

Appendix.

BENGAL.

1. The *Sulabh Dainik* of the 11th July has the following:—

The Bagr-id riots. Revival of race-animosity is the cause of the serious disturbances that have taken place at Bareilly, Azimgarh, and other places in connection with cow-slaughter on the occasion of the *Bagr-id*. The violent and hot-headed Musalman first wantonly attempted to offer an insult to the Hindu religion, and the Hindus having opposed that attempt, disturbances arose. And the carelessness and indiscretion of the officials have intensified the evil.

But we ask the Musalman—"What good do you expect from such disputes? Both Hindus and Musalmans now live under the same sovereign. The fact that the sovereign is kind to you, Musalmans, should not lead you to expect that you will avoid punishment if you deserve it, and the fact that the sovereign does not like us Hindus will not justify the supposition that we shall be punished, though innocent. What good do you then hope to gain, O Musalmans! by making such disputes? What harm, too, can you hope to do to us Hindus by such disputes?"

"Do not your books of morality, O Muslims! praise the virtue of unity? Have you forgotten the excellency of that unity which once made you masters of the world? Have never heard that great proverb of the English 'United we stand; divided we fall?' Has no historian related to you the evil consequences of the dissensions between the Patricians and the Plebeians of Rome? Why then do you now forget your invaluable motto, Unity, and thereby bring ruin upon yourselves? If the Hindu and the Musalman again heartily sympathise with each other, and have the English Government for their protector, there is no power on earth that they will need to fear.

"And we must also tell you, O English Government! that if you adopt proper precautions in time, these evils cannot occur. But you are careless; you have much to gain in the shape of court-fees from such disputes. But to endanger the people in this way for the sake of money is to ill-discharge the duties of a Government. If the young Magistrate of Azamgarh had adopted proper precautions in time, the disturbances could not have taken place. But he was sleeping all the time, and the result was that dreadful disturbances broke out under his eyes."

2. The *Sulabh Dainik* of the 26th July has the following in the course of an article headed "Who is to blame?"

Quarrels between Hindus and Musalmans. On whom rests the blame of the late riots between the Hindus and Musalmans? So far as can be ascertained, the riots were everywhere brought about by the fault of the authorities, by the insolence, short-sightedness, and ignorance of the religion of the people on the part of the magistracy. Yet these very officers are considered the best criminal judges and the strongest supports of the Empire.

The Magistrates being, as a rule, Europeans are beef-eaters, and cannot therefore see any objection to the slaughter of cows and beef-eating by the Muhammadans. A Magistrate is rather astonished that the Muhammadan should come to him for permission to slaughter cows. He grants the Muhammadan's prayer at once, and considers any objections made by the Hindus as arising from mere prejudice. He also at once binds down the Hindus to keep the peace, and encourages the Muhammadans by personally appearing at the place of the slaughter. The illiterate, hot-blooded Muhammadans naturally enough take this in the light of an encouragement given them by Her Majesty herself to slaughter cows. What wonder that they should fear nobody? This explains the origin of the quarrels which ultimately lead to bloodshed. The blame rests therefore entirely on the shoulders of the Government's pet civilian magistracy, who have scarcely any experience of the manners

and customs of the people. And yet the Secretary of State did not hesitate to declare the other day that the civilians rendered the greatest help in carrying on the administration of the country.

The authorities entertain the most inveterate ill-feeling towards the Hindus. There was great oppression of the Hindus under the reign of Aurungzebe. It was during that reign that the Muhammadans escaped scot-free after persecuting the Hindus. It was during that rule that the *Jizia* (poll-tax) was imposed, and the Hindu's cup of misery was full to overflowing. Is it not a sin even to think that Aurungzebe's time has come back to India even under the beneficent British Government? But the action of the authorities fully reminds one of the *Jizia* tax. Either with the object of maintaining the public peace during the *Muharram* festival or with the object of keeping the Hindus under check, a military police force has been stationed in Azamgarh at a cost of Rs. 30,000. The cost is to be borne entirely by the Hindus, the Muhammadans of the place not being called upon to contribute a cowrie towards it. What is this but the *Jizia* in another shape? What has more surprised the writer is that after the riots in Azamgarh, only Hindus to the number of 400 were arrested, as if the Muhammadans had nothing to do with the riots. A military police has also been stationed at Bareilly, and there too the Hindus alone will have to bear the cost.

If more instances of the attitude of the authorities in these quarrels were wanted, the writer could point to the occurrence at Bazardhya near Benares, where the greatest violence has been done to the religious feelings of the Hindus by the Musalmans, and yet it is the Hindus who are being sent to jail by the authorities in batches. The writer is fully aware that the riots between the Hindus and the Musalmans in the North-Western Provinces are the fruit of the seeds of dissension sown among them by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Auckland Colvin. But will Sir Charles Crosthwaite quietly accept the results brought about by the folly of his predecessor? Or is His Honor determined not to say anything to what his civilian brothers may do? Under these circumstances, it is absolutely necessary that the Government of India should at once order an enquiry into the cause of the present quarrels between the Hindus and the Musalmans.

5. The *Sulabh Dainik* of 5th August has the following:—

We have already referred to the reign of anarchy in the North-Western Provinces, and that anarchy is gradually increasing instead of decreasing. When one considers the present condition of Balia and Azamgarh, one cannot believe that they form a part of British territory, for justice has vanished from these two districts; oppression has taken the place of justice; administration has made way for grinding oppression, and instead of peace there is great unrest and uneasiness; instead of impartiality there is partiality, and one finds there strange travesties of justice by civilian officers. The English law provides for the administration of justice without regard to caste, creed or colour, and for the punishment of those who wound the religious feelings of other people. But the very reverse of this is now found in Azamgarh, and we know not but greater evils may happen in future.

We shall inform our readers of the present condition of Balia and Azamgarh, and they will then see how justice is being administered there. The *Aurita Basar Patrika* says that a body of Hindus in Balia were apprehended as rioters, although the complainants could not identify any among them as guilty of the offence. According to the criminal law, a man accused of any offence must be identified before he can be punished. Indeed, it would be extremely unjust to punish a man without proof of his guilt. But the reader will be extremely surprised to hear what has been done in Balia.

The judicial officer in the present instance was an Englishman, and not only that, but a civilian to boot. He not only found the accused guilty of having been members of an unlawful assembly, but also concluded that they had committed robbery. And the result of such a decision might very well be anticipated. It is a serious matter that a number of persons were convicted of rioting and robbery, although no one could identify them as guilty of those

offences. If the number of such officers increases, and the authorities do not cure them of their haughtiness and partiality, the North-Western Provinces will soon become a vast cremation ground; Sir Charles Crosthwaite will rule over a realm inhabited by ghosts, and the judicial officer will have no other company than that of carcass-eating jackals and vultures. Many of these so-called rioters were men of education, position and respectability, and these are the men who have been convicted of dacoity. Yes, how should a civilian display his glory if not in this way? Such, alas, are the fantastic freaks which the civilians are playing in fallen India!

But the matter has not ended here. Warrants have been issued against the Hindu residents of 35 villages. The police is going to those villages at all hours of the day, and is apprehending the Hindu residents, plundering their property and working their ruin in a trice of time. We cannot easily bring ourselves to believe these reports, for the English law still prevails in India; the despotic system of Government is not yet established in this country, and the fear of Siberian exile, as in Russia, does not yet dominate men's minds here. But from what we hear we cannot but conclude that in the Indian Empire of the English an impartial administration of justice will soon disappear.

The mode of trial adopted in the present instance was also a novel one. Though no one could identify the accused persons as having committed the offences with which they were charged, they were considered deserving of punishment by the civilian officer. In his opinion these men deserved to be punished, because they belonged to the villages in which the disturbances had taken place, and because the villagers could not identify the persons who had committed the disturbances, although, as a matter of fact, it was impossible for the residents to identify the persons who had committed disturbances in their villages and then vanished.

There is no knowing how many innocent persons are being punished in this way every day. And what is still more astonishing is that, while common persons are escaping in some cases, men of position and respectability are being in all cases punished with imprisonment or fine. The other day two respectable Rajputs of Bilah were publicly whipped in court, and the sight of their indignity drew tears from all who saw it. Again, two boys having caught a Musalman woman in the act of polluting a Hindu temple by throwing beef into it, brought her before the Magistrate. The woman, however, denied her guilt, and was believed by the Magistrate. He, therefore, sentenced the boys to three months' imprisonment each for giving false information.

