.

Lyal says:—"I gather from many quarters that an idea has prevailed lately among the Hindus (Sikhs included) in the Punjab that we are turning from them and favouring the Muhammadans. Some say we are more afraid of the Muhammadans, others that we are influenced by dislike of the Arya Somaj and the educated Hindu. I think I can see some justification, or at any rate explanation, of this feeling which is, in my opinion, one we should do all we can to remove * * *. Again in cow-killing disputes the Muhammadan position is naturally apt to appear the more reasonable to our officers, and in other riots between Hindus and Muhammadans, the Hindus say, perhaps with some justice, that we judge any turbulence or fanaticism on their part more severely than on the part of Muhammadans. In India, as a whole, it is more important politically to keep straight with the Hindus than with the Muhammadans. In the Punjab, it is very necessary to hold the balance perfectly even between the two, and to remember that before we took the country, the Hindus had the upper hand." In another place he says:—"I would take all possible care to prevent the Muhammadans from giving the Hindus any cause of complaint in the cow-killing question." In a review of the report on the Vernacular Press of the Punjab for 1888, when there were signs of the agitation striking deeper root to Northern India, Mr. Tupper wrote:—"The feelings connected with the slaughter of kine are politically the most dangerous element in the Punjab. To the Muhammadans it is a welcome means of gratifying religious spite, and also a symbol of their freedom from Hindu supremacy, and disloyal Muhammadans may insidiously perceive that by flaunting this emblem of their political enfranchisement in the eyes of their adversaries, they may rouse the anger of Hindus against the British Government, except for whose tolerance the practice would be suppressed. Either party may submit to British rule as preferable to the supremacy of the other; but from both, foreign rulers must expect a certain kind and amount of antipathy, and it is unfortunate that, in the case of Sikhs and Hindus, such antipathy as there inevitably is, should be embittered in connection with this cow-question by a dangerous fanaticism directed against Muhammadans, or against ourselves, or against both. All this, of course, does not appear in the vernacular newspapers; but these remarks have been made to explain their tone with reference to kine-killing."

To these may be added the opinion of Mr. Henvey, when Agent to the Governor-General in Central India. Referring to the riot at Indore in 1890, he wrote:—"The facts disclosed are significant and full of importance. They show the dangerous nature of the Cow-preservation movement that has flourished for some time past in different parts of India, and exemplify how it is possible for a crowd of Banias to find it easy when their religious feelings have been sufficiently played upon by fanatics or hypocrites, to incite and set in illegal actions the followers whom the Indore State permits them to employ, to mob the Minister of a powerful Hindu State and set his authority at defiance, and finally to compel the Maharaja of Indore and his Darbar to submit to a questionable compromise, supposing indeed the Darbar's Hindu proclivities did not render them at heart in sympathy throughout with those who ostensibly were defying the Maharaja's officials."

It must not be forgotten that Mr. Hume, as head of the National Congress, once openly alluded to the possession of the keys of the Magazine of physical force. Nothing has ever been reported connecting the Native Army in any way with the Cow-killing agitation beyond an attempt of some men of the 36th Sikhs in 1891 to prevent cows being taken to the slaughter-house at Ludhiana, and a vague and unconfirmed report that members of the Arya Somaj were enlisting in order to excite interest on the cow-question among the Sepoys. During the Dalip Singh intrigues, however, there was some reason to believe that Kuka agents were employed to tamper with Sikhs in regiments, and if the Cow-killing agitation ever reached an acute stage in the Punjab, a very careful watch would have to be kept both on Sikhs and Kukas. As pointed out by Colonel Henderson in 1889 with regard to the National Congress, so with this agitation—"There can be no doubt that a new force has arisen, and in considering the military requirements of the country for the preservation of internal order, this force has to be considered as an important factor."

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