Again, more than a hundred Hindus were hearing the *Bhāg:atgītā* read at a certain place. A Musalman policeman sent them up for trial on a charge of unlawful assembly. The Magistrate fined some Rs. 5 each, and sentenced the rest to imprisonment for three months each. The reader will be surprised to hear that one of the persons so punished with imprisonment is a blind man. Thirty-eight Hindu residents of Gopalnagar have also been sentenced to imprisonment for four months each, and one Bhagirath, a Hindu legal practitioner of Bareilly, has been sentenced to imprisonment for six months and a fine of Rs. 500. Two Bengali residents of Bareilly were also apprehended, but were fortunately let off. What should we call all this if we must not call it anarchy?

These judicial officers are not only punishing the Hindus, but are also disregarding the instructions of their superior officers. The Magistrate of Azamgarh received written instructions from the Divisional Commissioner to see that Musalman did not in any way provoke the Hindus by wounding their religious feelings. The instructions in question also stated that "any attempt to violate the agreement or to parade animals for slaughter will be severely punished." The Commissioner also directed the Magistrate to tell the Musalman leaders to sacrifice only goats and sheep in those quarters which have both Hindu and Musalman residents. But the Magistrate paid no regard to these instructions, and has acted very haughtily. And yet the Commissioner has not taken him to task. The civilian Magistrates are great pets of Government, and they can commit any wrong with impunity.

Some say that Sir Charles Crosthwaite is not aware of these things. But if this true, it is a grave reflection on him as a ruler, for a Governor who does not keep himself informed of all that goes on in his province is unfit to rule. We, for ourselves, consider Sir Charles Crosthwaite completely guilty.

We again ask Lord Lansdowne to promptly provide a remedy for this evil. The Local Government is completely indifferent in the matter, and the Viceroy is now the only hope of the people. Can he know nothing of all this from the heights of Simla?

4. The *Sulabh Dainik* of the 7th September has the following:—

The authorities in the notes. Azamgarh riots were due to the fault of the officials. But Government seems to have paid little heed to us, for it has not yet ordered any enquiry into the conduct of the officials. The cry for an Opium Commission is rending the skies in England and India, but it is hardly considered worth Government's while to attend to a matter which involves the question of internal dissensions, slaughter of the people by themselves, and the peace and tranquillity in the country. Do the authorities really desire to see both the Hindus and the Musalmans weakened by mutual quarrels and hostilities?

5. The *Sulabh Dainik* of the 12th September accounts as follows for the riots that are now frequently taking place in this country:—

Treatment of the Hindus in the North-Western Provinces. There is no limit now to the oppression by Musalman police officers in the North-Western Provinces. The North-Western Provinces police have had Brahmananda Swami convicted on a false charge of having made a speech about cow-slaughter, which was calculated to lead to a breach of the peace, although there was nothing in his speech that could justly offend the Musalmans. And is this administration? Does it not much better deserve the name of grinding oppression? This is in fact nothing more or less than maladministration—maladministration whose immediate effect is discontent, and whose ultimate effect will be riot and disturbance.

This police oppression would not have been half so galling if people had been able to obtain redress on appeal to the authorities. But, as a matter of fact, no such redress can be hoped for by the great majority of people, for the lower Courts accept the statements of the police as gospel truths, and there are few who can go to the High Court or the Lieutenant-Governor or the Viceroy for redress. Ninety-five per cent. of the oppressed persons have to bear this oppression in silence, albeit with hearts seething with discontent. The ring-leaders of all the disturbances that are now taking place in the country are to be found among these oppressed people.

Even if the authorities ever show any inclination to remedy this state of things, certain mean-minded papers, whose sole occupation is to make truth appear as falsehood and falsehood as truth, present things in so distorted a shape as to completely mislead the authorities. The result of all this is that there is grinding oppression in the name of administration, and the indiscriminate punishment of the guilty and the innocent in the name of justice.

All that the Hindus say about these riots is rejected as false, while every word uttered by the Musalmans is accepted as gospel truth. A respectable Hindu of Balia has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment on a charge of having intimidated an oilman not to sell oil to Musalmans, and on no other evidence than that of certain Musalman witnesses.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces having now declared the Gorakshini Sabhas to be the cause of the present disturbances, the police is now greatly harassing those Sabhas.

Azamgarh is not more than 10 hours' journey from the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor, and yet old men and boys, aye, even lame and blind persons, were sent to jail, on a charge of riot, so to speak, under his very eyes without one word of protest from him.

At Gorakhpur a Hindu had a platform on which the Musalmans used to rest their *taxis*. The Hindu having now demolished his platform, he has been

sent up for trial on a charge of riot. This is the first time people hear that a man has not the right to deal with his own property as he likes.

Again, in certain districts of the North-Western Provinces, licenses for keeping arms have been withdrawn from the Hindus, the Mussalmans being permitted to use them freely. Do the officials then wish to see the disarmed Hindus perish like moths in the flame of Moslem arms? And is this, too, to be called justice and impartiality?

In conclusion, we request the Government to remove the present ill-feeling between the Hindus and Musalmans by treating both these peoples alike.

6. The *Dainik-o-Samachar Chandrika* of the 17th August has the following:—

Government and the quarrels between Hindus and Muhammadans.

When the Education Commission recommended that more favour should be shown to the Muhammadans in the matter of education, the Hindu members of that Commission, as well as one of the English members, who was no other than the present Finance Minister, Sir David Barbour, objected to that recommendation.

We, too, for our part, have protested whenever an attempt has been made to favour the Muhammadans at the expense of the Hindus. For the last 22 years we have been protesting in the newspapers against this policy. By affording greater facilities to the Muhammadans in the matter of admission to the public service, Government has deviated from the path of sound policy and paved the way for future troubles.

After the Sepoy Mutiny, the Government changed its policy in many directions. Just and far-sighted Viceroys like Lord Ripon have from time to time tried to steer the vessel of the State along the right course, but on the whole that vessel has been steered the wrong way. From the time of the Sepoy Mutiny it has appeared as if the Government has been of set purpose favouring the Muhammadans and thwarting the Hindus to some extent. But why say "as if?" In the opinion of many, this showing of favour to the Muhammadans is a fact and no imagination.

On the occasion of the Sepoy Mutiny the Hindus and Muhammadans rose in concert against the English Government. This union of the two races alarmed the Government, and after the danger was over, the Anglo-Indians adopted the policy of setting the two races against each other. And the officials have been since making every possible effort to prevent a hearty union of the two races.

Whenever there is a quarrel between the Hindus and Muhammadans, the officials seem to take the side of the latter. For a long time we have been warning the officials about the evil effects of this policy. But good advice is never liked till bitter experience shows its value.

Governors of the type of Sir Auckland Colvin have made bad worse. Before Sir Auckland, no Governor in any province of India acted as he acted. Many Governors had, indeed, displayed their partiality for the Muhammadans in reports and resolutions, but no one ever attempted, like Sir Auckland, to actually set the two races against each other.

The policy that Sir Auckland Colvin adopted in the North-Western Provinces has been more or less adopted in all the other Indian provinces. Under Sir Charles Elliott that policy has been pursued in Bengal.

The officials have paved the way for troubles by their crooked policy. Differences between Hindus and Muhammadans in connection with cow-slaughter have always existed. And it is by following the path that leads to strict justice that the English Government had so long been able to maintain the peace. And it is since the officials have deviated from the path of strict justice that breaches of the peace have become frequent. The danger has, in fact, deepened since the day the Muhammadan has begun to feel, from the conduct of the Government, that he is in greater favour with it than the Hindu.

We have been warning the English Government from the very day it adopted the policy of setting the Hindus and Muhammadans against each other. It is not prudent to set two bulls fighting, for bulls in their fury attack even those that set them fighting.

Has not the present ill-feeling between the Hindus and Muhammadans proved a fruitful source of trouble to the English officials and the police? Have not there been riots at Rangoon as well as at Bombay? The Anglo-Indian Press says that, furious as they were, the Musalman rioters of Bombay attacked only two Europeans. But that Press should know that rioters will not certainly always show such consideration for Europeans. Furious mobs make no distinction of friend and foe.

Steps should now be taken to make all officers act according to the strictest principles of justice. The Muhammadans should not covet more than what is justly due to them, and should know that it is not difficult to comply with the injunctions of one's own religion without wounding the religious feelings of the followers of other religions.

7. The *Dainik-o-Samachar Chandrika* of the 21st August says that in the cow-slaughter quarrels in Bareilly the authorities showed themselves biased in favour of the Muhammadans. And warrants have since been issued against two respectable Bengalis on the charge that they were the instigators of the quarrels, though the authorities themselves were the real instigators. The real facts at the bottom of the Azamgarh riots are being suppressed by the authorities, while they are laying the whole blame of these riots on the Hindus. It is said that warrants have been issued against the entire Hindu population of thirty-five villages. But the writer has heard from many people that the Azamgarh riots were due to the granting of licenses to Muhammadans for slaughtering cows in Mau and the adjoining places, where cow-slaughter was not allowed since the time of Akbar. Did not the authorities act in a short-sighted manner in allowing cow-slaughter in places where it was prohibited even by a Muhammadan Emperor? And yet the authorities are pouring the vials of their wrath on the heads of the Hindus, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces is for making only the Hindus responsible for the riots.

8. The *Dainik o-Samachar Chandrika* of the 22nd August has the following :—
Sir Charles Crosthwaite in the cow-killing affair. Sir Charles Crosthwaite, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, is for suppressing the *Gorakshani Sabhas* and, as for his subordinates, they resolved to suppress those *Sabhas* even before he himself thought of doing so. Sir Charles thinks that these *Sabhas* have been established with the sole object of exciting rebellion.

Was it for this, then, that his subordinate officials encouraged the Musalmans to cow-slaughter, and bade them to oppose every effort of the Hindus to protect cows? Was it for this, then, that the officials fomented ill-feeling between the Hindus and Musalmans?

Did the officials, then, say to themselves :—“The Hindus are combining and establishing *Gorakshani Sabhas* on the pretence of protecting cows, but really with the object of producing rebellion. Let us then bring about a quarrel between the Hindus and Musalmans by inciting the latter to indiscriminate cow-slaughter. That will suppress the movement and prevent a rebellion?”

If the officials had really the impression in their minds that the Hindus intended to make a rebellion, then it is clear that they deliberately incited the Musalmans to cow-slaughter and opposed the efforts of the Hindus to protect cows. Whoever talks of rebellion in this connection must be set down as an opposer of the efforts of the Hindus to protect cows and as an abettor of cow-slaughter by the Musalmans.

The Hindus, it is true, have established the *Gorakshani Sabhas* with the object of protecting cows, but they have never so much as thought of making a rebellion. It is the officials who are dreaming of rebellion, and are, under the influence of that dream, opposing the efforts for the protection of cows and encouraging cow-slaughter. The offence of the Hindus is only an imaginary one, while that of the officials is a real and palpable one. It is the officials who ought to be punished. How is it, then, that the Hindus are being punished instead of the officials?

The Hindus want to protect cows, for the worship and protection of cows has been one of their religious duties from time immemorial. The Hindu,

doubt, considers himself exceptionally blessed if he can protect cows, but he also knows full well that he will never be able, under the rule of beef-eating Christians, to prevent the slaughter of cows by the beef-eating Musalmans. Indeed, none but a mad man can think of achieving such an impossibility.

The efforts of the Hindus for the protection of cows did not bring about the disturbances, nor would the slaughter of cows by the Musalmans have brought them about. It was the undue encouragement given by the officials to the slaughter of cows by the Musalmans that brought about the disturbances. There would have been no disturbance if the officials had not permitted the Musalmans to slaughter cows anywhere and everywhere.

When the officials say that it is wrong to make any attempts to protect cows or to establish *Gorakshani Sabhas*, they only recriminate in the usual fashion of offenders. They have brought about the disturbances by their own conduct, and they now want to clear themselves by laying the blame at the door of others. It is the officials of the North-Western Provinces who are really guilty in this matter, for they are the men who have unduly encouraged cow-slaughter by the Musalmans. Sir Charles Crosthwaite, too, is guilty, in that he did not prevent his subordinate officials from doing that wrong.

But the Lieutenant-Governor is now abusing the Hindus and attributing to them seditious motives. He is thus still encouraging the Musalmans, and thus making the anti-Hindu Musalmans more anti-Hindu. Sir Charles Crosthwaite's offence is an unpardonable one.

The present is a golden opportunity for the *Pioneer* and people of the *Pioneer's* type. Our Allahabad contemporary has availed himself of this opportunity to screw up his animosity against the Hindus to the highest pitch, and is doing his best to set the Musalmans on the Hindus. He thinks that the military should be brought out in order to make the Hindus feel the British prowess, and he is also trying his best to make the Hindus feel that the Musalmans are in greater favour with the Government than they.

British prowess is not unknown to the Hindus, nor are the Hindus unaware that the Musalmans are more favoured by the Government than they. The Hindus are also aware that it is newspapers of the type of the *Pioneer* that are the chief enemies of the State. It is not we, but Lord Canning who said that it was the *Friend of India* of Serampore which brought about the mutiny, and that the *Hurkaru* added fuel to the fire. If Lord Lansdowne had been Lord Canning, the *Pioneer* would have been punished and the *Englishman* would have been compelled to become more careful.

Protection of cows cannot and will not subvert the British Empire in India. There will be no reason to apprehend that danger, even if the country is dotted with *Gorakshani Sabhas* from one extremity to the other. But the subversion of the Empire will become possible if the *Pioneer* and the papers of its type are suffered to use their foul tongues unchecked, and if their views and proposals are accepted by the officials. They are the greatest enemies of the State who propose to weaken the Hindus and Musalmans one after another by setting them against each other.

History bears clear testimony to the fact that it is the faults of the officials that lead to great catastrophes in States. There was a civil war in England simply because the officials under Charles I committed injustice and oppression. It was also owing to the faults of the officials that James II was deposed and William of Orange invited to fill the throne of England.

Was it not, again, the fault of the officials that Louis XVI came to grief and the French Revolution was brought about? Italy could become independent only because the Italian people were driven mad by the oppression of the Austrian officials. If the Turkish officials had not been oppressive, Greece would have remained to this day subject to the Turkish yoke.

It was the oppression of the English officials that converted America into a republic, and it was the oppression of the Spanish officials that led to the separation of Mexico and South America from the Spanish dominions. The officials are the representatives of the sovereign, and it is owing to their faults that Governments are subverted. Hence the popular Hindu saying—"The fault of the sovereign destroys the State."

It was also the fault of the officials that the Sepoy Mutiny broke out. And if the Indian officials again become oppressive, there will again be a disaster, and no one will be able to prevent it. The men who are driven mad do not fear the cannon. The one duty of the officials is to prevent the people from running mad.

Justice is the soul of statesmanship; and steps should be taken to make all the peoples inhabiting India—Hindus, Musalmans, Christians, Jains and Sikhs—feel that the officials are strictly just, and care should be taken that no officer can show undue partiality to any people in any matter or on any occasion.

Sir Charles Crosthwaite would have acted like a Provincial Governor and a representative of the sovereign if, instead of abusing the Hindus, he had checked the guilty officials and told them what their duties are. People will pay no heed to him who abuses others instead of checking the lunatic in his own house.

Sir Charles ought not to have even suffered the word "rebellion" to pass his lips. Impartial people are saying—"Sir Charles has raised the cry of rebellion, which never was, nor is, nor ever shall be, simply for the purpose of saving the guilty officials, through whose fault there has been bloodshed, from censure and punishment by the Home authorities."

The oppressions that could take place under Lord Dalhousie and others in the days of the East Indian Company are no longer possible. The relations between England and India have now become closer, and reports of oppressions by officials here now reach England in no time. Oppression cannot therefore now reach its climax so as to become unbearable, and so long as oppression does not reach its climax, there will be no rebellion. Sir Charles ought not therefore to have suffered the word "rebellion" to pass his lips—nay, he should not have even dreamt of rebellion.

The Hindus will be content if they can only enjoy peace and happiness. If they have peace and happiness they will never object to the British rule lasting till Doomsday. The Hindus want only peace and happiness and liberty to perform their religious duties free from interference. He must be wanting in foresight who exalts the Musalman with the view of humbling the Hindu. In the eyes of the English Government the Hindu and the Musalman are equal. If kept content both these races will be friends of the English Government: if not, not. Disturbances take place in a State when people run mad, and history is clear in its testimony that madness in the people is always the result of the fault of the officials. The sovereign is called "Raja" because it is his duty to please his subjects (Sanskrit 'ranja' to please). The sovereign whose officials are able to please the people never loses his kingdom. It is the fault of the sovereign that ruins a State—it is the fault of the officials that leads to the subversion of Governments.

9. The *Damik-o-Samachar Chandrika* of the 7th September has the following:—

Sir Charles Crosthwaite's riot Resolution.

In his Resolution on the cow-slaughter riots, Sir Charles Crosthwaite has shown the same bias which he showed in his speeches at Balia and Azamgarh. Every disinterested person will see that in this Resolution Sir Charles has tried to clear himself and his subordinates of all blame. Sir Charles sees that the subject of the cow-slaughter riots will be discussed in Parliament, and that the Government of India will be called upon for an explanation of those disturbances, and he has therefore thought it fit to justify beforehand his own conduct as well as that of his officials in this connection. But even this self-justifying Resolution, Sir Charles has had to admit the inefficiency and want of foresight of the officials, and specially of Mr. Dupernex, the Magistrate of Azamgarh. Sir Charles has tried hard to clear Mr. Dupernex of blame, but in vain.

Sir Charles has admitted in his Resolution that Mr Dupernex issued a notice relating to cow-slaughter in certain villages in which he apprehended breaches of the peace in that connection. But, as a matter of fact, this notice, which contained a list of the villages in which cow-slaughter takes place every year, and indulged in surmises as to the places where such slaughter was likely to

produce disturbances this year, was published in every village in Azamgarh, and no wonder that it alarmed the Hindus on the one hand, and encouraged the Musalmans on the other. Where was the need, one might ask, of publishing in every village a notice which contained nothing but surmises as to the villages in which breaches of the peace were likely to take place?

In the Resolution issued by him, Sir Charles has not been able to refute a single statement of Pandit Bissen Narayan. On the contrary, a careful perusal of his Resolution will show that many of the Pandit's statements find support in the Resolution.

If Mr. Dupernex has issued a notice to the effect that cow-slaughter would be permitted only at those places where it had always taken place, and that interference by the Hindus with cow-slaughter at such places would be punished, no disturbance would have taken place.

Pandit Bissen Narayan has stated that at the village of Mau the Hindus and Musalmans were trying to arrive at a mutual agreement about cow-slaughter; but as the discussions were naturally of a noisy character, the police took the whole thing for a riot and proceeded to fire. The Hindus thought that they were being fired upon by the Musalmans and got excited. It was thus, says the Pandit, that the mischief arose. If the Pandit is right, it is the police which is clearly responsible for the disturbance.

The Pandit has also said that the disturbance at another place was owing to a Joint-Magistrate having encouraged the Musalmans to cow-slaughter. How can one disbelieve what the Pandit has ascertained by personal enquiry on the spot and accept as gospel truth what Sir Charles has gathered from his officials?

The fact is that Sir Charles has tried to lay all the blame of the cow-slaughter on the Hindus just as Sir Auckland Colvin laid all the blame of the Hurdwar affair on them.

Sir Charles lays all the blame of the late disturbances at the door of the Gorakshani Sabhas which, he says, had excited the Hindus against cow-slaughter. In support of this assertion of his, Sir Charles has referred to two or three cases in which certain Hindus had tried to rescue cows from the hands of butchers. But it is to be remembered that the facts in connection with those cases have not yet been fully disclosed, and that in one of those cases the Magistrates supported the Hindus.

Sir Charles also considers it a crime on the part of the Sabhas that they have provided asylums for cows that wander away or are uncared for. Yes, the jaundiced eye sees everything yellow.

Sir Charles also considers it a crime on the part of the Gorakshani Sabhas that they collect subscriptions from the Hindus for the protection of cows, and that they have made arrangements for the excommunication of those Hindus who will not contribute money in aid of that cause. We are not sure whether this statement about excommunication which Sir Charles has certainly made on the authority of the guilty officials is true. But even if this be true, the Gorakshani Sabhas cannot be in any way blamed. How can the Sabhas be blamed for the arranging for the excommunication of those Hindus who clearly fail in their duties as Hindus by refusing all aid in the work of the protection of cows which to all true Hindus are objects of worship? How can those Sabhas be blamed when they have not excited the Hindus against the sacrifice of cows by the Musalmans in obedience to their religion or collected subscriptions for opposing such sacrifices?

We cannot, however, help suspecting that Sir Charles has privately censured those officials whose actions he has publicly defended in his Resolution, and we hope that the officials will be more careful in future.

10. The *Dainik-Samachar Chandrika* of the 13th September has the following:—

The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces apparently thinks that he will be able to establish peace in the country simply by punishing the Hindus. But His Honor is mistaken in so thinking; for peace will never be established so long as the officers of Government do not treat the different sections

The Government of the North-Western Provinces in the recent riots.

of the people with impartiality. As things now stand, the unrest prevailing in the North-Western Provinces will go on spreading to other parts of the country. This is proved by the disturbance which happened the other day in the Basantpur thana of the Saran district. The sight of the Commissariat cattle there would not have moved the Hindus if the officials of the North-Western Provinces have conducted themselves with impartiality. In Azamgarh, Balia, Bareilly and other places Musalmans have been made complainants and witnesses, and Hindus defendants, and there is now a close compact between the Musalmans and the officers of Government. This compact has driven the Hindus mad in despair, for they have now given up all hope of obtaining redress at the hands of the officers. The bad policy of Sir Charles Crosthwaite is now developing itself and doing more mischief day after day. Lord Lansdowne ought not to remain indifferent at this juncture. In any other country a ruler like Sir Charles would have been removed from office, and an impartial and capable man appointed in his place. But here the removal of a Magistrate from office is believed by Government to involve loss of prestige, so the removal of a provincial ruler is out of the question. The officers of Government are determined to establish peace by putting down the Hindus by every means in their power. But the enforcement of this repressive policy will make many Hindus desperate. And who shall say that the conduct of the officers of Government is not serving as an encouragement to the Musalmans? The writer cannot suppose, for instance, that at Basantpur the Musalmans in charge of the Commissariat cattle did not behave improperly or give offence to the Hindus. The Government officials in the North-Western Provinces are now actuated by anti-Hindu feelings, and as the editors of most of the Anglo-Indian papers are hostile to the Hindus, they have selected the present opportunity to write against them. Thus the Hindus in the North-West find themselves opposed by the Musalmans, the officers of Government, and the editors of the Anglo-Indian and Musalman journals. They are thus in a very bad predicament at the present moment. Hindus all over India have become terror-struck at this, and the thought of what may befall them in the future is sorely exercising the minds of the far-sighted among them. At such a time as this, no Hindu editor ought to remain silent. Though their advice will not be accepted by the officers, still all Hindu editors owe it to themselves to give them that advice. The writer is sorry to see a certain influential Hindu journal in an indifferent attitude at this time. It would have been well if some arrangement had been made for the transfer of the riot cases from the courts of Balia, Azamgarh, and Bareilly, and if the trial of these cases had been entrusted to an independent tribunal consisting of judicial officers from other provinces. Their trial is causing great dissatisfaction. The Government of the North-Western Provinces probably wants to make Parliament believe that a great rebellion has taken place in India, and it is with that object that it is making mountains of mole hills. But it is not sound policy to adopt such a course. The situation requires that there should be an impartial inquiry into these events.

11. In the *Sahachar* of the 9th August reference is made to the riots between Hindus and Musalmans in the North-Western Provinces, and the following remarks made:—The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces will of course say that he has the good of both Hindus and Musalmans at heart, that every one ought to perform the rites of his religion in such a way as not to hurt the religious feelings of others, and that Government will inflict severe punishments on people breaking the peace. Addressing the Hindus, His Honor will probably say—"You may consider cows as sacred, but what right have you to restrain the hands of those who eat its flesh?" But though these platitudes will be indulged in, nothing will be said to the officials who fomented these riots. No; they will probably only get credit for suppressing these riots. Thus it is clear that the surface wound only will be dressed, but no attempt will be made to reach the deep-seated sore. The people themselves will therefore have to do that. Moreover, what is the necessity of asking a European Magistrate to interfere in these religious differences? That is a matter which should be settled by the leaders of the Hindu and the Musalman society. If a Magistrate like Mr. Dupernex had not interfered, the Hindus and the Musalmans of Azamgarh would have been able to settle their differences amicably. How long will the two peoples quarrel with each other? The Muhammadan Literary Society has hit upon the true remedy, and

the Hindus should co-operate with the Society in the matter. The success of the jury agitation has shown what can be accomplished by the joint efforts of Hindus and Musalmans. And will the people now allow a few wicked European officials to set Hindus and Musalmans upon each other, and thereby destroy all their prospects of political advancement? Government will, of course, express satisfaction at the conduct of officers like Mr. Dupernex, but it will never avow that it is its policy to foment quarrels between the two peoples by setting the lower classes among them against each other. Whatever the Provincial Governors may think on the subject, they know well that the Government of India, the Ministry in England, and Parliament will never encourage these race quarrels. The people's advantage lies in this. They ought to act in such a way as not to allow men like Mr. Dupernex an opportunity of interfering in their affairs. Let the people show that they have found out their false friends and their tricks, and act accordingly. They do not allow even the Supreme Government to interfere with their religion; why should they then allow Civilian Magistrates to do that? Let the leaders of the two communities meet together and settle their differences in such a way as will prevent such quarrels in future.

12. The *Sahakar* of the 30th August has the following in the course of an article headed "The future danger of India":—

"The future danger of India."
 Sir Charles Crosthwaite and some short-sighted European officials under him, who can see only present interests, are blaming the *Gorakshani Sabhas* as the cause of the recent riots. At Balia and other places hundreds of Hindus have been arrested and a great many of them have been sent to jail; many have fled, while not a few are trembling in fear as to what their lot will be. The writer asks the Government of India to see things with eyes wide open and to save the Empire from the danger with which it is threatened. The Empire is really in danger, for some hot-headed and anti-Hindu European civilians are, by oppressing the Hindus, placing facilities in the way of Russia gaining her object. It is a great mistake to blame the Hindus and punish them for the recent disturbances. As for the *Gorakshani Sabhas*, they have not been newly established nor were their members the men who attacked the Musalmans. The Hindus who attacked the Musalmans of Azamgarh had nothing to do with the *Sabhas*. This being the case, if the authorities attempt to coerce the *Sabhas*, they will be guilty of committing oppression on a truly loyal people. Were there *Gorakshani Sabhas* in Rangoon? Why were the Hindus in Prabhas Patan attacked and why those riots in Bombay? In Bombay Mr. Vincent, the Police Commissioner, is blaming the *Gorakshani Sabhas* simply because he wants to hide the errors of judgment he himself committed in connection with the riots there. Like other officers, he connived at, or made light of, these riots, in order that by putting them down he might get a knighthood like Sir Frank Souter. He had thought of catching fish by making a breach in the embankment and closing the breach as soon as he had got enough fish for his dinner. But the rush of water through the breach having proved too heavy for him, he could not close the breach as he had thought he would. And the result of his making that breach in the embankment was that the men who used to shut their door at the sight of red *jugris* defied even the soldiery. In Calcutta, too, the Musalmans arranged to have a riot which was only prevented by the prompt action of the Police Commissioner. But are there *Gorakshani Sabhas* in Calcutta? Large numbers of cattle are daily slaughtered in Calcutta, and butchers drive through the streets every evening the animals which they intend to slaughter. The Hindu goallas, again, sell their cattle to these butchers. But how is it that, in spite of this, a conspiracy was set on foot in Calcutta to destroy Hindu temples and to commit murders and other excesses? Who opposed the slaughter of cows in Calcutta? Government should be on its guard and reject the statements of those officers who, having Mr. Paul's resolution in view, are now committing oppressions on the Hindus. The Empire has been won with the blood of large numbers of Hindus, and who shall say that Government's present policy towards the Hindus is not discussed in the ranks of those Gurkha and Sikh soldiers upon whom it relies so much? Formerly the Hindus under British rule had no cause for anxiety; but now Government's attitude towards them has given rise to various thoughts in their minds. This is a thing which Government ought to take into account. Nevertheless, the Hindus still remain deeply loyal to the Maharani, and not a word against the Government

has yet escaped or will ever escape their lips. They know that Sir Charles Crosthwaite and his officials are not the arbiters of their fate, and that the Viceroy has not the prejudices of the civilian body, and will yet do them justice. And the question now is if through the machinations of Russia and the foolishness of the European officials of Government the Hindus lose their confidence in the Viceroy and the British people, would that be for the good or the evil of the Empire?

13. The *Dacca Gazette* of the 17th July has the following:—

The cow-slaughter question. The Hindus and Musalmans have been living together in this country for a long time, but why have riots between these two peoples become so frequent of late? It is not unfrequently seen that the Hindu joins in the Musalman's religious and social rites and festivities, and the Musalman reciprocates the Hindu's civilities. Why then are riots and disturbances between them so often heard of now? It is necessary that the cause of such disturbances should be soon ascertained, otherwise the matter will gradually assume a more serious aspect, and great harm will come to both sections of the people.

The evil can be, no doubt, remedied in a great measure by the authorities acting carefully in the matter. The principal causes of the quarrel between Hindus and Musalmans is the slaughter of cows by the latter. The cow being looked upon by the Hindus as a goddess, his religious feelings are naturally wounded to see it slaughtered before his eyes. On the other hand, the slaughter of cows being permitted by the Muhammadan religion at certain festivals, no one has the right to prevent the Musalman from practising the rite. Under these circumstances, the quarrel between the two peoples cannot be easily made up. Indeed, these quarrels will not cease if each does not pay due regard to the religious feelings of the other. A mediator is therefore needed. But who is to be the mediator? One naturally looks to Government to be such a mediator. These quarrels can never happen if Government acts with justice and firmness. But unfortunately the authorities themselves, by their unjust and inconsiderate action, often provide occasion for such quarrels. What the authorities seem very often to forget is that no unjust claims or demands made by any section of the people in the name of religion ought to be conceded or granted. No objection made by the Hindus to the slaughtering of cows by Musalmans should be heeded; and Musalmans should not, on the other hand, be allowed to slaughter cows in public places or before the eyes of the Hindus. It is a matter of regret, however, that most of the officials seem to like these breaches between the Hindus and Musalmans, and want to estrange their feelings from each other. These officials seem scarcely to take note who will be the greatest loser under these circumstances. They do not see that it is the Government which will have to sustain the greatest loss if these quarrels are allowed to go on increasing. The British Empire in India is based on the loyalty of its people, both Hindu and Musalman. No brute force can save the Empire from falling into a state of the most horrible anarchy if either the Hindus or the Musalmans become discontented with British rule. The handful of English soldiers in this country will in that case be washed away in the torrents of blood which will be set flowing by the indiscriminate slaughter of Hindus and Musalmans by each other's hands. It is therefore clear that quarrels between Hindus and Musalmans are not conducive to the permanence of British rule. But that Empire will be based on a solid foundation if the Hindus and Musalmans are united in bonds of love and friendship; and both these peoples will enjoy peace and happiness under such a rule. It is, no doubt, unfortunate for India that her rulers do not see this.

14. The *Banganivasi* of the 11th August has the following:—

The officials in the Azamgarh disturbance. We cannot say when the Hindus and Musalmans will cease quarrelling over cow-slaughter. The Hindus and Musalmans are the only people who will suffer harm in consequence of these quarrels, for those who set them against each other will only enjoy the scene from a distance. The mean and short-sighted officials cannot see that the weakening of the people by internal dissensions means the weakening of the State. Because they fail to see this, they make every possible

effort to set Hindustanis against Bengalis, Rajputs against Sikhs, Sunnis against Shiahs, and Musalmans against Hindus. Restless and short-sighted officers cannot prevent impending disturbances of the peace easily, and without bloodshed, as sober, staid, and high-minded officers can do.

It is found on enquiry that the late disturbances at Azamgarh were mainly due to the carelessness of the officials. Several serious charges have been made against the officials in this connection, and it is to be hoped that the Local Government will not fail to make a proper enquiry into the truth of those charges. The people hope that even if Sir Charles Crosthwaite is unable to punish his subordinate officers, the Government of India will enquire into the matter.

Messrs. Brunyate and Dupernex have committed an offence whose enormity nothing can exceed, if, being Government officers, they have really incited the Musalmans to cow-slaughter. The Musalmans had, it is said, intended not to slaughter cows at certain places. But these officers, it is said, dissuaded them from that intention. Mr. Dupernex granted permission for cow-slaughter even at places where no cows had been sacrificed even during the Musalman rule. He summoned the Hindus, and told them to give an agreement to the effect that they had no objection to cow-slaughter. It was also proclaimed throughout the town by beat of drum that cow-slaughter would be permitted between 9 A.M. and 12 noon. This proclamation was not at all necessary, and it was certainly a very short-sighted act. Its only effect was to wound the feelings of the Hindus. Every one can see the object of the officer in provoking the Hindus in this way. But the English officer did not stop here. It is said that he compelled a Hindu tahsildar, a Hindu Deputy Collector, a Hindu Police Inspector, and even several Hindu *raises* to witness cow-slaughter. On what principle of justice or policy can this act be justified?

Even under the Musalman rule such occurrences did not take place everywhere. And how is it that far more oppression is now committed in the name of the liberal, noble, impartial and enlightened English Government than was ever committed under the Musalman rule? One is at a loss to explain this to oneself.

The Hindus are charged with having been the aggressors; but an examination of the facts will show that this is a false charge.

Even if it is granted that the Hindus became frantic, it becomes necessary to consider who were the persons that drove them mad. Who on earth can bear his religion traduced, and see it insulted and interfered with, and not get excited? The meanest worm when trampled upon turns round upon its oppressor. It is, therefore, unreasonable to expect the Hindus to look calmly on while their religion is interfered with again and again.

Again the Kshatriyas have been told that they will be whipped publicly if they make any attempt to save cows from slaughter. The Maharaja of Dumraon, and the late Member of the North-Western Provinces' Legislative Council, Rai Durga Prasad Bahadur, both of whom have landed property at Azamgarh, have also been insulted by being served with a notice requiring them to show cause why they should not be prosecuted for complicity in the disturbances, although they never went to that place. A born blind, who could not possibly have taken part in the disturbances, was sent to *hajut*. In short, all Hindus have been oppressed.

Nothing on earth will produce disturbances if not such things as these. A public enquiry into the matter is necessary, for without such an enquiry it will be difficult to maintain the peace. It is not possible to maintain the peace for ever by brute force.

15. Referring to the precautions which were taken at Agra to prevent a collision between Hindus and Musalmans on the occasion of the *Chilum* festival, the same paper says that it will be difficult to live in this country if, at every festival, a quarrel between Hindus and Musalmans has to be apprehended. Indeed, it is high time that the leaders of the two communities took steps to prevent these quarrels. Sir Charles Crosthwaite has widened the breach

The Government of the North-Western Provinces in the cow-killing riots.

between the two peoples by throwing the whole blame of the riots on the Hindus and showing indulgence to the Musalmans. It seems to be the policy of the North-Western Provinces authorities to weaken the country by setting the two peoples by the ear. Peace and friendly feelings among the various classes who inhabit India will be impossible so long as the authorities continue to show special favour to some and to rebuke others at every step.

BOMBAY.

16. Alluding to disturbances between Hindus and Muhammadans, the

Remarks on the disturbances between Hindus and Muhammadans.

Shubh Suchak in its issue of the 21st July, says:— These disturbances take place generally on the Bakri Id and Moharam holidays. The object of the Muhammadans is to wound the religious feelings of the Hindus by slaughtering cows on these holidays in the neighbourhood of a place or temple held sacred by the latter, although they have separate places allotted to them for slaughtering cows in. Will the Muhammadans ever do such acts if they once receive exemplary punishment? Have Government ever thought of framing rules as to how Muhammadans should conduct themselves on such occasions and bringing them into force? If Government once severely punish the aggressors, no such disturbances will ever take place. Such riots do not occur in a Native State, even in the Muhammadan State of Hyderabad (Deccan); they take place in British territory, from which fact we infer that the Muhammadans have the support of European officers. We think that bigoted Muhammadans do not see that they and the Hindus have to live together. There are many grounds to say that such disputes arise on account of the belief of many European officers in the principle of 'Divide and rule.' Ye Muhammadans! What is your object in destroying cattle useful to agriculture? Do you not see that you are bringing about your own ruin at the instigation of others who wish to accomplish their own object? Awake and behave towards each other as children of the same mother!

17. The *Karnatak Patra* in its issue of the 31st July, writes.— Besides

Remarks on the recent disturbances between Hindus and Muhammadans in Northern India.

the great riot at Rangoon which originated in an attempt made by the Musalmans of that place to kill a cow on a public road, several similar riots are reported to have taken place in Northern India last month. The Gorakshani Sabhas in the districts of Ballia and Gazipur have been the immediate cause of the disturbance. Twice or thrice since January last large numbers of villagers belonging to these districts sallied forth with *lathis* in their hands to rescue herds of cattle whenever they learnt that butchers were driving the herds from neighbouring villages to Benares and other places for slaughter, and were successful in their attempt. The 25th of last month was the Bakri Id of the Musalmans, and large numbers of cows were to be slaughtered by them at Mhow and many other places on that day. Mobs of several thousand villagers from Ballia and Ghazipur streamed across the borders of those districts, and entering Mhow and some other villages and towns in its vicinity at daybreak of the 25th June suddenly attacked the Musalmans of those places. A regular fight with *lathis* took place between the two parties at Mhow, Ghosi, Jianpur, Adri and some other places, and many men were killed on both sides, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the district authorities to maintain peace. The Hindus were successful in their attempt to protect cows in most cases, and they forced the Musalmans of Mhow to pass an agreement never to kill a cow. No such quarrels were ever heard of between Hindus and Musalmans ten years ago. The Anglo-Indian Nabobs must thank themselves for this consequence of their knavish tricks based on the principle of "divide and rule." They at first fomented quarrels between Government servants of different castes. When they found Brahmans to be more than a match to them in intelligence and official abilities, they tried to push them back by setting other castes against them. Quarrels between Brahmans on one side and Kayasthas, Musalmans, Parbhuis, Lingayats or Mudliars on the other thus came into existence some twenty-five years ago, i.e., soon after the Universities began to send out large numbers of Brahman graduates for Government service. A pretty fair success achieved by this trick

encouraged the great *sahib logue*, whose greed for power and money was in danger of being checked by their Brahman subordinates, the time-honoured guardians of India. They therefore extended the operation of the same formula, "divide and rule," to the higher purpose of raising quarrels between race and race, when the Indian National Congress was brought into being. The Parsis and the Musalmans were patted on the back and let loose to oppose the leaders of that great movement. But the former proved too advanced to be so easily misguided by the designing Anglo-Indian organs, while the ignorance and fanaticism of the latter fully answered the purpose in view. A champion of the Musalman community accordingly made his appearance on the platform, and promised to pull the Congress to pieces to the great joy of the wire-pullers behind the curtain. But his invectives against his Hindu brethren and "cries of wolf" hardly made any impression on his own community, and thus he withdrew from the stage with a sorry face. The Hindu community, whose mildness is proverbial, calmly bore all that was said by the simple Sir Syed Ahmed, as they did on the occasion of the famous Ilbert Bill, and, so far as we can judge, nobody ever thought of an antidote to such exhibition of ill-temper against them. But by a strange coincidence of circumstances the idea of protecting the cow was put into the heads of his countrymen by a learned Hindu sage in the south about the very time when Sir Syed Ahmed was making his victorious tours in Northern India. The sage was in no way concerned with the Congress, and probably never knew who its opponents were and what they were saying about it. The few Gorakshani Sabhas organized by him are now in a flourishing condition, and thousands of poor, useful and harmless animals have been saved by their efforts. Nobody thought that these apparently harmless Gorakshani Sabhas would ever prove a source of riots and disturbances in any part of the country. But the fact is that religious fanaticism is the same in all ignorant masses, whether they be Hindus, Musalmans or any other nationality. Musalman fanaticism, deliberately awakened by the Anglo-Indian wire-pullers, has thus come face to face with the equally fanatic order of the Hindu masses for the protection of the cow, innocently put into action by a learned Pandit of their own community. It is now the duty of Government to find means to put a stop to these troublesome scenes, which, if allowed to continue any longer, may end in serious consequences. The imposition of punitive police now resorted to by Government will, we are afraid, prove worse than a deliberate fomentation of quarrel between the two parties. For the poor people will thereby be further irritated for their inability to meet the heavy demands of Government on their scanty means, and it is quite possible that the Hindu and Musalman sepais forming the punitive police may sympathize with their respective parties and thus give a more serious aspect to the animosity now existing between the unarmed and half-fed rayats.

18. The *Rajyabhatta* in its issue of the 8th August, observes:—The question of prevention of cow-killing has so much influenced the Hindus that they are prepared to sacrifice their lives for the sake of cows. It is

The prevention of cow killing and the action of Government.

gratifying that Government are not indifferent in this matter, still the accounts of recent riots between Hindus and Muhammadans at Azamgarh and other places show that Government officers are encouraging the Muhammadans in their attempts at wounding the religious feelings of the Hindus. This is likely to lower Government in the estimation of the Hindus. It is not in the interests of Government to violate the solemn promises given in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 by keeping aloof from all interference in religious matters. The Hindus are extremely meek, but everything has its limit; and history shows that they have taken extreme steps when their endurance has been tried to its utmost. If the Mogal Emperor Akbar prevented the slaughter of cows, why should not the British Government do the same? Even on principles of political economy it is incumbent on Government to do it. Government in showing leniency to Muhammadans in this matter are doing an act of injustice to Hindus. Government officers are to be blamed for the riots at Azamgarh and other places on the last Bakri Id holiday, for they gave free permission to the Muhammadans to slaughter cows on public roads and forced an undertaking from the leading Hindus that they would not molest them. The Muhammadans thought that Government were on their

side and did not care for the religious feelings of the Hindus and serious consequences ensued. Government ought to take notice of the blameworthy conduct of these officers and show that they had no hand in the matter.

19. The *Kalpataru* in its issue of 20th August, states:—The general belief in Bombay is that from 300 to 500 persons must have been killed in the riots, though the English and vernacular newspapers fix the number at only 100, for a number of corpses were seen by people while they were being taken away loaded in carts like firewood. Now, there being strict military and police surveillance nobody dare commit a riot openly, but some Muhammadans, it is said, get their beards shaved, apply to their foreheads sandalwood-powder marks and dress like Hindus, and mixing among Hindus commit attacks on them by stabbing them with knives which they carry about them under their clothes. Some Hindus died from having used milk and sweets poisoned with arsenic by Muhammadan sellers, and since these deaths it is said the police have ordered that nobody should buy milk offered for sale by Muhammadans. Amongst the men arrested by the police and sent to jail was one innocent gentleman who had gone to see a demolished Masjid. He states that on the first day of his imprisonment he was given raw rice to eat, on the second day some split gram and on the third some parched rice, and that if he had not been released on bail he would have died after two days. It is said that Mr. Vincent, Police Commissioner, suspected a high police officer, a Muhammadan, to have incited the Muhammadan rioters. There is similar talk about two other high Muhammadan police officers. If this report be true, it remains to be seen what notice is taken of these officers. We have received a heart-rending account from an eye-witness of the state of destitution in which some of the Hindu families left their lodgings and took shelter in the Mādhav Bāg and of the outrages committed by Muhammadan rioters on Hindu women.

20. The *Mdhratta* in its issue of the 27th August, writes:—Sir Charles

Sir Charles Crosthwaite's speech on the riots at Ballia and Azimgarh criticised.

Crosthwaite, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, held two important Darbars at Ballia and Azimgarh on the 11th and 15th instant, respectively, which were attended by the local nobility and gentry. The immediate cause of this "sudden and unexpected visit" on His Honour's part to the two districts was the serious riots between Hindus and Muhammadans in that part of the United Provinces in June last on the occasion of the Muhammadan festival of Bakri Id. The bad blood and passions stirred up between the two communities required to be appeased, and it would have been better if His Honour had during his addresses at both the Darbars followed in the footsteps of Sir A. P. MacDonnell and confined himself to restoring peace and goodwill between the two communities, the more especially so since the evidence which would enable an impartial observer to fix the responsibility for the unfortunate riots on the leaders of one or the other community is not available. Under these circumstances we are grieved to find that the responsible head of the local Government should have undertaken upon himself the responsibility of charging the Hindu landed aristocracy of four districts in the United Provinces with having instigated the lower classes of the Hindus to commence the riots, and this too at a time when, according to his own admission, His Honour knew that there was not sufficient evidence before him. It would appear from the painfully interesting narrative of Mr. Dhar, Barrister-at-Law of Lucknow, who visited the scenes of the riots and made minute enquires on the spot, that it was not the Hindus alone, but the Muhammadans also, who had assembled together at the places of disturbance throughout the four districts. Such being the case, it is difficult to see why Sir Charles Crosthwaite should have singled out the members of the Hindu landed aristocracy of the four districts for this denunciation and censure. Could not His Honour have found a really satisfactory explanation of the particularly distinctive feature of this year's disturbances in the facts that the district officers had displayed a wanton disregard for the feelings of the Hindu community in ostentatiously authorizing indiscriminate cowslaughter by Muhammadans on the occasion of their religious festivals in places where no such slaughter had been allowed for years past, and that too against the spirit of his explicit orders on this very subject. We are afraid that Sir Charles Crosthwaite's speeches at Ballia and Azimgarh will have

the effect of adding fuel to fire; for his sweeping and unwarranted condemnation of the conduct of the Hindu landed aristocracy cannot be looked upon by us in any other light than that of its being an attempt to add insult to injury to the Hindu community. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will intervene in time, and refer the whole question to a commission with authority to enquire into the truth or otherwise of the statements made in Mr. Dhar's narrative.

N.-W. PROVINCES.

21. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow), of the 12th July, states that though no serious riots occurred at Bareilly as at Azamgarh, there is general dissatisfaction at Bareilly with the proceedings of the local officers. With reference to the riots in Azamgarh, the *Pioneer* lays the blame on the Hindus. But the ill-digested orders issued by inexperienced Civilians are chiefly responsible for such disturbances. Is it true that permission was granted to Musalmáns to kill kine freely, and that far from any endeavours being made to conciliate the Hindus they were ill-treated? Did not Mr. Moule and Mr. Macpherson deal severely with the Hindus of Bareilly on the suspension of traffic by the latter, and did not their undue sympathy with the Musalmáns encourage them to annoy Hindus? Religious quarrels generally break out among the lower classes, such as butchers, weavers, cotton-carders, Ahirs, Lodhas, &c. At the instigation of Lord Salisbury, the inhabitants of Ulster are ready to rebel. Similarly, the Musalmáns of Bareilly, being convinced of the partiality of Mr. Moule and Mr. Macpherson towards them, made it a point to insult and harass the Hindus. District Magistrates sometimes make serious mistakes, and sometimes the orders issued by a Magistrate are reversed by his successor. The editor is not prepared to say that the officers intentionally stir up animosity between Hindus and Musalmáns, though there are some Anglo-Indians who take Sir John Strachey for their leader and who think that the existence of mutual ill-will between the two communities is essential to the maintenance of British rule in this country. Messrs. Moule and Macpherson at Bareilly and Mr. Dupernex at Azamgarh were guilty of reprehensible proceedings. The *Pioneer* states that if the Hindus were dissatisfied, they might have appealed to the Local Government, but should not have taken the law into their own hands. But we know from every-day experience that appeals are worse than useless. In 99 cases out of a hundred the orders of an Assistant Magistrate, even if wrong, are upheld by the District Magistrate, those of the District Magistrate by the Commissioner, and those of Commissioner by the Local Government. The educated natives have learnt the constitutional methods of agitation, but such methods are quite unknown to the ignorant peasants of Azamgarh, who, finding their religion attacked and the Magistrate unfavourably disposed towards them, were naturally induced to take the law into their own hands. The *Pioneer* rejoices at such disturbances and reproaches the English Radicals for advocating the claims of men, who are ready to break each other's heads, to a larger share in the administration of the country. But all religious strife would be avoided if wiser counsels prevailed with the officers. Since the above was written, the editor has received a communication from Azamgarh which shows how a young and inexperienced Civilian can ruin a large district. At the instigation of some Musalmáns, the Magistrate asked for a list of the places within the town where the Musalmáns intended to kill kine on the day of the Id. On receipt of the list he sent for the Hindus living near those places and forced them to declare that they had no objection, without taking the trouble to satisfy himself that kine had always been slaughtered at the identical places. Some Hindus were even arrested and sent to the lock-up. On the day preceding the Id he issued a proclamation permitting Musalmáns to freely kill animals between 9 A.M. and 12 noon, and the result was that hundreds of kine were slaughtered within the town. He was not content with the grant of free permission, but himself attended several places to witness the slaughter. The feelings of the Hindus may be easily imagined. However, the Hindus living in the town did not allow passion to overpower their reason and did not break the peace. But the ignorant Hindu villagers at several places in the interior of the district made efforts to forcibly rescue kine. In the affrays that ensued the Hindus were

generally killed, except at Mhow, where some Musálmans were killed by the police. Now Hindus themselves are being arrested by the police. The Hindu traders in the city are being much oppressed by the tahsil officials in connection with the supply of provisions to the troops and the additional police force which have been sent to Azamgarh. If the higher authorities do not interfere and put a stop to all this tyranny and oppression, the whole district will be ruined.

22. The *Sitdra-i-Hind* (Moradabad), of the 20th July, regrets to notice that the authorities pursue the divide-and-govern policy and excite religious animosity between the Hindus and Musálmans. But such a policy is equally injurious to Government and the people. If a strong religious feeling were once excited among the people in a large part of the country, the contagion might spread to the native army. Government ought to benefit by the bitter experience of 1857 and restore friendship between the two communities instead of encouraging mutual discord.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

24. The *Shubh Chintak* (Jubbulpore), of August 12th, in continuation of its previous articles on the subject of the preservation of kine, observes that there is no doubt that *Bhagwan* will some day espouse the part of the cow and award suitable punishment to the butchers, but who will avenge the unbearable afflictions that have befallen her at present? The rulers of the country cannot be expected to save cows from slaughter, for they themselves are beef-eaters. Alas, there was once a time when the Indian Rajas used to protect the cow, and sought to afford the people milk, butter, ghee, &c., in abundance, but the present time is such as, not to speak of milk and curd, the people cannot even get cowdung and cowdung fuel! It is to be regretted that beef-eaters do not abstain from this diet, notwithstanding it has been proved as being productive of various diseases. Some Europeans are, however, very judicious, and give up anything they consider injurious to health, as is evidenced from Vegetarian Societies established in Europe; but the Muhammadans are very obstinate, and consume beef like vultures, owing to the envious feelings they entertain towards the Hindus. How is it that the breath and persons of Muhammadans are so offensive? Because, in the first place, the beef itself is a putrid substance—and, secondly, particles of it get wedged in between the teeth and remain there for days. And again, owing to the properties of beef, the consumers perspire profusely, with the result that vermin is bred largely; and since Muhammadans do not bathe—if they bathe at all, they do so either on a Thursday or a Friday, or only on the occasion of a festival—they are therefore covered with vermin.

25. The *Shubh Chintak* (Jubbulpore), dated 19th August 1893, in continuation of its previous article on the anti-kine-killing movement, remarks that the Muhammadans believe that by eating meat they will go straight to Paradise, and this is the reason they not only slaughter cows, but other animals also: they do not, however, think of the tremendous loss in India which kine-killing has caused and is causing to agriculture, whereby they also are co-sufferers with the Hindus. This being the case it is not known why they slaughter kine, and cherish ill-feeling against the Hindus; it has been rightly said that when one's ruin approaches, his senses desert him. Although Muhammadans know that their living depends much upon the Hindus, yet they will persist in creating disturbances to hurt the feelings of their well-wishing Hindu brethren, at least on the day of Bukrád, if not always. This year the obstinate and hard-hearted Muhammadans persisted in slaughtering kine to annoy the Hindus, which obstinacy they carried to the end through the support of a few short-sighted officers. Refers to the several recent riots at Rangoon, Azamgarh, Junagarh, Bombay and other places, and remarks that the chief cause of the Muhammadan's creating such disturbances and causing bloodshed will gradually become known.

26. The *Shubh Chintak* (Jubbulpore), of 26th August, observes as follows:—
It is a matter for regret that the Muhammadans have been devising various schemes to frustrate the objects of the Gao Ruksha movement and prejudice Government against the Hindus.

To put an end to the anti-kine-killing movement and annoy Hindus, the Muhammadans slaughter kine in open *maidans* on the occasion of the *Bukr Id* and other festivities, thinking that by sacrificing cows they will go to Paradise. The short-sightedness of the authorities has encouraged the Muhammadans to interfere in the religious privileges of the Hindus, whose unbearable afflictions are increasing daily. Sir Charles Crosthwaite, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, espousing the part of the Muhammadans at the Durbár at Ballia, declared that the Gao Ruksha Sabha was the cause of the Muhammadans' rioting. Alas! that the Lieutenant-Governor should say so without due deliberation. Does His Honor not know that Hindus regard the preservation of cows as a duty, in the same manner as Muhammadans consider kine slaughter theirs? In the same way as Muhammadans display their ardour in slaughtering kine—the authorities assisting them—Hindus endeavour to prevent such slaughter. This being so, how can the Lieutenant-Governor assert the Gao Ruksha movement is the cause of the riots and express an *ex parte* condemnation? Praises the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal for his impartial treatment of Hindus and Muhammadans. Had Sir Charles Crosthwaite followed the example of forbearance and impartiality displayed by Sir Antony MacDonnell, he would never have uttered such caustic words so pregnant with partiality, under present circumstances and at the present time. When so high an authority reveals his policy beforehand, at a time when the cases of both Hindus and Muhammadans are pending in Courts of law in different cities, why will not the trying Magistrates decide them in accordance with His Honor's opinion.

27. The *Subah Sindhu* (Khandwa), of August 30th, in stating that religious riots have taken place between the Hindus and Muhammadans since the past ten years in Northern India in connection with the slaughter of kine, refers to the serious riots committed at Rangoon, Azamgarh and other places during the current year, and observes that if such rioting be not nipped in the bud, Government will find considerable difficulty in putting them down later. This was pointed out to Government on several previous occasions, but the authorities took no notice; and not only this, but Muhammadans were given undue liberty in some places, which encouraged them. Government being neutral, should treat both parties alike, but this is not done; and when occasion for administering justice in religious matter arises, the authorities always come down only upon the Hindus, and instances of the kind have frequently come under observation.

28. The *Muzji Nerbudda* (Hoshangabad), of September 1st, referring to the recent riots at Bombay, observes that there must be some cause for the feelings of animus that have sprung up suddenly between the Hindus and Muhammadans, who nearly 10 or 12 years ago were on amicable terms with each other, took part in each other's religious processions, and almost all the native Chiefs respected the religious ceremonies of the Muhammadans and also themselves participated in them. Are these riots the outcome of the National Congress? Has the kine preservation movement passed a decree for man-slaughter? Have the Hindus and Muhammadans resolved to annihilate each other? Have the Hindus determined to take revenge upon the Muhammadans for the latter's invading and conquering India in ancient times and to extirpate them from the country now? If this idea has sprung up amongst them to-day concerning the Muhammadans, the same will be formed in regard to the British Government hereafter, in which case it will be difficult for them to save themselves then from cannon balls and bullets, though they have now to deal only with stones, bricks and staves. The administration is to blame and not the Hindus and Muhammadans. Should Government troops and the Police proceed to the scenes of riots after the Hindus and Muhammadans have freely fought and killed several on both sides, to waste ammunition and have freely fought and killed several on both sides, to waste ammunition and kill others, and the correspondents of English newspapers publish false accounts of the riots and cause further agitation amongst the contending factions, and sow the seeds of enmity between them even at places where no riots occurred? The accounts of the riots published in the *Pioneer* are altogether false, as would appear from the *Akber-e-Alam-Afros* of Bombay and the *India (?) Gazette*. As all the riots have originated from the Hindus, and as the slaughter of kine, particularly the sacrifice of cows, is the cause of the said riots—for nobody ever

thinks of the slaughter of the kine that goes on daily in cities and markets—the natural inference drawn is that the crusade is not against kine-killing in general, but against the Muhammadans only or their religion. The *Mouj* therefore requests the Hindus to arrange, in the first instance, stopping the slaughter of cows for consumption of British soldiers, as more than one hundred thousand cows are slaughtered annually on this account. If the Hindus will succeed in effecting this, and Government will accede to their request, there will be no difficulty then whatever in regard to Muhammadans. But if the Muhammadans only are to be forced to abstain from kine-slaughter, particularly when performing their religious ceremony, the Hindus will not be exonerated from the blame of any rioting, as they will be regarded as the source of the quarrel and the ruin of the country.